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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

TO PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

During his more than thirty years as Director, Philippe de Montebello has steadfastly supported the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, permitting works of art from throughout the collections to be published with the best possible texts and illustrations, editing, and design. We express our gratitude and hope that he will consider becoming a future contributor.

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The Hegesiboulos Cup

MARY B. MOORE

Professor of Art History, Hunter College of the City University of New York

In 1907, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a small Attic red-figured cup (MMA 07.286.47) with an intriguing picture on the inside depicting an old man accompanied by his shaggy dog; a symposium and a komos decorate the exterior (Figures 1–8). Alongside the stick held by the old man, the potter signed his name: ΕΓΕΣΙΒΟΛΟΣ, retrograde, and behind the man, the verb ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ (Hegesiboulos made [this]) (Figure 2). Today, some of the letters are very faint, especially those of the name.¹ The cup dates about 500 B.C.

The clay and glaze of MMA 07.286.47 are Attic, but some of the figural details connect the cup with Ionia and the Levant. The non-Greek features of the old man's face indicate he is a foreigner. The dog is a Maltese, which originated on Malta (ancient Melita), a Phoenician colony from the eighth century B.C. to the early fifth, after which it became a Carthaginian possession until 218 B.C., when the Romans took over. Items of dress and a musical instrument played by the komasts also come from the Levant. Hegesiboulos is a name known so far only in Clazomenae, an Ionian city on the west coast of Turkey. Potting details and technical features, however, link Hegesiboulos with Kachrylion, a master potter in Athens with whom Euphronios collaborated on at least two occasions.

Hegesiboulos's cup looks like the variant classified by scholars as Type B, which is recognized by the continuous curve of its profile between lip and foot (Figure 1), except for the chamfer on the top side of the foot. Our cup differs from the canonical Type B in two details: 1) the lip is offset on the inside *and* on the outside; 2) the foot is in two degrees, a narrow concave section above a convex one.² The inside of each handle and the handle panel are reserved. A reserved line and a black line encircle the tondo, providing a delicate transition from the black background of the figures to the solid area of coral red that reaches to the offset lip.³ The inside and rim of the lip are black; usually the rim is reserved. Coral red was applied on the outside of the lip, below the figures on the bowl, on the stem, and on the top side of the foot except for the glazed chamfer. There is a

band of glaze .6 centimeters wide on the underside of the foot; the rest of the underside is coral red, but not all the way up the stem.⁴ Normally, the underside of the foot is glazed. Preliminary sketch and relief lines are used throughout for the figures.

The old man with his dog (Figures 2–4): A man wearing a red wreath and dressed in a voluminous himation stands to left holding a tall stick with incised knots in his right hand. His garment is sprinkled with dots and crosses, its border edged with a double black line and a row of dots drawn in dilute glaze. He has a long beard, a slightly receding hairline, and a prominent nose (Figure 3). Lashes enlarge his eye; lines drawn in dilute glaze indicate furrows on his forehead and a crease on his temple and cheek. His visage is that of a non-Greek.⁵ A shaggy dog with short pricked ears and a pointed nose accompanies the man, who holds his pet by a slack leash in his left hand (the leash is in added red, now much flaked). Short hairs along the lower edge of the man's himation in back define the underside of the dog's tail, a long bushy one that curves upward. The dog has a ruff that stands up along its neck and shoulders and resembles the bristles of a boar, the hairs drawn in relief lines and visible only in a raking light (Figure 4).⁶

The symposium (Side A, Figures 5, 6): At the left, a woman sits to left, her feet resting on a low base, and looks back at a man and boys. Her chair has a backrest ending in the head of a swan, and its one visible leg is well turned. She holds a red branch in her right hand; her left is lowered and empty. A long chiton under a himation, both garments decorated with Xs, and a turban comprise her attire. Behind the woman, a boy with a lyre sits to right on a himation placed on the seat of his stool. The strings of the instrument are drawn in relief; the tuning knobs are red. The boy wears a red wreath but is otherwise nude. Behind him, written vertically in red letters: ΚΑΛΟΣ. Next comes the symposiast on a couch, which has an elegant leg supporting the headrest; the leg at the foot of the couch is plain and appears behind the left leg of the lyre player. Oddly, there is no mattress or pillow. The symposiast, clad in a himation from the



1. Attic red-figured cup, signed by Hegesiboulos as potter and attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter, ca. 500 B.C. Diam. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm), W. with handles 10¼ in. (26 cm), H. 3½ in. (9 cm), H. of lip ¾ in. (2 cm), Diam. of tondo 4 in. (10 cm), Diam. of foot 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm), W. of resting surface ¼ in. (.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.47)



2. Tondo of the cup in Figure 1 showing an old man and his dog



3. Detail of the head of the old man in Figure 2



4. Detail of the head and neck of the dog in Figure 2

hips down, reclines to left and holds a lyre in his lowered left hand. The strings of the instrument are in relief, and the unglazed tortoiseshell sound box is incised to imitate the shields of a real shell (perhaps it was gilded).⁷ He looks to right toward a nude boy and is about to fondle his genitals while the boy adjusts or puts a wreath around the man's head. The section of the wreath in front of the man's ears is red, the rest in raised clay, indicating it was gilded; much of the added red has flaked and is difficult to see except in a raking light. On the far side of the couch, a boy runs to right, looking back, and holds out an oinochoe in his right hand, probably to refill it from the wineskin beneath one handle (Figures 5, 6, 7). He wears a red wreath, and his hair is incised but does not appear to be glazed (Figure 6), so it may have been gilded (it is in the same technique as the sound box of the lyre held by the symposiast). Between the heads of the three: ΚΑΛΟΣ. The last figure in the scene on this side is a

woman, similar to the first. She sits on a chair facing left holding a red wreath in both hands. The backrest of this chair also terminates in the head of a swan, but its leg is not as elaborate as that of the other chair. Behind her: Κ[ΑΛΟΣ].

The komos (Side B, Figures 7, 8): At the left, a youth to right (part of his torso is missing and filled in with plaster) plays the barbiton, its strings indicated by relief lines. His head is tilted upward and back, mouth open, indicating he is rapt in song (Figure 8). He wears a cloak over his shoulders and a turban with a red wreath around it, also slippers. Behind this youth, beneath the handle root, there is a wineskin (part of it is missing and filled in with plaster painted black). Next come two youthful revelers playing krotala (castanets), one to left, the other to right, each looking back. They are dressed alike: turban with a red wreath, a cloak over both shoulders. Between their heads: ΚΑΛ[Ο]Σ. Then come two more males, presumably youths, one holding a

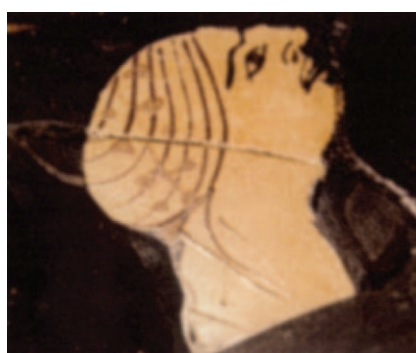
5. Side A of the cup in Figure 1 showing a symposium

6. Detail of Side A of the cup in Figure 1 showing the head of a boy. Photograph: the author





7. Side B of the cup in Figure 1 showing a komos



8. Detail of Side B of the cup in Figure 1 showing the head of a singing komast. Photograph: the author

barbiton in his left hand and the plektron in his right, the other a deep handleless cup in his outstretched left hand, which, by mistake, the painter drew as a right hand. His right arm is lowered, the hand empty. The face and shoulders of both are missing and filled in with plaster. These, too, are clad like the two with *krotala*. Written vertically between them: ΚΙΛΛΟΣ. The last figure in the scene on this side is a youth, dressed similarly, who comes in from the right. Each youth has down on his cheek. The barbiton players and the rightmost youth carry knotted sticks, painted red and barely visible.⁸ Behind the last, below the handle: ΚΑΛΟ[Σ]. The inscriptions on both sides of the cup are in added red and are very difficult to see today.⁹

THE OLD MAN AND HIS DOG

Almost all authors who have published this cup have thought the man in the tondo was not a Greek, but a foreigner (Figure 3). Adolf Furtwängler remarked on his individualized features, his thick eyelashes, and the furrows across his forehead, and that the elongated contour of his skull differs from that of a Greek, which is more rounded; he believed the old man might be a Phoenician or a Hebrew.

Furtwängler thought this man was not a hunter, but a trader going to market to sell his dog, which he misidentified as a Laconian fox dog, because he did not observe the thick bushy fringe of tail behind the voluminous folds of the man's himation.¹⁰

In 1917, Gisela Richter simply wrote that the tondo depicts "an old man going for a walk with his dog," and John Beazley called him an "ugly old man, taking a walk with his dog."¹¹ In 1936, Richter described the man's features, noting, as Furtwängler did, his large hooked nose and elongated skull, concluding he "is evidently an Oriental (a Syrian, a Phoenician or a Jew)." Richter agreed with Furtwängler that the man was going to market to sell his dog, which "resembles the Melitaeen breed said to come from Phoenician Malta, so we may here have a picture of a Phoenician trader."¹² Slightly earlier, Bessie Richardson gave a thoughtful description of this tondo as "representing a man with the profile of a Semite clothed in an elaborately embroidered chiton, leaning upon a knotted cane, and quietly leading a dog or possibly a porcupine,"¹³ the latter highly unlikely because porcupines were never domesticated.

In 1946, Richter made an important contribution to the old man's origin in the Near East when she published an article titled "Greeks in Persia."¹⁴ In it, she included a fragment, which had recently been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, from a late sixth-century B.C. limestone relief sculpture of Darius I, the Achaemenid king who reigned from 521 to 480 B.C. Incised on this fragment of his foot are the bearded heads of two old men bearing a remarkable resemblance to our old man (Figures 3, 9).¹⁵ The better-preserved head has a prominent nose, small ear, shaggy hair, beard, and mustache. Ernst Herzfeld was the first to compare the head "with the best paintings on Greek vases," but Richter went further: "the style [of the two bearded heads] is identical with that in Greek vase painting of just that period. The heads on vases of the late sixth century ([see her] fig. 27), especially that of an Oriental by the Hegesiboulos Painter (fig. 28), offer striking parallels. The Greek artist in Persia who engraved these charming designs evidently gave vent to a sudden desire to work in his own manner, untrammelled by the restrictions imposed on him. By this whim he has left us precious evidence of his presence in Persepolis."¹⁶ This engraved head from Persepolis is a fitting reminder of the extent to which Greeks traveled in the late sixth century and of how observant they were of the physiognomic characteristics of the people around them. Richter remarked that it would be perfectly natural for Greeks, especially Ionian Greeks, to work for Persians during the years they were under Achaemenid rule (ca. 550–480 B.C.).¹⁷ If this was the case, it would be no surprise that some Ionian artists, not wishing to work for Persians, traveled west to mainland Greece.

Unfortunately, quite a few of Richter's perceptive observations were taken lightly. In 1954, Hedwig Kenner remarked on our old man's individualized features, the furrows on his forehead, his hooked nose almost overhanging his upper lip, and the slight indentation in his cranium, but she thought he was walking a pig.¹⁸ Presumably she did not notice the bushy tail. Two years later, Wolfgang Binsfeld designated this man a good caricature of an Athenian citizen and noted that his nose provokes ridicule.¹⁹ A little later, Ludwig Schnitzler wrote a general article about Near Easterners on Greek vases.²⁰ He, too, remarked on the non-Greek features of the old man but mistook his thick lower lip for an Adam's apple or a goiter.²¹ Schnitzler repeated the observations of others about the non-Greek features and the striking rendering of anatomical details, then added that the man's somewhat elongated skull and the slight indentation of the crown compare with a skull found at Byblos. Schnitzler also wondered if Hegesiboulos may have come from eastern Greece, perhaps as a metic or a slave, because the name Hegesiboulos is known in Ionia (in Clazomenae).²² In 1967, Verena Zinserling described the old man as an Oriental, claimed he looks frail as he leans on his stick, and rather uncharitably remarked that his disheveled hair is well suited to the bristly coat of his dog, which is in strange contrast to his elegant himation.²³ In 1975, in his handbook of archaic red-figure vases, John Boardman simply called this man a "weary old Hebrew gentleman and his dog."²⁴ Five years later, Luca Giuliani, like Binsfeld a quarter of a century earlier, also saw comic relief in the representation of the old man, noting his disproportionate form, strangely shaped skull, sharp facial features, and large feet that result in an exaggerated, caricature-like impact.²⁵ Probably the most controversial interpretation is that of Robert Heidenreich, who in 1985 linked the three scenes thematically and assumed that all of the figures, not just the old man, were foreigners; that the setting was not a private Athenian house, but a brothel; and that the man with his dog was the proprietor. He misidentified the dog as a fox dog ("Fuchshund") and concluded that the man is not a product of the painter's imagination, but more likely a specific person known to him (see below).²⁶ Most recently, Beth Cohen wrote that the man is "an aged Semitic-looking foreigner with a knobby walking stick and a mangy dog."²⁷

I agree with the authors who believe the old man is not a Greek, but I am not certain one may be more specific except to suggest he comes from the Levant. In 1927, Ernst Pfuhl remarked that nothing is easier to draw or to sculpt than an irregular profile and from there an individualized one.²⁸ In a way, he is correct, but his observation does not apply to the man in this cup, who truly looks like a person one might meet in real life. Nor does the term caricature apply: it means "a portrait or other artistic representation, in



which the characteristic features of the original are exaggerated with ludicrous effect," and "the art of applying the grotesque to the purposes of satire, and . . . pictorial and plastic ridicule and burlesque."²⁹ In no way is this man a caricature, nor is he a comic rendering, as Binsfeld and Giuliani thought,³⁰ any more than he is grotesque. To be sure, his head seems a little large for his body, but this characteristic may be observed on figures of Greeks drawn by some contemporary artists. True caricatures are grotesque and often unappealing. A good late sixth-century example is the disheveled-looking man, with a very large head in proportion to his body, who holds his nose as he defecates, a scene painted on an unattributed disk inexplicably dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis (Figure 10).³¹

Representations of old men on late sixth- and early fifth-century Athenian vases, whether from the real world or from myth, are usually very dignified. Two well-known examples

9. Fragment of a limestone relief of the foot of Darius inscribed with the heads of two old men, ca. 500 B.C. H. 3 1/4 in. (8.26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1945 (45.11.17)



10. Fragment of an unattributed Attic red-figure disk showing a man defecating and holding his nose, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 1 3/4 in. (4.6 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (1073). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, pl. 83, no. 1073

11. Line drawing of a lost unattributed Attic red-figured amphora from Vulci showing a youth with a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. Illustration: Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, fig. 34



from myth make the point. One is Priam at the Departure of Hektor on an amphora in Munich signed by Euthymides. There, the king of Troy stands quietly, dressed in a voluminous himation and slippers. He looks at Hektor donning his corselet and puts his finger to his lips as if cautioning his son to be careful. Priam's forehead is bald, but what remains of his hair reaches to his shoulders in flowing locks; his beard is shorn, perhaps indicating old age.³² In the tondo of a cup in the Louvre by the Brygos Painter, Briseis serves wine to Phoenix, who sits comfortably on a chair holding out a phiale. He wears a long chiton under an ornamented himation



12. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup, perhaps by Euphronios, showing a boy with a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Ephoria I, Athens (A 5040)

as well as slippers. His forehead is bald and most of his hair has turned white.³³

The appearance of the Hegesiboulos Painter's old man is memorable, beginning with his thick hair hanging down along the nape of his neck, his full beard, and his thin mustache (Figure 3). The rendering of the individual strands of hair suggests it is a bit wiry.³⁴ The furrows on his forehead, the crease on his temple and cheek, and especially his large nose with its pronounced nostril as well as his full, articulated lips are not easily forgotten. His prominent eye with its "light" iris (in outline, not solid glaze) and the thick fringe of lashes are striking.³⁵ All of these details contrast sharply with the man's clothing, which is Greek. The lack of a chiton beneath the himation is quite common for Athenian men and youths at this time, as are the bare feet. What makes this man a foreigner is his face with its distinctive features. If his head were not preserved we would otherwise identify him as an Athenian walking his dog. Might he then be a metic who settled in Athens in the late sixth century B.C. and adopted Athenian dress and, by association, Athenian manners?³⁶ If so, one can easily understand that such an individualized face would fascinate an observant vase painter active during the time that witnessed the birth of democracy and an influx of foreigners.³⁷ In any case, this is a dignified old man who walks with measured step and expresses a seriousness of purpose that commands courtesy and respect. He is no caricature.

We turn now to the dog (see Figures 2, 4), but first a few general remarks about dogs in ancient Greece. We do not know exactly how many breeds there were, but their basic functions were hunting, herding, and protection, probably less often serving as pets.³⁸ In Greek art, the hunting dog is most frequently depicted.³⁹ The Hegesiboulos Painter's dog is sturdy looking with a long, thick, rather flat coat and a full, bushy tail that may be held proudly aloft or curve up over its back. The head is distinctive, nose quite pointed, ears pricked and alert, paws of good size. Hair on the face and legs is short and smooth, although occasionally the legs may be lightly feathered (see Figure 14). Our dog is nicely groomed and well cared for.⁴⁰ It is no mutt. Marjorie Milne was the first scholar to identify our dog as a Maltese lapdog (*Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον*), *Melitaion* being ancient Greek for Malta.⁴¹ The dog and the name of its breed were discovered more than 150 years ago, when an unattributed Attic red-figured amphora dating about 500 B.C. was excavated at Vulci. One side depicts a youth dressed in a himation standing with a dog and the inscription *MEΛΙΤΑΙΕ*, retrograde, the final epsilon nearly touching the dog's nose (Figure 11).⁴² All of the ancient literary sources for the Maltese dog were collected by Busuttill, and they make clear these were small companion dogs that gave great pleasure to their owners.⁴³ The earliest preserved reference is Aesop, writing in the



13. Tondo of a fragmentary unattributed Attic black-figured cup with coral-red showing a Maltese dog, ca. 500 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension 3½ in. (8.8 cm). Agora, Athens (P 10359)

sixth century B.C., who remarked that “it was customary for people going on a voyage to take these dogs [κύνας Μελιταίους] with them for pleasure.”⁴⁴ Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) and Strabo (ca. 64/63 B.C.–A.D. 21 at least) tell us that these were small dogs. “The marten is about the size of the small kind of Melitaeian miniature dog [Μελιταίων κυνίδιον]” (Aristotle), and “off Pachynus lie Melita [Malta], whence come the little dogs called Melitaeian [Μελιταῖα]” (Strabo).⁴⁵



14. Line drawing of a lost unattributed Attic red-figured cup showing a man and a youth with two Maltese dogs, ca. 500 B.C. Illustration: Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, fig. 35

15. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Brygos Painter showing a boy and his Maltese dog, ca. 490 B.C. H. 3⅛ in. (7.8 cm). University of California, Berkeley (8.921). Photograph: CVA, Berkeley 1 (USA 5) (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pl. 33 (214), 1

Aelian (ca. A.D. 170–235) writes that when the fourth-century B.C. Theban general Epaminondas returned home from Sparta, “his little Maltese dog [Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον] greeted him with a wag of the tail,” and Athenaeus (fl. ca. A.D. 200) echoes this sentiment, saying of the Sybarites, “also Melite lap-dogs [κυνάρια Μελιταῖα] . . . accompany them even to the gymnasia,” and a little later, “the Sybarites . . . took delight in Melite puppies [Μελιταίους κυνιδούς].”⁴⁶

There are many representations of this dog, and since the article by Busuttill contains no photographs, I shall illustrate some that indicate this breed was a worthy little companion and just list a few of the others. In the tondo of a red-figured cup in Athens dating about 500 B.C., perhaps by Euphronios, a Maltese dog accompanies a young man who is probably about to exercise, because his sponge, strigil, and aryballos containing oil hang on the wall. The dog is spirited and playful, its luxuriant coat testimony to good care (Figure 12).⁴⁷ About the same time, an anonymous artist painted a Maltese dog in black figure on the inside of a stemless cup decorated with coral red, a miscellaneous find during the excavation of the graves on Lenormant Street in Athens in 1936. This dog has a splendid coat and a huge tail (Figure 13).⁴⁸ In the tondo of a lost unattributed cup, two Maltese dogs eagerly approach one another, ears pricked, mouths open, tails held high. A boy holds the leash of one, a man the leash of the other, each a little tightly, as if they are not sure this is a friendly encounter (Figure 14).⁴⁹ I suspect it is an amicable one. If they were about to attack, their heads and tails would be lowered and they would be crouching, ready to spring at one another. The man lays his left hand on the boy’s shoulder, suggesting an amorous encounter; the boy extends his right hand defensively. The Brygos Painter drew a Maltese dog at least three times. One occurs on his

16. Fragment of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Brygos Painter showing a Maltese dog gnawing on a bone, ca. 490 B.C. Maximum preserved dimension approx. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (585). Photograph: Veruschka Aízaga-Thomason



17. Detail of an unattributed Attic red-figured chous showing a little boy and his Maltese dog, ca. late 5th century B.C. H. 4⅜ in. (11 cm). Agora, Athens (P 20090). Photograph: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

cup in Berkeley (Figure 15), where the dog seems to be trying to take the boy's walking stick away from him (there is damage to the cup right in front of the dog's nose, but the position of the animal's legs and his flattened ears make clear he is tugging hard). In the tondo of a cup in Brussels, a boy holds out his right hand and his dog leaps up as if expecting a treat. The third appears on a cup fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles that depicts a symposium: the dog lies on the floor next to the food table, gnawing a large bone (Figure 16).⁵⁰ A particularly charming scene occurs on an unattributed late fifth-century B.C. chous found in the Athenian Agora (Figure 17). A Maltese dog licks the chin of a little boy crawling toward him.⁵¹

Although ancient authors make it clear that the Maltese was a lapdog, in many of the illustrations, including the one by the Hegesiboulos Painter, the dogs are too large to be lapdogs. I think the reason for this discrepancy lies in the realm of Greek aesthetics and its emphasis on balance. If the dogs were drawn in realistic proportion to the humans they accompany, they might look too small. Enlarging them not only resulted in more pleasing compositions, but also it allowed room for the artist to depict the salient features of this little dog the Greeks and others found so endearing.⁵² In spirit, the Maltese dog by the Hegesiboulos Painter is not rambunctious and playful like most of those illustrated or cited here. It may reflect the dignified temperament of its

18. Side A of a red-figured calyx-krater by Euphronios showing a symposium, ca. 510 B.C. Preserved H. 15⅞ in. (38.3 cm). Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (8935)



owner or it may simply be a mature dog that has outgrown playfulness and become more sedate.

THE SYMPOSIUM AND THE KOMOS

Much more has been written about the old man and his dog than about the scenes on the outside of the Hegesiboulos Painter's cup. Furtwängler merely described them, but he noted that all the heads are individualized.⁵³ Richter remarked that Side A depicts an "after-dinner scene. The meal is just over."⁵⁴ Schnitzler, whose interest was the old man and Near Easterners, simply noted that the subjects on the outside were conventional ones.⁵⁵ As we shall see, Heidenreich's interpretation of the two scenes on the outside as a brothel and the old man as the proprietor is incorrect (see below).⁵⁶

The symposium and the komos are popular subjects in Greek vase painting in the late sixth century and the early fifth, especially in Attic red-figure.⁵⁷ Each scene on MMA 07.286.47 has peculiarities that make it distinctive, but first it would be useful to describe briefly two contemporary examples that are in marked contrast. One occurs on the fragmentary calyx-krater in Munich by Euphronios, dated about 510 B.C. The symposium is under way with everyone still well behaved (Figure 18).⁵⁸ At the left, Thodemos (ΘΟΔΕΜΟΣ), facing the viewer, reclines on a pillow sipping wine from a cup held by its stem and foot in his right hand. He has a wreath in his hair and wears a himation around his hips and right leg. A phorminx and a flute case hang on the wall. A similarly dressed symposiast, Melas (ΜΕΛΑΣ), reclines next to him, head turned to right (face missing). In front of the couch is a table with meat and cakes. Next is the flute girl, Suko (ΣΥΚΟ), dressed in a long chiton under a himation, her hair tied up by a fillet decorated with a meander pattern. Her torso and upper arms are missing. Smikros (ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ), dressed like Thodemos, reclines to left on the second couch (part of his legs and left arm missing) and reaches out to Suko with his raised right arm and hand. The last figure is Ekphantides (ΕΚΦΑΝΤΙΔΗΣ;



19. Side A of a red-figured stamnos signed by Smikros showing a symposium, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (37 cm). Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (A 717)

wreathed head raised, right arm over it) singing a song of which the first words are written in front of his mouth: ΟΠΟΛΛΟΝΣΕΓΕΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΙ, retrograde.⁵⁹ In front of the couch is a table, but there is no food on it, only a drinking cup; below each table is a footstool. The subject continues on the opposite side of the krater, which shows a servant boy (feet missing), nude but for a wreath, going to get more wine. He runs to right, looking back at the symposium. There is a lamp stand with two ladles and a strainer suspended from hooks, and rising from each lamp spout is a small flame to light the room. In the middle of the composition are a standed dinos (most of the dinos with just a little of the stand) and the extended right arm of someone to the right of it dipping an oinochoe into the wine. A barbiton (sound box, start of one arm, the top of the other with a little of the crosspiece) hangs on the wall.⁶⁰

The second symposium is the famous one on the stamnos in Brussels signed by Smikros (Figure 19).⁶¹ At the left Choro (ΧΟΡΟ) sits near the end of the couch tying a fillet around her head. She wears a long chiton with a himation wrapped around her waist and thighs, a bracelet on each forearm. Her feet rest on a low, rectangular block. She faces Pheidiades (ΦΕΙΔΙΑΔΕΣ, retrograde), who reaches toward her with his outstretched right hand. He props himself on his left elbow against an elegant pillow and holds a cup by its stem and foot, just as Thodemos does on the Munich calyx-krater (Figure 18). Around his head is a decorative fillet, and he has a himation wrapped around his hips and legs. Next comes the flute girl, Helike (ΗΕΛΙΚΕ), standing to right, dressed in a long chiton and a himation. Her hair is tied up with a fillet. A bracelet adorns her right forearm. Smikros (ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ) reclines on the second couch, head

back, like Ekphantides (Figure 18), with right arm raised and bent over it, as he listens to the music with rapture. He is dressed similarly to Pheidiades and holds a cup in the same manner. The last two figures recline together and gaze into each other's eyes. Rode (ΡΟΔΕ, retrograde), clad in the same garments as Choro, grasps the back of the youth's head (ΑΥ . . . , retrograde), and he puts his right arm around her left shoulder. His attire is similar to that of the other two symposiasts, and he also holds a cup. Rode rests her feet on a low stool supported by feline hind legs. Each couch is very elegant, with patterned decoration on the legs and mattress frame; before each is a table laden with delicacies. The composition on the other side of the stamnos is similar to the reverse of Euphronios's krater, only better preserved.

These two symposia, similar in spirit and decorum, take many more with them. The feasting and drinking are well under way, but no one behaves in an uninhibited or drunken manner. Food, music, and drink are important components of the symposium; dancing comes later.⁶² The scene on our cup illustrates advanced stages of the festivities (Figure 5). Richter was correct that "the meal is just over,"⁶³ because this explains the absence of a table laden with food. Richter did not link the scenes on the outside thematically, but Beazley did.⁶⁴ The participants in our symposium look a bit drunk; even the woman seated at the left has had a little more than her share of the wine, and the boy with the lyre looks as if he is not quite sure what to do with it. The pose of the boy running to fill the oinochoe with more wine is quite exaggerated, especially his extended right arm.⁶⁵ The boy on the right adjusts or puts a wreath around the head of the symposiast whose head is in the same position as one who vomits, and occasionally in such scenes, a boy offers



20. One side of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to the Ambrosios Painter showing a komos, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm). Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich (2614)

comfort by putting his hands on the symposiast's head.⁶⁶ Our painter seems to have combined an allusion to this uncivilized behavior with that of another, the symposiast trying to fondle the boy's genitals. Is this the Hegesiboulos Painter's idea of bawdy humor? Nearly a century ago, Beazley remarked on "the comical spirit" of the drawing but did not elaborate.⁶⁷ Beth Cohen noted that "the figural decoration of these Athenian [late sixth-century] coral-red cups favors elite male genre imagery, especially athletes or youths at leisure," and later made a valid point when she suggested the scenes on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 "seem to parody the usual Athenian male iconography of coral-red by substituting images of Others."⁶⁸ I am not sure they are "images of Others." To me, it seems that the Hegesiboulos Painter's sense of humor extends to good-natured visual spoofs of his contemporaries.⁶⁹

The parodic character of the symposium continues with the komasts on Side B (Figure 7). For contrast I shall describe

21. Side B of an Attic red-figured kantharos attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter showing a komos, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 6 1/4 in. (15.8 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (3386)



two contemporary examples. One occurs on the cup in Munich by the Ambrosios Painter that depicts a komos on both sides and dates about 510–500 B.C.⁷⁰ I illustrate just one side (Figure 20). The first komast (most of head, left shoulder missing) strides in from the left holding krotala, preceded by a youth who plays the aulos. Each wears just a cloak over his shoulders. The next komast (head, right shoulder, and upper arm missing), dressed in a himation, dances toward them but looks back (the tip of his beard overlaps his left shoulder). His right arm is raised, the hand holding a stick; in his lowered left hand he holds a barbiton. The next two komasts are youths clad only in cloaks, similar to the first two. The first runs to left, looking back, arms outstretched, his right hand holding a ribbed oinochoe, the left empty. The last komast moves to right, looking back, balancing a drinking cup in the palm of his left hand, his right outstretched. This rendering of komasts enjoying a bibulous evening may stand for many.

Much closer in spirit to our komasts are the six cavorting about on a kantharos in Saint Petersburg attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter that dates about 510–500 B.C. (Figure 21).⁷¹ At the left, one dressed in a cloak comes in holding up a cup in his left hand that is partly overlapped by the head of a similarly clad komast who plays the aulos. Next, a komast dressed in a turban and cloak moves to right, playing the barbiton. A basket hangs in the background, suggesting this cheerful group is not yet outside. The dining is over but probably not the drinking. A lean dog squats on the ground, head raised as if to nip the buttocks of the turbaned komast.⁷² The next three komasts wear only cloaks. The first strides to right looking back, right hand raised high holding a knotty stick, a cup in his left hand. The last two face each other; the one on the right plays the aulos.

By comparison with these two scenes, our merry komasts seem less inhibited (Figure 7). The food has been consumed; there is no furniture present or objects hanging on the wall to indicate an interior location. They have moved outside, perhaps to make their way home, but the drinking and dancing continue. The positions of their arms and heads suggest they are tipsy but not totally inebriated. The komast at the far left accompanies himself on the barbiton, head back, mouth open, singing with abandon (Figure 8); two others play krotala and another the barbiton (Figure 7). The party may not break up for a while, and the Hegesiboulos Painter's rendering of it exhibits the same playful spirit as his depiction of the symposium.

Two articles of clothing and one of the musical instruments on MMA 07.286.47 are not indigenous to Greece, but originate in the east, specifically Lydia and Phrygia. The single most important feature of the clothing of the two women and the six komasts is the headdress (Figures 5, 7). It is not composed of one piece of cloth that fits over the

head like a cap, such as the sakkos or the kekryphalos, but is a long strip of cloth wrapped *around* the head, then knotted to hold it in place. It is called a turban (α μίτρα in ancient Greek) and is well known in the east, from India to Lydia, exclusively as a male headdress. The turban first appears in Athens during the 520s B.C., worn by women in the context of the symposium or in Dionysiac settings.⁷³ Later, komasts took up this headdress, and it was especially popular down to the early fifth century. “The turban was preferred for the representation of the more vigorous, or at least upright, activity of the komast,” and “most turbaned komasts, however, wear only a short cloak around their shoulders, leaving the body bare, and they are often booted.”⁷⁴ Our komasts correspond well to this description.

The second article of clothing is the boot or, as here, the slipper that is worn by the singing komast (Figure 7), the other komasts being barefoot. Boardman offers brief remarks about boots and references to painted examples.⁷⁵ He describes the variations in height and notes that this footwear is always characterized as soft and probably pliable. Such a slipper is called a κοθόρνους in ancient Greek, and Boardman cites two passages in Herodotus where it is associated with King Kroisos of Lydia.⁷⁶ The slipper worn by our komast is the simplest type, barely covering the ankle, and may easily be slipped on and off without using one’s hands.

Two stringed instruments appear on our cup. The seated youth and the symposiast each have a lyre, which is quite common on Greek vases (Figure 5).⁷⁷ More important is the instrument held by two of the komasts (Figure 7). This is the barbiton, an elegant variant of the lyre, which comes from the east and may be of Phrygian origin. Like the lyre, the barbiton has a sound box made from a tortoise shell, but its arms are longer than those of the lyre. Curving gracefully inward under the crossbar, then back toward the player, the arms are an identifying feature of the instrument.⁷⁸ Beginning about 520 B.C., the barbiton appears on Athenian vases, often in a sympotic context. Thus it enters the figural repertoire about the same time as the turban. Two of our turbaned komasts play krotala, which are more often associated with women.⁷⁹

The eastern elements observed in the above discussion, specifically the Semitic features of the old man, the turban, the slippers, and the barbiton, are not surprising since Hegesiboulos, whose name is known in the Ionian city of Clazomenae (see above, with note 22), was active in Athens at a time when the presence of foreigners is well attested.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Persia, a threat to the Ionian cities at this time, captured Clazomenae during an offensive that probably began in 497 B.C.⁸¹ If our Hegesiboulos was a native of Clazomenae, perhaps he emigrated to Athens to avoid the Persian conflict and seek a better life. As Boardman remarked, the presence in Athens of artists who were not Athenians “seems to argue a notable contribution by painters

who were metics if not slaves in the potters’ quarter, yet on terms of easy familiarity with young notables of the day.”⁸²

ARE THE THREE SCENES RELATED?

Heidenreich’s idea that the three scenes on MMA 07.286.47 are thematically linked requires discussion. Interconnection of the three subjects on one cup is fairly rare, and when it occurs, the continuity is obvious. When Beazley believed subjects on a vase were related, he punctuated his descriptions with a semicolon; otherwise, he used a period.⁸³ This is how he described our cup on four occasions: 1) without punctuation, the linkage understood: “an ugly old man, taking a walk with his dog (I) meets (A) a band of young men who have come from (B) a merry party”; 2) with punctuation: “I, Greis. A, Gelage. B, Komos”; 3) with punctuation: “I, old m. A, symposion; B, komos”; 4) with punctuation: “I, old man taking a walk. A, symposion; B, komos.”⁸⁴ In other words, Beazley initially considered the three scenes related, then changed his mind and concluded that the tondo scene is a separate subject from the two on the outside, which he believed were linked thematically. I think Beazley’s second reading is correct.

After describing our cup, Heidenreich offers his interpretation of the scenes on the outside, which he thinks take place in a brothel with the old man its proprietor, a role he says non-Athenians frequently assumed.⁸⁵ He notes the brothel keeper (πορνοβοσκός) is a popular person of Attic comedy, for he appears in a fragment of a play by Myrtilos and in two plays by Aristophanes.⁸⁶ The extant fragment by Myrtilos comes from an unnamed play; the pertinent passage is: “ὁ δ’ ἀνάπῃρος πορνοβοσκὸς καταφραγᾶς (a gluttonous trollop-jobber [brothel keeper] with a gammy leg).⁸⁷ In *Knights*, which took first prize at the Lenaia in 424 B.C., Aristophanes (ca. 457–385 B.C.) gives these lines to the Sausage Seller: “Now here’s the oracle about the fleet for you, so you should pay very close attention to it. . . . ‘Scion of Aegeus, ponder the fox-dog [κυναλώπηξ] lest he beguile you; he is treacherous, swift of foot, a wily trickster, and very crafty.’ Do you get that one?” Demos replies: “The fox-dog is Philostratos” (Φιλόστρατος ἢ κυναλώπηξ).⁸⁸ His profession is not specified here, but scholia to this passage refer to a “Philostratos fox-dog” (Φιλόστρατος κυναλώπηξ) and “Philostratos . . . brothel-keeper” (Φιλόστρατος . . . πορνοβοσκός). The characteristic features usually ascribed to Philostratos in several lines perhaps justify the term “fox dog,” which is used as a disparaging nickname, and Heidenreich suggests that perhaps ownership of a fox dog would contribute to the application of such a nickname.⁸⁹ In *Lysistrata* (957), performed in 411 B.C., Kenesias demands that “Fox Dog” (Κυναλώπηξ) procure him a woman, because his wife, Myrrhine, has run away: “Is Fox Dog out there anywhere?”

Philostratos is not named with the epithet “fox dog,” but Heidenreich thinks this was clearly the playwright’s intention.⁹⁰

Heidenreich’s interpretation of the old man in the tondo of the Hegesiboulos Painter’s cup as a brothel keeper, a *πορνοβοσκός*, really hinges on his identification of the dog’s breed as a fox dog, which occurs in the title of his article “Spaziergänger mit Fuchshund.” This reading of the tondo is problematic. To begin with, Heidenreich does not describe the dog, nor does he say how he identifies its breed as a fox dog, a cross that is genetically impossible,⁹¹ nor does he cite parallels for the dog but simply says it protects the old man.⁹² Heidenreich remarks that all authors who describe the dog, except Richter, call it a fox dog.⁹³ This is misleading because nearly all authors who have dealt with this cup simply call the animal a dog.⁹⁴ Heidenreich is rather dismissive of Richter, even though she describes the dog and he does not: “the dog with its pointed nose and turned-up tail resembles the Melitaeian breed said to come from Phoenician Malta.”⁹⁵ Furthermore, leaping ahead almost a hundred years to three passages in Attic comedy that use “fox dog” as an unflattering nickname for a brothel keeper and linking this bit of lewdness with our dignified old man is contrived. In *Knights* (1069), the Sausage Seller’s description of the dog does not in the least apply to the Maltese dog. Nor does Xenophon’s (ca. 428/427–ca. 354 B.C.): “the Vulpine [*ἄλωπεκίδες*] is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name. . . . They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill-proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet.”⁹⁶

The old man with his pet dog is a foreigner, probably from the Levant, perhaps even a Phoenician, given the dog’s breed. He looks to me as if he is a real person seen through the eyes of an observant vase painter who may have been fascinated by his foreign features. One might even suggest that the rendering of him by the Hegesiboulos Painter is the closest a vase painter of his time could come to a true portrait. The outside of this cup has a much less serious quality to it, the symposium and the komos, light-hearted gatherings that were popular subjects with Athenian vase painters in the late sixth century and the early fifth. It is unusual, however, for the two subjects to appear on the same vase. As Boardman noted: “the *komos* is very seldom depicted at the symposium, but must be thought to take place either later, en route to another party as is often implied by the wine gear being carried, or in an adjacent room or courtyard, probably where the crater was set.”⁹⁷ I think this is what the Hegesiboulos Painter depicted, a symposium followed by a komos on the same evening. What is unusual is that he has given these two scenes a wry touch, especially the faces of the participants. Inscribing “kalos” next to such figures adds a humorous accent, since it is highly unlikely

any contemporary would consider these cheerful merry-makers “kalos.” Today, we call this a “send-up,” a play on well-known subjects.

THE POTTER HEGESIBOULOS AND THE HEGESIBOULOS PAINTER

It is now time to look for other vases by the Hegesiboulos Painter, but first a few words about potting, painting, and signatures. Hegesiboulos signed the cup as potter, *ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ* (made), but this does not mean he was the painter. He may have been, but without more to go on it is safer to think he was not. Reference to a painter by his given name requires a painting signature, the name followed by *ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ* (painted). Occasionally, a double signature on a vase confirms that potter and painter are one, Exekias being a prime example. Or there may be a signed collaboration, Euxitheos and Euphronios or Kachrylion and Euphronios. Two other signature possibilities exist. A vase may be signed by painter only, such as the stamnos in Brussels by Smikros (Figure 19), or by potter only and in this case the scholarly convention is to name the painter after the potter.⁹⁸ MMA 07.286.47 belongs in the latter category, hence the Hegesiboulos Painter. Before we consider other works that may be by this artist, it is important to look at vases from the workshop of Kachrylion, a better-known contemporary of Hegesiboulos, who was particularly interested in special techniques and slips. This will shed light on connections not only between the two potters, but also between them and the painters they employed, specifically Euphronios and the Hegesiboulos Painter. Slips and special techniques, as well as ornamental patterns, were likely chosen by the potter because they enhance the shapes they decorate, but the painter, who was more adept with a brush than the potter, was probably responsible for their application.⁹⁹

The last quarter of the sixth century B.C. was a time of great experimentation in the Athenian potters’ quarters. Red-figure was invented, perhaps by the Andokides Painter, and white-ground as a surface for figures became popular, particularly among painters specializing in lekythoi. Other experiments that deserve mention are Six’s technique, which depicts polychromatic figures (with or without incision) against the black glaze, and coral red, the one most pertinent to this article.¹⁰⁰ Coral red begins with Exekias, who may be its inventor, for the earliest preserved appearance occurs in the tondo of his famous cup in Munich of about 530 B.C. that he signed as potter on the side of the foot.¹⁰¹ The black figures of Dionysos sailing in his boat and the dolphins accompanying him are not painted *on top* of the coral red; rather the coral red was painted *around* them. More than a decade later, the innovative and experimental

Psiax decorated the earliest known cup to have the figures placed on top of the coral-red ground on both the inside and the outside.¹⁰² Figures on this small cup (diameter 22.5 cm) are few: the inside depicts Herakles with one of the man-eating mares of Diomedes, a son of Ares, the horse incorrectly drawn as a stallion; on each side of the exterior is a single flying figure, Hermes on one side and Perseus on the other, an excerpt from the pursuit by the Gorgons. There are no ground lines.

Euphronios collaborated with Kachrylion on the splendid cup in Munich signed by each artist on the side of the foot.¹⁰³ A broad band of coral red surrounds a small tondo depicting a horseman. Elsewhere on the cup, coral red covers the underside of the foot as well as the inside of the stem. A newcomer to the coral-red oeuvre of Euphronios is Agora P 32344, a cup dating about 510 B.C., which was found in the upper level of a deep well excavated in the 1994 and 1995 seasons.¹⁰⁴ Preserved is a little more than half of the bowl, all of one handle, and about half of the torus foot, which has a chamfer on the top side. The diameter of the bowl is 19.1 centimeters, only slightly more than that of MMA 07.286.47, which measures 18.4 centimeters. The lip is offset, but on the inside only. Coral red covers the outside of the cup except for the handle panel, and the underside of the foot has coral red surrounded by a black line just as on our cup. Particularly relevant to MMA 07.286.47 is the allocation of black glaze and coral red on the inside. A fairly broad band of coral red surrounds the tondo, which preserves part of a seated male draped in a himation and holding a knobby walking stick. Black glaze covers both the inside of the lip and its rim, just as it does on our cup. The only difference is that the black glaze of the tondo is flush with the coral red; there are no encircling lines for a transition between the two. Otherwise, the general character of the inside of Agora P 32344 is strikingly similar to that of MMA 07.286.47. Given this as well as the small size of each cup, the similar appearance of the inside, and the decoration of the underside of the foot, it is tempting to ask if the Agora cup might have been potted by Hegesiboulos. Cohen wrote that “according to Kathleen M. Lynch, the cup’s shape may have been an early example of a fluid Type B rather than a Type C cup,” an important observation, because MMA 07.286.47 is not a canonical Type B cup, nor is it a Type C, since it lacks the distinctive ring between the stem and the foot.¹⁰⁵

The cup of uncertain type in Malibu attributed to Euphronios by Joan R. Mertens adds another dimension to the artistic achievements of Euphronios: the drawing is in black-figure and in outline on white-ground, a new use of both techniques for this painter. The cup’s estimated diameter (approximately 22.6 cm) is a little larger than Agora P 32344 (19.15 cm), but it shares with it four features: the lip is offset



22. Detail of an Attic white-ground mug attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter showing a youth with a money bag, ca. 500 B.C. Present H. 3 1/8 in. (8 cm). Museo Nazionale, Palermo (2139). Photograph: Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, pl. 33.2

on the inside only; except for the reserved handle panels, the outside is undecorated, though covered in black glaze, not coral red; lip and rim are glazed, forming a frame for the figures; it was mended in antiquity, indicating it was a valued possession, just as the Agora cups were.¹⁰⁶

The foregoing observations about coral red and white-ground link Hegesiboulos with the workshop of Kachrylion and Euphronios. In *Colors of Clay*, Cohen suggested “that the potter Hegesiboulos... is likely to have been a shopmate or partner of Euphronios,” and perhaps by extension the potter Kachrylion, with whom Euphronios collaborated and who was a master of the application of coral red.¹⁰⁷ Later in the same volume, Dyfri Williams remarked that “the potting of the New York cup suggests that Hegesiboulos I [MMA 07.286.47] learned his craft alongside Euphronios and from the potter Kachrylion.” Williams continued, “we are now, however, beginning to learn more about this potter thanks to the appearance of two mugs that also bear the remains of his signature, both from Sicily. One has a white slip outside, the other, not only a white slip outside, but also most remarkably a coral red slip inside.” The former is Palermo 2139 (Figure 22), which dates about 500 B.C.; the latter is in a London private collection and is thus far unpublished.¹⁰⁸ These are important vases, because they provide new information about Hegesiboulos, namely that he also used white-ground, demonstrating his flexibility and willingness to try new techniques. The unpublished vase is the more important of the two because of the innovative use of both coral red and white-ground on the same vase, which seems to be a very early (the earliest?) application of the two techniques on one vase, though it is well known in the Sotades Workshop, painters active in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.¹⁰⁹ This use of white-ground and coral red is, of course, a potting connection, and Williams noted that Hegesiboulos was “clearly



23. Fragment of the outside of an Attic red-figured cup-skyphos attributed to the Hegesiboulos Painter showing a reclining komast, ca. 500 B.C. Preserved H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.2 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (538)

experienced in his use of slips, while also producing, not only cups and mugs, but perhaps also a small stemless cup or cup-kotyle, if he was the potter of the Akropolis fragment attributed by Ernst Langlotz to the same painter as the New York cup” (Figures 23, 24), and he suggested that “the figured style of the Hegesiboulos Painter has clear connections with the late works of Euphronios as a painter and the Proto-Panaetian Group” (for the latter, see below).¹¹⁰

There is one more detail that offers a link between the Hegesiboulos Painter and Euphronios, and perhaps also Kachrylion. Following the lead of Beth Cohen, in the description of the symposium I suggested that the hair of the running youth and the tortoiseshell sound box of the lyre may have been gilded because the surface is textured and unglazed, as is part of the symposiast’s wreath, which is in raised clay (see above and note 7; Figures 5, 6). Euphronios gilded details of his large cup dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis,¹¹¹ which today is quite fragmentary, with large missing pieces restored in plaster and painted. The outside depicts the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis. In front of Athena,



24. Reconstruction drawing of the komast shown in Figure 23. Drawing: the author

who stands at the far right of the main side, Euphronios signed his name: [ΕΥΦΡΟΝ]ΙΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ. The unglazed added clay used for the forelocks of Hera and Athena, the bracelets worn by Athena and Thetis, and the phiale held by Hephaistos would have been gilded.¹¹² When complete, this cup must have been very impressive, and it is tempting to ask if Kachrylion was its potter. In addition to an interest in slips, both Euphronios and the Hegesiboulos Painter tried their hands at applying gold leaf over raised clay, which must have required the delicate touch of a painter rather than the strong hands of a potter, though one may not rule out a metalsmith (see note 7).

Euphronios was more experienced than previously realized in the use of white-ground, coral red, and even black-figure on white-ground. If my suggestion that Agora P 32344 may have been potted by Hegesiboulos has any validity, it means that Euphronios collaborated with him on at least one occasion. And, as we shall see, the Hegesiboulos Painter is very likely the artist who decorated Palermo 2139. Much of this is speculative, but perhaps in time, new discoveries will produce confirming evidence.

The authors who published MMA 07.286.47 took little interest in the artist because they were concerned with the old man and less so with the symposium and the komos. Furtwängler remarked that our cup possesses such a distinctive style that it would not be difficult to recognize other vases by the same painter; he first linked it with the painter who decorated cups praising Epilykos (ΕΠΙΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ), an artist later recognized as Skythes; and he decided that the painter of the Epilykos cups also decorated our cup.¹¹³ Ernst Langlotz suggested that a small fragment of a cup-skyphos, Akropolis 538, depicting a symposiast lying on the “ground,” not on a couch, was by the Hegesiboulos Painter and denied the authorship of Skythes (Figure 23).¹¹⁴ Richter characterized the drawing on our cup as “by a deft, able hand and the style highly individual. The figures are not the usual impersonal types, but appear to be sketched from life, in a lively, comical spirit”; and “the painter with whom our artist has much in common, both in temperament and in the types of his figures, is Skythes. . . . But the two artists are only related, not identical, for the renderings of the individual forms differ.” “The only other work convincingly attributed so far to the painter of our kylix is a fragment in Athens with a reclining reveler, whose draperies, black anatomical markings, and castanets connect him with the figures on our vase” (Figure 23).¹¹⁵ There is, however, one interesting comparison with Skythes that does not seem to have been noticed. This is the border of the himation worn by the old man, which is defined by a double line accompanied by a row of dots for accent (Figure 2). As far as I know, this is a very rare border, but I have found one parallel; it occurs on the himation worn by the trainer on a fragmentary cup in the Villa Giulia of about 510–500 B.C. signed by Skythes (Figure 25).¹¹⁶

More recently, there have been two other suggested attributions to the Hegesiboulos Painter. Beth Cohen wondered if the figures on Side B of the neck of the Arezzo volute-krater by Euphronios “might be early work of the Hegesiboulos Painter.”¹¹⁷ Comparison of the figures on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 with those on the neck of the volute-krater shows that the drawing on both vases is somewhat unrefined with the heads a little large for their bodies, but there, I think, the similarities cease. The figures on the volute-krater are variations on a type; they are not as individualized as those on our cup.

The Palermo mug mentioned above offers better parallels. It depicts three youths, each dressed in a himation and holding a money bag. The left one moves to left, looking back and carrying a knotted stick. The other two face one another, each with a similar stick. In addition, the right youth wears a wreath. His profile deviates from the Greek norm, and Wehgartner noted that his mouth is open and his teeth show (Figure 22).¹¹⁸ She also remarked on the use of relief line instead of dilute glaze for the anatomy of the figures and observed several similarities in the drawing on the mug with that of the old man on our cup, in particular the large head with emphasis on the back of it, the prominent nose and fleshy lips, the treatment of the muscles of the torso, the drawing of the arms, and the use of relief line for the interior drawing. The youth’s large eye is another comparison with the old man (Figures 3, 22). On the other hand, Wehgartner noticed differences, such as the rendering of the elbows, ears, and drapery folds. She attributed the mug to the Hegesiboulos Painter, though with some reservation.¹¹⁹ Wehgartner not only provided specific criteria for attributing the mug and the cup to the same artist, but also thought the drawing on our cup shows some influence of the Pioneers, especially the painter’s attention to detail and his use of relief line. While I acknowledge Wehgartner’s caution in opting for a firm attribution, I believe the Hegesiboulos Painter decorated the Palermo mug. Wehgartner was quite certain, however, that the fragment from the Athenian Akropolis was not by him.¹²⁰ I disagree with this conclusion.

The Akropolis fragment is difficult to read because so little is preserved (Figures 23, 24). A man reclines to right, leaning against a pillow (the plain area with yellowish wash next to his right shoulder and upper arm). In his right hand he holds a krotalon and presumably held one in his left as well. The ends of a taenia appear to the right and left of the krotalon just below the break, and the vertical folds of his drapery indicate the cloak was suspended over his outstretched left arm. The man’s chest is hairy and his torso bare; at the right break is the start of each thigh. On the far left is part of something that looks like a carelessly folded garment (a cloak?) placed on the ground (Figure 23). It might also be an empty wineskin, and if so, it would recall the full one partly preserved behind the singing komast on our cup



25. Detail of Side B of an Attic red-figure cup signed by Skythes showing a trainer, ca. 510–500 B.C. H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Villa Giulia, Rome (27402). Photograph: Bothmer Archive

(Figure 7). As Langlotz observed, there is no mattress on Akropolis 538, just as on MMA 07.286.47 (Figure 5); the absence of a kline is probably due to lack of vertical space (a cup-skyphos is a shallow vessel; see note 114). Like our komasts, the man wears a cloak, not a himation as one would expect, and it is unusual for a man to play krotala, for more often women use them. As we have seen, two of our komasts play krotala (Figure 7).¹²¹ On both our cup and the fragment, the relief line is rather bold and heavy compared with its use by contemporary painters, where there is a better balance between thick glaze and dilute. Three lines define the border of the cloak similar to those of the symposiast (Figure 5) and the krotala players (Figure 7). For the thin, elongated arm of the Akropolis symposiast, compare the left arm of the seated woman at the far left in Figure 5. In other words, iconographic and stylistic details deviate from the Athenian norm for this subject, and this was the reason Langlotz concluded that the artist of Akropolis 538 was not an Athenian. That Hegesiboulos is not an Athenian name, but one known from Clazomenae, might mean that he favored working with a painter who came from Ionia and preferred non-Athenian conventions.¹²² Furthermore, our cup and the Palermo mug are small vases; the size of the Akropolis fragment (preserved height 2.2 cm) in relation to what remains of the figures indicates that it too was a small vase. I believe the three vases are by the Hegesiboulos Painter.



26. Detail of the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to a painter of the Proto-Panaetian Group showing the head of a man in a scene of lovemaking, ca. 510–500 B.C. Diam. 9 in. (22.7 cm). British Museum, London (1865.11-18.46, ex E 816). Photograph: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



27. Detail of the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos, showing the head of a man propositioning a woman, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. 13¼ in. (33.6 cm). British Museum, London (1836.2-24.25, ex E 44). Photograph: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE HEGESIBOULOS PAINTER AND SOME OTHERS

For youths or men, not women, playing krotala, see examples by Euphronios, Phintias, Euthymides, and the Ambrosios Painter; see also Euphronios for the bristles of a boar comparable with the standing ruff of the old man's dog.¹²³ The spirit of our komos compares with the one by the Ambrosios Painter on his cup in Munich (Figure 20) and finds even better company with the komos on the kantharos in Saint Petersburg by the Nikosthenes Painter (Figure 21). The first authors to publish MMA 07.286.47 considered Skythes to be its painter, but subsequent scholars disagreed with this attribution and so do I, even though the border of the old man's himation offers a striking stylistic parallel with that of the trainer on Skythes' cup in the Villa Giulia (Figure 25). All of these comparisons, with the exception of the last, are iconographical, but each artist is contemporary with the Hegesiboulos Painter, and, together with many others, they form the creative environment of the potters' quarter in Athens during the late sixth century B.C. and the opening years of the fifth.

In 1936, Richter noted how lively and individualized the figures are on MMA 07.286.47, almost as if they were "sketched from life,"¹²⁴ and this remark brings me to the Proto-Panaetian Group of painters, artists active in the



28. Tondo of an Attic red-figured cup attributed to Onesimos, showing a trainer with a tablet and stylus, ca. 500–490 B.C. Diam. 9½ in. (24 cm). Lost, formerly Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (3139). Photograph: Verena Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien in der spätarchaischen und klassischen Vasenmalerei," in *Die griechische Vase*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock 7/8 (Rostock, 1967), pl. 130, fig. 4

Athenian Kerameikos in the late sixth century and the early fifth. Williams did not go into detail when he suggested linking the Hegesiboulos Painter, the workshop of Euphronios and Kachrylion, and the Proto-Panaetian Group. The idea that the painter who worked for Hegesiboulos saw what was being created in the workshop of Euphronios and Kachrylion, especially the cups decorated by an anonymous group of painters assembled by Beazley under the title "Proto-Panaetian," is an attractive one. Their vases are closely related to the early work of Onesimos, the famous and prolific vase painter who collaborated with Euphronios when he ceased painting and turned to potting.¹²⁵

In *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (1942), Beazley distinguished a Proto-Panaetian Group, the Panaitios Painter, and Onesimos. The kalos name, Panaitios, gives the group and the painter their names. Earlier, Furtwängler suggested that the cups bearing the kalos name were the early work of Onesimos, and he was the first to see that the Euphronios *egrapsen* vases were not by the same artist as those signed *epoiesen*. In *ARV*² (1963), Beazley accepted Furtwängler's attribution of the Panaitios kalos cups as the early work of Onesimos, but he retained a Proto-Panaetian Group, admitting that the cups "differ a good deal among themselves, and it is hard to arrange them, as one might have expected to do, in a chronological sequence. If they are all his [the Panaitios Painter], he oscillated considerably before settling down. This is conceivable in an adventurous young man; but one cannot assume it. The question remains difficult, and the expression 'the Proto-Panaetian Group' had better be retained."¹²⁶ Beazley cautiously divided the Proto-Panaetian Painters into two groups: "in the first, the cups that seem specially akin to early Onesimos ('Panaitios Painter'); in the second, various cups that seem somewhat less near him: but the division is perhaps rather arbitrary."¹²⁷ In this somewhat eclectic group of painters, there are scarcely a dozen vases, all cups, but among them are a few with figures that are quite individualized, and they bear comparison with those on MMA 07.286.47.¹²⁸ All may be dated about 500 B.C.

Some of the cups in the Proto-Panaetian circle and early works by Onesimos depict figures with individualized facial features such as we see on MMA 07.286.47 (Figure 3) and on Palermo 2139 (Figure 22) by the Hegesiboulos Painter. For instance, the lover in the tondo of London, BM 1865.11-

18.46, ex E 816, by a Proto-Panaetian Painter, has a pointed nose, wrinkles on his forehead, and a short scruffy beard (Figure 26).¹²⁹ In the tondo of Louvre G 25, a man vomits. He has a slightly receding hairline, a prominent nose, a thin mustache and beard, an open mouth, and a distinct paunch. A sad-looking hunting dog accompanies him.¹³⁰ The aulos player leaning against a full wineskin in the tondo of Boston, MFA 01.8018 prompted Beazley to remark that "the meagre beard and moustache are touches of naturalism like the thinning of the hair at the temples, the projection of the Adam's apple, the unlovely forehead and nose, the wild eye and farouche look." A man with a non-Greek profile and an extremely long beard reclines against a colorful pillow on one side of Munich 2636; in his outstretched right hand he holds a large vessel.¹³¹ Memorable is the man propositioning a woman on Onesimos's famous early cup in London signed by Euphronios as potter (Figure 27).¹³² He has a deeply receding hairline, a lined forehead, a nose with a very irregular contour, and a short, fringed beard. In the tondo of Berlin 3139, also an early work, Onesimos painted a trainer with a stylus and tablet; he is balding and has an irregular profile as well as a somewhat shaggy beard (Figure 28).¹³³

Attic red-figured vase painters working during these immensely creative years around 500 B.C. produced some of the most remarkable images that have come down to us. Many of these artists were quite prolific; others, like the Hegesiboulos Painter, less so. To judge from MMA 07.286.47, Palermo 2139, and Akropolis 538, he seems to have been most comfortable decorating small shapes associated with drinking. His drawing is rather bold, if at times a bit unrefined, but his figures have distinct personalities, the youth on Palermo 2139 being a good example. His lively symposiasts and komasts on MMA 07.286.47 suggest he had a keen sense of humor and the ability to spoof some of his contemporaries. The Hegesiboulos Painter's figures are not repetitious types, but instead look as if they have life breathed into them, especially the old man on our cup, who illustrates the painter's perception and awareness of the individual features that characterize the differences between people, especially non-Greeks. The Hegesiboulos Painter is a memorable artist who was very much in harmony with his time, a keen observer of the world around him, and possessed of a talent that allowed him to record some of what he saw in daily life.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV

John D. Beazley. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

Addenda²

Thomas H. Carpenter, comp., with Thomas Mannack and Melanie Mendonça. *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.

ARV²

John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1963.

Beazley, VA

John D. Beazley. *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*. Cambridge, Mass., 1918.

Boardman, "Booners"

John Boardman. "Booners: Part 2, The Boon Companions." In *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 3, edited by Jiří Frel and Marion True, pp. 47–70. Occasional Papers on Antiquities 2. Malibu, 1986.

Boardman, *History*

John Boardman. *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures*. London, 2001.

Busuttill, "Maltese Dog"

J. Busuttill. "The Maltese Dog." *Greece and Rome*, 2nd ser., 16, no. 2 (October 1969), pp. 205–8.

CAH 4

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. 4, *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525–479 B.C.* 2nd ed. Edited by John Boardman et al. Cambridge, 1988.

Cohen, *Colors of Clay*

Beth Cohen et al. *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*. Exh. cat., Getty Villa, Malibu. Los Angeles, 2006.

CVA

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Euphronios der Maler

Euphronios der Maler: Eine Ausstellung in der Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem 20.3–26.5.1991. Edited by E. Goemann et al. Milan, 1991.

Euphronios peintre

Euphronios peintre: Actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École du Louvre et le Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines du Musée du Louvre, 10 octobre 1990. Edited by Martine Denoyelle. Paris, 1992.

Furtwängler and Reichhold

Adolf Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold. *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*. 3 vols. Vol. 2, with contributions by Friedrich Hauser. Vol. 3, with contributions by Ernst Buschor, Carl Watzinger, and Robert Zahn. Munich, 1904–32.

Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*

Botho Graef and Ernst Langlotz. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1925–33.

Heidenreich

Robert Heidenreich. "Spaziergänger mit Fuchshund." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1985, pp. 581–86.

Keller, *Tierwelt*

Otto Keller. *Die antike Tierwelt*. Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1909.

Kunst der Schale

Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens. Exh. cat., Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich. Edited by Klaus Vierneisel and Bert Kaeser. Munich, 1990.

LIMC

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Edited by John Boardman et al. 9 vols. in 18 parts. Zürich, 1981–99.

Maas and Snyder

Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder. *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*. New Haven, 1989.

OCD

The Oxford Classical Dictionary. 3rd ed. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford, 2003.

Paralipomena

John D. Beazley. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

Price, "Anacreontic Vases"

Sarah D. Price. "Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990), pp. 132–75.

Richter and Hall

Gisela M. A. Richter, with drawings by Lindsley F. Hall. *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New Haven and London, 1936.

Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten"

Ludwig Schnitzler. "Darstellungen von Vorderasiaten auf griechischen Vasen." *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 108 (1958), pp. 54–65.

Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*

Irma Wehgartner. *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik: Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung*. Mainz, 1983.

NOTES

1. The cup was badly burned in antiquity, perhaps on a funeral pyre, and the coral red was so discolored that for a long time it went unrecognized. In 1955, Sir John Beazley wrote to Dietrich von Bothmer asking if by chance coral red was used on the lip of the cup. This query prompted a reexamination of the cup, which revealed the presence of coral red in the areas described below, and when the cup was refired in the Metropolitan Museum's Conservation Department, the coral red returned to its original metallic red. See Dietrich von Bothmer in Marie Farnsworth and Harriet Wisely, "Fifth Century Intentional Red Glaze," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958), p. 173, appendix.
The basic bibliography for this cup is: *ARV²*, p. 175, —; *Paralipomena*, p. 339; *Addenda²*, p. 184. The important discussions are the following: Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pp. 178–85 and pl. 93, 2; Richter and Hall, pp. 24–26, no. 10 and pls. 9, 10, 179; Schnitzler, "Vorderasiaten," pp. 54–56 and pl. 1, 1; Verena Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien in der spätarchaischen und klassischen Vasenmalerei," in *Die griechische Vase*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock 7/8 (Rostock, 1967), p. 572 and pl. 128, fig. 2; Luca Giuliani and Hans-Georg Severin, *Bildniskunst von der archaischen Zeit bis in die Spätantike*, Sonderdruck aus *150 Jahre Preussische Museen, Bilder vom Menschen in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 57–58, no. 10; Heidenreich, pp. 581–86.
2. For cups, the basic study is Hansjörg Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des strengen Stils* (Bern, 1940); for Type B cups, see pp. 41–110. Our cup does not appear in Bloesch, probably because it is not true to a specific type. See also the brief remarks about Type B cups in Mary B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 30, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), pp. 68–71, and p. 68 n. 8, for others with offset lips. Cohen (*Colors of Clay*, p. 50, fig. 8, caption) calls our cup a Type C, which it cannot be because it lacks the fillet between the stem and foot. For Type C cups, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30, pp. 71–73, with bibliography, especially Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias*, pp. 111–36.
3. Coral red is a special glaze that fires a metallic red and was used as a background for the figures. This technique was often difficult to control, which probably explains why it had a fairly short period of production and why there are not too many examples. For coral red, see the new study by Beth Cohen, "Coral-red Gloss: Potters, Painters and Painter-Potters," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 44–70, including nos. 7–14. For the application of coral red to cups of this period, see *ibid.*, pp. 48–50, especially p. 50, fig. 48, for MMA 07.286.47. Cohen notes (p. 48) that sometimes in the application of this glaze, "the coral-red zone has been applied slightly out of kilter, so that its inner perimeter overlaps the tondo's perimeter" (see Figure 2). For an example on which the glaze of the tondo background is juxtaposed with the coral red surrounding it, see the cup in Basel attributed by Herbert Cahn to Skythes, Antikemuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 458 (*Addenda²*, p. 394, sub Epilykos kalos; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 57, no. 10, fig. 8.1). For the attribution, see Vera Slehoferova, *CVA*, Basel 2 (Schweiz 6) (Bern, 1984), p. 15.
4. Best observed in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50, fig. 8. For coral red covering the entire inside of the stem, see Munich 8704, ex 2620, signed by Kachrylion as potter and by Euphronios as painter (*ARV²*, p. 16, no. 17; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 17; *Addenda²*, p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 41; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 58, fig. 8.2). Cohen (*ibid.*, p. 47) notes that this "embellishment—visible when the cup is drained at a drinking party or hung in storage—... becomes common." For more discussion of coral red, see below.
5. Usually the human profile in Greek art of the archaic and classical periods is defined by a continuous line from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose, interrupted only slightly at the bridge; mouth and chin are nicely proportioned and the whole ensemble is quite neat and tidy. For the Greek profile, see the brief article by Elizabeth A. Moignard, "Grecian Profiles," in *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. N. W. Prag, and A. M. Snodgrass (London, 2000), pp. 198–204, with bibliography.
Deviations from this arrangement occur first in the world of subhumans and monsters, in particular gorgons and satyrs, also centaurs, except for Chiron, the teacher of Achilles and other heroes. For gorgons, see *LIMC*, vol. 4, pp. 285–330, s.v. "Gorgo, Gorgones" (Ingrid Krauskopf); "literary sources" (Stefan-Christian Dahlinger). For satyrs, see *LIMC*, vol. 8, pp. 1108–13, s.v. "Silenoi" (Erika Simon). For centaurs, see *LIMC*, vol. 8, pp. 671–721, s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides" (Thomas Senglin et al.). For Chiron, see *LIMC*, vol. 3, pp. 237–48, s.v. "Cheiron" (Madeleine Gislert-Huwiler). For the general categories of unusual facial features in the human world, see Wulf Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 38, 246 n. 155, with bibliography.
6. Compare the painted bristles of the boar used as a shield device for Geryon on Munich 8704, ex 2620, by Euphronios (see note 4 above). There the bristles seem to be drawn in coral red, a most unusual use of this technique, as emphasized in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 49, and fig. 6 for a good detail in color.
7. See Beth Cohen, "Bubbles = Baubles, Bangles and Beads: Added Clay in Athenian Vase Painting and Its Significance," in *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference Sponsored by the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23–24 March 2002*, ed. Clemente Marconi (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 60–61, n. 23: "Here [MMA 07.286.47] in the exotic symposium on its exterior added-clay relief detailed with incision, which was probably originally gilt, is employed, for example, on the tortoise-shell sound box of a lyre and the hair of the jug-bearing youth." For decorative gilding on clay, see Susan Lansing-Maisch, "Technical Studies of Some Attic Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 11–15. See also the remarks by Cohen in her catalogue entry to the covered cup in Boston, MFA 00.356, in *Colors of Clay*, pp. 125–27. She suggested to me orally that metalsmiths might have applied the gold leaf.
8. Best seen in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pl. 93, 2. The stick of the first barbiton player appears next to the arm of his instrument and the folds of his himation; that of the second barbiton player between the folds of his himation; the last figure, on the far right, carries his in his left hand. Richter and Hall (p. 25) call these "knotted sticks."
9. For a good illustration (actually a drawing), see the one in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pl. 93, 2.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80: "ein lakonischer Fuchshund, eine ἀλωπεκίς sein kann," and "leider ist der Schwanz verdeckt." For descriptions of a fox dog by Aristophanes and Xenophon, see below. Our dog bears no resemblance to a fox dog.
11. Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (New York: MMA, 1917), p. 105; Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*: (New York: MMA, 1927), p. 124; Beazley, *VA*, p. 22.
12. Richter and Hall, pp. 24–25. For Phoenicians on Malta from the late eighth century on, see the brief discussion by Glenn Markoe,

- The Phoenicians* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000), pp. 179–80; also *OCD*, p. 954, s.v. “Melita” (Edward Togo Salmon, John Boardman, and T. W. Potter). For the breed of dog and its origin on Malta, see the discussion below.
13. Bessie E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks: The Greek Portrayal of Old Age in Literature, Art, and Inscriptions with a Study of the Duration of Life among the Ancient Greeks on the Basis of Inscriptional Evidence* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 108.
 14. Gisela M. A. Richter, “Greeks in Persia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1946), pp. 15–30. I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for alerting me to this article and to the relief fragment (see note 15 below).
 15. MMA 45.11.17, ex coll. Ernst Herzfeld. In addition to the two human heads, there is the head of a lion. Preserved dimensions 8.26 by 15.24 cm. Bibliography: Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935), pp. 73–74, pl. 10; Richter, “Greeks in Persia” (as in note 14 above), pp. 28, 29, fig. 26; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 63, 299 n. 78, and pl. 45e. See, most recently, John Boardman, *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* (London, 2000), pp. 131–32, fig. 4.3, and p. 240 n. 29, with bibliography. When the fragment came to the Museum, it entered the Greek and Roman collection; in 1953, it was transferred to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. The fragment was originally part of a large relief sculpture of Darius I placed in the west entrance to the area north of his palace at Persepolis. The heads were incised before the polished stone was covered with purple paint, a feature first noticed by Herzfeld, who also said that the fragment came from Persepolis (*Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 73–74).
 16. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 74; Richter, “Greeks in Persia” (as in note 14 above), p. 28. In 2000, Boardman chimed in, with regard to the painting of the surface, that “perhaps a painter would have been more ready to paint over one of his own doodles than a sculptor to deface his own carving” (*Persia and the West*, as in note 15 above, p. 132). I am not sure I would call these heads “doodles.”
 17. Richter, “Greeks in Persia” (as in note 14 above), p. 28.
 18. Hedwig Kenner, *Das Theater und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1954), pp. 14, 15 fig. 1 caption: “Greis mit Schwein.” This identification is probably based on the scene in the tondo of Vienna 3691, a cup by the Epidromos Painter dated about 510 B.C. (*ARV²*, p. 118, no. 8: “I, Hermes leading a dog disguised as a pig to sacrifice”; *Addenda²*, p. 174).
 19. See Wolfgang Binsfeld, “Grylloi: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Karikatur,” Inaugural Dissertation, Cologne, 1956, pp. 11–12: “Der sog. Orientale mit der Hakennase auf der Hegesibulosschale trägt Himation und wieder den Stab. Hier handelt es sich also sicher um einen attischen Bürger, der freilich gut karikiert ist. . . . Alle Nasen, die vom Idealtypus abwichen, waren lächerlich.” I wish to thank Robyn Fleming, Librarian for Interlibrary Loan Services of the Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum, for obtaining a copy of this dissertation for me.
 20. Schnitzler, “Vorderasiaten.”
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 55: “Auf seinem Hals, bei dem der Adamsapfel oder gar ein Kropf hervortritt, sitzt ein gänzlich ungriechischer Kopf, der den Mann, wie man schon längst erkannte, als Orientalen kennzeichnet.”
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58, n. 2, for the name, and pl. 8, fig. 17, for the skull. This is the skull of a child about six years of age. See Henri V. Vallois, “Note sur les ossements humains de la Nécropole énéolithique de Byblos,” *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 1 (1937), p. 26 and pl. 7, lower right, where in the caption the head is described as “déformé”; thus, the comparison may not be apt.
- For the name Hegesiboulos, see Wilhelm Pape with Gustav Eduard Benseler, *Dr. W. Pape’s Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1884), p. 452, s.v. “Ἡγησιβούλος,” the father of Anaxagoras, the last famous philosopher of the Ionian school, who lived in Athens for much of his life after the Persian Wars (see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 1 [Stuttgart, 1894], cols. 2076–77, s.v. “Anaxagoras” [E. Wellmann]; Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* [London, 1965], vol. 1, p. 108). For Hegesiboulos, see also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 7, col. 2608, s.v. “Hegesibulos” (R. Leonard). Furtwängler (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180) thought that the third from the last letter of the name was an Ionic lambda, but Richter (Richter and Hall, p. 25, n. 3) saw that “the lambda has the usual form L not Δ as Furtwängler thought. He must have mistaken a discoloration of the surface for the third stroke. . . . The absence of the initial H in our inscription suggests that the maker of our vase was also an Ionian.”
- Mention should be made here of a second cup signed by Hegesiboulos as potter (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180), Brussels A 891 (*ARV²*, p. 771, no. 2; *Addenda²*, p. 287; most recently, Dyfri Williams, in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 308–9, no. 94). The cup was made by a later potter, perhaps a descendant of our man, who was a member of the Sotades Workshop (Williams in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 296–97).
- For a good facsimile of the two signatures, see Joseph C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), vol. 2, pp. 9, 10. Boardman (*History*, p. 144) deals briefly with foreign potters and painters in Athens: “Ionia was probably an important source to judge from the various features of painting, shapes and technique introduced in the mid-sixth century and later.”
23. Zinserling, “Physiognomische Studien” (as in note 1 above), p. 572: “in dem gebrechlich vorwärtstastenden den Alten, dessen struppiges Haar zu dem borstigen Fell seines Begleiters wohl paßt, aber in seltsamem Gegensatz zu dem uppig schmiegsamen Mantel steht, erkannt man einen Orientalen.” In 1980, without citing Zinserling, Giuliani (in Giuliani and Severin, *Bildniskunst* [as in note 1 above], p. 57), drew the same conclusion (see note 25 below).
 24. John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period, a Handbook* (London, 1975), p. 62. Metzler, in his study of the origins of portraiture described the old man, noting his highly individualized features (“höchst individuellen Gesichtes”) and simply called him a portrait of a barbarian (“Dessen Fremdheit ist der Anlaß gewesen, in ihm das Bild eines Barbaren zu sehen,” with reference to Schnitzler, “Vorderasiaten,” pp. 54ff.); Dieter Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft: Über die Entstehung des griechischen Porträts in der Klassik* (Münster, 1971), p. 84.
 25. Luca Giuliani in Giuliani and Severin, *Bildniskunst* (as in note 1 above), pp. 57–58: “Ähnlich humoristisch ist offenbar auch das Innenbild zu verstehen: Herr und Hund. Komisch sind bei dem Alten die eigenartig disproportionierte Gestalt mit den riesigen Füßen, der seltsam geformte Schädel und die scharfen Gesichtszüge. Mit kleinen Schritten kommt er einher und mit gesenktem Kopf. Die ganze Haltung und das struppige Haar finden beim Hund eine auffällige und in ihrer karikierenden Wirkung wohl auch beabsichtigte Entsprechung. Das Bild ist so lebendig, daß man darin gern die überspitzte Charakterisierung eines stadt-

- bekannten Sonderlings erblicken und nach Namen und Identität des Dargestellten fragen möchte: Jedenfalls scheint die Frage hier näher zu liegen als im Fall der Smikros-Bilder. . . . Der Spaziergänger mit Hund gehört demgegenüber auf eine ganz andere Ebene; geschildert wird nicht ein bestimmtes, für den damaligen Betrachter erkennbares und identifizierbares Individuum, sondern ein allgemeiner komischer Typus." Martin Robertson also thought that "the old man taking his dog for a walk . . . really does look like an intended caricature." He then compares him with the man on the Akropolis disk (Figure 10). See Martin Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 38; for the disk, see note 31 below.
26. Heidenreich, pp. 582–85.
 27. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 50, 296, fig. 3.
 28. Ernst Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Individualität* (Munich, 1927), p. 18: "Nichts ist leichter, als ein unregelmäßiges und daher individuell wirkendes Profil zu zeichnen oder auch plastisch zu bilden."
 29. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. "caricature, n."; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910–11), vol. 5, p. 331, s.v. "caricature" (Marion H. Spielmann).
 30. See notes 19 and 25 above.
 31. Akropolis 1073 (Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, pl. 83). Langlotz (*ibid.*, p. 97) suggested this fragment is probably by the Hegesiboulos Painter, which does not seem likely to me. See also Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* (as in note 24 above), p. 87 and fig. 3, who discussed this fragment and called the figure a caricature but remarked that his "Schädelform verbindet ihn mit dem Manne der Hegesiboulos-Schale," but he stopped short of calling our old man a caricature. For the Akropolis disk and other examples, see Zinserling, "Physiognomische Studien" (as in note 1 above), pl. 128, figs. 3–5. One of these may be dated about 500 B.C.: Boston, MFA 10.216, compared by Beazley with the Thaliarchos Painter (ARV², p. 81, —). This seems to show a similar figure; the more offensive section is not preserved.
 32. Euthymides: Munich 2307 (ARV², p. 26, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 155; for the shorn hair to indicate old age, see Heide Mommsen, *Exekias*, vol. 1, *Die Grabtafeln*, Kerameus 11 [Mainz, 1997], p. 31 and n. 269).
 33. The Brygos Painter: Louvre G 152 (ARV², p. 369, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 224).
 34. For long straight hair, if uncombed looking, see Antaios on Louvre G 103 by Euphronios (ARV², p. 14, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 3). For wavy hair, see these two figures by Euphronios: Syko on Munich 8935 (ARV², p. 1619, 3 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 3 bis; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 5; here Figure 18) and the youthful discus thrower on Louvre Cp 11071 (ARV², p. 15, no. 10; *Addenda*², p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 22).
 35. Furrows on the foreheads of mortals are rather rare, but an early well-known mythological example occurs on Nereus in the procession of deities at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase by Kleitias (ABV, p. 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 29, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 21; for a good 1:1 drawing, see Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 1, pl. 1; Mauro Cristofani et al., *Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François*, Bollettino d'arte, serie speciale 1 [Rome, 1981], fig. 77; LIMC, vol. 6, p. 832, no. 95, s.v. "Nereus" [Maria Pipili]). Usually Nereus is human only from the waist up, the rest of him transformed into a fish's tail with fins. For similar furrows, see also Priam in the Ambush of Troilos (Cristofani et al., *Materiali*, fig. 87). Eyelashes seem to occur for the first time on the slain figure of Priam on Louvre F 29, the amphora signed by Lydos that shows the Iliupersis (ABV, p. 109, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 44, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 30). Priam's eye is closed, and his face and eyelid are in accessory red, the latter fringed with incised lashes. This detail is not visible in the published illustrations known to me; I observed it in Bothmer's color photograph. A "light" eye (blue or green?) combined with thick lashes appears first in the work of the Pioneers Euphronios and Phintias. For a good example, see Herakles, Athena, and Kyknos on the calyx-krater signed by Euphronios in the Levy-White Collection, once on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, L.1999.36.1 (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 6, esp. photographs pp. 107, 111). On a small fragment of a calyx-krater, Basel, Cahn H.C. 498, Euphronios painted this type of eye on a youth, which may be the earliest preserved example for a mortal (*Euphronios der Maler*, no. 10).
 36. Metics were foreigners (and free persons) who were allowed to live in the host country for a short time or even permanently, and in Athens, "metic-status probably owes its formal origins to [the reform of] *Cleisthenes (2) [in the last decade of the 6th century B.C.] after whom the presence of metics was recognized in law and could develop in its details at both city and local (*deme) level" (OCD, p. 969). For metics, see OCD, p. 969, s.v. "metics" (David Whitehead), with bibliography, especially Whitehead, "Immigrant Communities in the Classical Polis: Some Principles for a Synoptic Treatment," *L'antiquité classique* 53 (1984), pp. 47–59; also Robert Garland, *Daily Life of the Ancient Greeks* (Westport, Conn., 1998), pp. 74–75. For the reform of Cleisthenes, see OCD, p. 344, s.v. "Cleisthenes (2)" (Theodore J. Cadeux and P. J. Rhodes), with bibliography; also Martin Ostwald, "The Reform of the Athenian State by Cleisthenes," *CAH* 4, chap. 5, pp. 303–46. Schnitzler ("Vorderasiaten," p. 58) raised the possibility that the old man might be a metic or even a slave.
 37. In general appearance, he brings to mind the later philosopher portrait type, an old or elderly man, dressed in a himation and sometimes sandals, who often leans on a stick. Compare, for example, the philosopher from the west wall of Room H of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (for a good color photograph, see Bernard Andreae, "Rekonstruktion des grossen Oecus der Villa des P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale," in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und des anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79. n. Chr. verschütteten Städten*, ed. Bernard Andreae and Helmut Kyrieleis [Recklinghausen (Bongers), 1975], fig. 70). He has a slightly receding hairline, deep-set eyes, and a prominent nose and wears a himation and sandals. He leans on a knobby stick so that his left hand displays a prominent signet ring. He does not correspond to a known portrait type, thus his identity has never been established. See the brief remarks by Roland R. R. Smith, "Spear-Won Land at Boscoreale: On the Royal Paintings of a Roman Villa," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), p. 112, with bibliography.
 38. Basic bibliography: Otto Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 8 (1905), pp. 242–69; Keller, *Tierwelt*, pp. 91–151; Denison B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1964), passim, esp. pp. 29–38 for Greek breeds; Maria Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden auf griechischen Grabreliefs: Von der Archaik bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, *Antiquates* 12 (Hamburg, 1997).
 39. For a particularly handsome hunting dog, see the one on Boston, MFA 13.198, by the Pan Painter that dates about 470–460 B.C., somewhat later than the Hegesiboulos Painter's cup (ARV², p. 557, no. 113; *Paralipomena*, p. 387, no. 113; *Addenda*², p. 259).
 40. It is not mangy, pace Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50. Mange is a skin disease caused by mites. Its symptoms are inflammation to the

- skin, itching, and hair loss. See the *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 7, p. 772, s.v. “mange.”
41. Richter and Hall, p. 25, and note 12 above. The most detailed discussion of the breed is Busuttill, “Maltese Dog.” More briefly, Keller, “Hunderassen im Altertum” (as in note 38 above), pp. 243–46; Keller, *Tierwelt*, pp. 93–94; Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden* (as in note 38 above), pp. 71–72, 115–17, and pls. 13–17. Hull (*Hounds and Hunting* [as in note 38 above], p. 35), whose interest was hunting dogs, is quite dismissive: “One [breed] we can disregard, the little Melitaeian table-dog, was never used for hunting anything at any time.” The modern Greek word for Maltese is Μάλτεζος.
 42. Leopold Schmidt, *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologia*, n.s., 9 (1852), pp. 345–48, pl. T, below. There, the inscription was misread μη αἰτεῖν, meaning that the youth tells the man on the other side that he should not beg (see Paul Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* [Gütersloh, 1894], pp. 88–89, no. 60, p. 88 n. 4). A hunting hound sits before that man. Today, the whereabouts of this amphora are unknown; the *Annali* reference does not appear in Beazley’s ARV².
 43. Busuttill, “Maltese Dog,” passim.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 205, n. 7, reference to *Aesopica*, with a commentary and historical essay by Ben Edwin Perry (Urbana, Ill., 1952), p. 349, no. 73.
 45. Aristotle *History of Animals* 8(9).612b, ed. and trans. D. M. Balme, Loeb Classical Library, Aristotle vol. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 251. Strabo *Geography* 6.2.11, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1961), p. 103.
 46. Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 13.42, ed. and trans. N. G. Wilson, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 447. Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 12.518–19, trans. Charles Burton Gulik, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 5 (London and New York, 1933), p. 337.
 47. Athens, Ephoreia Γ A 5040. See Eleutheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti, “Ερυθρόμορφη κύλικα από την ὁδὸ Λέκκα,” Στήλη. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος (Athens, 1980), pp. 321–27, pls. 146–47. See also note 106 below. Compare the charming Maltese dog running beside a youth in the tondo of a cup by Makron, Munich 2674 (ARV², p. 479, no. 326; *Addenda*², p. 247; Norbert Kunisch, *Makron*, Kerameus 10 [Mainz, 1997], p. 186, no. 244, pl. 81).
 48. Agora P 10359. The finds from this excavation are stored in the Agora, even though the graves are located outside the Agora grid. For the graves, see Cedric Boulter, “Graves in Lenormant Street, Athens,” *Hesperia* 32 (1963), pp. 113–37, and p. 129, no. 1, for this cup; also, Eugene Vanderpool, “The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft,” *Hesperia* 15 (1946), pl. 38, *sub* no. 52. See also note 106 below.
 49. The whereabouts of this cup are unknown, and it is not in Beazley. See Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 93, who follows Roulez that the dogs are about to fight, and fig. 35; Joseph Roulez, *Choix de vases peints du Musée d’Antiquités de Leyde* (Ghent, 1854), p. 70, n. 13: “les deux épagneuls que font combattre...”
 50. Berkeley 8.921 (ARV², p. 377, no. 96). Brussels R 350 (ARV², p. 377, no. 99). Cabinet des Médailles 585 (ARV², p. 372, no. 28; *Addenda*², p. 225). For others by the Brygos Painter, see note 51 below: the Astarita Collection.
 51. Agora P 20090. See Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), p. 246, no. 735, pl. 77. The Maltese dog is often associated with children, especially on the small choes connected with the Anthesteria, the oldest festival honoring Dionysos, which took place in the spring. On the second day of the festival, small children were given presents, including choes. See *ibid.*, p. 41 and nn. 17, 18. For depictions of Maltese dogs on these small vessels, see Gerard van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951), passim, especially p. 47 for the breed and the contexts in which it appears on these vessels. Add: Athens, Kerameikos A 15272, a chous attributed to a painter from the Group of Athens 12144 and dating ca. 430–420 (*Athens—Sparta*, ed. Nikolaos Kaltsas [New York, 2006], p. 275, no. 162), where the dog participates in a children’s ball game; Yale, University Art Gallery 1993.46.25 (CVA, Yale 1 [USA 38]). See the brief remarks about the breed by Hilde Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst: Von minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 166–68; Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen: Bilder auf klassischen Vasen* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 142, 166. Sometimes the dog just sits or stands quietly like the dog on our cup. Here are some examples. The dog sits: three cup fragments by Onesimos—Heidelberg 54 (ARV², p. 328, no. 116); Athens, Akropolis 205, where the dog may be lying down (ARV², p. 329, no. 133); and Bryn Mawr P-935, P-931, P-246, P-986 (ARV², p. 324, nos. 71, 72; *Addenda*², pp. 215–16). The dog stands quietly: a stamnos by the Berlin Painter in a British private collection (ARV², p. 207, no. 143; *Addenda*², p. 194); a cup in Boston, MFA 10.193, decorated by a painter somewhat akin to Douris (ARV², p. 1567, no. 12); a hydria by the Triptolemos Painter in Berlin 2178 (ARV², p. 362, no. 24). The Maltese dog accompanying two youthful wrestlers on a red-figured aryballos that may be by Douris looks up at a strigil, sponge, and aryballos hanging on the wall so that one sees the underside of its muzzle. As far as I know this is a unique representation. The vase was found in the excavation of Tomb 1099 during construction of the new subway in Athens; see *Athens, the City beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations* (New York, 2001), p. 309, no. 311 (Effie Baziotopoulou-Valavani). A very playful Maltese dog jumps up against a boy with a go-cart on a fourth-century B.C. Attic gravestone inscribed Philokrates. It is now in Palermo N.I. 1545. See Zlotogorska, *Darstellungen von Hunden* (as in note 38 above), p. 157, no. 89, pl. 14. Skythes used one of these dogs as a shield device in a scene that depicts a footrace in armor: Louvre G 76 (ARV², p. 84, no. 16; *Addenda*², p. 170); so did the Dokimasia Painter in a composition in which a warrior stands before a flaming altar: Saint Petersburg B. 1539 (ARV², p. 413, no. 19; CVA, Saint Petersburg 5 [Russia 12], pl. 36 [575], 1). Add the peculiar cup in Vienna (3691) by the Epidromos Painter that shows in its tondo Hermes leading a dog disguised as a pig (see note 18 above). I have not seen the examples in the Astarita Collection by the Brygos Painter, Naples, Astarita 3 (ARV², p. 375, no. 63), and Naples, Astarita 274 (ARV², p. 375, no. 67).
 52. See the remarks by Hull along this line (*Hounds and Hunting* [as in note 38 above], pp. 31–32): “Paintings are helpful in judging the size of hounds, because we can at least see hounds together with human beings; and yet even vase paintings are not reliable gauges, because artists frequently alter the scale of the figure for artistic purposes or in order to cram several figures into a small space.”
 53. Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 179: “Schon die Figuren dieser Aussenseiten zeigen Köpfe von merkwürdig individuellem Gepräge.”
 54. Richter and Hall, p. 25.
 55. Schnitzler, “Vorderasiaten,” p. 55: “Während auf seiner Außenseite ein konventionelles Thema (Abb 2.), Zecher und Hetären, das Feld beherrschen...”
 56. Heidenreich, p. 584.
 57. See ARV², pp. 2–481, passim.
 58. Munich 8935 (see note 34 above; Berthild Gossel-Raack, “Das Symposion—ein Beispiel,” in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 216–21).
 59. For the interpretation of this inscription, see Emily Vermeule, “Fragments of a Symposion by Euphronios,” *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965),

- pp. 38–39, with bibliography. Vermeule (*ibid.*, p. 35) thought Smikros was blocking one pipe of the flute to stifle the music so the singer in back of him could be heard more clearly: “Smikros . . . is trying to hush the noise of the flute-girl by stopping the end of her lower pipe with one hand.” This is unlikely, because the very end of the pipe overlaps the fleshy part of Smikros’s hand. If he were truly blocking the sound of the pipe, his hand would be in profile. See also Dieter Ohly, who does not think Smikros blocks the sound of the instrument; Ohly, “Berichte der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen: Neuerwerbungen,” *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 22 (1971), p. 229: “Smikros . . . mit freudiger Geste sich der musizierenden Hetäre zuwendet”; and p. 235, n. 13: “Der Vermutung, daß Smikros mit der Rechten das eine Rohr der Flöte zum Gaudium zuhält, kann ich mich nicht anschließen.”
60. Boardman (*History*, p. 251) remarks: “from depictions it seems that the craters were normally kept in a vestibule adjacent to the symposium room (*andron*—‘men’s room’) or a courtyard.” This, as well as the space available, would explain this division on the Munich krater and on the Brussels stamnos (see note 61 below).
61. Brussels A 717 (*ARV*², p. 20, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 154); for all of Side B, see Vermeule, “Fragments of a Symposium” (as in note 59 above), pl. 14, 2.
62. See Ezio Pellizer, “Outlines of a Morphology of Sympotic Entertainment,” in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford, 1994), pp. 177–84. See also Berthild Gossel-Raeck, “Bilder vom Symposium,” in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 222–27; and Friedrich W. Hamdorf, “Musik und Symposium,” in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 238–46.
63. See note 54 above.
64. See below, “Are the Three Scenes Related?”
65. For boys and youths as wine-pourers at banquets, see Jan Bremmer, “Adolescents, *Symposion*, and Pederasty,” in *Sympotica* (as in note 62 above), pp. 137–40.
66. For scenes of komasts or symposiasts vomiting, which occur almost exclusively on late archaic red-figured drinking cups, see Mary B. Moore, *CVA, Malibu 8 (USA 33)* (Malibu, 1998), pp. 28–29, with bibliography. A good example with a reclining symposiast occurs in the tondo of a cup in Copenhagen once attributed to the Brygos Painter, but now tentatively given to the Dokimasia Painter: Copenhagen, National Museum 3880 (*ARV*², p. 373, no. 36; *Paralipomena*, p. 366, no. 36; *Addenda*², p. 225; *Paralipomena*, p. 372, no. 11 *ter*). There, the symposiast’s head is frontal. For a scene with a girl, see Vatican, no no., by Douris (*ARV*², p. 427, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 374, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 235; Diana Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vases*, Kerameus 9 [Mainz, 1995], pp. 72–73, no. 8, pl. 5). On a cup by Makron in the Metropolitan Museum, 20.246, the girl averts her head (*ARV*², p. 467, no. 118; *Paralipomena*, p. 378, no. 118; *Addenda*², p. 245; Kunisch, *Makron* [as in note 47 above], p. 201, no. 377, pl. 130). The head of the symposiast is missing, but the action is clear; see Richter and Hall, p. 76 and pl. 53, far right. When there is no symposium furniture present, the scene is probably out-of-doors. A good example occurs in the tondo of a cup in Malibu, 86.AE.283, by Onesimos (*Paralipomena*, p. 360, no. 74 *ter*; *CVA, Malibu 8 [USA 33]*, pl. 413 [1690], 1). Another is the boy comforted by a girl in the tondo of the Brygos Painter’s cup in Würzburg, 479 (*ARV*², p. 372, no. 32; *Paralipomena*, p. 366, no. 32; *Addenda*², p. 225). In the komos on one side of this cup, the third reveler from the left and the one on the far right also vomit.
67. Beazley, *VA*, p. 22.
68. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 49, 50.
69. For inscriptions on vases that seem to spoof artists, in particular Smikros, see Dyfri Williams, “Euphronios’ Contemporary Companions and Followers,” in *Euphronios peintre*, pp. 91–92, with reference to Louvre G 110 by Euphronios (*ARV*², p. 14, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 3; *Addenda*², p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 2). See Martine Denoyelle in *Euphronios der Maler*, p. 76, for the playful inscription on Side B of this krater: ΕΥΦΡΟΝ[ΙΟΣ] ΕΓΡ[Α]ΦΣΕΝ[Ι]ΤΑΔΕ (Euphronios painted these things!), and Denoyelle, “Autour du cratère en calice Louvre G 110 signé par Euphronios,” in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 57: the inscription designates “soit l’ensemble de la scène, soit plus précisément une ou plusieurs des audacieuses études anatomiques qui la composent. Il est étonnant de le trouver sur un vase, et dans un type d’inscription, une signature, offrant habituellement la formule ‘un tel egraphsen,’ sans aucun complément.” See also the famous boast by Euthymides on Munich 2307: ΗΟΣΟΥΔΕΠΟΤΕΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ (as never Euphronios!), probably referring to the komast drawn in three-quarter view from the back (*ARV*², p. 26, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 155). “Euthymides was a friend of Phintias and I dare say of Euphronios, for I read the inscription on the Munich amphora (no. 1) as a gay challenge to a comrade, not (with Pottier, Perrot, and others) as a cry of senile jealousy” (*ARV*², p. 26). For more recent readings, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), pp. 86–87, n. 12.
70. Munich 2614 (*ARV*², p. 173, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 338, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 184; *Kunst der Schale*, p. 301, fig. 49.7a–b).
71. Saint Petersburg 3386 (*ARV*², p. 127, no. 29; Anna K. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye atticheskie vazy* [Saint Petersburg, 1967], pl. 9, 2; *Addenda*², p. 176).
72. But for its raised head, the dog is reminiscent of the defecating dog beneath each handle of the Amasis Painter’s cup in Boston, MFA 10.651 (*ABV*, p. 157, no. 86; *Paralipomena*, p. 65, no. 86; *Addenda*², p. 46). For a good photograph, see *CVA, Boston 2 (USA 19)*, pl. 101 (935), 3–4, especially the latter. Compare also the squatting dog behind a maenad on Louvre G 68, a cup near in style to the Thalia Painter (*ARV*², p. 113, —). I know this detail from Bothmer’s photograph. This dog is also beneath one handle.
73. The most concise discussion is by Boardman, “Booners,” pp. 50–56. For its origins in the east as a man’s headdress, see p. 51 and p. 50, n. 86, with bibliography. Variations of its appearance in both the Near East and Greece are illustrated in line drawings on pp. 66–67, figs. 30, 31. For the turban as an article of female dress and its contexts, see pp. 52–53, n. 99, for examples. For the ancient literary sources and name of this headdress, see pp. 55–56. More briefly: Boardman, “Material Culture,” *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, p. 430, for the turban, slippers, and barbiton. When a man is dressed in a turban and a long chiton, as well as slippers, and holds a barbiton, the subject is called “Anacreontic” after the famous Ionian poet who lived a life of luxury at the court of Polycrates, the Samian tyrant who was murdered in 522 B.C., after which Anakreon accepted the invitation of the Peisistratids to take up residence in Athens (see *ibid.*). Boardman’s focus is on the “Anacreontic” aspects of his “booners.” More recently and in greater length, see Price, “Anacreontic Vases,” pp. 132–75, esp. pp. 139–43, for the costume. Price suggests (p. 172) that many “Anacreontic” scenes with their effeminate-looking participants may have a satiric connotation, specifically that “the appearance of the Ionian lyric poet, as a comic type, on the Getty kyathos and Psiax Plate probably coincides with the fall of the tyranny at Athens in 510. His turban, boots, and long false beard emphasize his foreign origins; his feminine-looking attire completes the picture. At the outset, the dramatic performance in question is likely to have been a satire of a familiar favorite under the unpopular Pisistratid tyranny. Early

- performances may have included more than one version of the literary burlesque with political overtones." (The hydria on Price's pl. 3a, formerly in a Swedish private collection, is now MMA 1988.11.3; see Mary B. Moore, "Hoplites, Horses, and a Comic Chorus," *MMJ* 41 [2006], pp. 33–57). Our komasts are not "Anacreontic" because they are nude but for their cloaks; they do not wear long flowing chitons. See also Nicola Hoesch, "Männer im Luxusgewand," in *Kunst der Schale*, pp. 276–79.
74. Boardman, "Booners," p. 54 and n. 109, for examples, including MMA 07.286.47. Add Saint Petersburg 3386 (Figure 21, and see note 71 above).
75. Boardman, "Booners," p. 61; briefly, Price, "Anacreontic Vases," p. 140.
76. Herodotus *Histories* 1.155 (trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, Herodotus vol. 1 [Cambridge, Mass., 1966], p. 197), where Kroisos says: "Send, I say, and forbid them [the Lydians] to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins [κοθόρνους] on their feet"; and 6.125 (trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, Herodotus vol. 3 [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1982], p. 279), when Alkmaeon, the son of Megakles, visits King Kroisos, who offers him as much gold as he could carry away on his person, Alcmaeon "donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and shod himself with the most spacious buskins [κοθόρνους] that he could find."
77. See Maas and Snyder, pp. 79–112, with bibliography.
78. For the barbiton, see *ibid.*, pp. 113–38. For its Phrygian origin, see *ibid.*, pp. 113, 235 n. 1, esp. Jane M. Snyder, "The *Barbitos* in the Classical Period," *Classical Journal* 67 (1972), pp. 331–40 for the literary sources and the use of the instrument, p. 332 for the Asiatic origin of the word, and pp. 335–36 for the pitch, especially p. 336, where she writes that "the most that can be said is that the *barbitos* probably had a lower range and perhaps a more mellow sound than the standard, short-armed lyre did." Maas and Snyder (pp. 124–28) also give a detailed description of the construction of the barbiton. Not only do the arms curve inward at the top, but "they also curve forward somewhat, with the result that the strings will stand away from the soundbox at a sharper angle than would otherwise be the case" (p. 125). For the arms in profile view, see the barbiton player on Brussels A 3091, a stamnos attributed to the Kleophon Painter (ARV², p. 1144, no. 9; *Paralipomena*, p. 456, no. 9; *Addenda*², p. 334; Maas and Snyder, p. 138, fig. 22). For the barbiton, see also, more briefly, Boardman, "Booners," pp. 62–64.
79. See Price, "Anacreontic Vases," p. 144, especially n. 32, where she notes that "they [krotala] are usually played by women, muses, maenads and courtesans." In her text, she refers to Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 14.636c–d (trans. Charles Burton Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 6 [Cambridge, Mass., 1980], p. 435), who writes: "of these [castanets] Dicaearchus speaks in his *History of Greece*, saying that they were a certain kind of instrument which were once extraordinarily popular for women to dance and sing to, and whenever one rattled them with the fingers they produced a ringing sound." Athenaeus uses the word κρέμβαλα instead of κρόταλα, but the two seem to be interchangeable; see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 993 and 998, respectively, where each is translated as "castanets." Dicaearchus was a pupil of Aristotle and a prolific writer active about 320–300 B.C.; see *OCD*, p. 464, s.v. "Dicaearchus" (C. B. R. Pelling). Herodotus (*Histories* 2.60 [trans. as in note 76 above], vol. 1, p. 347), commenting on a festival of Artemis that took place in Egypt, writes: "some of the women make a noise with rattles [κρόταλα]."
80. Boardman, "Material Culture," *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, pp. 426–30, for a discussion of the artistic and literary ambience in Athens during the last years of tyranny and the first years of democracy down to the Persian invasion. More briefly, Boardman, *Persia and the West* (as in note 15 above), pp. 210–11. The antecedents of foreign luxury goods and dress in Athens are well documented by Margaret C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997), passim, especially part 2, "Perseie," chaps. 6–8.
81. See Oswyn Murray, "The Ionian Revolt," *CAH* 4, chap. 8, p. 484.
82. Boardman, "Material Culture," *CAH* 4, chap. 7c, p. 429; Boardman, *History*, pp. 81–82, 144–45, 150–52.
83. ARV², p. xlvi: "A semicolon between the subjects on a vase implies that they are connected in one way or another; otherwise I put a full stop." Here are a few cups contemporary with the one by the Hegesiboulos Painter that have related subjects both on the inside and on the outside. The Thalia Painter, Berlin 3251 (ARV², p. 113, no. 7; *Addenda*², p. 173): "I, love-making; A–B, love-making." Apollodoros, Louvre G 139–140 (ARV², p. 120, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 175): "I, symposium (youth reclining, playing kottabos); A–B, symposium." Pamphaios, potter, London, BM 1907.10–20.1 (ARV², p. 129, no. 21): "I, warrior running; A–B, warriors running." The Epeleios Painter, Bryn Mawr P 96 (ARV², p. 147, no. 18; *Addenda*², p. 179): "I, youth leaning on a stick; A, man and youths; B, youths." Related to the Epeleios Painter, MMA 41.162.128 (ARV², p. 152, no. 4): "I, discus-thrower; A–B, athletes." The Painter of Berlin 2268, name vase (ARV², p. 153, no. 2; *Addenda*², p. 180): "I, jumper; A–B, athletes." Here are some slightly later, well-known examples. Four by Onesimos—Louvre G 104 and Florence PD 321 (ARV², p. 318, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 358, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 214): "I, Theseus and Amphitrite, with Athena; A–B, deeds of Theseus: A, Skiron, Procrustes; B, Kerkyon, bull"; Boston, MFA 01.8020 (ARV², p. 321, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 215): "I, discus-thrower; A–B, athletes: A, jumpers; B, discus-thrower and jumper"; Louvre G 105 (ARV², p. 324, no. 60; *Paralipomena*, p. 359, no. 60; *Addenda*², p. 215): "I, horse-man; A–B, horsemen"; Boston, MFA 95.27 (ARV², p. 325, no. 76; *Addenda*², p. 216): "I, komos; A–B, komos." Five by the Brygos Painter—Louvre G 152 (ARV², p. 369, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 224): "I, Phoinix served with wine by Briseis; A–B, Iliupersis"; Tarquinia RC 6846 (ARV², p. 369, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, no. 4; *Addenda*², p. 224): "I, Phoinix served with wine by Briseis; A, Paris returning to his father's house after the judgment; B, fight: Achilles and Memnon"; Munich 2645 (ARV², p. 371, 15; *Paralipomena*, p. 365, 15; *Addenda*², p. 225): "I, white ground, maenad; A–B, Dionysos with maenads and satyrs"; London, BM 1848.6–19.7, ex E 68 (ARV², p. 371, 24; *Paralipomena*, pp. 365 and 367, no. 24; *Addenda*², p. 225; CVA, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pls. 58–59 [834–35]): "I, symposium (youth reclining and girl dancing); A–B, symposia"; Würzburg 479 (see note 66 above): "I, komos (youth vomiting, assisted by a girl); A–B, komos." Two by Douris—Vienna 3695 (ARV², p. 429, no. 26; *Paralipomena*, p. 374, no. 26; *Addenda*², p. 236; Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* [as in note 66 above], pl. 26): "The armour of Achilles: I, Odysseus and Neoptolemos; A, Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling; B, the vote"; Louvre G 115 (ARV², p. 434, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, p. 375, no. 74; *Addenda*², p. 237; Buitron-Oliver, *Douris*, pl. 71): "I, Eos with the body of Memnon; A–B, fights: A, Menelaos and Paris; B, Ajax and Hector." On all of these, as well as those not cited, it is obvious that the subjects are related.
84. 1) Beazley, *VA*, p. 22; 2) John D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925), p. 42; 3) Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1942), p. 77; 4) ARV², p. 175.
85. Heidenreich, p. 584: "Es ist bekannt, daß aus Kleinasien und den Ländern des Orients Hetären und ihre männlichen Gegenstücke

- nach Athen gekommen sind. Solche aus Thrakien, Phönikien und Syrien sollen besonders beliebt gewesen sein. Aus Jonien soll es regelrechte Importe gegeben haben." He cites *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1964), col. 929, s.v. "Bordelle" (Walter H. Gross). Gross does not specify numbers, only geographical distribution.
86. "Dieser scheint eine beliebte Komödienfigur gewesen zu sein" (Heidenreich, p. 585). Do three appearances constitute "beliebte"?
 87. See John M. Edwards, ed. and trans., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1957), pp. 476–77. For Myrtilos (dates unknown), see *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 16 (Stuttgart, 1935), cols. 1165–66, s.v. "Myrtilos" (Alfred Körte). See also *OCD*, p. 1017, s.v. "Myrtilus" (Kenneth J. Dover). About all we know about him is that he won first prize at the Lenaia in 427 B.C., a festival in honor of Dionysos celebrated in Athens on the 12th of Gamelion (January–February); see *OCD*, p. 843, s.v. "Lenaia" (Richard A. S. Seaford).
 88. Aristophanes *Knights* 1064–69, trans. Jeffrey Henderson, Loeb Classical Library, Aristophanes vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), pp. 361, 363.
 89. Heidenreich, pp. 584–85 and nn. 16–19.
 90. Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 952–58, trans. Jeffrey Henderson, Loeb Classical Library, Aristophanes vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), pp. 399–401. Heidenreich, p. 585. Henderson remarks (p. 401n. 88, to *Lysistrata* 957) that Κυναλώπηξ is "the nickname of the pimp or brothel keeper Philostratus." The word Κυναλώπηξ means "a mongrel between dog and fox, nickname of a πορνοβοσκός [brothel keeper]"; see Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (as in note 79 above), p. 1010.
 91. See Keller, *Tierwelt*, p. 121; earlier, Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum" (as in note 38 above), pp. 252–53.
 92. Heidenreich, p. 581: "Eher hat der Alte den Hund zu seinem Schutze mitgenommen."
 93. *Ibid.*, p. 581, n. 4: "Daß es ein solcher [Fuchshund] ist, nehmen alle Betrachter des Bildes mit Ausnahme von Richter-Hall (s. o. Anm. 1) an."
 94. See above. Furtwängler (Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180) called it "ein lakonischer Fuchshund," but presumably he was working from photographs, and in these it is difficult to see the fringe of the tail. Keller (*Tierwelt*, p. 425, n. 85) cites Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 179, which illustrates the tondo of MMA 07.286.47 and calls the dog a "Fuchs."
 95. Richter and Hall, p. 25 and n. 2: "Furtwängler's theory [Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 180] that the dog is an ἄλωπεκίς, a 'Laconian fox-dog,' does not hold, since its tail (which is so close to the man's himation that Furtwängler overlooked it) does not hang down as in dogs of that breed. This interesting comment I owe to M. J. Milne."
 96. Xenophon *On Hunting* 3.1–2 in *Scripta Minora*, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library, Xenophon vol. 7 (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1968), p. 377.
 97. Boardman, *History*, p. 222.
 98. For Exekias's double signatures, see John D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1986), p. 58. Add a new double signature by him: Heide Mommsen, "Das Tritonabenteuer bei Exekias," in *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, ed. Andrew J. Clark and Jasper Gaunt with Benedicte Gilman (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 225–32. For Exekias's signatures, see Heidi Mommsen, "Beobachtungen zu den Exekias-Signaturen," *Metis: Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* (Philologie-Histoire-Archéologie) 13 (1998), pp. 39–49. For Euxitheos and Euphronios, see the calyx-krater once MMA 1972.11.10 (*Addenda*², pp. 396, 404, 405; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 4). For Kachryllion and Euphronios, see Munich 8704, ex 2620 (see note 4 above). For Onesimos, see *ARV*², pp. 318–30; *Paralipomena*, pp. 358–61; *Addenda*², pp. 214–17. For Euphronios as potter, see Louvre G 105, signed by Onesimos as painter, his only signature known so far (see note 83 above; *ARV*², p. 1645, for the history of this signature). For the reason why Euphronios switched to potting, see Jody Maxmin, "Euphronios *EPOIESEN*: Portrait of the Artist as a Presbyopic Potter," *Greece and Rome* 21 (1974), pp. 178–80; Jody Maxmin and Michael F. Marmor, "Euphronios: A Presbyope in Ancient Athens?" in *The Eye of the Artist*, ed. Michael F. Marmor, M.D., and James G. Ravin, M.D. (Saint Louis, 1997), pp. 48–57. For Euphronios becoming a potter, see Dyfri Williams, "Euphronios: vom Maler zum Töpfer," in *Euphronios der Maler*, pp. 47–51. For the Brussels stamnos, see note 61 above. The most lucid discussion of the Athenian potters' quarter is still John D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London, 1946). For a discussion of the types of signatures, see *ibid.*, pp. 33–37; more recently, Dyfri Williams, "Potter, Painter and Purchaser," in *Culture et cité: L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'Université libre de Bruxelles du 25 au 27 avril 1991 par l'Institut des hautes études de Belgique et la Fondation Archéologique de l'U.L.B.*, ed. Annie Verbanck-Piérard and Didier Viviers (Brussels, 1995), pp. 139–60.
 99. Beazley briefly addressed the issue of who might be responsible for the ornament and seemed to favor it being the painter's option when he wrote: "it might be thought that the pattern-work on the vase—borders, neck-palmettes, handle-palmettes—could be delegated to a subordinate. Sometimes it may have been: but this was not the rule. A distinctive style of figurework is commonly accompanied by a distinctive set of patterns, executed in a distinctive way. This might mean no more than that the figure-artist had a well-trained pattern-man at his disposal and ready to work to his orders. But there are vases of which the pattern and floral work is so closely interwoven with the figures that it seems unnatural to parcel them between different hands" (Beazley, *Potter and Painter* [as in note 98 above], pp. 30–31). Much later, Martin Robertson noted: "we saw [p. 24] how Euphronios made the calyx-krater into a major red-figure shape and developed red-figure ornament on it as something with an importance of its own alongside the figure work, much as in black-figure picture and ornament had been developed together on the 'light' neck-amphora. Another new shape on which pattern and figures are combined in the same way is the stamnos"; Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 33.
 100. For the invention of red-figure and the Andokides Painter, see Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), pp. 81–83; also the remarks by Beth Cohen, "The Literate Potter: A Tradition of Incised Signatures on Attic Vases," *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 59–60. For white-ground, see Joan R. Mertens, "Attic White Ground: Potter and Painter," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 186–93, with bibliography. For Six's technique, see Cohen, "Six's Technique: Black Ground," in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 72–80, with bibliography; add W. D. J. Van de Put, *CVA, Amsterdam* 3 (Netherlands 9) (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 62–65. For coral red, see note 3 above.
 101. Munich 2044 (*ABV*, p. 146, no. 21; *Paralipomena*, p. 60, no. 21; *Addenda*², p. 41). For Exekias as the inventor of coral red, see Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 45–46.
 102. Saint Petersburg B 9270 (*ABV*, p. 294, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 128, no. 22; *Addenda*², p. 77; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 54–56, no. 7). There is coral red on the rim and on the entire bowl inside

and out, except for the reserved handle panels. Coral red also decorates the stem and the side of the foot. The top side and underside of the foot are black, the resting surface reserved; on the bottom of the bowl, there is a small black nipple within two red concentric circles.

103. Munich 8704, ex 2620 (see note 4 above). For other cups with coral red that are associated with Kachrylion, see *Euphronios der Maler*, nos. 36–38, 41, 46; Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 48–49; earlier, Beth Cohen, “Observations on Coral-Red,” *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71), pp. 4–8. For other references, especially with regard to painters who collaborated with Kachrylion, see *ARV*², pp. 107–9; *Paralipomena*, p. 509; *Addenda*², p. 173.
104. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, pp. 62–63; John McK. Camp, “Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1994 and 1995,” *Hesperia* 65 (1996), pp. 242–52, esp. pp. 245–53 for the pottery, and p. 252, no. 36, for the cup. This cup was mended in antiquity. Much of the coral red has flaked. The attribution to Euphronios is by Christopher Pfaff. The well and its contents will be published by Kathleen M. Lynch in a forthcoming supplement to *Hesperia*.
105. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 62. Cohen goes on to write that “the tondo of an even more fragmentary coral-red cup, Agora P 33221, found in the same fill as this one [P 32344], preserves part of a jumper with *haltères* [jumping weights] beside a disk suspended in a sack. Lynch suggests that both cups, which had been broken and mended in antiquity, were prized possessions of the owner of a Late Archaic private house associated with the well in which they were found.” For cups Type C, see note 2 above.
106. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.313: Joan R. Mertens, “A White-Ground Cup by Euphronios,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972), pp. 271–81; *CVA*, Malibu 8 (USA 33), pl. 463 (1740). For the Agora cups as prized possessions, see note 105 above.

Athens, Ephoreia Γ A 5040 (Figure 12), attributed to Euphronios by Eleutheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti (“Ἐρυθρόμορφη κύλικα ἀπὸ τῆν ὄδο Λέκκα” [as in note 47 above], pp. 321–27, pls. 146–47), belongs in this discussion. This is a small cup Type C (diam. 22.3 cm). One handle and the foot are lost. A broad band of coral red surrounds the small tondo. The lip is offset on the inside and the outside; it and the rim are glazed. Coral red covers the bowl except for the handle panel. The stem and fillet are glazed. Papoutsaki-Serbeti did not connect this cup with a potter, and to judge by the photographs (*ibid.*, pl. 146, β–γ), the potting does not compare favorably with that of Kachrylion or Hegesiboulos: it is not crisp enough.

The small fragmentary stemless cup, Agora P 10359 (Figure 13, and note 48 above) needs to be included in this group. The offset lip is glazed on the inside, as is the rim. On the inside, the black Maltese dog and its ground line are painted over the coral red and the outside is covered with coral red but for the handle panel. Two concentric circles decorate the underside of the base. Maximum preserved dimension of the largest fragment is 8.8 cm. The shaggy coat of the dog bears some resemblance to our dog, but it is not by the Hegesiboulos Painter. This charming little cup appears to be a singleton.

107. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 50.
108. Dyfri Williams, “The Sotades Tomb,” in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 296, for the quotations, and p. 298, n. 19, for the two mugs. For Palermo 2139, see Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, pp. 99–101, pl. 33, 1–2; preserved height 8 cm. The name is next to the handle (pl. 33, 1): ΕΓΕΣΙΒ[ΟΛΟΣ]. The spacing between the six preserved letters and the area needed for the remaining four suggest that the final letters may have been closer together than the others or else two of them might have been written horizon-

tally above the ground line. One wonders where the verb ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ appeared, perhaps vertically along the left side of the handle as a pendant. If so, one might imagine in the section missing today, between the verb and the individualized youth, there was a pair similar to the one preserved to the right of the handle. This would result in a nicely balanced composition similar to those on the outside of MMA 07.286.47 (Figures 5, 7). Williams is silent about the two signatures. One would like to know what remains of the one on the London mug and if it is similar to the one on Palermo 2139, also what the figures look like.

109. Williams, “Sotades Tomb,” in Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 296.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Athens, N.M. 15212, ex Akrop. 176 (*ARV*², p. 17, no. 18; *Addenda*², p. 153; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 44). Reconstructed diameter 44.5 cm.
112. For good color photographs of Thetis’s bracelet and Hera’s forelocks, see *Euphronios der Maler*, pp. 209–10. For gilding, see Cohen, “Bubbles” (as in note 7 above), pp. 60–61, n. 23; and esp. Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 116, n. 11, for the raised clay. The earliest preserved use of added clay for gilding appears on a cup attributed to Psiax by Dietrich von Bothmer, Malibu 86.AE.278 (Cohen, “Bubbles,” pp. 60–61, with bibliography, who writes on p. 60, n. 23: “This Psiacian embellishment was adopted on the coral-red cup of ca. 500 B.C., potted by Hegesiboulos,” and on p. 61: the “shared use of once-gilt added-clay relief strengthens the evidence that Psiax must have been the teacher of Euphronios”). The pomegranates held by one of the Horai on the Sosias Painter’s name vase were also gilded, another early use of this technique: Berlin 2278 (*ARV*², p. 21, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 323, no. 1; *Addenda*², p. 154). Adolf Furtwängler noted that the pomegranates were in raised clay (“die thongr. ausgespart, dann mit einer dicken Schicht feinen gelbroten Thons in Relief bedeckt und wie es scheint hellrot bemalt sind”), but Karl Reichhold seems to be the first to recognize that the pomegranates were gilded (“Die Granatäpfel mit Ton in Relief dargestellt und vergoldet”); Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1885), p. 554; Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 3, p. 22. Adolf Greifenhagen (*CVA*, Berlin 2 [Deutschland 21] [Munich, 1962], p. 8) added that the leaves of the pomegranate branch were also gilded.
113. Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 182: “unsere Hegesibulos-Schale hat, obwohl sie die epiktetische Typik benutzt, doch einen so angeprägten stark persönlichen Stil, dass es nicht schwer ist, diesen wieder zu erkennen, wenn er sich anderswo findet.” For Skythes and his identity as the painter of vases inscribed Epilykos kalos as well as others, see *ARV*², pp. 82–85, especially the introductory remarks, p. 82. Also for Skythes, see *Paralipomena*, p. 329; *Addenda*², pp. 169–70. For comparisons of our cup with the Epilykos kalos cups, see Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, pp. 182–84, especially p. 184, where he writes: “Der Maler unserer aus Hegesibulos’ Atelier hervorgegangenen Schale, Taf. 93, war aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach kein anderer als Epilykos, der in die Werkstatt jenes Töpfers übergegangen sein wird und nun mit dessen Namen signierte.” For Epilykos kalos, see H. Alan Shapiro, “Epilykos Kalos,” *Hesperia* 52 (1983), pp. 305–10.
114. Akropolis 538 (Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, p. 48 and pl. 41; for a discussion, see below and note 122). In *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters* (as in note 84 above), p. 77, Beazley wrote: “Langlotz (Acr., p. 48) is probably right in connecting with this painter [the Hegesiboulos Painter] a fragment which I had ascribed to Skythes (Att.V. [Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils (Tübingen, 1925)] 42 no. 31).” Beazley maintained the connection in *ARV*², p. 175. For the cup-skyphos, see

- Moore, *Athenian Agora*, vol. 30 (as in note 2 above), p. 66.
115. Richter and Hall, pp. 25–26; for the attribution, see Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, p. 148.
116. Rome, Villa Giulia 27402: *ARV²*, p. 82, no. 1; *Addenda²*, p. 169. Borders of garments at this time normally consist of just a single or double line, occasionally a triple one or a black band (see Figures 14, 15, 20, 23).
117. Arezzo 1465 (*ARV²*, p. 15, no. 6; *Paralipomena*, p. 322, no. 6; *Addenda²*, p. 152; *Euphronios der Maler*, no. 13, ill. p. 135; for the quotation, see Cohen, *Colors of Clay*, p. 53, n. 40). Martin Robertson, *Art of Vase-Painting* (as in note 25 above), p. 301, n. 20, noted that Paolo Mingazzini thought Side B of the neck was by Smikros; Mingazzini, “Spigolature Vascolari,” *Annuario della Scuola Archeologia di Atene*, n.s., 29–30 (1967–68), pp. 335–39. Williams (in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 92) suggests that the decorator of Brussels A 723, an artist from the Proto-Panaetian Group, painted Side B of the Arezzo krater. For Brussels A 723, see *ARV²*, p. 317, 15; *Addenda²*, p. 214; for a good illustration, see Sally R. Roberts, “The Stoa Gutter Well, a Late Deposit in the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 55 (1986), p. 62, pl. 16.
118. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, p. 206, n. 18. For the entire scene, see *ibid.*, pl. 33, 1–2.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 101: “Deshalb und aufgrund der geringen Vergleichsmöglichkeiten, die eine fragmentierte Tasse und eine einzige Schale, noch dazu in unterschiedlicher Technik bemalt, miteinander bieten, möchte ich die Tasse nur unter Vorbehalt dem Hegesibulosmaler zuschreiben, obwohl beide Werke in auffälliger Weise aus dem Rahmen, der in jener Zeit auf Schalen und kleineren Gefäßen üblichen Darstellungsart fallen, sich in ihnen ein ähnlich geartetes Temperament und ein gleicher Gestaltungswille offenbaren und die Grundzüge der Zeichnung sehr ähnlich sind.”
120. *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 21: “das Akropolisfragment (Anm. 20) bietet keine über die New Yorker Schale hinausgehenden Vergleichsmöglichkeiten.”
121. For men playing krotala on vases contemporary with the Hegesiboulos Painter, here are five I have found. The left komast on Side B of the Arezzo volute-krater by Euphronios (see note 117 above). Two komasts in the panel of Munich 2422, a shouldered hydria by Phintias (*ARV²*, p. 24, no. 8; *Addenda²*, p. 155). The left komast on the shoulder of Bonn 70, a kalpis by Euthymides (*ARV²*, p. 28, 12; *Addenda²*, p. 156). The komast in the tondo of Cambridge 68.49.186, ex 71, a cup signed by Kachrylion as potter and attributed to the Hermaios Painter (*ARV²*, p. 111, no. 14; *Addenda²*, p. 173); Williams (in *Euphronios peintre*, p. 82) convincingly reattributed this cup to Euphronios and believes it to be a very early work. The left komast on Munich 2614 by the Ambrosios Painter (Figure 20, and note 70 above).
122. Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen*, vol. 2, p. 48: “All das läßt vermuten, daß der Zeichner kein Attiker war. Seine Hand ist u.a. auf der Hegesibuloschale in New York... wiederzuerkennen.” Beazley (*Attische Vasenmaler* and *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, as in note 84 above) was a bit circumspect, agreeing to a connection of Akropolis 538 with the Hegesiboulos Painter, but not to a firm attribution. For the name, see note 22 above. For non-Athenian names, see the brief discussion by Boardman, *History*, p. 144.
123. See note 121 above for the youths or men playing krotala and note 6 above for the boar’s bristles.
124. Richter and Hall, p. 25.
125. See note 83 above: Louvre G 105.
126. For the first edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, see note 84 above, p. 209, with bibliography, especially Furtwängler in Furtwängler and Reichhold, vol. 2, p. 134 for Panaitios kalos, and p. 177 for the painting and potting signatures of Euphronios; also *ARV²*, pp. 313–14 for a summary, and for the quotation by Beazley, p. 314. See also the brief remarks about the group by Dyfri Williams, *CVA*, London 9 (Great Britain 17) (London, 1993), p. 22.
127. *ARV²*, p. 315–17; the quotation is on p. 315.
128. Dyfri Williams reattributed four of these cups to the early work of Onesimos, “The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 18 (1976), pp. 9–23. The cups are: London, BM 1892.7-18.7 and 1924.7-18.1, ex E 46 (*ARV²*, p. 315, no. 1; *Addenda²*, p. 213; *CVA*, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pp. 15–16 and pls. 2, 3 [779, 780]); Louvre G 77 (*ARV²*, p. 316, no. 2); Basel, Cahn 116 (*ARV²*, p. 316, no. 3; *Addenda²*, p. 213); and Freiburg S 220, ex Leipzig T. 558, and Greifswald 275 (*ARV²*, p. 317, 12; *Addenda²*, p. 214). In his *CVA* (London 9 [Great Britain 17], pp. 16–18, pls. 4, 5), Williams moved a fifth cup from the Proto-Panaetian Group to early Onesimos, London, BM 1836.2-24.101, ex E 45 (p. 17, the cup “is in fact an early work of Onesimos himself”). See Williams, “The Ilioupersis Cup,” pp. 18, 22, for a brief discussion of the attribution.
- For the early work of Onesimos, see Brian A. Sparkes, “Aspects of Onesimos,” in *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical; A Symposium Held at the University of Cincinnati, April 2–3, 1982*, ed. Cedric G. Boulter (Leiden, 1985), pp. 18–39.
129. London, BM 1865.11-18.46, ex E 816: *ARV²*, p. 315, —, no. 2: near the Eleusis Painter; *Addenda²*, p. 213; *CVA*, London 9 (Great Britain 17), pl. 11 (787); on p. 22, Williams adds six cups to create a new painter he names the Painter of London E 816, who belongs to the general sphere of the Proto-Panaetian Group.
130. Louvre G 25 (*ARV²*, p. 316, no. 5; *Addenda²*, p. 214).
131. For the quotation, see Beazley in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. 2 (Boston, 1934), p. 25; *ARV²*, p. 317, no. 9; *Addenda²*, p. 214. Munich 2636 (*ARV²*, p. 317, no. 16; *Addenda²*, p. 214). For the true Greek profile, see note 5 above.
132. London, BM 1836.2-24.25, ex E 44 (*ARV²*, p. 318, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 358, no. 2; *Addenda²*, p. 214; *CVA*, London 9 [Great Britain 17], pl. 9 [785], 2).
133. Berlin 3139 (*ARV²*, p. 321, no. 23; *Addenda²*, p. 215). In this context, one would like to know what the face of the symposiast on Akropolis 538 looked like; when I made the reconstruction drawing (Figure 24), I thought it would be imprudent to speculate, so I opted for a generic type.

The Darién Gold Pendants of Ancient Colombia and the Isthmus

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Precolumbian metallurgy on the American continents represents more than three thousand years of continuous production. The technology of metalworking was developed during the first millennium B.C. in the central Andean area of South America corresponding to present-day Peru. Metallurgical knowledge was established in southwestern Colombia by the latter half of the first millennium B.C., reaching the Central American isthmus by the time of Christ and the Mesoamerican area some centuries later.

In the context of the rich and diverse inventory of Precolumbian metallurgy and of continuous contact among different cultural areas, a particular category of objects linked numerous communities that lived and developed complex societies in an extensive area of the American continents. This phenomenon is represented by the so-called Darién pendants, a specific kind of ornament consisting of anthropomorphic figures adorned with distinctive ceremonial regalia. Local variants of this iconographic representation were manufactured and used from northern South America (Colombia) to Yucatán (Mexico) during a period that extended from the last centuries B.C. to the seventeenth century A.D.

The largest number of Darién pendants were produced in western and northern Colombia. During many centuries, the Darién region, on the border between the present republics of Colombia and Panama, served as an important route for contacts between northern South America and the Central American isthmus and the exchange of metallurgical knowledge. The name “Darién” was introduced for the first time in 1950 by Carlos Margain, based on the origin of a number of metal objects that had been found in the Pacific region of Colombia south of the Darién area.¹ The name is commonly used in the literature on Precolumbian metallurgy, including works that refer specifically to these figures.²

A number of stereotypic diagnostic features identify the anthropomorphic figures known as Darién pendants (Figures 1, 2): two semispherical upper headdress ornaments;

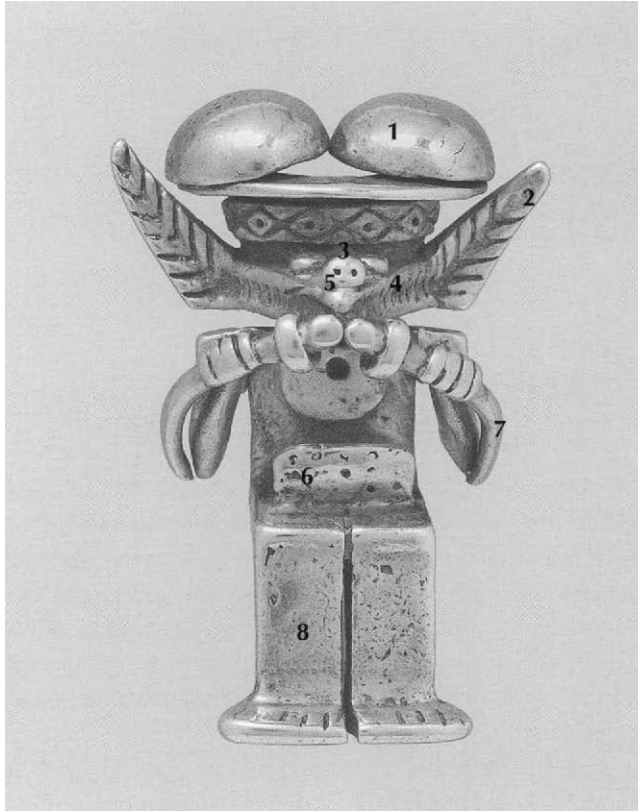
winged appendages at the sides of both ears; a face with animal features, such as a protruding snout and a turned-up nose; a loincloth; schematic legs and feet; and two staffs held by the figure that usually end below the mouth. As the figures went through different stages of schematization, their numerous variants included some of the diagnostic features of Darién pendants in spite of the local technical, stylistic, and iconographic preferences.

This study is based on an examination of more than two hundred Darién pendants from different regions of Colombia in the collection of the Museo del Oro del Banco de la República in Bogotá. It also includes nine objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and some examples with recorded provenances that belong to other museums (see Appendix).

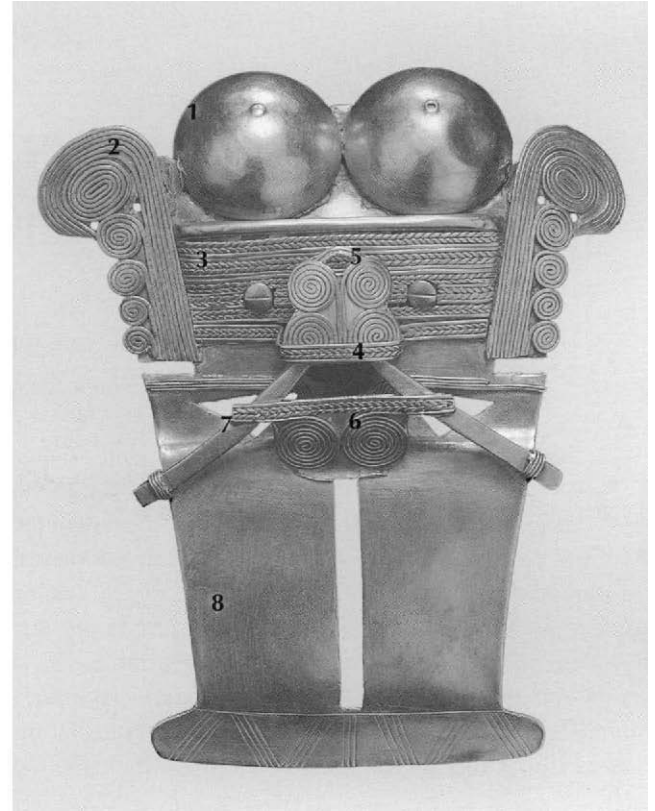
Study of Darién pendants is unfortunately limited by the lack of archaeological context for most of the objects. However, with a large group of diverse pendants from a wide area, it has been possible to obtain a good deal of information from the objects themselves through a systematic examination of their stylistic, iconographic, and technical features, as well as the different combinations of these characteristics in their association with particular regions. This study demonstrates the presence of patterns or types that can be linked specifically to local metallurgical work from different geographical areas and time periods. In addition, the results of more than thirty years of research carried out on the extensive collection of Precolumbian metalwork belonging to the Museo del Oro (33,947 objects at present) have made it possible to establish distinctive characteristics of the various regional styles and to link them to cultural developments as reconstructed through archaeological research in these gold-working areas.

In the context of the development of Precolumbian metallurgy in Colombia and the Central American isthmus—the so-called Intermediate Area—Darién pendants tell a story covering more than a thousand years, from the production of the oldest items at the time of Christ in southwestern Colombia and their subsequent diversification during the

1. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) shown in Figure 17, with diagnostic features indicated: 1. upper headdress ornaments; 2. lateral head ornaments; 3. face; 4. mouth; 5. nose; 6. loincloth; 7. staff; 8. legs



2. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b; see Figures 48–51). Cast gold. Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6030). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf. Diagnostic features: 1. upper headdress ornaments; 2. lateral head ornaments; 3. face; 4. mouth; 5. nose; 6. loincloth; 7. staff; 8. legs



first centuries A.D., until the late period, after A.D. 1000, when Darién pendants were mass-produced in northern Colombia, the only region where the motif survived until the Spanish conquest.

In Amerindian societies, metals were not valued as a source of material wealth. Metal objects—and craft objects in general—were charged with religious meaning, and they represented a symbolic language based on mythical principles that guided ritual activities, social relationships, and every aspect of human life. The information provided by Darién pendants offers interesting insight into the constant interaction and symbolic communication among ancient communities. Different metallurgical traditions merged to give origin to these stereotypic human figures, whose widespread production and use extended beyond the boundaries of local cultural areas and worldviews.

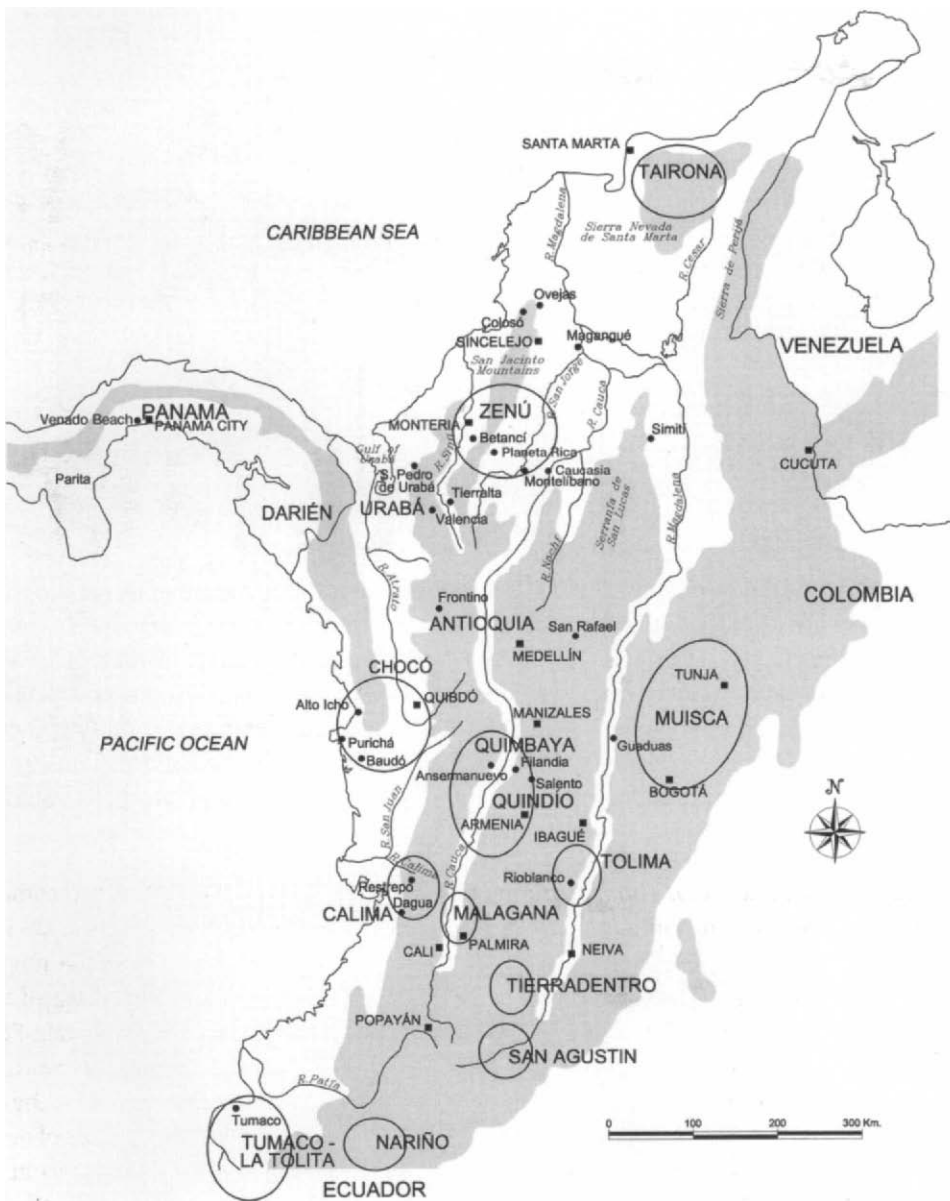
THE DEVELOPMENT OF DARIÉN PENDANTS AND THE EARLY METALLURGICAL TRADITION OF SOUTHWESTERN COLOMBIA (100 B.C.–A.D. 800)

The oldest items related to the so-called Darién pendants are a number of metal pendants representing male humans wearing ritual ornaments, which belong to an important cultural development centered in southwestern Colombia

during the period 100 B.C.–A.D. 800. In the communities in this area of considerable biodiversity, there developed a consolidation of ranked societies. From the jungles and mangrove areas of the Pacific coast, to the rugged and cold highlands of the Western and Central Mountain Ranges of the Andes in Colombia, to the temperate or warm valleys drained by the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the inhabitants transformed the landscape in the process of organizing their settlements and practicing intensive agriculture. They exploited the area's rich sources of gold and were responsible for an outstanding metallurgical production. The cultural areas involved are known as Tumaco–La Tolita, Calima, Malagana, Quimbaya, Tolima, San Agustín, Tierradentro, and Nariño (Figure 3).³

In their basic technology, the southwestern Colombian objects that conform to the early metallurgical tradition are strongly related to the metallurgy of the central Andes, which shows a preference for shaping metal by working rather than by casting.⁴ The early southwestern metallurgy favored producing large hammered ornaments decorated with embossed designs from high-grade gold. Sheets of gold were also used to form three-dimensional objects by assembling the sheets and fitting them together with small gold nails and folded metal tabs or by using heat to bond the metal parts. However, the metalworkers of southwestern Colombia also employed gold-copper alloys, usually known as *tumbaga*, preferring alloys high in gold content.⁵ *Tumbaga*

3. Map of the gold-working areas of Colombia (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



was used for casting objects by the lost-wax technique. As we will see, this technology was perfected especially in the Quimbaya area, and its influence was widely felt.

The production of the earliest Darién pendants and related objects was linked particularly to the Calima area around the upper Calima and Dagua Rivers in the Western Mountain Range, the Chocó district toward the Pacific lowlands, the Quimbaya area in the mountainous region of the middle Cauca River, and, to a lesser extent, the Tolima area centered on the middle reaches of the Magdalena River. However, it is in the first of these regions, Calima, where a group of anthropomorphic figures can perhaps be identified as the forebears of Darién pendants. They belong to the Yotoco period, which, according to available radiocarbon dates, covers the years 100 B.C.–A.D. 800.⁶

The “Ancestors” of Darién Pendants

Among the numerous objects of early metallurgical production in the Calima area, we can identify two groups of human figures whose characteristics merged to give origin to the particular items known as Darién pendants. In one group, a few small anthropomorphic pendants show the semispherical headdress ornaments, the staffs, and the animal features that are typical of Darién pendants. In the other, a number of realistic Yotoco adorned human figures display an attitude and body shape that represent a prototype reproduced in Darién pendants of the early period, although those figures do not include the diagnostic features of Darién pendants.

Several small anthropomorphic figures (2–3.5 cm high) that were probably used as centerpieces of necklaces might

4. Early Darién pendant (Type 1), Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5425). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



5. Early Darién pendant (Type 1), Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6200). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



represent one of the oldest patterns of Darién pendants (Type 1; Figures 4, 5, 16 no. 2). They are from the Calima heartland (Restrepo), although one (see Figure 16 no. 2) is said to have come from the Colombian Pacific watershed (Chocó). One of these figures (Figure 4) was found at the site of San Salvador (Restrepo) among numerous grave goods that included ornaments in the most characteristic Yotoco

style, such as diadems, nose ornaments, ear plugs, breast-plates, and other objects made of beaten gold.⁷ These small Darién figures are solid castings in *tumbaga*.⁸ They are adorned with two semispherical headdress elements, in one case (Figure 5) decorated with lines and dots, which are supported by wires cast in one with the piece. In their hands, the small personages carry two staffs (rattles?) with

6. Anthropomorphic figure, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (26632). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



7. Nose ornament, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Hammered gold, H. $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. (21.9 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (16637). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



globular ends; they also wear Yotoco-style breastplates and ligatures around the legs. Two figures (see Figure 4) have animal features represented by a flat nose with two holes and pointed ears figured by short projecting triangular devices with incised decoration. José Pérez de Barradas interpreted these traits as indicating the face of a vampire.⁹ A third pendant (Figure 5) shows different animal features, such as a triangular projecting snout that is common on other types of Darién pendants, described below.

To understand the development of Darién pendants, we must consider some realistic Yotoco human figures concentrated in the Calima area. These figures represent male personages of consistent patterns with standardized technological, stylistic, and iconographic features. They belong to the local gold production, which appears to have been tied to the particular social order and worldview of people of the Yotoco period. The anthropomorphic figures are lost-wax castings of high-grade gold and, to a lesser extent, of gold-rich *tumbaga*. They show distinctive stereotypic features, such as legs shaped with protruding knees, flat feet with parallel lines depicting the toes, loincloths modeled in high relief, and a rigid appearance. These personages usually carry staffs or other ceremonial objects in their hands. Some of them are standing, but others appear to be in a crouched position, which is indicated by a bend at the knees, ankles, and hips. Some of these naturalistic figures (Figure 6) have typical Yotoco-style adornments, such as large circular ear ornaments, crescent-shaped nose ornaments, and heart-shaped breastplates (Figures 7–9). These personages usually hold staffs in their hands, although there are a few representations of musicians, such as a man playing a drum. A good number of these objects are solid castings, but in some cases, the body of the figure is solid while the headdress was open worked.

A common representation (Figures 10–13), of which two examples can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum, is that of a man wearing a Yotoco-style diadem (Figure 14) complemented by a crescent-shaped nose ornament and a branched element that covers the chest and has projections ending at both sides of the head. In one hand, these personages usually hold a staff with lateral protrusions (or sometimes a lance), and in the other hand they carry an element that has been interpreted as a shield, an animal skin, or a palm leaf.¹⁰

Another common type of Yotoco human figure (Figure 15), recently named “Wrinkle Face” by Warwick Bray, represents a naked man holding two simple staffs.¹¹ These personages have a nonhuman mouth, a prominent nose formed by spirals, a protruding chin, and lateral branched head ornaments.

The Yotoco anthropomorphic figures have a concentration in the Calima heartland, and a few related objects have



8. Breastplate, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Hammered and repoussé gold, W. 8⁷/₈ in. (21.9 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6718). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



9. Breastplate, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800). Hammered and repoussé gold, H. 8³/₄ in. (22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.507)

10. Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area. Cast gold, H. 5 3/8 in. (13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.547). Identification of ornaments: 1. diadem; 2. nose ornament; 3. chest-head ornament; 4. palm leaf, animal skin, shield (?); 5. staff; 6. hand; 7. loincloth

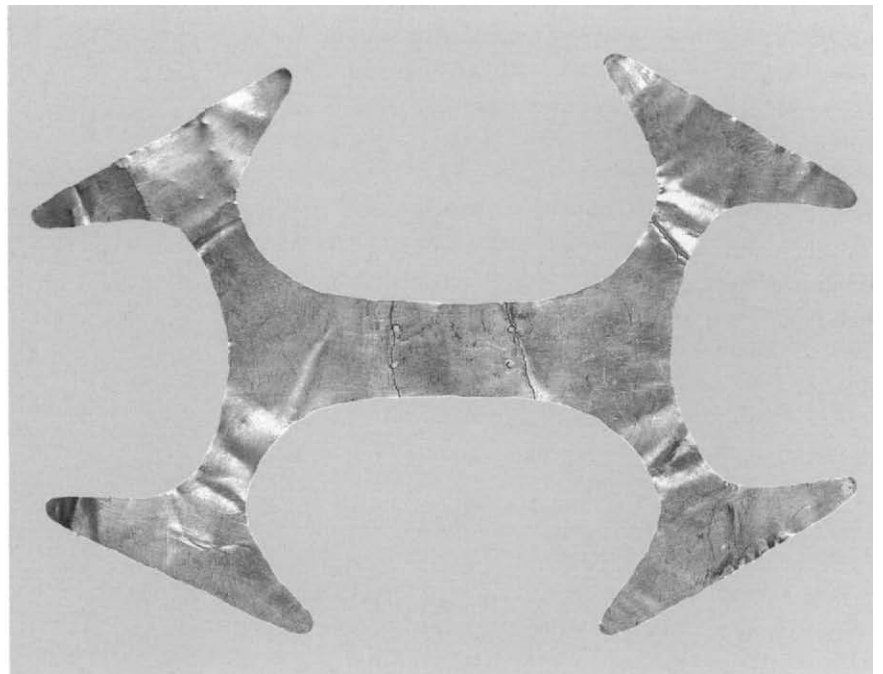


11. Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area. Cast gold, H. 2 in. (5.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (7469). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

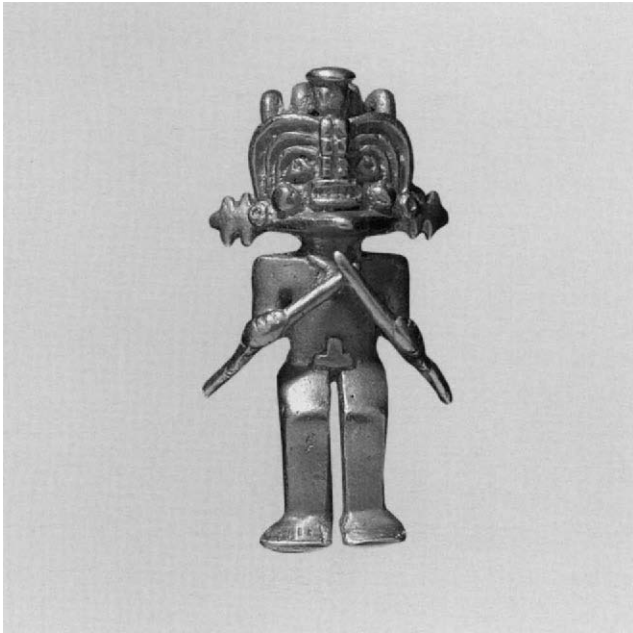
been found outside this region. One pendant from the Malagana area, on the flatlands of the Cauca River valley near the modern city of Palmira, closely resembles the Yotoco "Wrinkle Face" prototype.¹² However, it is undoubtedly a local version belonging to the Malagana culture,



12 (front view) and 13 (side view). Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area; Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. 2 3/4 in. (7.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6700). Photographers: Rudolf Schrimpf and Juan Mayr



14. Diadem, Ricaurte, Belalcázar, Cauca. Hammered gold, H. 7 in. (17.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (28919). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



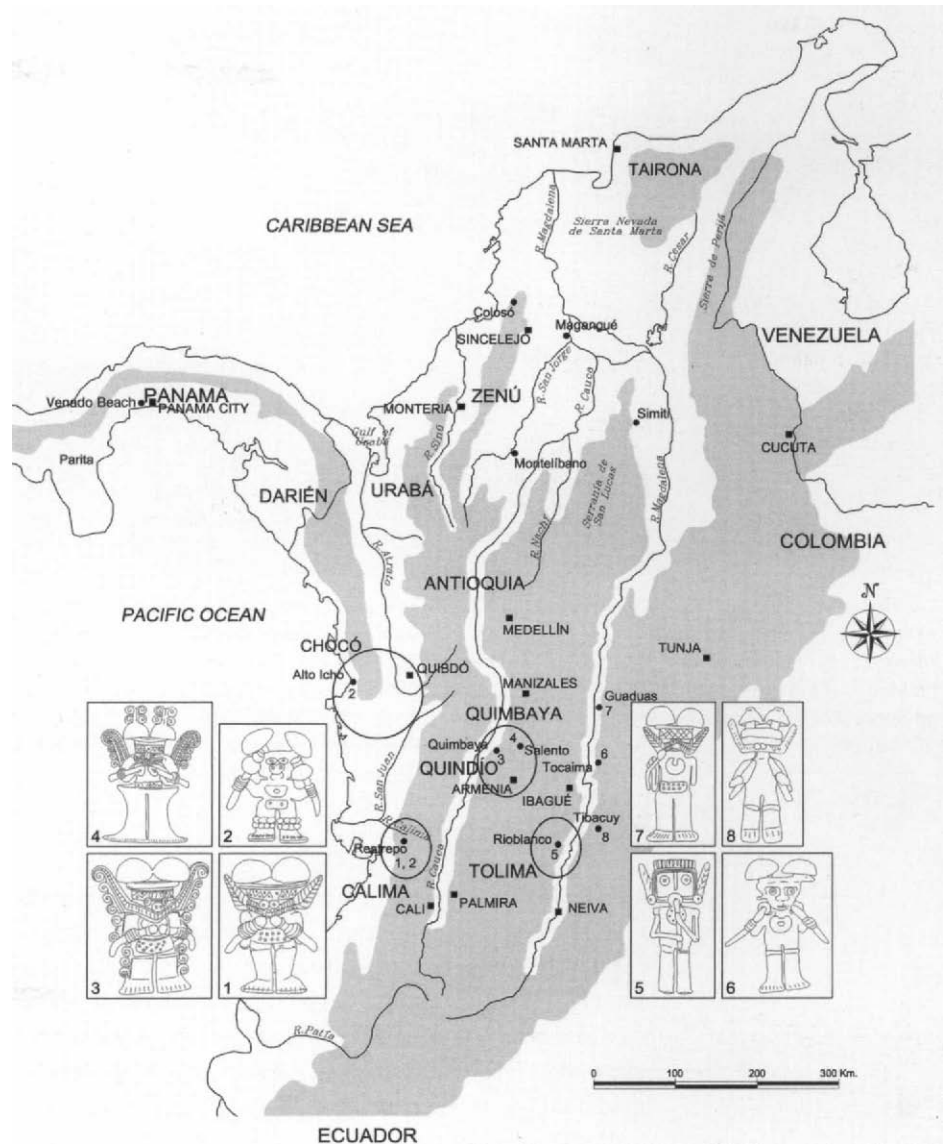
15. Anthropomorphic figure, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. 1 7/8 in. (4.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (26635). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

which, according to present evidence, developed toward the end of the last century B.C. and covered the first three or four centuries A.D.¹³

Early Darién Pendants in Southwestern Colombia

A distinctive pattern of Yotoco-related Darién pendants (Type 2) is linked to small Type 1 items and to the Yotoco human figures described above. The recorded provenances correspond to the Calima heartland and to the middle Cauca River valley, while some have been found in the Tolima region and adjacent areas (Figure 16).

These pendants (Type 2; Figures 17–20) are represented by a number of objects belonging to the Museo del Oro collection and two in the Metropolitan Museum, apparently found near the Calima River. They are lost-wax castings in high-grade gold or a gold-rich *tumbaga*, and they usually show the bent legs and the crouched position that recall the Yotoco anthropomorphic figures from the Calima area. The personages wear Yotoco-style breastplates and have several diagnostic elements related to those of Type 1, such as the thick loincloth decorated with incised dots, the staffs (rattles?) with globular ends, and the two hollow semispherical headdress ornaments supported by cast wires. They also show a headband decorated with a triangle-and-dot pattern and two long feather-shaped lateral devices with incised lines that form a herringbone pattern, which are a development of the short triangular ears of Type 1 figures. The defining characteristic of the face is a protruding triangular snout that shows two rows of teeth, bulbous eyes, and a nose



usually represented by two pellets and sometimes by a raised metal piece. This representation has been interpreted as the face of a crocodile by Federico Medem and José Pérez de Barradas, who refer to this type of figure as the “crocodile god.”¹⁴ Ernesto Restrepo Tirado believed that they are representations of men with vampire features.¹⁵ In fact, bats, vampires, and crocodilians are also represented in other archaeological materials, especially ceramics, corresponding to the early cultural developments of the Calima area.¹⁶

A few Yotoco-related pendants that are linked to the pattern represented by Type 2 have been found in the middle Magdalena River valley (Tolima area) and in the neighboring temperate slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range (Tocaima, Tibacuy, Guaduas; Figure 16). Early metallurgy of the middle Magdalena River drainage belongs to the tradition of southwestern Colombia, and, according to

16. Map of the provenance in southwestern Colombia of early Darién pendants, ca. A.D. 1–500 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



17. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.20)

18. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (5.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.558)

19. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2⅝ in. (6.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6420). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

20. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33736). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

archaeological information, it is associated with a particular type of incised ceramic wares,¹⁷ which have been dated at neighboring sites to the third century A.D.¹⁸ One pendant from Rióblanco (Figure 21) has a typical Tolima-style human face and is linked to Type 2 Darién pendants by its technology and its lateral feather-shaped ornaments. It represents a man holding an object that can be interpreted as a musical instrument. Other pendants from the slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range are local versions that follow the basic pattern of Type 2. These solid objects, cast in high-grade gold or gold-rich *tumbaga*, include the semispherical headdress ornaments and/or the lateral feather-shaped devices, while the staffs (rattles?) have elongated ends (Figures 22–24).

The influence of Darién pendants and of early southwestern metallurgy on the western slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range preceded the development on its cold high plateaus of a regional style particular to the Chibcha-speaking Muisca people, who inhabited this mountainous area until the Spanish conquest. According to radiocarbon dates associated with Muisca metal objects, the earliest manifestations of this metallurgy go back to the seventh century A.D.¹⁹

The Darién pendants of Types 1 and 2 and their variants were models that influenced the diversification of the theme. In the first stages this process took place in the Calima area itself and the middle Cauca River valley, and then it spread to the northwestern cultural areas.

The Calima–Quimbaya Relationship

The production of other types of Darién pendants is contemporary with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition and particularly indicates a relationship between the Calima area and the middle Cauca River region. During the first centuries A.D., this area witnessed the development of Early Quimbaya metallurgy, with local metalworkers perfecting such techniques as solid and hollow lost-wax casting using gold-copper alloys²⁰ and depletion gilding.²¹ While the links between Quimbaya and the other cultural areas of southwestern Colombia are evident, its metallurgy has a strong character of its own and has become famous for its realistic human representations with heavy-lidded eyes, multi-strand necklaces, and ligatures around the arms and legs (Figures 25, 26).

The heartland of Early Quimbaya metalwork was the Central Mountain Range in the middle reaches of the Cauca River in the present Colombian departments of Quindío, Caldas, and Risaralda, with a northern extension to the rugged country of Antioquia, also drained by the Cauca River (see Figure 3). The production of Early Quimbaya metallurgy belongs to the period between the first and fifth centuries A.D., according to dates obtained from the clay and charcoal casting cores of Early Quimbaya ornaments in the Museo del Oro and the Museo de América, Madrid,²² and from archaeological contexts that included metal objects in the region of Antioquia.²³ Early Quimbaya objects have also been found in the middle Magdalena River valley.²⁴



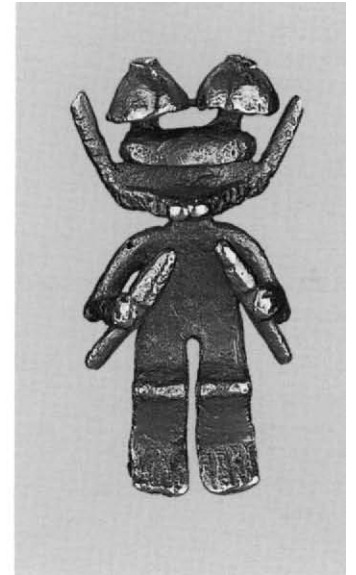
21. Darién pendant related to Type 2, middle Magdalena River, ca. A.D. 1–500; Rióblanco, Tolima. Cast gold, H. 3 7/8 in. (9.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6238). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



22. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Guaduas, Cundinamarca. *Tumbaga*, H. 3 1/8 in. (8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (337). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



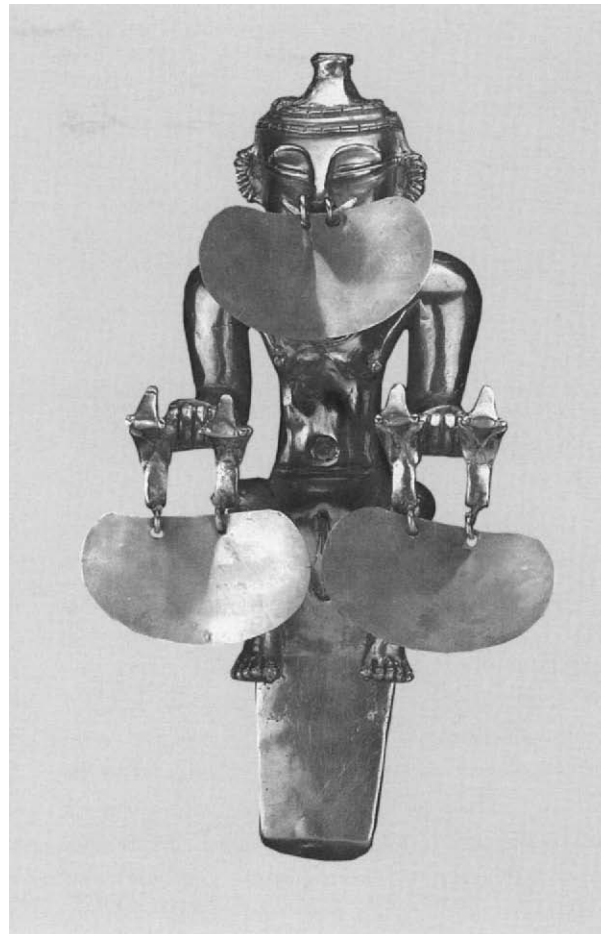
23. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Tocaima, Cundinamarca. Cast gold, H. 3 3/4 in. (9.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (28914). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



24. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Tibacuy, Cundinamarca. Cast gold, H. 1 7/8 in. (4.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25623). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



25. Early Quimbaya lime container. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 9 in. (22.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.22)



26. Early Quimbaya figure, Puerto Nare, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 10 3/8 in. (27 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (32852). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

27. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¼ in. (5.6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (4663). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



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28. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (7342). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



28

29. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6031). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



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30. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Quimbaya, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2½ in. (6.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3065). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



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There is evidence of contact between the inhabitants of the middle Cauca River valley and those of the Calima area during the development of Early Quimbaya metalwork. Yotoco objects have been found in the former area, and Yotoco and Quimbaya metallurgy share certain specific shapes, such as pins with elaborate heads with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration, and ear plugs, although those have local characteristics. The regular use in Yotoco metallurgy of casting techniques and of alloys with different amounts of gold and copper was probably encouraged by the relationship with the Quimbaya area.²⁵

Patterns of Darién pendants that were produced in the context of the Calima–Quimbaya relationship show an increased schematization of the human figure. The distinctive technical, stylistic, and iconographic characteristics suggest that these patterns derive from Yotoco-related proto-

types, with the introduction of some features that are closer to Early Quimbaya preferences, such as the intensification of the use of gold-copper alloys and depletion gilding, and of decoration formed by cast filigree spirals or incised designs of squares. However, these Darién pendants have their own diagnostic features and identity, and they were produced alongside the regional styles.

A particular variety of Darién pendants (Type 3; Figures 27–30) that represents an elaboration of the Yotoco-related masked personages with feather-shaped lateral head ornaments (Type 2) is represented by a number of examples in the Museo del Oro collection; similar figures were reported in the Quindío district by Luis Arango Cano.²⁶ The objects were cast using the lost-wax technique, and the group includes some items made of high-grade gold with a small amount of silver, as well as objects of *tumbaga* with important



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amounts of copper.²⁷ These pendants show some Yotoco-related features, such as the decorated loincloth, the shape of the legs—though they are more schematic—and the Yotoco-style breastplates. They also have a headband and two upper semispherical ornaments, which are usually decorated with branched devices of cast wires (Figure 28) or are transformed into two elements shaped like double-spouted jars (Figure 29). This double-spouted jar form, typical of Yotoco pottery, was also popular in other regions of southwestern Colombia during the period of high development of the local cultures in the first centuries A.D.²⁸

The Darién figures of Type 3 have an animal face with a protruding triangular snout that shows one or two rows of teeth, a nose that is usually figured by a metal piece with two holes or an elongated pellet, and two rounded eyes. The projecting side ornaments—a salient characteristic of this type of Darién pendant—are an elaboration of the feather-shaped devices, but they introduce a substantial change in their shape and decoration: they are adorned by scrolls, spirals, or square designs formed by incised parallel lines, which pertain more closely to Early Quimbaya metallurgy. The combination of the particular shape of the nose and the lateral head ornaments (ears?) on the pendants of Type 3 has been interpreted by Anne Legast as representing traits of a leaf-nosed bat (*Phyllostomidae* family).²⁹

The Middle Cauca River Area and Diversification

Different patterns of Darién pendants have been found in the middle Cauca River area, both in the Quimbaya heartland and in its northern extension to the mountains of Antioquia (see Figure 3). Some of them have Yotoco features, while others are distinctive of the middle Cauca region and represent a process of diversification character-

ized by further schematization of the human figure and a strong tendency to use gold-copper alloys and depletion gilding.

A first group of Darién pendants from the Quimbaya heartland (Salento, Quindío, Ansermanuevo; Type 4; Figures 31–33) can be seen as a development of the masked figures of Type 3. They show some Yotoco elements, such as the shape of the loincloth and Yotoco-style breastplates, and they also incorporate the decorated headband, the two hollow semispherical devices supported by cast wires, and the animal face with a triangular projecting snout. The objects are made of gold-copper alloys with high copper content,³⁰ and some of them show traces of depletion gilding. The greater schematization of the human figure is especially apparent in the treatment of the legs, which are represented by a single metal plaque with curved sides and a vertical groove in the center; a bend in the upper leg suggests a crouched position. The staffs have spiral ends, and the upper semispherical devices are decorated with cast filigree spirals or branched ornaments that usually show incised designs of squares.

The northern Quimbaya region of Antioquia has produced additional and unique patterns of Darién pendants. Type 5 is represented by a figure in the Museo del Oro that was found in the region of Frontino (Figure 34) and by a similar object in the National Museum of the American Indian of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., apparently found in the Sinú River area in northwestern Colombia.³¹ The one in the Museo del Oro was cast in a copper-rich alloy (51.5%).³² These figures have schematic legs, two hollow semispherical headdresses supported by thick metal wires, a snout with two rows of teeth and a protruding nose, and triangular lateral headdress ornaments

31. Darién pendant (Type 4), Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800; Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3492). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

32. Darién pendant (Type 4), probably Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅞ in. (9.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.500)

33. Darién pendant (Type 4), Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800; Salento, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2⅞ in. (7.3 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (351). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



34. Darién pendant (Type 5), northern Quimbaya area, ca. A.D. 1–800; Frontino, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (417). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



35. Darién pendant (Type 6), northern Quimbaya area, ca. A.D. 1–800; Toro, San Rafael, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4¾ in. (12 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (414). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



36. Darién pendant related to Type 6. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22609). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

decorated with parallel cast wires. The personages hold a horizontal bar with four schematic birds, a device that resembles those on some Early Quimbaya figures (see Figure 26).

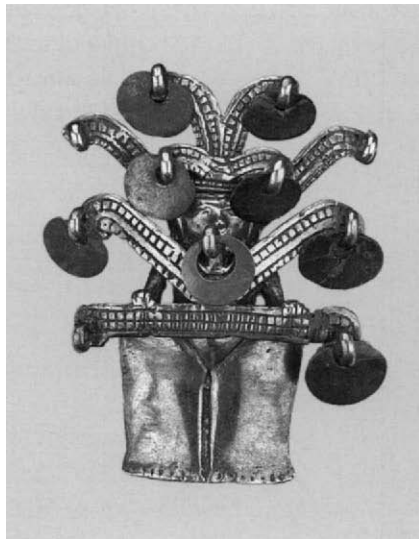
Another variety of Darién pendant (Type 6) that is characteristic of the region of Antioquia shows a clear hybridization with Early Quimbaya iconography. One specimen belonging to the Museo del Oro was found in San Rafael,

on the eastern slopes of the Central Mountain Range (Figure 35), and similar pendants were reported by Manuel Uribe Angel.³³ Made of an alloy with a high copper content (39% in the case of the Museo del Oro item),³⁴ they show traces of depletion gilding. These pendants represent naked men with realistic human faces related to Early Quimbaya anthropomorphic representations. They wear elongated nose ornaments, rings around the ears, and multiple-strand

37. Figure related to Darién pendants, Quimbaya area; Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅞ in. (8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3064). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

38. Figure related to Darién pendants, Quimbaya area; El Caimo, Armenia, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25664). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

39. Figure related to Darién pendants, Calima area; Cisneros, Dagua, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (15450). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



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40. Pendant, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; Panama. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.21)

41. Anthropomorphic figure, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; San Pedro de Urabá, northwestern Colombia. Cast tumbaga, H. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (31923). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



42. Pendant, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; Panama. Cast gold, H. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.20)

necklaces, which are also common on the human representations in Early Quimbaya metalwork. The highly schematic body is formed by a flat plaque, the legs are separated by a vertical groove, and the toes are represented by parallel incisions. Another pendant, of uncertain origin, is linked to Type 6 in its Quimbaya-related features and schematic legs (Figure 36). In his hands, the personage holds two flasks of a particular shape that is also typical of Early Quimbaya metallurgy.

The middle Cauca River valley has also produced some anthropomorphic figures made of gold-copper alloys, whose iconography is related both to Yotoco metallurgy and to some variants of Darién pendants. A particular pattern of Darién-related pendant that belongs to the Quimbaya heartland is represented by highly schematic figures with joined legs, a human face, and laterally projecting devices with multiple dangles (Figure 37), which recall some Yotoco figures (Figure 39). Two objects of this pattern belong to the Quimbaya treasure, an outstanding group of Early Quimbaya metalwork found in two graves in the district of Filandia (Quindío) and now housed in the Museo de América in Madrid.³⁵

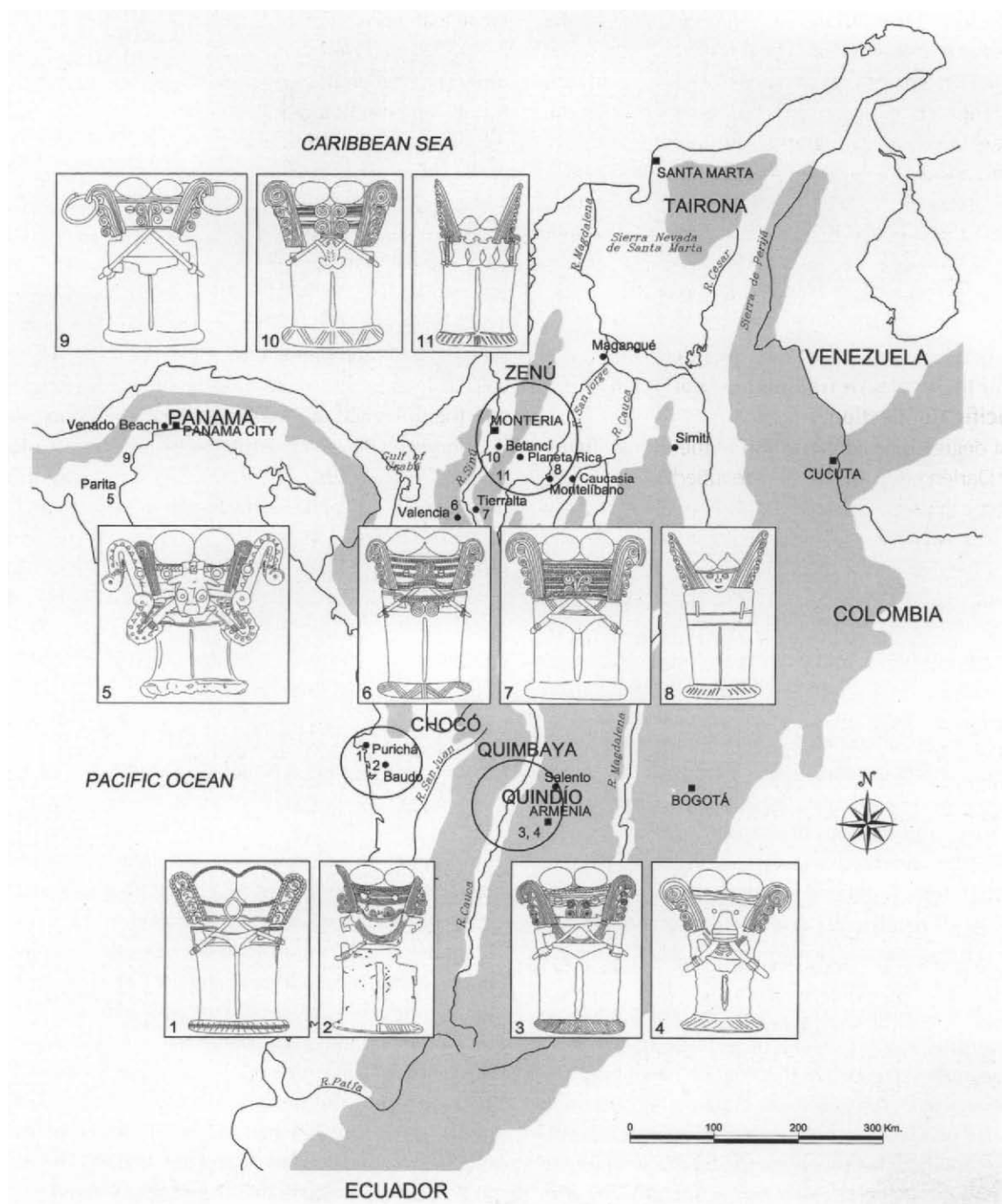
Another group of figures from the Quimbaya area is represented by four items made of an alloy with a high copper content, which belong to the Museo del Oro (Figure 38).³⁶ These figures have schematic legs formed by a flat plaque that recalls some Darién pendants. The personages hold a horizontal bar with elongated dangles, their faces have bird features, and the headdress is formed of spirals and scrolls.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EARLY NORTHERN REGIONAL STYLES (ca. A.D. 1–900)

The production of Darién pendants and their distribution during the early centuries A.D. must be understood in the context of a gradual diffusion of metallurgical knowledge. Different influences merged to stimulate the metalwork production in northern Colombia and the Central American isthmus. On the one hand, we can trace the influence of the early metallurgical tradition of southwestern Colombia—with its preference for using high-quality gold and for working metal to shape—and the production of particular categories, among them highly schematic Darién pendants of high-grade gold. The mountainous areas and the Pacific corridor of western Colombia were permanent routes for the multiple contacts between these regions and northern Colombia and Panama.

On the other hand, we can follow the extensive influence of a technology that was perfected in the middle Cauca River area during the production of Early Quimbaya metallurgy, with its preference for lost-wax casting, gold-copper alloys, and depletion gilding, and the distinctive iconographic features that characterize this group of works. This influence is also evident in the production in northern areas of Darién pendants with Quimbaya-related features that were cast using gold-copper alloys. The Cauca River connected the mountainous regions of western Colombia and the northern Caribbean area, and its inhabitants had contacts with the Pacific region.

43. Map placing schematic Darién pendants, ca. A.D. 1–900 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



These processes were related to particular categories of metal objects that have been found in an extensive area from central Colombia to Costa Rica. The list includes, among other items, double spiral pendants, various Quimbaya-related anthropomorphic figures, Darién pendants, human figures with recurved headdresses, animals with a raised tail, and two-headed birds. These categories belong to the distinctive groups of works produced before A.D. 900 that Bray defined as the Initial Group and the International Group (Figures 40–42).³⁷ The earliest items from central and western Colombia might belong to the last

centuries B.C., since the casting core of an International Group zoomorphic pendant found in the region of Antioquia was dated to the third century B.C.³⁸ The Initial Group was already established in Panama and Costa Rica by A.D. 400, although the earliest manifestations must go back to the beginnings of the Christian era. The International Group has a temporal distribution corresponding to A.D. 400–900.³⁹

The popularity of Darién pendants and their decline before A.D. 900 were linked to the history of the International Group, and their production followed two different trends with specific distribution and technological choices. As we

will see, these anthropomorphic pendants indicate the influence of the different technological traditions mentioned above and the preferences of the particular cultures. In fact, although Darién pendants and International Group metal objects share a basic iconography, the objects do have regional differences and were produced alongside the earliest regional styles of northern Colombia and the isthmus that flourished during the first centuries A.D. From their early stages, these regional styles defined a “metallurgical province” that contrasts with the southwestern areas.

Schematic Darién Pendants of High-Grade Gold: The Influence of the Southern Tradition of Working Metal and the Pacific Connection

The highest degree of schematization of the human figure reached by Darién pendants can be identified as a development of some patterns described above that show the Calima–Quimbaya connection and that were diversified in the middle Cauca River area. This refers especially to Type 3 and 4 pendants, distinguished by lateral head ornaments formed by spirals, an animal face with a protruding snout that might correspond to crocodilians or bats, and schematic legs formed by a single flat plaque. The preferred technology for producing these Darién pendants of high-grade gold was the combination of lost-wax casting with some techniques of working metal, which demonstrates a link with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition in which the Colombian Pacific area played an important role.

As for the iconography, some Darién pendants of unknown origin can be identified as transitional between middle Cauca patterns and most schematic versions (Type 7; Figure 43 no. 4). These objects have some features that resemble those of middle Cauca pendants, such as schematic legs, lateral winged head ornaments with spirals, and the shape of the upper semispherical devices. However, the

facial features are different and indicate a further schematization. We can recognize two eyes, a protruding snout formed by parallel cast wires that project forward, and a triangular nose that might be seen as an interpretation of a bat’s nose leaf. The personages hold two simple staffs and wear several elements that show a rupture with the patterns of Darién pendants already described. Among these are the multiple-strand necklaces and the triangular loin-cloth, which replace the ornaments typical of the Yotoco-related patterns.

The most characteristic iconographic pattern of the highly schematic Darién pendants (Type 8) indicates the relationship of the middle Cauca River region with the Pacific area, and the influence of those regions on the upper Sinú and San Jorge River valleys—the gateways to the Colombian Caribbean lowlands—and the Pacific watershed of Panama (Figure 43). The pendants belonging to Type 8 can be classified in several subgroups according to their distinctive technological and iconographic features in association with their place of origin. Although these divisions are arbitrary, they help to understand the transformation in different cultural areas of the patterns of Darién pendants and the technological preferences in their manufacture.

Schematic Darién pendants of Type 8a have been found in the Colombian Pacific region (Baudó River and upper Atrato River) and in the middle Cauca River valley (Quindío), while some items of unknown origin also belong to this pattern. These pendants are coarse lost-wax castings in high-quality gold with a considerable amount of silver (Figures 44–47).⁴⁰ The hollow semispherical headdress ornaments are slightly flattened or tilted toward the front, and they are usually placed on top of the head without cast wires to support them. However, one pendant from the Pacific area (Alto Icho, Chocó; Figures 46, 47) shows two vertical cast wires adhered to the back of the figure, which simulate the supports of the semispherical devices. The

44. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; middle Cauca River, Quimbaya, Quindío. Cast gold, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5124). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

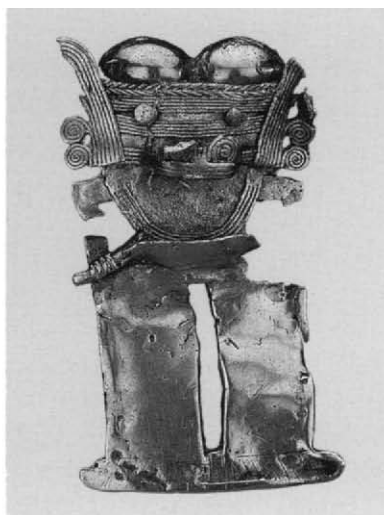
45. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; Pacific area, Baudó River, Chocó. Cast gold, H. ca. 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5895). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

46. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; Pacific area, Alto Icho, Chocó. Cast gold, H. 5 1/4 in. (13.4 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (8231). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

47. Reverse of Figure 46. Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



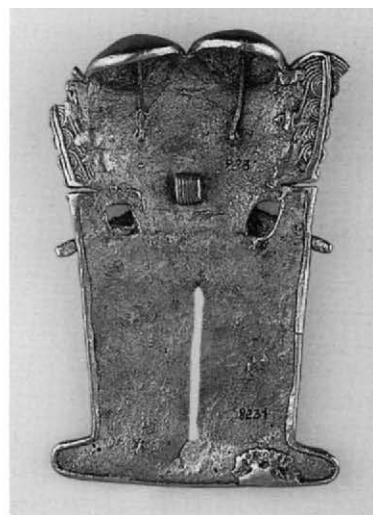
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48. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), north-western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; upper Sinú River, Valencia, Córdoba. Cast gold, H. 6¾ in. (17.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33081). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



49. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), north-western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900. Cast gold, H. 3⅞ in. (7.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.16)

faces of the figures belonging to Type 8a are decorated with horizontal cast wires, the rounded eyes have a slit in the middle, the nose is formed by spirals, and the mouth is represented by a band of parallel wires that projects out from the face. The flat arms are not separated from the body, but they are clearly indicated by cut-out triangles or lozenges

on the main body of the figure. These personages wear multi-strand necklaces and a distinctive loincloth represented by an elongated triangular device whose lateral ends are attached to the staffs the figures hold. The highly schematic legs are formed by a single plaque, and the lower zone, representing the feet, has rounded edges.

50 (front view) and 51 (back view). Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), northwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900. Cast gold, H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6419). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez





52. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 9), western Colombia, Pacific area, ca. A.D. 1–900; Purichá, Chocó. Cast gold, soldered elements; H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6815). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



53. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 9), western Colombia, Pacific area, ca. A.D. 1–900; Quibdó, Chocó. Cast gold, soldered elements missing; H. 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (11680). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

A variation of the highly schematic gold Darién pendants (Type 8b; Figures 43 nos. 6 and 7, 48–51) is represented by a number of specimens from the transitional area between the Western and Central Mountain Ranges and the Caribbean lowlands. The recorded provenances include the upper Sinú River (Tierralta and Valencia) with an extension to the middle reaches of the river in the Caribbean lowlands (Betancí), the middle San Jorge River drainage (Montelíbano), and the lower Cauca River valley (Caucasia). Several pendants in the National Museum of the American Indian that were apparently found “on the east bank of the Sinú river”⁴¹ are related to this pattern, as are some objects in the Museo del Oro and two of unknown origin in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 49).

These pendants are cast in high-grade gold or a gold-copper alloy.⁴² The highly schematic legs occasionally have a bend that recalls the crouched position of the various Darién pendants from southwestern Colombia described above. Some items do not include a representation of the arms, while in other examples the arms are suggested by cut-out triangles or lozenges on the main body. The multi-strand necklace is represented by a few cast wires placed horizontally on the shoulders and the chest. A few pendants have a triangular elongated loincloth, but the most common representation is that of a horizontal device of cast filigree with two hanging spiral ornaments; one object found near Betancí, in the middle reaches of the Sinú River, has a loincloth in the shape of a frog (Figure 43 no. 10).

This particular variant (Type 8b) includes a number of items that show two wires on the back of the figure that represent the supports for the semispherical headdress ornaments (Figure 51). Usually the supports were made as part of the original wax model of the figure, which was then cast in a single piece. However, in a couple of specimens, the main figure was cast, but the supporting wires were probably soldered to the back. This combination of techniques, which deserves a detailed analysis, would show both the distant influence of the early metallurgical tradition of southwestern Colombia and a technological relationship of the Type 8b pendants to another unique pattern (Type 9) represented by two items found in the Pacific area.

The schematic personages represented on Type 9 Darién pendants (Figures 52, 53) have a lozenge-shaped nose, and the upper semispherical headdresses are tilted forward and are surrounded by braided wires; the lateral headdress devices have four raised circular decorations, which are also bordered by these wires. The main figure of a pendant found in Purichá (Figures 52, 43 no. 1) was cast in high-grade gold with some silver but with no traces of copper,⁴³ while the eyes (now missing) and a separate piece that includes the loincloth, the staffs, and the nose were joined to the main figure using a gold-copper-alloy solder of a pink color. A similar pendant from Quibdó (Figure 53) was also cast in high-quality gold and still has the marks at the points



54

54. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8c), Caribbean Colombia; Sinú River area, Betancí, Córdoba. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (21025). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



55

55. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8d), Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Hacienda Vilut, Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (3.3 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (29002). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



56

56. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8e), Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25134). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

where the piece that formed the loincloth and the staffs (now missing) was soldered to the main body.

The influence of western Colombian metalworking in areas toward the Caribbean region is also apparent in what may be local production, in the Sinú and San Jorge River drainages and neighboring zones, of some specific variants of Darién pendants. Some items follow the pattern of Type 8 but introduce different features, while others belong to new patterns. Indeed, the general pattern of one pendant of high-grade gold found in the region of Betancí, in the middle Sinú River area (Type 8c; Figure 54), matches the prototypes of western Colombia. However, this pendant introduces variations in the upper semispherical headdress ornaments, which are tilted toward the front, and in the shape of the “feet,” which show squared borders and incised decoration forming a herringbone pattern. The loincloth is attached to the staffs, following a pattern that exists in some pendants from western Colombia (Type 8a).

A couple of unique and atypical pendants from the mountains of San Jacinto, in the northern region of the Caribbean lowlands, probably dating before A.D. 900, anticipate the popularity of local and distinct versions of Darién pendants, which, as will be seen below, differentiated this region during the later period. These atypical pendants (Types 8d and 8e) are made of gold-rich *tumbaga* and show a basic pattern related to other schematic Darién pendants (Type 8). They also include particular features such as a triangular raised nose (Type 8d; Figure 55) or the bird-shaped loincloth of the pendant of Type 8e (Figure 56), which represents an interesting variation of the triangular loincloth with elongated sides. The conical shape of the headdress ornaments of this pendant is also found on the unusual specimens from the Caribbean lowlands described below.

The upper Sinú and San Jorge River areas have produced a few different gold pendants (Type 10; Figure 43 nos. 8, 11) that show some stylistic relationships with the Type 5 pattern belonging to the Antioquia and Sinú regions (see Figure 34). The technology used for Type 10 pendants also suggests an influence from the Pacific area during an early period. The pendants have schematic legs, conical and hollow semi-spherical headdresses, and triangular ornaments at each side of the head. One, in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, apparently found “on the east bank of the Sinú river” (Figure 43 no. 11),⁴⁴ holds a bar with schematic birds that recalls some Early Quimbaya representations. A pendant from Montelíbano, in the San Jorge River drainage (Figure 43 no. 8), has a human face and shows traces of a now-missing device that was soldered to the main body.

The presence in the Sinú and San Jorge River areas of these variants of Darién pendants related to middle Cauca River and Pacific versions is not surprising, since the upper Sinú River was a zone of permanent contact between the communities of the Pacific area and the inhabitants of the Caribbean lowlands.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Cauca River flows through the mountainous area of Antioquia before entering the districts of the Caribbean lowlands, which are drained by its effluent, the San Jorge River. In the transitional zone, archaeologists have detected settlements dated to a period between A.D. 700 and 900 that produced the distinctive brown incised ceramic wares that are related to Early Quimbaya metalwork⁴⁶ and, nearby, the vestiges of important settlements of the Zenú people, who were responsible for a long cultural development in the Caribbean lowlands.⁴⁷

The Darién pendants of the Sinú and San Jorge River areas described above did not mix and form hybrids with

the earliest groups of objects produced in Zenú metallurgy in the Caribbean lowlands—the Early Zenú (Figure 57) and the Planeta Rica groups—that were already in use by the time of Christ. This metalwork belongs to the long cultural development of the Zenú people, which reached its peak between A.D. 400 and 900. The Zenú transformed the landscape of the seasonally flooded lands in the lower Sinú, San Jorge, and Cauca River drainages with artificial canals that covered 500,000 hectares; numerous metal objects have been found in the burial mounds built by these communities.⁴⁸ In Betancí (Sinú River) and Montelíbano (San Jorge River)—two areas that produced Darién pendants—large cemeteries of artificial mounds have yielded a high number of metal objects belonging to Zenú metallurgy, which, in its earliest stages, was influenced by southern traditions.

Early Zenú and Planeta Rica metal objects have a strong local character, but they also show the effect of the International Group as well as particular technological orientations. Early Zenú metallurgy reflects the influence of Early Quimbaya metalwork in its preference for casting techniques, depletion gilding, cast filigree work, and alloys with high gold content⁴⁹ for staff heads (Figure 57) and other hollow and heavy objects, as well as the distinctive cast filigree earrings. The Planeta Rica group includes a larger number of hammered objects and some items that were made by joining several previously shaped pieces, probably using some kind of solder.⁵⁰ This type of technology, which was

not common in the northern metalworking areas, shows a distant relationship with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition, as well as influence from the Pacific watershed and western Colombia, which are also evident in the Darién pendants described above.

Some schematic Darién pendants have been found in Panama, where the early local metalwork was flourishing during the first centuries A.D. A pendant corresponding to Type 8a from western Colombia was found in the area of Venado Beach on the Pacific watershed of eastern Panama (Figure 43 no. 9). This item might be contemporary with the early Venado Beach metallurgy, whose temporal distribution corresponds to A.D. 500–700. The early metallurgy at Venado Beach includes objects related to the Initial and International Groups and also the Openwork Group, which has been identified as one of the earliest styles of the isthmus.⁵¹ This last group, with its preference for the use of cast filigree ornamentation (Figure 59), shows an interesting relationship with Early Zenú metallurgy in this technology and decoration.

Several Darién pendants that have been found in the region of Parita in the Azuero Peninsula of central Panama,⁵² among them one at the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 60, 43 no. 5), have a basic schematic pattern that relates them to Colombian prototypes. However, these are local versions that have a number of appurtenances in the style of the Parita Assemblage (Figure 61), a local group related to the Conte tradition of central Panama, whose development



57. Staff head, Colombian Caribbean lowlands, early Zenú. Cast gold, H. 4¾ in. (12.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.920)



58. Cast filigree earrings, Colombian Caribbean lowlands, Zenú. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1974, 1977 (1974.271.58, .59)

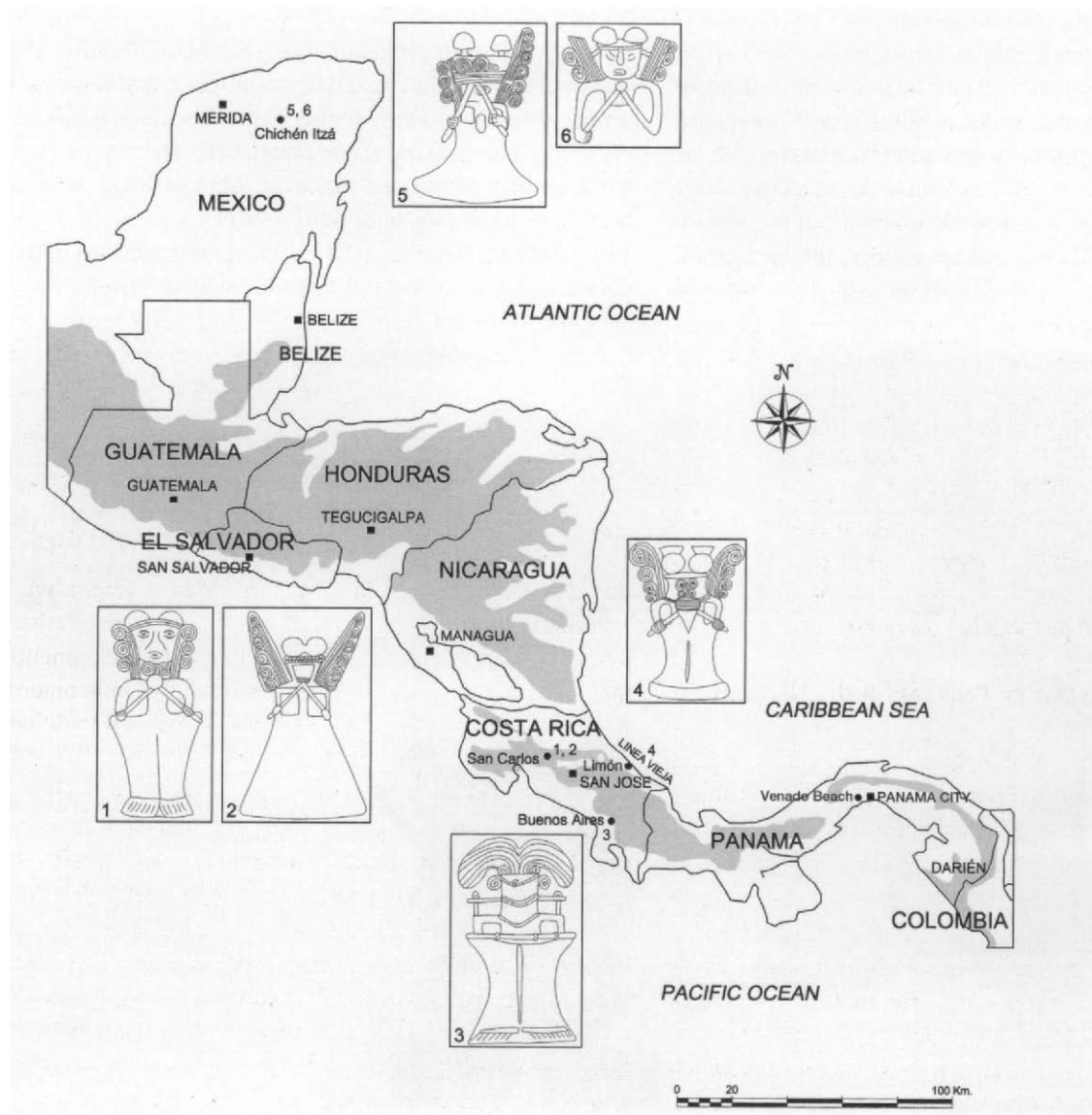


59. Pendant, Openwork Group, Venado Beach, Panama. Cast gold, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.1372)

60. Darién pendant, Parita, Pacific area, Panama. Cast gold, H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.33)



61. Pendant, Parita, Pacific area, Panama. Cast gold, H. 3½ in. (7.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.34aa)



62. Map placing Darién pendants in Costa Rica and Maya territory (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



63. Darién pendant. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.29)

extended from A.D. 700 to 1500.⁵³ The Darién pendants might correspond to an early stage of this metallurgy.

The distribution of the highly schematic Darién pendants described above is concentrated in western Colombia, with an extension to the Pacific area of Panama. The reconstruction of the cultural processes in these regions has shown that this was a very old pattern of relationships that goes back beyond the beginning of the Christian era.⁵⁴ The particular pattern of schematic pendants represented by Type 8 was a popular model that was reproduced and modified by different cultures which had already developed their own regional styles during the first centuries A.D. As will be seen below, this was also the basic pattern that was adopted and modified with the addition of new technological and stylistic features in one region of northern Colombia where the theme survived until the Spanish conquest.

Quimbaya-Related Darién Pendants in the Northern Cultural Areas

Other Darién pendants that were produced in Central America before A.D. 900 have a distribution and technical and stylistic characteristics that differ from those of the highly schematic pendants described above. These objects were produced in the context of the influence of Early Quimbaya metallurgy that is apparent in the widespread adoption of its specific technology and in the manufacture of distinctive categories, which are included in Bray's International Group. We can mention the various anthropomorphic figures, which are clearly local variants but which show similarities with the naturalistic Early Quimbaya

personages. Their distribution extends from Panama to Yucatán (Mexico), with a special concentration in the Atlantic watershed of Costa Rica, where they can be dated to the period between A.D. 500 and 900.⁵⁵

The Quimbaya-related anthropomorphic figures frequently hybridized with Darién pendants and with figures adorned with recurved headdresses. These particular Darién pendants also show a concentration in Costa Rica (Figure 62), while two items were found in the sacred Cenote of Sacrifice of Chichén Itzá in Maya territory.⁵⁶

The Darién pendants from Costa Rica (Figure 62) are lost-wax castings in gold-copper alloys. Their technology, iconography, and decoration recall some items from the middle Cauca River area in Colombia and the traits of Early Quimbaya anthropomorphic figures. However, the pendants are likely to have been manufactured in Costa Rica, for they conform to different patterns. It is interesting to note that one object of unknown origin housed in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 63) includes some features related to those of the Central American pendants.

The Darién pendants found in the Chichén Itzá Cenote of Sacrifice were cast in gold-copper alloys, and their particular patterns are unique (Figure 62 nos. 5, 6). In general terms, their traits show more links with the items from Costa Rica, suggesting that they were probably manufactured in that area.⁵⁷

The Quimbaya-related Darién pendants and associated objects found in Central America show the importance of the Caribbean connection in the transference of metallurgical knowledge. These pendants are part of the International Group, and their decline coincides with the waning production of those works by A.D. 900.

THE LATE PERIOD: A LOCAL SURVIVAL OF DARIÉN PENDANTS (A.D. 900–1600)

The Decline of Darién Pendants in Western Colombia and the Isthmus

In southwestern Colombia, the long cultural developments that identified this extensive area from the first millennium B.C. were replaced by A.D. 700–800 by a cultural tradition that corresponds to the populations still living in the area by the time of the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. This new cultural tradition is linked to metalwork production that differs from the earliest tradition, which preferred high-grade gold and the direct working of metal. The late metalwork practices of southwestern Colombia are instead distinguished by the general use of gold-copper alloys, lost-wax casting, and depletion gilding and by the production of a large number of smaller categories of metal ornaments.⁵⁸ Darién pendants were not part of the metalwork associated with this late cultural development.

64. Darién pendant, Tairona, Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1500; Don Diego River, Santa Marta, Magdalena. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2 3/4 in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (30199). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



In northern Colombia and Central America, the early regional styles evolved or merged with late metalwork production, which lasted until the Spanish conquest. The late regional styles not only demonstrate strong local characteristics, but they are also linked by common technological preferences for gold-copper alloys, lost-wax casting, and depletion gilding, although the production of hammered objects in high-quality gold existed in some regions. In the majority of these cultural areas, Darién pendants disappeared from the inventory of the metallurgy, with the possible exception of some isolated items. A pendant found in Panama has a basic shape that can be matched in Colombia,⁵⁹ but it includes ornaments in the form of saurians and serpents, which are in the Veraguas–Gran Chiriquí style that developed in western Panama and eastern Costa Rica. The earlier manifestations of that regional style can probably be traced to a period about A.D. 500–800, although it had a long history that lasted until the Spanish conquest.⁶⁰

In the Caribbean lowlands of Colombia, the period between A.D. 1000 and the Spanish conquest was a time of diversification for Zenú metallurgy. A large number of cast filigree earrings (Figure 58), staff heads, and other objects made of gold-copper alloys as well as hammered ornaments of high-grade gold were produced in extensive areas of the lowlands and were buried in cemeteries of artificial mounds that belong to later periods of the Zenú people.⁶¹ Darién pendants were not included in the late Zenú metalwork of the lowlands, and neither were the bird-shaped pectorals or the animals with a raised tail that go back to the International Group and which were present in the early aggregations of Zenú goldwork.

In the vicinity of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, in northeastern Colombia, the Late Tairona regional style devel-

oped after A.D. 1000, and its roots can be traced back to the Early Tairona or Nahuanje metallurgy that was already in production by the early centuries A.D.⁶² Late Tairona metallurgy shows a preference for surface-enriched objects cast in gold-copper alloys. These have a strong local character and a complex iconography that was tied to the local social order and the cosmology of the Chibcha-speaking groups whose culture consolidated between A.D. 1000 and the Spanish conquest.⁶³ A unique Darién pendant found in this area (Figures 64, 65 no. 7) belongs to Late Tairona metalwork. It shows a typical Tairona face adorned with an elongated nose ornament, a lip plug, and lateral appendages with zoomorphic figures that are seen on a large number of ornaments belonging to this regional style. Darién pendants were not integrated into Late Tairona work, and the isolated example must be a local copy of the numerous pendants produced during the late period in the neighboring San Jacinto area, with which the inhabitants of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta were in permanent contact.⁶⁴

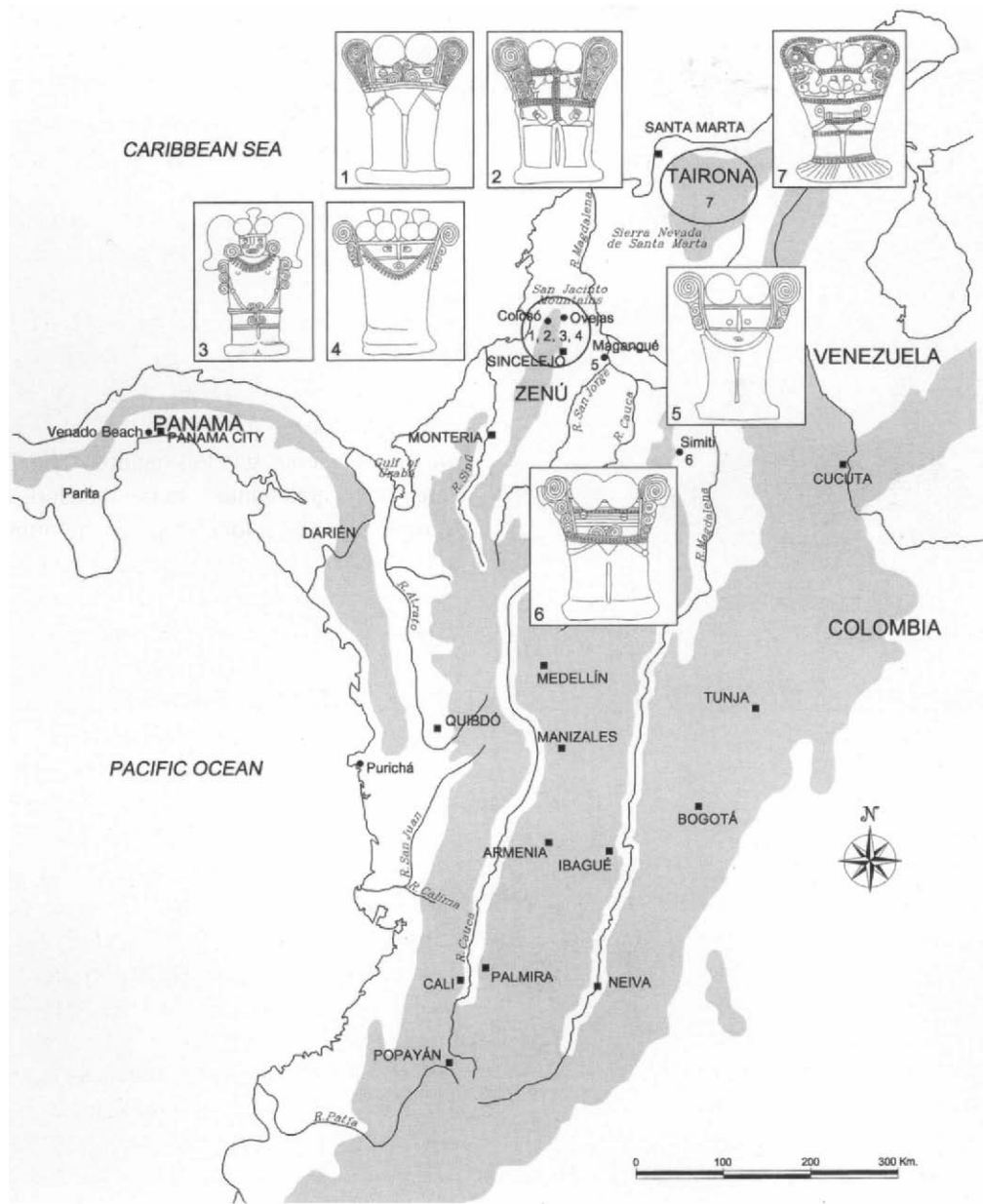
Darién Pendants in the Land of Copper

The origins of metallurgical development in the mountains of San Jacinto, which separate the lowlands from the Caribbean coast of Colombia, are poorly known. However, these origins appear to go back to A.D. 900, since the metallurgy of the area shows the presence of categories related to the International Group, such as Darién pendants and figures with recurved headdresses (see Figures 66–70). As we have seen, a few atypical Darién pendants found in this area suggest the early influence there of southern metalwork traditions (see Figures 55, 56).

The presence among the metalwork objects developed in the San Jacinto area⁶⁵ of staff heads, cast filigree ear ornaments, and other categories shows the influence of Zenú metalwork, although the San Jacinto objects have a good number of local features. Archaeological and historical research has demonstrated that there also existed an old pattern of relationships between the San Jacinto area and the Sinú and San Jorge River drainages.⁶⁶

The aggregation of San Jacinto works shows a long-lasting regional style that was still in use after the Spanish conquest, as indicated by the seventeenth-century date associated with a Darién pendant.⁶⁷ The urns and the shaft graves grouped in cemeteries in the hills of the San Jacinto range contain numerous metal objects found in association with pottery, shell ornaments, and, occasionally, glass beads and iron weapons of Spanish origin.⁶⁸

Ornaments related to the San Jacinto group, including Darién pendants, have been found in the neighboring lower Magdalena River region, where there is also evidence of metalwork production after the Spanish conquest. Sixteenth-century documents describe centers for specialized metal-



65. Map placing late Darién pendants, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1600 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)

workers in the lands of the Malibú people, who occupied this area between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. Archaeological research has traced the Malibú influence in neighboring regions, such as the lower San Jorge and Cauca River drainages and the mountains of San Jacinto.⁶⁹ In fact, San Jacinto metallurgy reflects the multi-ethnic situation in the region: the long-lasting influence of the Zenú and Malibú traditions as well as contact and exchange with the Tairona area during the later period.⁷⁰

The aggregation of San Jacinto metalwork shows particular emphasis on the use of copper mixed with small amounts of gold and silver and on lost-wax casting.⁷¹ The matrix of the metal is usually heavily corroded, and, although some objects still have a gilded surface, in the majority of cases it looks badly worn.⁷²

The numerous Darién pendants from the San Jacinto area (Figure 65; there are eighty items with recorded provenance in the Museo del Oro collection) were especially concentrated in the local districts of Colosó and Ovejas, with an extension to the lower Cauca and Magdalena River drainages (twenty-three of the items), where other categories belonging to the San Jacinto assemblage are also common. The San Jacinto Darién pendants belong to well-defined highly schematic groups whose origins can be found in the earlier objects from the middle Cauca River area, the Pacific area, and, especially, the Sinú and San Jorge River regions. However, the San Jacinto pendants also reflect the orientation of local metallurgy, for they were cast in *tumbaga* with much copper and small amounts of gold⁷³ using the lost-wax method. New iconographic features and different types

66. Darién pendant (Type 11), San Jacinto Mountains, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Colosó, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (17631). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



67. Darién pendant (Type 11a). Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (21132). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



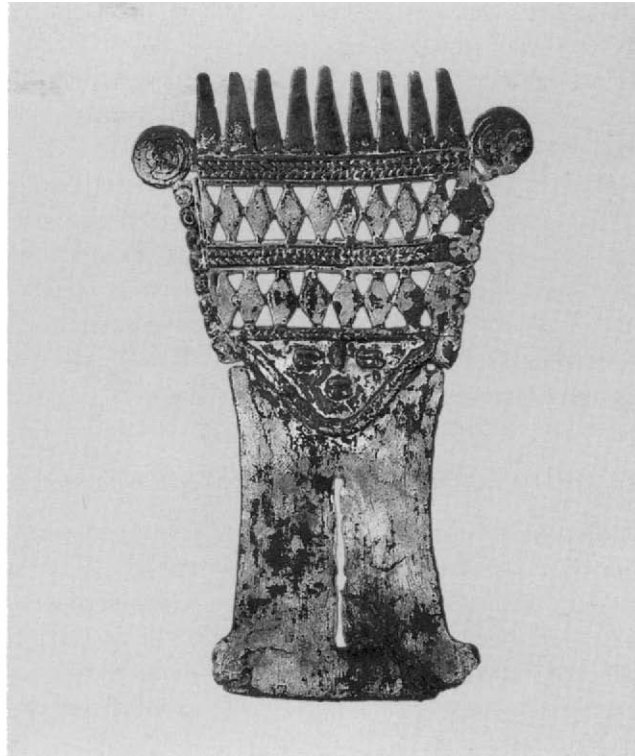
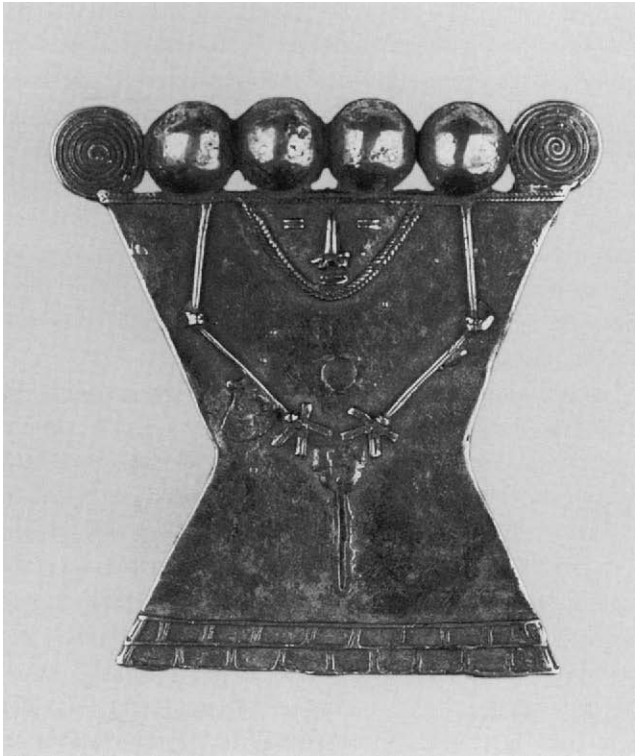
68. Darién pendant (Type 13), San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22427). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



69. Darién pendant (Type 14), San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33618). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



70. Anthropozoomorphic figure, San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Colosó, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (9.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22334). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



71. Darién pendant (Type 15), San Jacinto Mountains, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3¼ in. (9.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25133). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

72. Darién pendant (Type 16), San Jacinto Mountains, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22424). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

of pendants were also developed and added to the repertoire, suggesting that the Darién pendants were adapted to a local assemblage which was tied to a particular social order and worldview.

The iconography of the largest group of pendants belonging to San Jacinto metallurgy (Type 11; Figures 65, 66) is related to that of Types 8b and 8c from the Sinú and San Jorge River areas. Some of the features, such as the frontal position of the upper semispherical ornaments and the shape of the lower body, recall specimens of Types 8c and 8d found in the Sinú River area and the San Jacinto mountains that probably belong to an earlier period (see Figures 54, 55).

The flat schematic legs of Type 11 Darién pendants do not have the bend suggesting a crouched position that was present in some schematic pendants from western Colombia. The triangular loincloth is common, although it is small and lacks the lateral extensions that appeared in other variants. A number of specimens have a loincloth represented by horizontal cast wires and two hanging spiral-shaped devices. The staffs, when present, are simple and schematic. The nose is usually represented by one or two sets of juxtaposed spirals, although in several examples it is replaced by a realistic frog (Type 11a; Figure 67). In one case, the lower part of a frog's body replaces the loincloth on a human figure (Figure 65 no. 2). It is tempting to speculate that, in the case of the San Jacinto Darién pendants, the typical spiral-shaped nose could be the schematization of this animal. The upper spirals, which might represent the eyes of a frog, are usually

surmounted by two cast wires forming a triangular pattern that can be interpreted as a mouth. Additionally, in the pendants with a spiral-shaped loincloth, this device resembles the body and the schematic legs of a frog. One pendant with a frog-shaped nose has conical upper headdress ornaments (Figure 67).

Another pattern of San Jacinto Darién pendants, Type 12, is represented by two items that have a similar basic shape but introduce such new elements as bottle-shaped upper headdress ornaments and a triangular nose that recalls the old pattern possibly linked to a leaf-nosed bat.⁷⁴ Pendants of Type 13 demonstrate another step in the schematization of the human figure, for the lower part of the body is limited to the schematic plaque that represents the legs (Figures 65 no. 5, 68). These pendants include a realistic human face and sometimes a necklace with elongated beads reminiscent of a kind of shell bead found frequently in the archaeological sites of the San Jacinto area. The three items belonging to Type 14 maintain the schematic shape of the legs, and they show some variation in their iconographic features (Figures 65 no. 3, 69), although they are all related by the recurved winged headdress ornaments that recall some figures belonging to the International Group (see Figure 40). This form of headdress ornament was included in the San Jacinto assemblage and was modified following local technical and stylistic preferences (Figure 70). Two items belonging to Type 15 (Figures 65 no. 4, 71) have four semispherical headdress ornaments and a human face. They wear nose ornaments with lateral appendages, a typical feature in the

San Jacinto metalwork assemblage, and one item shows a necklace with elongated beads (Figure 65 no. 4). Finally, one figure (Type 16; Figure 72) has a unique style of headdress, one decorated with cut-out triangles. This design is common among other objects of San Jacinto metalwork.

The San Jacinto group, with its assimilation of Darién pendants, represents the last interpretation of this old pattern of human figures, and it is the only case in which the pendants were produced in abundance, merging with other influences on a regional style that developed a strong character of its own and managed to survive even after the Spanish conquest.

DARIÉN PENDANTS' PAN-AMERICAN ROLE

During the period of expansion of Darién pendants in Colombia and Central America, between the time of Christ and A.D. 900, the codification of diagnostic features identified an unmistakable personage, regardless of the variants that demonstrate selection of stylistic patterns and iconographic elements as well as the distinct technologies of particular cultural areas.

Darién pendants maintained their identity during a long period without merging with local metalwork assemblages, suggesting that the subject of the pendants themselves was not precisely tied to local worldviews or mythologies. Indeed, regional styles were linked to particular systems of beliefs and social organizations as expressed in local iconographies. Shared symbols are important in social communication and in the determination of cultural identity. Beyond the distinctive expressions of local mythologies, constant and basic lines of thought are recognizable: this phenomenon relates to the very nature of mythology as a way of explaining the world in terms of multiple analogies and transformations. Thus, it is possible to find central principles associated with the essence of mythical thought. Darién pendants, with their stereotypic diagnostic features, might represent a synthesis of symbols linked to a basic "Pan-American" symbolic framework that supported different local mythologies.

The widespread and long-lasting use of Darién pendants suggests that the iconography of a stereotypic personage—whether priest, shaman, *cacique* imbued with sacred power, ancestor, or mythical being—was recognized by people distinguished by different cultural heritages and ideologies. The diagnostic features of Darién pendants might represent a common means of communication, some sort of symbolic lingua franca that went beyond the particular expressions of the local worldviews.

According to the mythical interpretation of the world, all the elements of reality—the natural world, the cosmos, and humanity—are intimately linked, and living beings are

formed by the same properties as part of a multidimensional reality. In a ritual context, people can be transformed into other beings in the cosmos, such as animals, deities, or ancestors. Men are able to identify with a mythical condition and with the ancestral world by means of meditation and dreams and with the use of hallucinogenic drugs, masks, ritual ornaments, music, rhythmic chants, and dance that induce altered states of consciousness. In collective rituals directed by the religious specialists, humans enter other dimensions of reality, recalling their origins to ensure social reproduction.

Ritual elements have specific symbolic associations guided by these principles. Darién pendants depict ceremonial paraphernalia linked to the world of transformations and to the search for equilibrium expressed during ritual occasions. The personages represented are frequently shown in a crouching position, which, for many Amerindian communities, has a connotation of wisdom and stability and allows men to establish a link with the axis mundi.⁷⁵ The posture of the figures also recalls that of the dancers during ritual occasions. Additionally, the staffs in the form of rattles (*maracas*) held in the most naturalistic representations on Darién pendants remind us that music is a ritual language, with multiple associations related to social norms. Music also contributes to inducing particular mental states in participants and to communicating with the ancestral world.⁷⁶ The two semispherical devices on the upper headdress, one of the most distinctive features of Darién pendants, have been interpreted by some authors as representations of mushrooms associated with hallucinogenic drugs.⁷⁷

Darién pendants show an animal face—a mask or a transformed man—symbolizing the metamorphosis that imbues men with powers linked to the properties and abilities of particular species in an altered reality. The representation of masked men, probably with the features of crocodiles, bats, and vampires, might indicate the old and long-lasting importance of these animals for the people living in an extensive territory. In addition to the many local interpretations of the symbolic and cosmological aspects of these animals, it is common to find a widespread interest in the ability of bats to dominate darkness and with their relation to the underworld and to life transformations and regeneration. To give just one example, for the Uwa people of the Eastern Mountain Range of Colombia, bats are associated with the souls of the dead that return to the paths of origin. In caves, the souls "feed on smoke and sleep hanging from the rock walls," while they replenish their strength and go through a process of transformation leading to rebirth.⁷⁸ The cosmological importance of crocodilians prompted their popularity in the iconography of Precolumbian objects over extensive areas and their survival in contemporary traditions. Thus, for the Zenú people of Caribbean Colombia, the most important of

the lower world's water spirits is the golden alligator, which supports the world and protects humanity.⁷⁹

The role of Darién pendants as a widespread codified symbolic communication might be responsible for their wide distribution before A.D. 900. The iconographic features of the pendants represented basic principles belonging to the mythical interpretation of the world that went beyond the boundaries between cultural areas and local world-views. The various local features of the pendants and the technical preferences in particular areas show the ways in which different cultures interpreted these principles. We can see the contrast among the high-grade gold pendants from the Colombian Pacific area, the wider range of metal compositions of the Yotoco-related items, and the preference for *tumbaga* with important amounts of copper indicated by the middle Cauca River examples. These technological choices, which must reflect the strong relationship of technology to specific systems of beliefs, are also guided by primary symbolic principles that guided the use of metals and that are related to cosmological cycles and the cycle of development of humans.

Some basic symbolic principles define the primary cosmological associations of metals. These are related to the inherent properties of metals as expressed in visible or perceptible qualities, such as color, odor, brilliance, and texture. In ancient Colombia, gold and copper were the dominant metals. On a symbolic level, they represented opposing yet complementary properties. The association of gold with immortality and with brilliant yellowish hues as the expression of male generative power and the fertilizing energy of the sun is a universal concept among ancient and non-Western societies.⁸⁰ Copper is related to mortality, to humanness and the reddish hues of blood, to female properties, and to transformations. On a cosmological level, these qualities are linked to the cycle of the moon, which represents the full process of life development, decline, and regeneration. Each phase in this cycle is related to a particular stage in life transformations and to distinctive colors, which, in the mythology of the Desana people of the north-west Amazon, are referred to as "copper colors."⁸¹ Thus, copper is related to the waxing moon—with the reddish colors of blood and the initial development of the human embryo, and the green colors of vegetation growth—and to the waning moon, which, among the Desana, is associated with blackened-red hues, identified as "copper colors," and to strong odors corresponding to illness, decay, and putrefaction.⁸² Copper symbolizes the development and decline of human life as expressed in its basic reddish hues and in its multicolored transformations through tarnishing and oxidation.⁸³

Particular interpretations of these principles according to local mythologies and systems of beliefs might be respon-

sible for the variations in the selection of specific metals and technologies. In the case of Darién pendants, the preference for high-grade gold in the production of pendants from the Pacific region was probably related to the presence of rich alluvial deposits in the rivers that flow to the Pacific Ocean. In addition to the availability of the raw material in this choice of metal, the symbolic properties of gold, as the immortal metal related to the life-giving energy of the sun, were probably dominant for the people living in this land of gold.

In contrast with the Darién pendants from the Pacific region, examples from other areas demonstrate the increasing importance of copper and, especially, of *tumbaga*. In Early Quimbaya metallurgy, the techniques related to gold-copper alloys were perfected, and their influence was felt over extensive areas. In the northern regions, even in the San Jacinto area where copper was dominant, objects contain small amounts of gold. At a symbolic level, *tumbaga* represents the mixture of the male and female qualities of gold and copper. To initiate the embryonic development that would result in the gold-copper alloy, the fertilizing influence of gold had to be added to the copper, which has an inherent potential for transformation. Through this metallurgical process, people reproduced the cosmological process of the transformations of the moon, which begin with the fertilizing influence of the sun during the phase of the new moon. The alloy of gold and copper represents the union of male and female properties, the combination necessary to ensure the continuity of life, with the metals seen as embryos or seeds that produced the germ of life through metallurgical transformations. This combination of metals thus stands for an act of creation similar to the cycle of human development and to cosmological cycles. The gold-copper alloy also symbolizes the union of the human and the divine—of mortality and immortality—an absolute unity.⁸⁴

As we have seen, the Quimbaya area was where *tumbaga* was used in greater quantities in manufacturing Darién pendants. The symbolic relationships of gold, copper, *tumbaga*, and their metallurgical transformations guided the emphasis these local cultures placed on making spectacular *tumbaga* items. Early Quimbaya metalwork is characterized by large, heavy, polished objects that represent adorned human beings holding ritual paraphernalia. They have been found in graves perhaps of people who had a special role in local communities. In her study on Quimbaya metallurgy, María Alicia Uribe suggests that these metal objects served primarily to legitimize the power and prestige of local leaders.⁸⁵ Such personages—priests, shamans, or *caciques*—developed symbolic and ritual functions to enable them to ensure the permanence of social life and of the cosmological cycles. The symbolic properties of manufactured objects,

including the elements of *tumbaga*, were probably linked to this justification of power.

The symbolic associations of the role of local leaders can probably be extended to every Indian community, for these people directed the various rituals that served to ensure the continuity of social life. However, in the social relationships practiced in different cultures, we can trace some variations in the specific emphasis placed on the function of metal. Thus, for example, the emblematic nature of Early Quimbaya metallurgy contrasts with that of San Jacinto metallurgy, which developed in a later period. In the San Jacinto area, a large number of small, intensively used, portable objects were produced. There, Darién pendants were integrated into a regional style for the first time, and these numerous pendants reflect the particular social orientation of San Jacinto metallurgy. Darién pendants as well as other items belonging to the San Jacinto assemblage had a restricted distribution that covered the San Jacinto heartland and neighboring regions such as the drainages of the lower Cauca and Magdalena Rivers.

The symbolic essence of gold, copper, and gold-copper alloys can be related to the emphasis in the popular use of the metal objects in these regions. Spanish chronicles and documents of the colonial period describe how the peoples of these areas prized objects of copper and *tumbaga*, especially nose ornaments, that a bridegroom offered to his father-in-law during a marriage ceremony.⁸⁶ Such ornaments represented women, social identity, and the marriage alliance permitted by social rules that ensured the permanence of the society as a whole.⁸⁷ Historical sources report that the Indians distinguished the origin of the objects by their particular shape, as well as by their color and their smell, and that different communities were known for producing distinctive categories and shapes of ornaments made from specifically prescribed amounts of gold and copper.⁸⁸ This suggests that people could identify the color and odor of the metal combinations associated with different communities. An alloy with specific amounts of gold and copper might represent the correct and balanced mixtures of male and female properties, which, at a symbolic level, identified a particular community.⁸⁹ Matrimonial exchange included the idea of the right combination of odors. Among the Desana, for instance, marriage alliances that are correct according to exogamic rules are interpreted as a good combination of odors, while the incompatibility of partners is described as having a “contaminating odor.”⁹⁰

The smell of copper and *tumbaga* has sexual and gender connotations and is associated with particular animals. Among the Desana, the odor of copper is related to that of a toad, which represents female fertility and procreation.⁹¹ The association of frogs and toads with female sexuality is common in the mythologies of the indigenous groups of

Caribbean Colombia, among them the Zenú people and the Kogi of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.⁹² These associations recall the importance of frog representations in various archaeological materials of Caribbean Colombia, of the frog-shaped nose of some Darién pendants from the San Jacinto area, and of numerous copper and *tumbaga* nose ornaments showing local variations of standardized forms that have been found in extensive regions of Caribbean Colombia.⁹³ We can mention as well the large number of nose ornaments with two lateral upturned “legs” that have been found in the San Jacinto area and that are depicted on local anthropomorphic figures, including Darién pendants (Figures 69–71). Although we cannot affirm that these nose ornaments represent a schematization of the legs of a frog, their shape reminds us of the features of this animal, and such an interpretation would accord with the symbolism of frogs. Additionally, the social importance of nose ornaments recalls particular gender and sexual connotations, which, in the case of metal ornaments, deserve further study. For example, for the Uwa the nose is related to male sexuality and the ears to female sexuality.⁹⁴

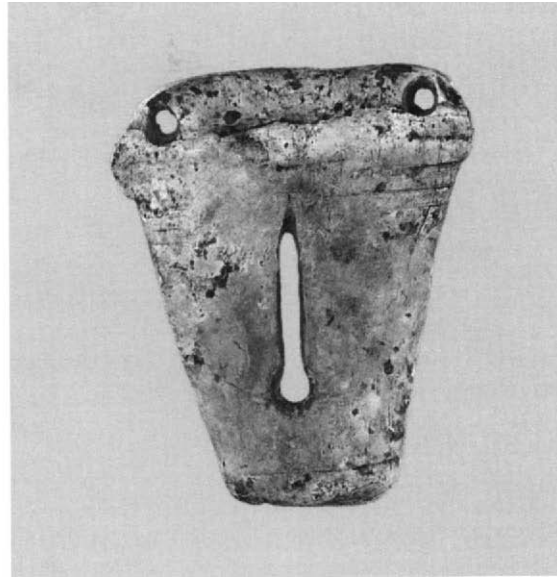
The use of copper and *tumbaga* objects in the particular context of matrimonial exchange was widespread on the American continents and included different types of ornaments. The ancient Taíno of the Caribbean islands used ear ornaments as “bride price” during marriage alliances; they appreciated the dark red color and the smell of such ornaments made of the gold-copper alloy that they called *guanín*.⁹⁵ Among the indigenous people living in the North American northwest coast, the various uses of copper objects included their function in the context of marriage relationships. Among the Kwakiutl, for instance, the women accumulated “coppers,” the most important of metal items for these people. Coppers, or bride wealth, were offered to the future husband. By giving coppers, the woman’s family group symbolically bought the rights to the future children,⁹⁶ the coppers serving as substitutes for children. In general, the coppers were individuals—“people”: they had names, and they were described in terms of smell and texture.⁹⁷

Darién pendants were also “people.” The coppery matrix of the metal, subject to heavy corrosion, recalls the humanness of copper, its feminine associations, transformations of embryonic life, and the mortality of human beings. However, the presence of gold, which made a brilliant yellowish surface possible, introduced the complementary male feature of divine immortality. These pendants were probably used as emblems evoking basic mythological principles related to balance and continuity of life.

The Darién pendants that belonged to late cultural developments in Caribbean Colombia were probably used in activities related to social and political alliances, which might also have involved nose ornaments, other metal



73. Shell ornament in the form of a Darién pendant, Caribbean Colombia; Canalete, Córdoba. H. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (K19). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



74. Shell ornament in the form of the legs of a Darién pendant, Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Carmen de Bolívar, Bolívar. H. 2 in. (5.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (K436). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

items, and objects of different materials, such as the frog-shaped shell beads that are particularly abundant in the San Jacinto and neighboring areas or the shell ornaments in the form of Darién pendants (Figures 73, 74) that are occasionally found in the Caribbean area. Copper, *tumbaga*, shell items, nose ornaments, frogs, anthropomorphic figures—all are linked by a basic symbolism that follows the integrative orientation of mythical thought.

The widespread phenomenon represented by Darién pendants allows us to explore some possible explanations for their extensive distribution and for the local differences in their manufacture. The “birth” and diversification of Darién pendants by the time of Christ correspond to the development of local cultures associated with spectacular metalwork that lasted until A.D. 800–900. These early regional styles were probably tied to the prestige and social functions of local leaders, who had the right to be buried with large quantities of emblematic metal ornaments. This tendency is suggested, for instance, by the rich funerary offerings in the Calima River area, by the Quimbaya treasures uncovered in the Quindío region, by the numerous metal objects buried in the Zenú funerary mounds, and by the rich content of the Coclé graves in Panama. During this period, the Darién pendants that were produced alongside the early regional styles over large areas acted as a common means of symbolic communication.

With the consolidation of the late regional styles in Colombia and Central America after A.D. 900, there was a change in the primary orientation of metallurgical produc-

tion. Chiefs, priests, and shamans also had a particular power that was imbued with cosmological energies and that gave them the right to use sacred ritual objects. However, in this period, popular use of numerous metal items during ritual occasions and in social alliances becomes more evident. Thousands of smaller, portable objects were produced in this context. The fluctuation in emphasis that guided the production and use of metal objects is reflected in the diminishing distribution of Darién pendants and in the mass production of objects belonging to the distinctive metalwork of the San Jacinto area. These differences, however, are linked by a primary and basic principle: the search for balance between opposing and complementary qualities, which must be reproduced by humans to encourage the continuity of life in society, nature, and the cosmos.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- MO Museo del Oro del Banco de la República, Bogotá, Colombia
- NMAI National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- DOAKS Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
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José Pérez de Barradas. *Orfebrería prehispánica de Colombia: Estilos quimbaya y otros. Obra basada en el estudio de las colecciones del Museo del Oro del Banco de la República, Bogotá*. 2 vols. Madrid, 1965–66.
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NOTES

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2. Pérez de Barradas 1965–66; Charles Bolian, "Seriation of the Darién Style Anthropomorphic Figure," in *Variation in Anthropology: Essays in Honor of John C. McGregor*, ed. Donald W. Lathrap and Jody Douglas (Urbana: Illinois Archaeological Survey, 1973), pp. 213–32; Ana María Falchetti, "The Goldwork of the Sinú Region, Northern Colombia" (M.Phil. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1976); Falchetti 1979.
3. Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
4. See Heather Lechtman, "Traditions and Styles in Central Andean Metalworking," in *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*, ed. Robert Maddin (Boston, 1988), pp. 344–76.
5. Clemencia Plazas and Ana María Falchetti, "Technology of Ancient Colombian Gold," *Natural History* 28, no. 9 (1979), pp. 37–46; Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
6. See Warwick Bray, "Craftsmen and Farmers: The Archaeology of the Yotoco Period," in *Calima and Malagana: Art and Archaeology in Southwestern Colombia*, ed. Marianne Cardale Schrimpf (Bogotá: Pro Calima Foundation, 2005), pp. 98, 101.
7. See Pérez de Barradas 1954, pp. 52–53, 125.
8. There are a few preliminary studies of the physical and chemical mineralogical composition of Darién pendants. X-ray Fluorescence Analysis (XRF) was carried out on one pendant (Departamento Técnico Industrial, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Plazas 1998) and on two fragments, which were also analyzed using Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry (AAS) (Scott 1982). The inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) technique was employed to examine the elemental composition of one fragment (Scott 1998). Fire Assay (FA) analysis of sixteen objects from different regions of Colombia, carried out years ago (Casa de la Moneda, Banco de la República, Bogotá) was published by José Pérez de Barradas in 1954 and 1965–66. These results can be considered a first approach to our understanding of the wide range of gold-copper alloys employed to manufacture the pendants in some areas and the use of high-grade gold or mainly copper in others. However, Darién pendants deserve a systematic metallurgical analysis that should be carried out on samples selected from different patterns of pendants associated with particular areas and periods.
The FA analysis of two small Type 1 pendants (MO 6199, 6200) indicates 54–84% gold content, 5–7.5% silver, and 32.8–8.6% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1954, pp. 25, 180, 272.
9. Pérez de Barradas 1954, p. 189.
10. It is worth mentioning the similarity of these accessories with the ritual paraphernalia used by the contemporary Embera shamans (*jaibaná*) of western Colombia during healing rituals. See Erland Nordenskiöld, "Les rapports entre l'art, la religion, et la magie chez les indiens Cuna et Chocó," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n.s., 21 (1929), pp. 141–58; Henry Wassén, "Notes on Southern Groups of Chocó Indians in Colombia," *Etnologiska studier* (Göteborg) 1 (1935), pp. 35–182; Luis Guillermo Vasco, *Jaibanás, los verdaderos hombres* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, Fondo de Promoción de la Cultura, 1985).
11. Bray, "Craftsmen and Farmers," p. 114.
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13. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
14. Federico Medem, *El cocodrilo: Estudio inicial sobre las representaciones zoomorfas precolombinas en el arte indígena de Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta del Banco de la República, 1953), figs. 21, 22; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pp. 113–14, 120–21.
15. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, *Ensayo etnográfico y arqueológico de la provincia de los Quimbayas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Seville, 1929), p. 28.
16. Anne Legast, *La fauna en el material precolombino Calima* (Bogotá: Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, 1993); Marianne Cardale Schrimpf, "Cazando animales en el bestiario cosmológico: El cocodrilo en el suroeste de Colombia y en regiones vecinas del Ecuador (800 A.C. a 500 D.C.)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 35, no. 3 (2006), pp. 409–31.
17. Julio César Cubillos, "Arqueología de Río Blanco (Chaparral, Tolima)," *Boletín de arqueología* (Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Bogotá) 1 (1945), pp. 519–91.
18. Sandra Mendoza and Nubia Quiazua, "Exploración arqueológica en el municipio de Tocaima, Cundinamarca," *Boletín de arqueología* (Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá) 5, no. 3 (September 1990), pp. 3–29; Alvaro Botiva, "Registro de una tumba prehispánica en el municipio de Suárez (Tolima)," *Boletín de arqueología* 11, no. 1 (1996), pp. 3–34.
19. Ana María Falchetti, "Orfebrería prehispánica en el altiplano central colombiano," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 25 (September–December 1989), pp. 15–16; Falchetti 1993, pp. 49–53; Plazas 1998, pp. 57–59.
20. The analysis of ten examples of Early Quimbaya metallurgy (XRF, AAS, FA) showed the predominance of alloys with 36–78% gold content and 11–35% copper. Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 48; Plazas 1998, p. 20.
21. Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
22. Plazas 1998, p. 30; María Alicia Uribe, "Orfebrería, ideología y poder en el Cauca medio: Una mirada diacrónica a la metalurgia en las sociedades prehispánicas del centro occidente colombiano," in *Metalurgia* 2007, pp. 255–56.
23. Gustavo Santos and Helda Otero de Santos, *El Volador: Una ventana al pasado* (Medellín: Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Antioquia—Secretaría de Educación Municipal, 1994). This metallurgy is associated with characteristic brown incised wares; Karen Bruhns, "Stylistic Affinities between the Quimbaya Gold Style and a Little Known Ceramic Style in the Middle Cauca Valley, Colombia," *Nawpa Pacha* 7–8 (1970), pp. 65–84; Clemencia Plazas, "Tesoro de los Quimbayas y piezas de orfebrería relacionadas," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 1 (May–August 1978), pp. 21–34. These wares have been dated to a period ranging from the first to the fifth centuries A.D.; Neyla Castillo, "Complejos arqueológicos y grupos étnicos del siglo XVI en el occidente de Antioquia," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 20 (January–April 1988), pp. 16–34; Neyla Castillo, "Reconocimiento arqueológico en el Valle de Aburrá," *Boletín de antropología* (Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín) 9, no. 25 (1992); Luis E. Nieto, "Asentamientos prehispánicos en el suroccidente antioqueño: Municipio de Armenia," 1991, manuscript, Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Gustavo Santos, "Una población prehispánica de Antioquia representada por el estilo Marrón Inciso," in *El Marrón Inciso en Antioquia*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional de

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 25. Plazas and Falchetti 1983, pp. 10–12; Plazas and Falchetti 1985, pp. 48–49.
 26. Luis Arango Cano, *Recuerdos de la g.uaquería en el Quindío* (Bogotá: Tamayo, 1924), p. 2, pl. 10.
 27. The analysis (FA) of three objects gave the following results: MO 6031: 82% gold and 8.8% silver; MO 3065 and 4663: 80% and 53.8% gold, 4.4% and 18.7% silver, 12.5% and 21.2% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 28. This vessel shape had a long and old history in southern regions, such as the Ecuadorian and Peruvian archaeological areas of the Central Andean region.
 29. Legast, *La fauna* (as in note 16 above), pp. 93–94.
 30. The analysis (FA) of four items in the Museo del Oro (351, 3492, 6422, 3494) showed an addition of 18.8–48.8% of copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pp. 109–10.
 31. Kelemen 1944, vol. 2, pl. 216b.
 32. MO 417 (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 110.
 33. Manuel Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general y compendio histórico del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia* (Paris: Victor Goupy and Jourdan, 1885), pl. X, figs. 2, 8.
 34. MO 414 (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 110.
 35. Plazas, "Tesoro de los Quimbayas" (as in note 23).
 36. See Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pls. 55, 63. The analysis (FA) of four objects (MO 3491, 3493, 7215, 3063) showed a wide range of alloy types: 38–77.5% gold content, 3.5–43.2% silver, and 2.2–48.5% copper; *ibid.*, pp. 109–10.
 37. Cooke and Bray 1985, pp. 41–43; Bray 1992, pp. 34–39.
 38. Plazas 1998, p. 30.
 39. Cooke and Bray 1985, pp. 41–43; Bray 1992, pp. 34–36.
 40. According to the analysis (FA) carried out on three items, one object (MO 80) has some copper (5.5%). The two others (MO 5124 and 5895) showed 83–83.5% gold and 11–12.3% silver; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 41. Dockstader 1967, pl. 9.
 42. Analysis (FA) on two objects (MO 6030 and 6419): 78–82% gold, 4.2–11.6% silver, 14.2–0% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 43. 81.6% gold, 16% silver (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 44. Dockstader 1967, pl. 10.
 45. Ana María Falchetti, "El territorio del gran Zenú en las llanuras del Caribe Colombiano: Arqueología y etnohistoria," *Revista de arqueología americana* (Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico), no. 11 (July–December 1996), p. 34.
 46. Alvaro Botiva, *Arqueología de rescate, Oleoducto Vasconia-Coveñas: Un viaje por el tiempo a lo largo del Oleoducto; cazadores-recolectores, agroalfareros y orfebres* (Santafé de Bogotá: Oleoducto de Colombia, 1994), pp. 168–69.
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 65. Falchetti 1995, pp. 236–49; Falchetti 2000, pp. 145–47.
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67. MO 28282, B.P. 350 ± 60 (A.D. 1600 ± 60); Plazas 1998, p. 50. The analysis was carried out on a small piece of cotton thread that, due to corrosion, had adhered to the loop at the back of the figure.
68. See Gonzalo Correal, "Exploraciones arqueológicas en la Costa Atlántica y Valle del Magdalena," 1975, manuscript, Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá; David Behar, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en las fincas Padula y Emperatriz (Bolívar)" (B.A. thesis, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, 1976), pls. XVII, XI, XXVII; Falchetti 1995, pp. 241–44.
69. Plazas et al. 1993, pp. 123–24.
70. Falchetti 1993, pp. 26–33; Falchetti 2000, pp. 145–48.
71. Metallographic examination of two samples showed a coarse dendritic structure in a cuprite matrix; Scott 1982, vol. 2, p. 381; Plazas 1998, table 5.
72. Scott 1998, pp. 88–94; Falchetti 1995, p. 236.
73. The analysis of a Darién pendant and of several fragments belonging to this group shows the use of copper with smaller amounts of gold and silver. MO 28282: 15% gold, 1% silver, 84% copper (XRF; Departamento Técnico Industrial, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Plazas 1998, table 5); fragment: 18.89% gold, 4% silver, 53.2% copper (AAS; Institute of Archaeology, University of London; Scott 1982, vol. 2, pp. 381–82); fragment: the copper (matrix) was mixed with a small amount of native gold alloy (amount of gold at 21,100 ppm, and silver at 5,800 ppm; ICP-MS; Museum Research Laboratory, Getty Conservation Institute, Getty Center, Los Angeles; see Scott 1998, pp. 89–90).
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APPENDIX: DARIÉN PENDANTS FROM COLOMBIA

Type	Collection inv. no.	Area	Provenance	Figure no.	References
1	MO 5425	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 4	
1	MO 6199	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 4	
1	MO 6200	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 5	
1	MO 7753	Pacific area?		see Figure 4	
2	MO 6420		unknown	Figure 19	
2	MO 6511		unknown	see Figure 19	
2	MO 33736		unknown	Figure 20	
2	MMA 66.196.20	Calima	Calima River	Figure 17	
2	MMA 1979.206.558	Calima	Calima River	Figure 18	
related to 2	MO 3494	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figures 17–20	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 66
related to 2	MO 6238	Tolima	Rioblanco, Tolima	Figure 21	
2	MO 337	Eastern Mountain Range	Guaduas, Cundinamarca	Figure 22	
related to 2	MO 28914	Eastern Mountain Range	Tocaima, Cundinamarca	Figure 23	
related to 2	MO 25623	Eastern Mountain Range	Tibacuy, Cundinamarca	Figure 24	
2	MO 29305		unknown	see Figure 22	
3	MO 3065	Quimbaya	Quimbaya, Quindío	Figure 30	
3	MO 4663		unknown	Figure 27	
3	MO 7342		unknown	Figure 28	
3	MO 6031		unknown	Figure 29	
4	MO 3492	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 31	
4	MO 351	Quimbaya	Salento, Quindío	Figure 33	
4	MO 6422		unknown	see Figure 31	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 80
4	MMA 1979.206.500		unknown	Figure 32	
5	MO 417	Quimbaya	Frontino, Antioquia	Figure 34	
5	NMAI	Caribbean lowlands	Sinú River	see Figure 34	Kelemen 1944, vol. 2, pl. 216b
6	MO 414	Quimbaya	Toro, San Rafael, Antioquia	Figure 35	
related to 6	MO 22609		unknown	Figure 36	
7	MO 6032		unknown	Figure 43 no. 4	
7	MO 6794		unknown	see Figure 43 no. 4	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 78
8a	MO 80	Quimbaya	Quindío	see Figure 44	
8a	MO 5124	Quimbaya	Quindío	Figure 44	
8a	MO 5895	Pacific area	Baudó River, Chocó	Figure 45	
8a	MO 8231	Pacific area	Alto Icho, Chocó	Figures 46, 47	
8a	DOAKS	Pacific area	upper Atrato River valley	see Figure 46	
8a	MO 6936		unknown	see Figure 44	
8b	MO 33081	upper Sinú River	Valencia, Córdoba	Figures 48, 43 no. 6	
8b	MO 32527	lower Cauca River	Caucasia, Antioquia	see Figure 48	
8b	MO 16115	middle San Jorge River	El Anclar, Montelíbano, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	NMAI	Sinú River	east bank of the Sinú River	see Figure 48	Dockstader 1967, pl. 9
8b	MO Archives	upper Sinú River	Tierralta, Córdoba	Figure 43 no. 7; see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO 6419		unknown	Figures 50, 51	
8b	MO 6421		unknown	see Figure 50	
8b	MO 6030		unknown	Figure 2	
8b	MMA 1977.187.16		unknown	Figure 49	
8b	MMA 1974.271.33		unknown	see Figure 2	
8c	MO 21025	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	Figure 54	
8d	MO 29002	San Jacinto mountains	Hacienda Vilut, Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 55	
8e	MO 25134	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 56	
9	MO 6815	Pacific area	Purichá, Chocó	Figure 52	
9	MO 11680	Pacific area	Quibdó, Chocó	Figure 53	
10	MO Archives	middle San Jorge River	Montelíbano, Córdoba	Figure 43 no. 8	
10	NMAI	Sinú River	east bank of the Sinú River	Figure 43 no. 11	Dockstader 1967, pl. 10
11	MO 23435, 23436	lower Cauca River (Caribbean lowlands)	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29558, 29559	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 30086	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 32640	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20402	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21111–21114	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22696, 22697	lower Magdalena River (Caribbean lowlands)	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22728	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22730	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21079–21081	lower Magdalena River	Simití, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 16672	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	

Type	Collection inv. no.	Area	Provenance	Figure no.	References
11	MO 16686	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 17034–17036	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 17631	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 66	
11	MO 17721–17723	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 18974	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 19308–19310	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20206, 20207	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20581	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22333	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22466–22469	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22486, 22487	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22527	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22615, 22616	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22663, 22664	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23474	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23600–23602	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24299–24301	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24550, 24551	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28534	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23917–23923	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24281	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24980	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 25528, 25529	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 32017	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23439–23443	San Jacinto mountains	Toluviejo, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21025–21028		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21267, 21268		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21378–21381		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22092		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22376–22378		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22425, 22426		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23287–23292		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23818, 23819		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 26330–26337		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28263–28273		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28282		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29652, 29653		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29844		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29968		unknown	see Figure 66	
11a	MO 21331	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 65 no. 2; see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21332	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21355	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 24279	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21132		unknown	Figure 67	
11a	MO 21133		unknown	see Figure 67	
12	MO 21354	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 43D
12	MO 24982	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre		
13	MO 22729–22731	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22729	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22731	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 68	
13	MO 20580	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22618–22620	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22667, 22668	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 25630, 25631	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 21383		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22375		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22427		unknown	Figure 68	
13	MO 22428–22433		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 26338, 26339		unknown	see Figure 68	
14	MO 24827	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 65 no. 3	see Falchetti 1995, fig. 42D
14	MO 24280	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 42B
14	MO 33618		unknown	Figure 69	
15	MO 25133	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 71	
15	MO 21382		unknown		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 43B
16	MO 22424		unknown	Figure 72	
	MO 30199	Tairona	Don Diego River, Santa Marta, Magdalena	Figures 64, 65 no. 7	
Darién-related	MO 3064	Quimbaya	Quindío	Figure 37	
Darién-related	MO 25664	Quimbaya	El Caimo, Armenia, Quindío	Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 3491	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 3493	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 7215	Quimbaya	unknown	see Figure 37	

Federico Zuccaro's Love Affair with Florence: Two Allegorical Designs

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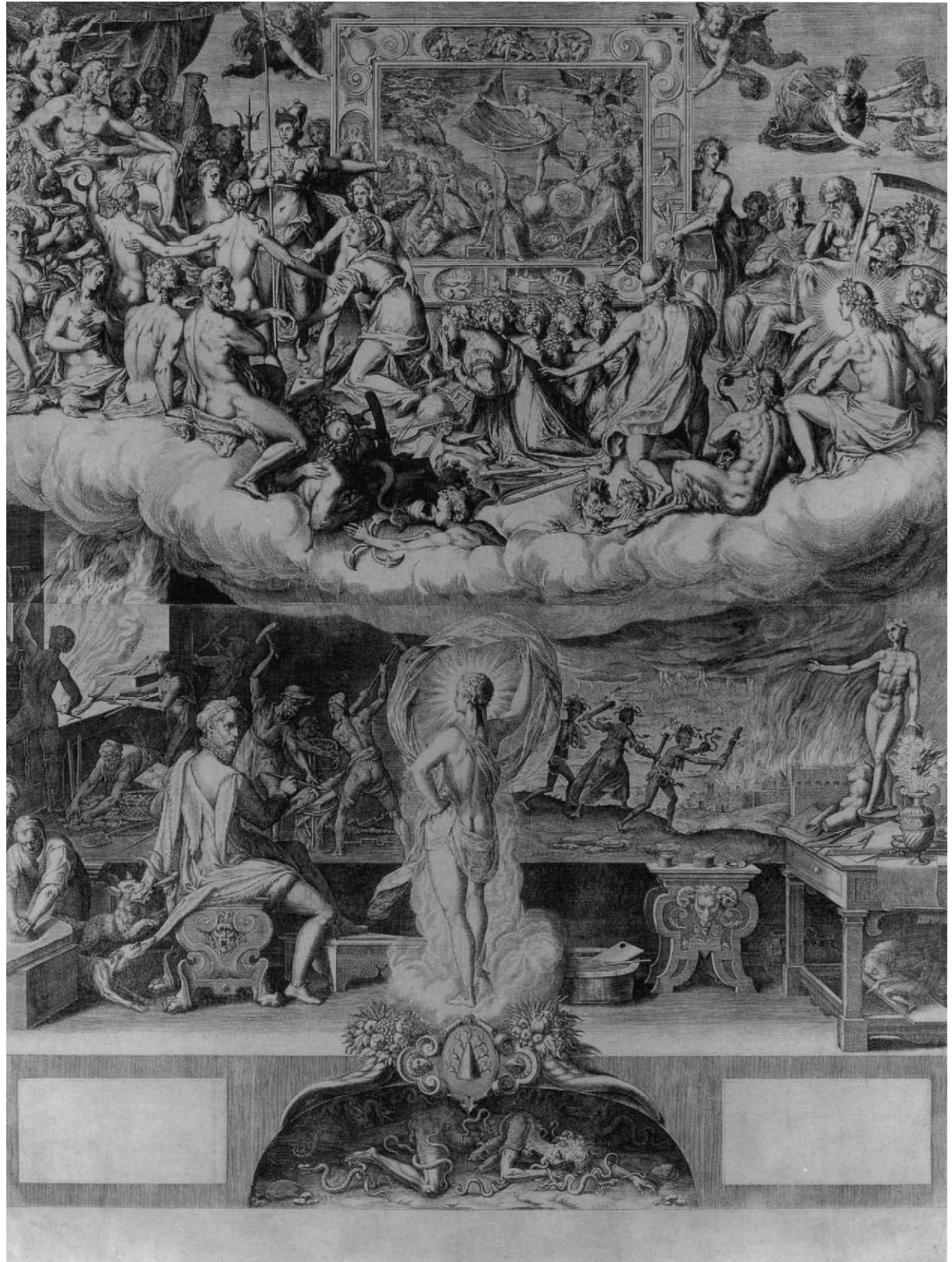
When Federico Zuccaro (1543–1609) received the commission in 1575 to fresco the dome of the Florentine cathedral, left incomplete after Giorgio Vasari's death in 1574, he moved to Florence with the apparent intention of settling there indefinitely. Having been entrusted with the most important commission in the city, he must have expected to become one of Florence's leading artists and to play an important role in the first academy for artists, the Accademia del Disegno, founded in 1563, to which he had been admitted during a stay in Florence ten years earlier. On January 23, 1577, Zuccaro purchased the former home of Florence's great Renaissance painter Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), just down the street from the seat of the academy in the church of the Santissima Annunziata; in 1578 he moved into the renovated house with his new bride. This article will examine two designs that originated in these years and are closely bound up with Zuccaro's hopes for his future in Florence. One of these, the complex allegory of the arts engraved by Cornelis Cort (Figure 1), usually known as *The Lament of Painting*,¹ continues to be viewed as Zuccaro's response to critics of his Florentine dome frescoes, but I shall argue that it should be considered instead in connection with his academic aspirations and plans for a splendid studio. The second design, an equally complicated allegory of spring, preserved in a highly finished drawing in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (see Figure 11), was pressed into service in a reduced and simplified form to decorate the ceiling of Zuccaro's Florentine home but must originally have been intended for a more prominent, independent project that celebrated, among other things, Zuccaro's proud identification with his adopted city.

Cort's engraving after Zuccaro's design depicts an elegantly clad painter, whom scholars have concurred in identifying as Zuccaro himself, seated in a handsomely furnished studio at work on an enormous canvas. He is engaged in painting one of Jupiter's thunderbolts, recently issued from Vulcan's forge. To the right we see the Furies descend on a burning city with their torches. Beneath the studio Envy is

enclosed within a grotto, although the dogs that nip at the painter's cloak may be her minions, in the form of jealous colleagues. The painter ignores the dogs and turns his gaze instead to a luminous, lightly draped female with winged feet in the center foreground who points to the bank of clouds above the artist's head. There is gathered the entire assembly of the gods, among whom Apollo and Hercules are especially prominent. In the center of the gathering are nine weeping Muses and a tenth, who is being introduced to an enthroned Jupiter by the three Graces, and a fourth figure, a winged adolescent boy who is sometimes identified as Amore and sometimes as Spirito. Minerva (at left) and a female figure holding artists' implements (at right) hold up an image that depicts Faith attempting to stand firm against the forces of evil, represented by Fortune, a demon, and a vicious warrior. This painting-within-a-painting includes a depiction of Ignorance at the top of the frame and some of the Cardinal Sins around the edges.

Two excellent articles have related the iconography of this allegory to such broad sixteenth-century concerns as the status of painting and the role of art in relation to Counter-Reformation theology. The first of these, by Inemie Gerards-Nelissen, locates the source of the imagery in two sixteenth-century treatises on painting and a well-known passage in the writings of the first-century rhetorician Quintilian, concluding that the allegory argues for painting's importance by illustrating the role it can play in the propagation of the faith and the inculcation of virtue, "a role which fitted in perfectly with traditional moral philosophy, . . . hardly surprising in the Counter-Reformation Italy of [Zuccaro's] day."² Gerards-Nelissen seeks to detach the allegory from the idea of Zuccaro's desire for revenge against his critics, and also from the more abstract art theory espoused by Zuccaro in his later years. The second article, by Sylvaine Hänsel, reinforces the connection with Counter-Reformation theology by analyzing the views of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)—a Spanish theologian and poet with a great interest in the proper use of images—whose poem accompanies the engraving in many impressions of

1. Cornelis Cort (Flemish, ca. 1533–1578) after Federico Zuccaro (Italian, 1543–1609). *The Lament of Painting*, ca. 1577–78. Engraving, top sheet: 14¼ x 21⅛ in. (36.2 x 53.7 cm); bottom sheet: 14¾ x 21⅛ in. (37.3 x 53.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charles Z. Offin Fund, 1988 (1988.1086)



the print.³ She finds no evidence for direct contact between Zuccaro and Arias Montano and considers the poem more a meditation on the image than a program for it, yet she argues convincingly that Arias Montano appreciated the allegory, and Zuccaro the poem, because they shared the

same views of the function of art in advancing the reforms of the church.

Despite these lucid analyses, many art historians, following the lead of the foremost Zuccaro scholars Detlef Heikamp and Cristina Acidini, continue to regard the print



2. Cornelis Cort after Federico Zuccaro. *The Calumny of Apelles*, 1572. Engraving, third state, sheet (trimmed) 16¼ x 21¼ in. (41.2 x 54 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.100.466)

as self-justification and personal propaganda. Although most of these authors recognize that the print was completed at least a year and a half before Zuccaro's frescoes in the Florentine cathedral were unveiled to the public, the view persists that the print was published as a polemical response to critics of these frescoes.⁴ It is often discussed as the second of three allegories that Zuccaro directed against his critics.

The first of these allegorical compositions was *The Calumny of Apelles* (Figure 2), engraved by Cort in 1572 and usually considered a response to Zuccaro's ill treatment at the hands of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.⁵ While it is likely that an artist would turn to this theme when he felt himself slighted by a patron, the subject was of more than topical interest to Zuccaro and his contemporaries. Because the second-century rhetorician Lucian had described a painting of this subject by the ancient Greek artist Apelles, the theme offered Zuccaro the opportunity to show himself the equal of the most famous painter of antiquity.⁶ Moreover, *The Calumny of Apelles* was among the ethical subjects Johannes Molanus listed as praiseworthy despite their origins in pagan imagery in his *De picturis et imaginibus sacris liber unus* of 1570, an early attempt to apply the strictures of the Council of Trent to the visual arts.⁷ The third of Zuccaro's allegories, a satirical cartoon entitled the *Porta Virtutis*, was displayed publicly on the facade of the church of San Luca on the feast of the saint—the patron of artists—on October 18, 1581. Although the cartoon has not survived, there are autograph drawings of the subject, complete with identifying labels, in the collections of Christ Church, Oxford; the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main; and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Figure 3). In this case, the trial that the



3. Federico Zuccaro. *Porta Virtutis* (*Gate of Virtue*), ca. 1581. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, 15¼ x 11¼ in. (38.7 x 28.6 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz (1974.25)

cartoon provoked, as well as the presence in the drawings of a small, sketchy replica of Zuccaro's rejected altarpiece for a church in Bologna, make it clear that this allegory was a response to a specific incident.⁸ Of the three allegories, this is the only one that resulted in a trial; it is also significant that this is the only composition that was never engraved.

In contrast to the evident correspondence between the *Porta Virtutis* and Zuccaro's commission for the Bolognese church, nothing in *The Lament of Painting* alludes specifically to his frescoes in the Florentine cathedral. Whereas the personifications of vices play an active role in the foreground of the *Porta Virtutis*, as well as in the *Calumny*, in *The Lament of Painting* most of the negative personifications that appear, including Ignorance, are relegated to the painting-within-a-painting displayed in the heavens. The main characters depicted are pagan gods and personifications of virtue, along with the painter, who is portrayed as calm, masterful, and—given his elegantly furnished and spacious studio—successful. Envy, who plays such a malignant role in the *Calumny* and writhes in the foreground in the *Porta Virtutis*, is rendered impotent in *The Lament of Painting*, where she is securely enclosed within a grotto beneath the painter's studio.

I do not intend here to undertake an exhaustive new interpretation of *The Lament of Painting* but merely to reinforce the positive reading provided by Gerards-Nelissen and Hänsel, situating the work more closely within the Florentine setting in which it was produced and reexamining a few iconographic details that are significant to the context. In order to define that context more precisely, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the engraving from its initial design to the addition of the various inscriptions—a task complicated by the variety of forms in which the print survives.

Many impressions, including that in the Metropolitan Museum (see Figure 1), are entirely without text, although the two empty cartouches on either side of Envy's grotto and the blank strip at the bottom of the image were clearly meant to house inscriptions. In other impressions of the print, one of the cartouches contains a statement printed in letterpress identifying Zuccaro as the inventor and Gabriel Terrades as the publisher, "Typis æreis, excudi iussit," while the second cartouche encloses Terrades' dedication of the print to the Florentine collector and patron of the arts Nicolò Gaddi, also printed in letterpress and concluding "Florentiæ IX Cal. Maias M.D.LXXIX."⁹ At least five impressions bearing these inscriptions include a long Latin poem by Arias Montano, likewise typeset, that ends with a statement identifying the Florentine publisher Giorgio Marescotti as the printer: "FLORENTIAE, Cum Licentia Superiorum, Excudebat Georgius Marescotus, 1579." Two known impressions of the print, with the same inscriptions in the two cartouches printed

from separate engraved plates, have in place of the Latin poem an engraved inscription in Italian that some scholars have used as a key to interpreting the allegorical print.

Most of the scholars who have analyzed *The Lament of Painting* were writing prior to the publication of Manfred Sellink's revised catalogue raisonné of Cort's prints and so relied upon that of J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, who described four states of the engraving: the first, without letters; the second, with the Italian inscription; the third, with the poem of Arias Montano; and the fourth, bearing a publishing date of 1602, long after Zuccaro left Florence and thus not relevant to the discussion here.¹⁰ Sellink has pointed out, however, that since all the texts are printed from type or separate plates and no changes are made to the original plate engraved by Cort in any of these versions, it is not possible to speak of states, but only of editions.¹¹ In the volumes of *The New Hollstein* dedicated to Cort, Sellink uses the term "variants."¹² Sellink's listing of the locations of each variant makes it clear that impressions with no text are the most common, with at least ten impressions extant.¹³ In this form, the print is obviously incomplete, as is evident from the spaces left blank for text. No text was ever added to the plate by Cort or his associates in Rome, although surely Zuccaro expected to receive the plate with engraved text, as had been the case with *The Calumny of Apelles* and all the other plates Zuccaro commissioned from Cort.¹⁴ Moreover, in all impressions of the print, the vase of flowers on the table at the right appears unfinished, since it is only partially shaded. It also seems likely that the blank sheet of paper that hangs off the table was intended to bear either an inscription or an image.¹⁵ Thus, it seems that Cort never entirely completed the engraving and that, unless some of the impressions without text were published in Rome without Zuccaro's authorization,¹⁶ the engraving was never published in Rome but only in Florence.

These circumstances could be explained by Cort's death in March 1578, which obviously put an end to work on the plate. Cort may have ceased work on the plate even earlier, however, when he and Zuccaro are known to have entered into a dispute. On October 30, 1577, Zuccaro wrote to a friend that he intended to include the engraver among the damned in his dome fresco, "in the midst of the perjurers and defaulters . . . with the contested copper plate around his neck and not far away from his supporters and associates."¹⁷ The plate in question must surely be *The Lament of Painting*, the last engraving Cort executed for Zuccaro,¹⁸ although the cause of the dispute is uncertain. Perhaps Cort insisted on a much higher payment than called for in the original agreement and Zuccaro, having recently purchased his home in Florence, was unwilling and unable to pay. It is possible that Cort and Zuccaro patched things up and that Cort continued to work on the engraving until his death, but in any case the

engraver must have received the drawing and begun work on the plate prior to Zuccaro's angry letter. Given the great complexity of the iconography, the many figures that it contained, and the fact that Zuccaro was also occupied with the frescoes for the Florentine cathedral, the artist must have begun to design the composition by early 1577.

Yet it was only in Florence in 1579 that the print was published in a finished form. As noted, the version with the poem by Arias Montano and the one with the Italian inscription include the same information in the cartouches, indicating that the work was published by Terrades ("Typis æreis, excudi iussit"), and that it was issued in Florence on May 18, 1579. Hänsel has argued that the term "typis æreis" used by Terrades in his publication statement can only refer to printed text and that, therefore, the edition including a Latin poem by Arias Montano printed from movable type must be the one that Terrades arranged to have published, whereas the inscription with the engraved Italian text printed from a separate plate could have been substituted at any later date.¹⁹ It makes sense that once the long-anticipated plate arrived in Florence, it was faster to print the text with type than to wait for someone to engrave it, especially since this sort of engraving required a specialist who may not have been readily available in Florence. It also stands to reason that the desire to print successive editions from the plate would have led to the eventual engraving of the text, eliminating the need to reset it each time. Hänsel knew of only one impression with the engraved texts, yet Sellink records the existence of a second one in Bologna that includes a privilege, suggesting, contrary to Hänsel's argument, that a significant edition may have been issued in this form.²⁰ Nonetheless, Hänsel is surely correct in concluding that the version with the poem by Arias Montano was the first to be issued with text, since the date of the poem matches the dedication, both are written in Latin, and both are printed with type.

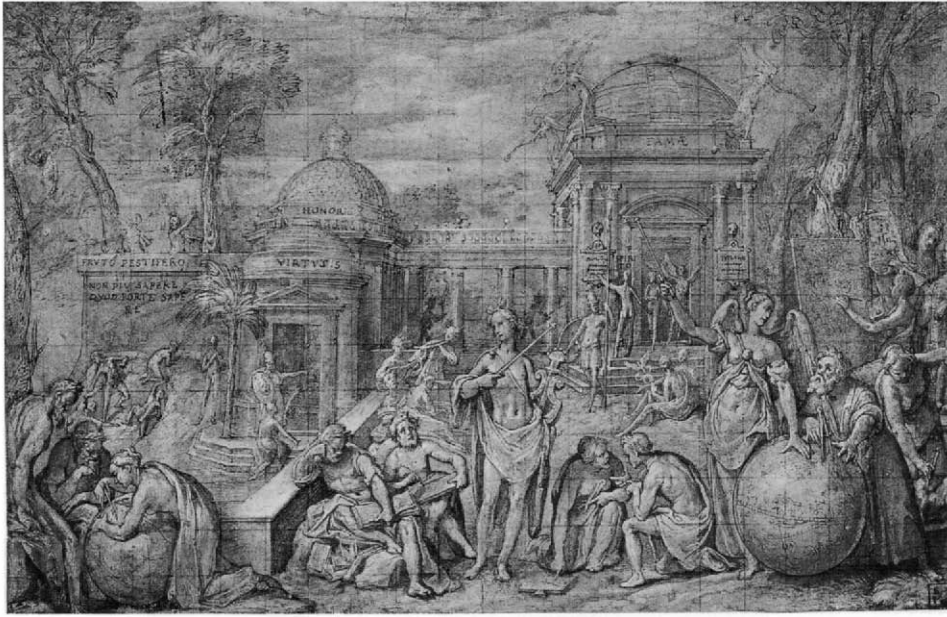
To sum up, Zuccaro must have begun work on the design fairly early in 1577; by October of that year, he had sent a drawing to Cort, who had begun work on the plate. After Cort's death, the plate remained in Rome for some time, perhaps only reaching Florence in the spring of 1579, when it was issued with Arias Montano's Latin poem.²¹ We shall probably never know whether Zuccaro originally instructed Cort or his associates to engrave the poem or some other text. In any case the association of Zuccaro's allegory of the arts with this virtuous defense of the faith would have provided a favorable framework for the reception of his dome frescoes, which would be revealed a few months later, on August 19, 1579.²²

Arias Montano's poem, which is more a response to the image than an interpretation, focuses on the sorry condition of the world and the role that painting can play in improving

the situation. The lamenting Muses are unable to describe the reasons for the current decline to Jupiter, but Painting presents him with an allegorical image that represents Faith on her knees, trying to hold her own against heresy and immorality. In the poem Jupiter responds that he will avenge these injustices and bring solace to the Muses. Whereas Arias Montano suggested that the Muses were weeping because of the sad state of affairs on earth, another interpretation has been advanced that relates the imagery more closely to professional concerns about the status of painting.

Gerards-Nelissen was the first to draw attention to two Italian texts that describe a personification of Painting who appears to a learned artist to deplore her fallen prestige.²³ The story was first told by Francesco Lancilotti in his *Tractato di pictura*, published in Rome in 1509; it also appeared, in a form closer to Zuccaro's image, in Michelangelo Biondo's *Della nobilissima pittura*, published in Venice in 1549. Biondo describes a large and beautiful embodiment of painting who appears to a painter to complain that whereas she reigned supreme in classical times, she is now insufficiently respected. She argues that she should be accepted as the tenth Muse. Gerards-Nelissen believes that Zuccaro illustrates this text, showing Painting directing the artist's attention to the heavens where the Muses weep because the Muse of painting has not yet been admitted to their number. The framed image depicting the evils in the world is presented to Jupiter as evidence of painting's power to influence men for the better. Although Gerards-Nelissen wants to dissociate the image from Zuccaro's later theorizing about Disegno and the Idea, her analysis of the iconography does bring it closer to a primary concern of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno: the elevation of the profession of the artist.

The Italian inscription found on some impressions of the engraving reflects this very concern. Scholars hold conflicting opinions as to whether Zuccaro authored or authorized the inscription; Gerards-Nelissen, like Hänsel, dismisses it as an unauthorized later addition. This fact would not preclude its relevance to Zuccaro's ideas, however, and the inscription bears further examination. This text states that "la virtù et le buone arti" (virtue and the fine arts), held in high esteem in former times, lament among themselves about their ill treatment in the present age and delegate Painting to present the situation to Jupiter. Thus Painting and her company expose the unhappy facts, throwing their tools at his feet. Jupiter seeks to punish the erring world by having Vulcan manufacture arms and sending out the Furies. While Gerards-Nelissen considers the luminous figure who addresses the painter a personification of Painting and Hänsel has argued that she can most appropriately be identified as Truth,²⁴ the Italian inscription gives her another name. The text states that the painter designs this allegory



4. Federico Zuccaro. *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts*. Pen and brush, brown ink heightened with white, squared for transfer with red chalk, on gray prepared paper, 8⁷/₈ x 14¹/₂ in. (22.6 x 36.8 cm). The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Gift of Mr. Janos Scholz (1983.67)

within his studio, “keeping his eye and mind firm in the true intelligence, that stands nude before him.”²⁵ Thus, scholars who believe that the Italian inscription expresses Zuccaro’s intentions refer to the figure as the “vera intelligenza” (true intelligence), occasionally taking the argument further with reference to Zuccaro’s later writings and associating her with “Disegno Interno” or the Neoplatonic “Idea.”²⁶ Gerards-Nelissen and Hänsel disparage these associations as anachronistic,²⁷ yet while the theory of the Idea was not well developed at this time, Vasari had introduced the concept in his discussion of Disegno.

Vasari’s emphasis on the importance of Disegno (which translates from the Italian as both “drawing” and “design”) was intended to underline the intellectual aspect of the visual arts, dissociating them from craft. This was the premise of the Accademia del Disegno, of which Vasari was the principal founder; the new academy broke decisively with earlier artists’ guilds by uniting artists who relied on common mental processes rather than dividing them according to the materials they used. In the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, for example, Vasari opened his fifteenth chapter, “On Painting,” with the statement, “Because drawing/design, father of our three arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, proceeding from the intellect draws from many things a universal judgment similar to a form or Idea of all the things of nature. . . .”²⁸ Zuccaro’s marginal notes on this passage in his copy of the *Vite*—“a cold and weak definition of such an important subject”—certainly do not imply indifference to the concepts expressed.²⁹

It is true that the Italian explanatory inscription on the print of *The Lament of Painting* must be regarded with caution, since its direct connection with Zuccaro has not been proven.³⁰ A petition that Zuccaro submitted to the head of

the Florentine academy in the late 1570s uses similar language, however.³¹ Although most of Zuccaro’s suggestions for improvements in the running of the academy address practical pedagogical concerns, in his discussion of how students of sculpture should also receive instruction in drawing, Zuccaro wrote that “being one soul in two bodies, painting and sculpture, and the Intelligence of Disegno their proper soul, it [Disegno] is appropriate to one and to the other, the one and the other practice and science.”³² In the next section he notes that architecture too, should be united with painting and sculpture, and that all the students should receive education in architecture. Thus, it seems that the Italian inscription referring to “vera intelligenza” found on some impressions of the print reflects Zuccaro’s views at least in part. I am inclined to believe that the inscription was not authored by Zuccaro, for, as Gerards-Nelissen has pointed out, it is far more likely, by analogy with the artist’s other allegories, that the figure who accompanies the Graces in introducing the tenth Muse to Jupiter is Spirito—not Amore, as stated in the inscription.³³ Even if it was not authored by Zuccaro or authorized by him, however, the text may have been written by someone who was acquainted with Zuccaro’s ideas. Thus, the inscription’s identification of the central figure as the “vera intelligenza” merits consideration.

The figure in the foreground exhibits none of the traditional attributes of Painting. She is distinguished by her nudity and her luminosity, both of which can be attributes of Truth. A description of Truth as luminous can be found in the pages of Vincenzo Cartari’s *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*,³⁴ a book with which, as shall be demonstrated below, Zuccaro was familiar. The idea of Truth as naked was known to him from the Venetian publisher Francesco Marcolini’s printer’s device, which illustrated Truth Revealed by Time, a design borrowed by Zuccaro on more than one occasion.³⁵ Yet the figure in *The Lament of Painting* also has rays of light coming from her head and wings on her feet, features that could allude to intelligence. The luminous female nude may indeed represent the “vera intelligenza,” yet in an engraving that represents an artist’s studio this must be “l’Intelligenza del disegno,” which, as Zuccaro makes clear in his advice for the Florentine academy, is most closely associated with painting but unites all the arts.

As for the Muse who pleads with Jupiter, the Italian inscription identifies her as Painting, one of the “buone arti,” without referring explicitly to the Muses. Arias Montano’s poem also states that it is Painting alone who is able to communicate with Jupiter. Gerards-Nelissen identifies her as the Muse of painting, with reference to the accounts of Lancilotti and Biondo, but this identification is problematic for its exclusion of the arts of sculpture and architecture. Each of the Muses has her sphere of influence, and if a new Muse is

appointed to represent painting exclusively, who is to inspire sculptors and architects? The tenth Muse has the tools of painting spread out in front of her, but just behind her one finds the mallet of the sculptor and the measuring tools of the architect. If these are not associated with her, to which of the Muses can they belong? In a related allegorical design, *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* (Figure 4), which likely dates to the same period, we find the representatives of the visual arts in the company of those who practice other arts and sciences.³⁶ On the right side of the drawing, three women are depicted practicing the arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture. It is true that the personification of painting is by far the most conspicuous—the painter's easel looms large, while the personification of sculpture is quite cramped in her corner—but there is some sense of equality and sisterhood among the three arts. In the allegory engraved by Cort, the exalted place given to the painter (Zuccaro) tends to privilege the art of painting to an even greater degree (see Figure 1). Yet on the table at right we notice a prominent display that includes a male statuette, a fragmentary female torso, two compasses, a ruler, an inkwell with quills, a knife, and a stiff board or plate, along with what may be a curled-up architectural plan that visually abuts the tower in the painting behind. While one could argue that these objects are part of the normal trappings of a painter's studio—and essential teaching tools—in this deliberately constructed allegory they must also stand in for the allied arts of sculpture and painting. It seems highly unlikely that an artist who was a member of the Accademia del Disegno would have entirely isolated painting from the other arts of design.

In designing an engraving celebrating the visual arts, Zuccaro was surely aware that he was entering into a tradition established by other distinguished members of the Accademia del Disegno. Joannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), a Flemish painter who had long been prominent at the Medici court and a close associate of Vasari, designed an allegory of the arts in 1573 that was engraved by Cort and published, apparently for the first time, only in 1578 (Figure 5).³⁷ This engraving seems to show an idealized academy where young artists study anatomy and draw from sculptures while mature masters are shown carving stone, sculpting clay, painting a fresco, drawing an architectural plan, and engraving a metal plate.³⁸ Although the statues of Roma and the Tiber in the center of the image place these activities in a Roman context, Stradanus also produced a drawing, now in Heidelberg, that features Brunelleschi's dome and the river Arno, with personifications of the three Arts of Disegno at work; Painting is depicted working on a fresco of Flora, patron goddess of the city of Florence. Since the figures in the drawing are all represented using their left hands, Stradanus must have intended to have this design engraved as well.³⁹ Heikamp, followed by Alessandra



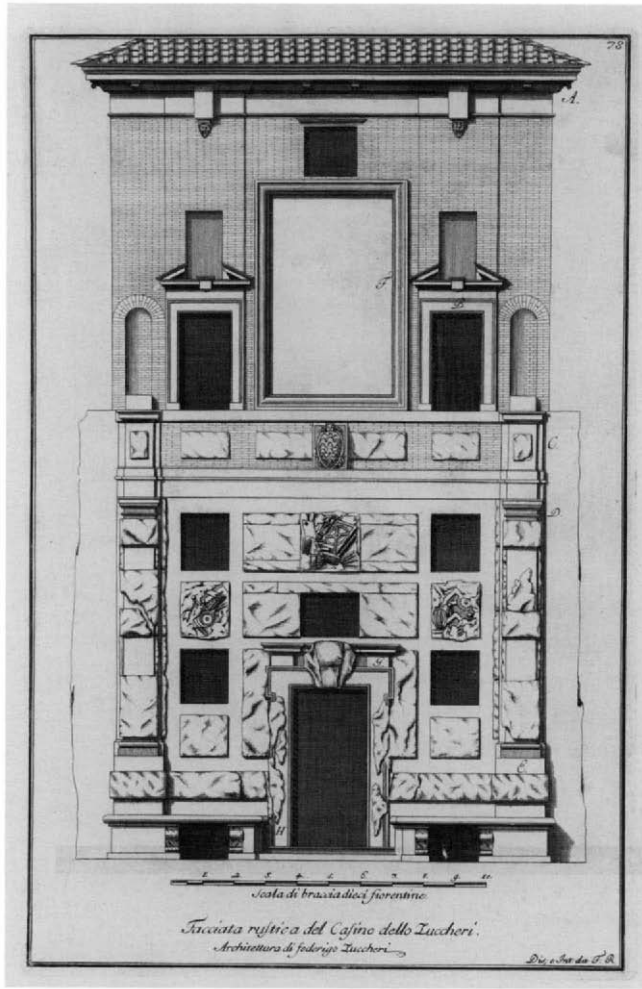
5. Cornelis Cort after Jan van der Straet (Joannes Stradanus; Netherlandish, 1523–1605). *The Practitioners of the Visual Arts*, 1578. Engraving, sheet: 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (42.8 x 28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.509)

Baroni, has suggested that these drawings represent the academies of the respective cities, but since the Roman academy was not in existence until 1593, they probably represent a more general allegory of artistic training and practice. Given the difference in presentation, as well as significant differences in size and format, the drawings may be separated by quite a few years.

Another precedent for Zuccaro's engraving is a work by Vasari, the founder of the Accademia del Disegno, who painted what Matthias Winner has called "das erste echte Akademiebild" (the first true academy picture). In the painting *Ingenium et ars* in the Uffizi, Vasari represented Minerva as the intellectual aspect of art and Vulcan as the practitioner, the craftsman; behind Vulcan is a depiction of his forge, and behind Minerva a representation of an academy, where a small sculpture of the Three Graces rests on a high shelf.⁴⁰

In attempting to place Zuccaro's allegory within the context of the Florentine academy, it is vital to recall that when the engraving was published in Florence in May 1579, it was dedicated to the art collector Nicolò Gaddi, an important figure in the Accademia del Disegno who had been elected its head (*luogotenente*) in January of that year and among whose papers Zuccaro's petition was preserved.⁴¹ In

6. Ferdinando Ruggieri (Italian, ca. 1691–1741). *Facciata rustica del Casino dello Zuccheri*, first published 1724. From *Scelta di architetture antiche e moderne della città di Firenze* (Florence: Giuseppe Bochart, 1755), pl. 78. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York University Institute of Fine Arts Fund, 1958, transferred from the Library (1991.1073.13[2])



7. Sculptural relief on the facade of Federico Zuccaro's Florentine studio, illustrating the tools of the painter. Photograph: the author



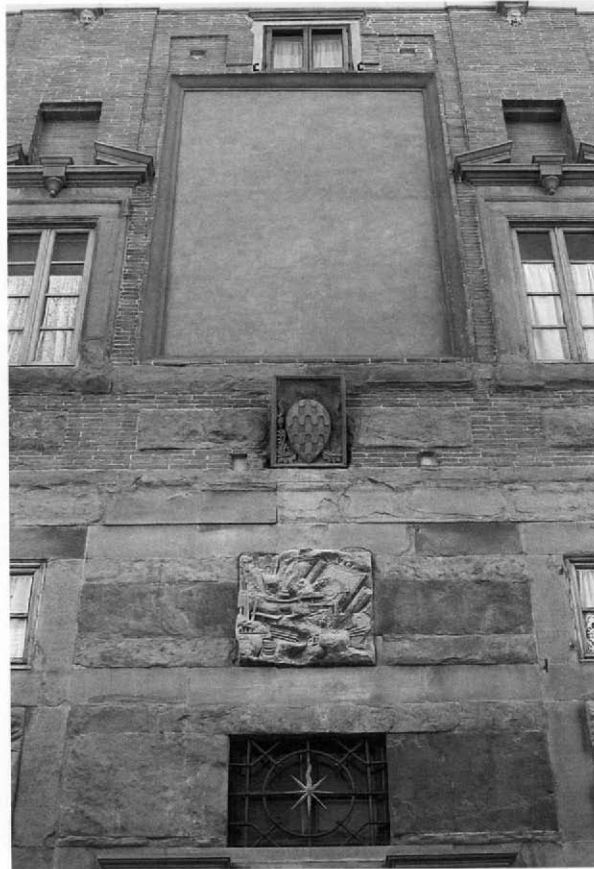
issuing the engraving, Zuccaro must have hoped to announce his intentions of elevating the art of Disegno and the profession of painting as part of his efforts to become a leading force in the academy. I believe that Zuccaro also had other plans for the composition that would have allowed him to publicize his didactic intentions in a highly visible location.

Although Heikamp pointed out that both the engraving, which depicted the artist in a splendid studio, and Zuccaro's newly constructed studio itself bear dates of 1579 and that the two projects have a close relationship, neither he nor anyone else has suggested that the composition may have been intended for the decoration of the studio.⁴² Probably this is because Heikamp and many of the scholars who followed him were convinced that the engraving was a polemical response to critics of the dome frescoes. Yet, as I have demonstrated, the design for the print originated much earlier, around the same time that Zuccaro purchased the property of Andrea del Sarto and began his ambitious plans for a studio of revolutionary design. As Heikamp was the first to discuss, Zuccaro's strikingly original studio facade includes as its centerpiece a large framed field meant to contain a fresco (Figure 6). The rusticated facade also contains three roughly carved stone relief sculptures, one at the center beneath the space reserved for the fresco and the other two lower down on either side. While the dense imagery of these worn reliefs is difficult to read, it appears that the central relief, containing a pot with pens and a palette with brushes, represents the tools of the painter (Figure 7). That at the left, which includes a mallet, must represent the tools of the sculptor and that at the right, the tools of the architect. Acidini Luchinat has said that the "extraordinary facade" was "probably supposed to be an artistic manifesto, a program of life and profession."⁴³ Zygmunt Ważbiński suggested that, given the presence of sculptural reliefs alluding to the three parts of Disegno, the two niches on the facade might have contained sculptures representing Theory and Practice and the painting must have been an allegory of the arts.⁴⁴ He speculated that the painting might have been similar in theme to Zuccaro's *Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* drawing (see Figure 4) or the preparatory study for this composition in Berlin.⁴⁵ Although Zuccaro later adapted that subject to a vertical format for a fresco in his Roman palazzo, both the drawing and its preparatory study are horizontal compositions. Furthermore, *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* has a clear pendant in the *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures* in the Louvre. Heikamp suggested that these pendants were intended for the interior of the studio, which seems far more likely.⁴⁶ The allegory engraved by Cort, however, corresponds to the vertical orientation of the frame on the studio facade.

What could be more appropriate for the facade than this allegory of the arts, in which the luminous figure of the



8. Stone coat of arms of Federico Zuccaro surmounted by the Medici coat of arms, on the outside of Zuccaro's Florentine house. Photograph: the author



9. Facade of Federico Zuccaro's Florentine house, looking up at the framed field for a fresco. Photograph: the author

“vera intelligenza del disegno,” placed directly above the tools of the painter, would seem to subsume the three arts alluded to below? Not only do the proportions of the design correspond roughly to the space provided, but the Zuccaro family emblem, a cone of sugar (*cono di zucchero*) with squash blossoms (*fiori di zucca*), would appear in an appropriate place on the facade. This “coat of arms” matches the one adorning the corner of Zuccaro’s house, where it is likewise framed by cornucopia although somewhat dwarfed by the Medici coat of arms above (Figure 8). Surely the artist would have wanted to include the family symbol on his studio as well.⁴⁷ The allegory’s composition is dense with figures and would have required some simplification for the studio exterior, but the framed field on the facade is quite large and not very far off the ground, as can be seen from a photograph recently taken from the street below (Figure 9).⁴⁸ The strong chiaroscuro makes the design readable from a distance, and the main figures would have stood out beautifully on the facade, presenting the conceit that one could look through the wall into Zuccaro’s spacious new studio and see the painter at work. The illusionism of the engraving’s design, in which the grotto containing Envy seems like an opening cut into the flat surface of a wall, is also well

suited to the location.⁴⁹ The way that Zuccaro has represented the light would have enhanced this illusion, for it appears to pour into the room from outside, falling on the floor of the depicted studio and of Envy’s grotto and illuminating the rim of the clouds above the artist.

A link between the engraved design and the studio facade is all the more likely since Zuccaro was not in the habit of creating designs exclusively for engraving. Of the seven other engravings he commissioned from Cort, there is only one for which no counterpart in another medium is known.⁵⁰ Three of the prints he produced in collaboration with Cort were created chiefly to record and publicize important public commissions, although the painter created new drawings to adapt the compositions to the print format.⁵¹ Two of the other drawings he submitted to Cort correspond to details of his fresco cycles in private palaces; since the inscriptions do not record the location, these may have been viewed more as a way of recycling successful designs than as a means of promoting previous commissions.⁵² *The Calumny of Apelles* was not a commissioned work, but even in that case Zuccaro was not content to have the composition exist merely in black and white. Two painted versions on canvas are known, one in the Palazzo Caetani, Rome,

10. Federico Zuccaro. *The Artist and His Wife Attended by Servants, with Zuccaro's Students in the Doorway*. Detail of fresco from Zuccaro's Florentine house, ca. 1578–79. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence



and another in the Royal Collections at Hampton Court, which are almost identical to the engraving and include the same ornamental historiated frame.⁵³ It is reasonable to imagine, therefore, that when Zuccaro conceived the design that he hired Cort to engrave, he was also looking forward to astonishing Florence with the novelty of painting such a subject on an artist's studio.⁵⁴

It has been noted that Heikamp suggested a program for the decoration of the studio's interior, which would have consisted of *The Garden of Liberal and Fine Arts* in the Morgan, squared for transfer, and its pendant drawing in the Louvre, *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures*.⁵⁵ It makes sense

that these didactic pendants were meant for the interior of the studio, where they would serve as a reminder to the artist's students to stick to the virtuous path. The importance to Zuccaro of his students, whom he surely viewed as more than apprentices and studio assistants, is evident from his plan to include spaces for their lodging within the studio.⁵⁶ The value he placed on them is even more evident from his decision to include them in a family portrait within his house. In a lunette in one of the ground-floor rooms, Zuccaro painted himself and his new bride, Francesca Genga, seated at table and attended by servants (Figure 10). In the doorway sit three young students, engaged in an animated discussion; their drawings and tools rest on the floor of the dining room and on a stool just inside the door.⁵⁷ In the background behind the students can be discerned the new studio, still under construction.⁵⁸

This brings us to the decoration of the house, and to the other work by Zuccaro that is our focus here, the Metropolitan Museum's *Study for Spring* (Figure 11). In one ground-floor room of Zuccaro's Florentine palazzo, a cycle of frescoes has survived that includes the genre scene described above, landscapes, a mythological scene, episodes from the life of Aesop, and an allegory of Time. The Metropolitan's drawing, acquired in 2002, is related to the fresco representing spring

11. Federico Zuccaro. *Study for Spring*. Pen and brown ink, red chalk, brown wash, and heightening, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (22 x 35 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ian Woodner Family Collection Fund, 2002 (2002.96)





12. Federico Zuccaro. Detail of *Allegory of Spring* in Figure 13

(Figure 12), one of the allegories of the seasons that surround the figure of Father Time in the center of the room's vault (Figure 13).⁵⁹ Unknown before it appeared on the art market, the Metropolitan's drawing is one of three that depict the same allegorical scene of spring. A nearly identi-

cal drawing, although without the border seen in the Metropolitan's work, can be found in the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome (Figure 14); another drawing in Lisbon, considered a studio replica of a lost original, is closer to the finished fresco yet has the same



13. Federico Zuccaro. *Time and the Seasons*. Fresco painted in the vault of a ground-floor room of Zuccaro's Florentine house, ca. 1578–79. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence



14. Federico Zuccaro. *Study for Spring*. Pen and brown ink, brown wash and white heightening, traces of black chalk, 7¼ x 10⅜ in. (18.3 x 26.5 cm). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome (FC 126126)

rectangular format as the drawings in Rome and New York.⁶⁰ These works have been considered preparatory to Zuccaro's ceiling fresco, despite the fact that the drawings' rectangular format, their spatial conception, and the proportions of their figures do not correspond to the fresco, where the composition has been altered and greatly simplified. With the discovery of the Metropolitan's study—a third clearly autograph drawing for this design, and one, moreover, with an elaborate border—it becomes clear that Zuccaro had a separate and more significant project in mind.

Carmen Bambach, writing in 2005, was the first to recognize that Zuccaro must have altered his intentions for the design.⁶¹ She suggested that he had originally planned to paint the subject on a rectangular wall surface and later simplified the design for the ceiling fresco. This is entirely plausible, since a detailed study for the season of summer in La Valletta, Malta, also has a rectangular format,⁶² as do the two allegorical drawings in the Morgan and Louvre mentioned earlier that were probably planned as decorations for the studio. Possibly Zuccaro originally intended to fresco the walls as well as the ceiling of this ground-floor room of the house.⁶³ Alternatively—or, more likely, additionally—the rectangular composition, with its complex iconography and ornate frame, could have been intended for an engraving.

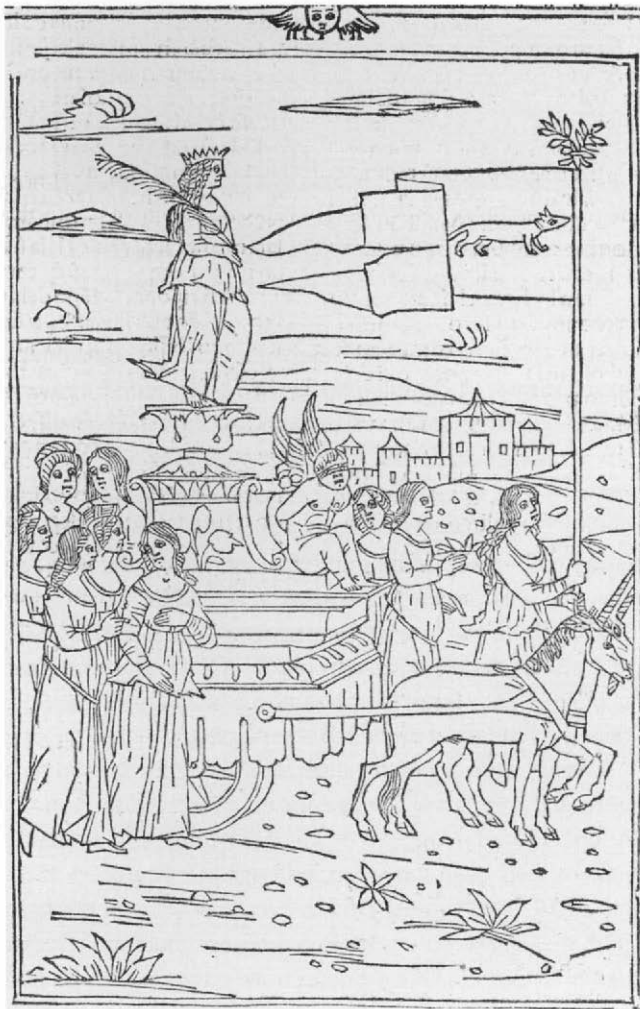
Whereas only one detailed drawing is known for the allegory of summer and no preparatory material survives for those of fall or winter, which are far simpler and indeed rather schematic, there are, as noted above, three complete drawings for the spring subject. There is also a sketch in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, which may represent an early idea for the subject of spring.⁶⁴ Thus, of the seasons,

spring must have been of special importance to Zuccaro. The decorative frame included in the Metropolitan Museum's drawing consists of garlands and floral scrolls with three empty cartouches along the top and one on each side—presumably the drawing has been trimmed along the bottom edge—that were clearly destined to contain subsidiary images. To the left of the central cartouche in the top border, there is a paper patch that seems to have been added by the artist, perhaps covering an earlier idea for the ornamental border. In addition, a plaque or banner hangs from the center of the frame, overlapping the image slightly, that was no doubt meant for a title or other inscription. This drawing appears to be earlier than the one in Rome, for although it has been worked up to a higher finish, shaded with wash and highlighted throughout, loose and sketchy underdrawing in red and black chalk is visible; it also contains numerous *pentimenti*. The drawing in Rome, though exactly the same size as the central part of the New York drawing, lacks the frame and contains no *pentimenti*. Although some of its figures have been worked up with white highlighting and wash shading, notably the three Cupids in the foreground and the central fountain, most of the figures are represented in pure outline. Where the contours are unclear in the New York drawing, particularly in the lower left corner, with its almost illegible tangle of lines, the area has been left blank in the Roman drawing. Although this absence of lines could imply a copy by another hand, it could also represent a deliberate omission on Zuccaro's part. The Rome and New York drawings are very similar in their selective wash and highlighting. No incising is visible on either work; the New York drawing has not been blackened on the verso, nor are any other signs of transfer detectable.⁶⁵ The New York drawing also contains a few significant details, such as the vase of flowers in the right foreground and the water that issues from the central fountain, that are absent in the Rome drawing and that are critical to the reading of the allegory, as will be shown.

The iconography of the drawings in New York and Rome—which differs significantly from that of the finished fresco—is quite unusual. It has never been analyzed; even the fresco has never been fully explicated. Heikamp, who published the fresco decoration for the first time, described the iconography of the cycle of seasons in summary fashion, concentrating his analysis on the figure of Time (Figure 15), a novel invention that he identified as originating with Zuccaro's friend, the Florentine expatriate writer Anton Francesco Doni.⁶⁶ As in Doni's allegory, published in his *Pitture* of 1564,⁶⁷ Zuccaro depicts Time as an old man with wings who is flanked by two children, an emaciated child who looks into the mirror of the past and a plump one who points to the mirror of the future. At the bottom two additional children, representing Night and Day, point to a book in which all the events of history are inscribed.⁶⁸ It is here,



15. Detail of *Allegory of Time* in Figure 13



16. Pico Master. *Triumph of Chastity*. Woodcut. From Francesco Petrarch, *Opere; Triumph, Soneti, & Canzone* (Venice: Bartolomeo Zanni da Portese, 1508), p. 34v (signature fii verso), first published in edition of 1492. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.43.1)

in the pages of the book, that we find the date 1579, presumably the date of completion of the frescoes.

Heikamp briefly described what was represented in the rest of the fresco. In the scene of spring (see Figure 12), he identified a statue of Diana, goddess of the hunt, at left; a virgin with her unicorn on the fountain at center; and a statue representing spring at right. Observing that the preparatory drawing contains many more figures, he singled out the struggling figures of Sacred and Profane Love, noting that these same figures appear in Zuccaro's palazzo in Rome.⁶⁹ Heikamp does not attempt to identify the figures who dance in the vicinity of the statue of "Spring," nor does he explain how the allegory functions or the significance of Sacred and Profane Love in a seasonal allegory. Acidini Luchinat repeats Heikamp's identifications in an overview of the fresco's content. She believes the whole ceiling alludes to Zuccaro's beloved theme of Truth Revealing Time, suggesting that even the allegory of the seasons has a polemical bent. In a footnote she mentions the preparatory drawing in Rome, with the figures of Sacred and Profane Love, and the second preparatory drawing in Lisbon, which she calls simplified and by another hand.⁷⁰ In the catalogue for the exhibition "Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici," held in Florence in 1997, Piera Giovanna Tordella analyzed the relationship of the drawing in Rome to that in Lisbon and to the sketch in the Biblioteca Nazionale and described more of the figures in the preparatory drawings, although without attempting to explain their significance.⁷¹ None of these authors were yet familiar with the drawing now in the Metropolitan Museum and so were not fully aware of the attention Zuccaro devoted to the subject.

Before turning to the drawings, it will be useful to consider the iconography of the fresco. Heikamp's identification of the statue at left as that of Diana, chaste goddess of the hunt, is indisputable. Her nymphs have returned from hunting and, casting off their clothing, enter the fountain of Diana. In front of the fountain we see their dogs. Heikamp is also correct in identifying the figure who ornaments the fountain at center as a virgin with her tame unicorn.⁷² The belief that unicorns could be tamed only by virgins dates back to medieval times, as does the conviction that the horn of the beast could purify water. In representations of Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity* in prints, book illustrations, and *cassone* panels, the chariot of Chastity is always pulled by unicorns (Figure 16), a detail never mentioned by Petrarch himself. In two of the earliest Florentine engravings representing the subject, a virgin dressed in fifteenth-century attire is depicted seated on a hill behind the chariot of Chastity, combing the mane of a tame unicorn.⁷³

The seminudity of Zuccaro's maiden, however, and the fact that water issues from her breasts are departures from tradition and result in a somewhat ambivalent symbol. The



17. Detail showing Flora and the Graces in Figure 11

nourishing breasts call to mind Diana of Ephesus, a symbol of fertile nature, which Zuccaro painted in these same years in his *Last Judgment* in the dome of the Florence cathedral. There a many-breasted old woman is represented lying on the ground in the company of personifications of the seasons to signify the sleep of nature at the end of time.⁷⁴ A fountain figure with water issuing from her breasts also calls to mind the statue by Zuccaro's friend Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592) that represents Ceres, a symbol of the fruitful earth, and was intended for a fountain showing the cycle of water in the universe.⁷⁵ Zuccaro surely knew this sculpture, which was among those that had been moved to the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1563, awaiting final systematization in the Palazzo Vecchio,⁷⁶ and was probably still there in 1565 when he arrived to assist with decorations for the wedding of Prince Francesco de' Medici. By the time Zuccaro created his ceiling fresco, the *Ceres* was in the Palazzo Vecchio, although the fountain had still not been assembled as planned and never would be.⁷⁷ In addition to the *Ceres*, Zuccaro may have had in mind the mother of all nude female fountain figures, the nymph of the spring represented in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499.⁷⁸ There the lovely marble nymph from whose breasts the hero drinks is identified as "the Mother of All," indicating that she is Venus in



18. Bartolomeo Ammanati (Italian, 1511–1592). *Flora*, ca. 1565. Marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Photograph: courtesy Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence

her role as Mother Nature or earth goddess.⁷⁹ The seemingly unusual fusion of chastity and fertility in Zuccaro's fountain design is paralleled in the two contrasting sides of the fresco.

In counterpoint to the chaste Diana at the left of Zuccaro's composition, the statue at the right—which Heikamp labeled "Spring"—represents a draped figure holding flowers in a fold in her robe. In the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, a large vase of flowers is placed in front of her (Figure 17); in the fresco she is surrounded by two or three such vessels. Surely this figure is not Spring but rather Flora, the tutelary goddess of Florence who is also a goddess of the flowering fields and of the fertility that leads to the harvests of summer. Once again we can turn for comparison to a figure that Ammanati created for his projected fountain—this time his figure of Flora (Figure 18), which, like his statue of *Ceres*, had been moved to the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1563 and by 1579 was in the Palazzo Vecchio. It is precisely in 1579, the year that Zuccaro dated his frescoed ceiling, that a letter to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici refers to two statues by Ammanati in the Palazzo Vecchio, one of which "was the Flora that holds flowers in her lap and a weapon in her arm and denotes Florence."⁸⁰ Ammanati's Flora, like Zuccaro's, holds flowers in "her lap," although the fold in the gown of Zuccaro's Flora is far more ample. A similar

representation of Florence is found in the Stradanus drawing in Heidelberg mentioned earlier and likely dating from the same period: there a personification of painting paints Flora, who bears flowers in an ample fold of her mantle.⁸¹ The object held in Flora's raised arm in Stradanus's drawing could be a weapon, as in Ammanati's sculpture, or it could be a fleur-de-lis, another emblem of Florence. Undoubtedly Zuccaro's Flora also carries a double meaning as a symbol of his adopted city.

If the draped figure represents Flora, then what are we to make of the three nymphs who worship her? The objects in their hands in the fresco are clearly tambourines, but this may be the result of confusion on the part of early restorers, for in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum it is evident that these women grasp garlands of flowers.⁸² The nymphs' identity can be established by consulting Ovid's *Fasti*, an obvious source for a seasonal allegory and one that was readily accessible to Zuccaro in the form of Vincenzo Cartari's Italian translation, *I fasti di Ovidio*, published in Venice in 1551. There, in a description of the spring festival of the Floralia, Flora describes her realm: "I enjoy perpetual spring. . . . In the fields that are my dower, I have a garden of the most fertile terrain that ever existed. . . . When in the morning the gentle breezes have made the dew fall from the leafy trees and the grass has felt the tempered heat of Phoebus, the Hours . . . come there and with their white hands gather the beautiful flowers . . . and the Graces come there likewise to make beautiful garlands that afterwards bind their divine locks."⁸³ Clearly, the three women holding crowns of flowers are the Graces, who appear in so many of Zuccaro's allegories.⁸⁴ It is interesting that this passage from the *Fasti*, like Zuccaro's fresco and his related drawings, evokes the dawn as well as the springtime. In the fresco cycle, each allegory relates to an age of man and a time of day as well as a season. Spring relates to the dawn, and in Zuccaro's drawings in Rome and New York the rays of sun that fan out from the horizon and gild the columns at the entry to the loggia clearly allude to the break of day.

How are we to understand this allegorical fresco of spring in which Diana, representing chastity, is placed opposite Flora, representing fertility, with the fountain between them fusing the ideas of chastity and fertility? We can turn again to the *Fasti*, where the goddess recounts the myth of her transformation from Chloris, nymph of the bare fields, to Flora, describing how Zephyr ravished her and then made her his wife and the queen of flowers⁸⁵—a metamorphosis most strikingly represented by Botticelli in his *Primavera*.⁸⁶ The opposition between Diana (and her nymphs) and Flora (and the Graces, who worship her as the goddess of the flowering fields) suggests a transition from the sterility of winter to the fertile promise of spring that echoes Flora's own transformation.



19. Detail of *Allegory of Summer* in Figure 13

Zuccaro's fresco of spring, as well as the drawing in Lisbon, contains two additional figures, a young boy and girl who appear in the background to the left of the fountain. The young girl, fully dressed, crowns the nude boy. The significance of these figures is made clear by comparison with the fresco of summer, where, in exactly the same position, we find two seated lovers kissing and embracing passionately (Figure 19). In addition, marriages are celebrated in the upper right of the summer fresco—where peasants dance around the figure of Hymen, god of weddings. Thus, the transition from spring to summer in the cycle of the seasons represents how the budding of love in childhood (the dawn or springtime of life) comes to fruition in adulthood (noontime or summer). It should be noted that the fresco and all the drawings also depict two infant Cupids flying from the loggia—one of whom is grasping a bow.

The theme of love, delicately suggested in the ceiling frescoes, comes to the fore in the drawings in Rome and New York, where several figures of Cupid are placed in the foreground (Figure 20). At left, near the fountain of Diana, an adolescent Cupid is being punished by Diana's nymphs. The war between the chaste huntress Diana and Venus, goddess of love, was a familiar conceit in Renaissance art. In the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, for example, the protagonist Polia is portrayed as a devotee of Diana (probably to be understood as a nun) who, after having a frightening dream about Cupid's vengeance on those who resist his power, decides to reciprocate Poliphilo's love; after switching her allegiance to Venus, Polia experiences a vision of the goddess of love pursuing Diana in her chariot, melting the icy goddess with the flames of a giant torch held by Cupid.⁸⁷ Similarly, in a painting commissioned by Isabella d'Este from Perugino (active by 1469, d. 1523), *The Battle of Chastity and Lasciviousness* of 1505 (Musée du Louvre,



20. Detail showing Cupids around the fountain in Figure 11

Paris), Diana and her nymphs, with the assistance of Minerva, are depicted in fierce battle with Venus, Cupid, and all his little brothers.⁸⁸

In Zuccaro's drawings Diana and Venus appear only as statues—a Venus Pudica (Venus of Modesty) can be recognized in the niche behind the fountain of Diana—but their representatives, chaste nymphs and carnal cupids, are engaged in active combat. Cupid has been forced to his knees with his hands bound behind his back. One of Diana's nymphs plucks feathers from his wings, while another, in the foreground, breaks his bow. Broken arrows litter the ground in front of the fountain. The ultimate source for this iconography is Petrarch's *Trionfi* (*Triumphs*). While Petrarch's first triumph celebrates Cupid and shows all the great men and mighty gods who have been subject to his power—including Jupiter, who is

21. Jacopo del Sellaio (Italian, 1441/42–1493). *The Triumph of Chastity*. Oil on panel. Museo Bandini, Fiesole. Photograph: Scala / Art Resource, New York



bound to Cupid's chariot—in the second triumph Chastity engages in battle with Cupid. Petrarch describes Cupid's ultimate defeat and his punishment at the hands of chaste women; on Chastity's chariot, it is Cupid who is bound beneath the victor (see Figures 16, 21).

The theme of Cupid's defeat and punishment was popular in domestic art, particularly in Tuscany, where it was painted on *cassoni*, wainscoting, and other furniture, illustrated in prints, and used on plaquettes and majolica. Household furniture depicting this subject was often commissioned in connection with weddings.⁸⁹ The Triumph of Chastity may seem an odd subject to decorate the nuptial chamber, yet a faithful marriage was considered a second state of chastity. One of the examples closest to Zuccaro's drawing is Jacopo del Sellaio's *Triumph of Chastity* in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole (Figure 21). There a long-limbed Cupid's hands are tied behind his back by one maiden while another plucks his feathers and a third breaks his bow on her knee.

This Petrarchan imagery was so closely bound up with Florentine tradition that Poliziano adopted it in his famed *Stanze per la Giostra di Giuliano de' Medici* (1475–78), where the poet describes the dream experienced by Giulio (as Giuliano is called in the poem) before the joust: Giulio sees his beloved Simonetta, with a stern face, tying Cupid to an olive tree, plucking the feathers from his wings, and breaking his bow and arrows.⁹⁰ This dream vision corresponds to the actual banner, painted by Botticelli (1444/45–1510), that Giuliano carried into the joust. Although the banner no longer survives, a report of the joust informs us that it represented Pallas Minerva with her shield and lance standing near an olive tree, to which Cupid was tied, "his hands bound behind his back with golden cords," with shattered arrows at his feet—an image clearly intended to allude to the chastity of Simonetta.⁹¹

The drawings in Rome and New York also illustrate other winged boys who do not have any basis in Petrarchan imagery. The two battling Cupids so prominent in the foreground have usually been identified as Sacred and Profane Love. They can more accurately be called Eros and Anteros, however, and linked to Cartari as their source. Although there were two readings of these figures current in the sixteenth century, Cartari, in his handbook on the gods of the ancients, first published with illustrations in Venice in 1571, clearly stated that the interpretation of Eros and Anteros as love and anti-love was in error: "But whoever believes that is seriously deceived, for Anteros was adored not because he made [an individual] turn against love, but because he punished whomever, being loved, did not love [in return]. . . ." After repeating a story told by Pausanias about how Anteros avenged a disappointed lover, he concludes, "and we can see that this one is no other than

reciprocal love.” Cartari went on to describe statues of two boys that the Greeks often displayed in their schools: one was Eros (Cupid), who held a palm branch in his hand, and the other Anteros, who struggled to take it from him. This represented the struggle of two lovers, each trying to prove that he or she loves the most fervently.⁹²

If we compare Zuccaro’s drawing with the etched illustration in Cartari (Figure 22), we can see that he has depicted Eros and Anteros in a much more vigorous and athletic struggle: one of the boys has fallen to the ground but still maintains his grip on the palm, which the other tries to wrest from him. While the object over which they fight is not entirely clear in the drawing in Rome, in the New York drawing it is plainly identifiable as a palm branch. It is highly likely that Zuccaro, with his love of allegory, would have obtained a copy of the book by Cartari, who belonged to the same circle in which he had moved during his stay in Venice.⁹³ Zuccaro’s inclusion of the third Cupid in Cartari’s woodcut confirms that the illustration served as his source. This figure is Cupid Letheros, the Cupid who helps lovers forget unhappy loves by dousing his torch in the river of Lethe.⁹⁴ The Cupid to the left of Eros and Anteros in Zuccaro’s drawings in Rome and New York can be seen to hold a torch, which he lowers to the ground, but only in the Metropolitan’s drawing does water issue from the fountain onto the flame.

Now that we have identified the principal sources of the figures in this unprecedented allegory, the meaning of its unusual combination of imagery can be addressed. The composition can reasonably be seen in relation to Zuccaro’s marriage, which took place in May 1578. As noted, Zuccaro painted a fresco of his bride and himself seated at their dining table in the same room that contained the frescoes of the seasons dated to 1579. If the scene in Zuccaro’s drawing is to be read as a progression from left to right, from the sterility or chastity of Diana to the fertility of Flora, then perhaps, as in many narratives of love, the nymphs punishing Cupid could represent the initial hesitation and resistance of Zuccaro’s beloved, who clings to her chastity.⁹⁵ The Cupid who douses his flame could represent Zuccaro’s subsequent efforts to forget his beloved, who had rejected his advances. Finally, the Cupids who struggle for the palm and are placed in the realm of Flora could signify the happy fulfillment of reciprocated love. Since marriage imagery frequently combined the ideas of chastity and fertility, however, the different aspects of the design are not necessarily meant to be viewed as either oppositional or sequential. The painted furniture commissioned for conjugal chambers adapted the imagery of Petrarch’s *Triumphs* to convey the idea that carnal love is disciplined or confined within marriage.⁹⁶ Thus the scene at left, in which Cupid is chastised, could carry the usual significance of a disciplining of carnal desire



22. Bolognino Zaltieri (Italian, fl. 1560–80) after a design attributed to Giuseppe Porta Salviati (Italian, ca. 1520–ca. 1575). *Eros and Anteros and Cupid Letheros*. Etching. From Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1571), p. 502. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1948 (48.81)

within matrimony. As noted earlier, the fountain at the center explicitly combines, in a novel manner, the ideas of chastity and fertility that are the two seemingly contrary requirements of marriage.⁹⁷ The figures from Cartari introduce a new element into the iconography. Eros and Anteros and the happy idea of reciprocal love are clearly appropriate to a marriage allegory, but the meaning of Cupid Letheros is less apparent. Perhaps Zuccaro sought here to combine an idea expressed by Cartari with a passage from Petrarch’s *Triumph of Chastity* to allude to fidelity. The poet describes the chain of diamonds and topaz “once dipped in Lethe’s stream” that Chastity uses to bind Cupid to a column of jasper.⁹⁸ The dipping of the chain in the river of forgetfulness is apparently proof against temptations, symbolized in the poem by Cupid’s arrows, dipped in pleasure. Perhaps a similar meaning is conveyed by Zuccaro’s Cupid, who does not simply douse his torch in the river of oblivion but quenches it in waters purified by the unicorn’s horn.⁹⁹

I believe that Zuccaro took such care with his allegory of spring because it was intended to commemorate not only his marriage but also his identification with his adopted city. The extensive use of Petrarchan imagery, so closely bound up with Florentine tradition, and above all the worship of Flora—the personification of the city under whose aegis his love finds its happy consummation (in the guise of Eros

and Anteros)—indicate that Zuccaro wanted to celebrate Florence as his newfound home.

We can only hypothesize about the medium in which Zuccaro intended to carry out this allegory. The drawing in the Metropolitan Museum with its elaborate frame invites comparison with Cort's *Calumny of Apelles* (see Figure 2), suggesting that Zuccaro might have planned to engrave the allegory of spring as well. As noted earlier, however, it was rare for the artist to conceive a design solely for the purpose of engraving: *The Calumny of Apelles* survives in two painted versions, both of which include the historiated frame. Zuccaro also painted frescoes with comparable fictive frames and even, on occasion, with a painted plaque bearing an inscription.¹⁰⁰ It is true that the technique used for the drawing in New York is very similar to that used by Zuccaro in his preparatory drawings for the *Calumny of Apelles* and *Coronation of the Virgin* engravings, as well as for the top half of the *Lament of Painting* engraving, and it is also comparable to that used by Stradanus in *The Practitioners of the Visual Arts* (see Figure 5).¹⁰¹ This technique of pen and ink with wash and highlighting was certainly not reserved for drawings that were preparatory for prints, however. One of the strongest indications that the drawing was intended primarily for a wall fresco is the existence of its counterpart, the drawing for the subject of summer in La Valletta mentioned earlier. Moreover, while the floral border of the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum is appropriate to the subject, it also gives the design the appearance of a tapestry, and it would make sense that Zuccaro wanted to paint frescoes on the wall of his Florentine home that would imitate the appearance of tapestry.¹⁰² The obvious care that Zuccaro put into designing his allegory of spring and the existence of multiple drawings are the only evidence that he intended to reproduce the design in a second medium. Nevertheless, since the subject celebrates not only the private matter of Zuccaro's marriage but also his identification with Florence, and since he so often had his designs engraved, it is reasonable to imagine that he hoped to have this composition published as well. This possibility must, however, remain in the realm of speculation.

Finally, it should be noted that the vase of flowers in the engraving of *The Lament of Painting* (see Figure 1) has never been explained. This bouquet, very like the one that appears in the foreground of Zuccaro's drawing of spring in New York, is not replicated in the Roman drawing of the same subject and may have been a late addition. The flowers in the engraving may also have been added at the last minute, just before the quarrel between Cort and Zuccaro erupted or just before Cort's death, and never finished—which could explain why the shading is incomplete. This vase of flowers

may be an allusion to Florence, where Zuccaro's studio was located and where he hoped to play a key role in elevating his profession. The prominence of Hercules, who sits directly above the artist, may also have special meaning. Scholars have read Hercules as a figure of virtue and a protector of the arts in the work; while this is certainly valid, it should not be forgotten that Hercules was the legendary founder of Florence, who had appeared on the city seal as early as the thirteenth century and whose imagery was adopted by the Medici once they assumed control of the city.¹⁰³

With the unveiling of Zuccaro's frescoes on August 19, 1579, and the storm of abuse that greeted them, the artist's devotion to his new hometown soon soured. When his proposed plans to continue work in the cathedral were rejected, Zuccaro recognized that his dreams of fulfillment in Florence were an illusion and he soon departed for Rome. Although it is possible that the elaborate allegory of spring represented in the drawings in Rome and New York evolved out of Zuccaro's designs for the frescoed vault of his ground-floor room, another explanation seems more likely: once the artist realized that Florence was not to become his permanent home, he simplified and reduced the decorative program for his Florentine house, abandoned any plan he might have had to reproduce the design of spring as an engraving, and pressed an abbreviated version of the composition into service for a rapidly executed ceiling fresco. Although Zuccaro prepared a place on the facade of his studio for a large painted allegory of the arts, the fresco was never executed. In Rome Zuccaro would again take up his decorative and didactic schemes and carry them further, playing a key role in the founding of the Roman academy for artists and building and decorating a magnificent palazzo with frescoes that celebrated himself, his family, and his artistic program.¹⁰⁴ Yet there too his ambitions would exceed his means, and his dreams would never find their complete fulfillment.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Acidini Luchinat 1998–99

Cristina Acidini Luchinat. *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: Fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*. Milan and Rome, 1998–99.

Acidini Luchinat 2002

Cristina Acidini Luchinat. "A Painter, Two Houses, One Destiny: Federico Zuccari in Florence and Rome." In *Feier der Überleitung des Kunsthistorischen Institutes Florenz in die Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*, pp. 33–54. Florence, 2002.

Aurigemma 1995

M. Giulia Aurigemma. "Lettere di Federico Zuccaro." *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, ser. 3, 18 (1995), pp. 207–46.

Bolzoni 2001

Lina Bolzoni. *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*. Translated by Jeremy Parzen. Toronto, 2001.

Brooks 2007

Julian Brooks. *Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome*. Exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Los Angeles, 2007.

Bury 2001

Michael Bury. *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*. London, 2001.

Cartari 1551

Vincenzo Cartari. *I Fasti di Ovidio tratti a lingua volgare*. Venice: Marcolini, 1551.

Cartari 1571

Vincenzo Cartari. *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*. 3d ed. Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1571.

Gerards-Nelissen 1983

Inemie Gerards-Nelissen. "Federigo Zuccaro and the *Lament of Painting*." *Simiolus* 13 (1983), pp. 44–53.

Hänsel 1999

Sylvaine Hänsel. "Federico Zuccari, Benito Arias Montano und der 'Lamento de la Pittura.'" In *Der Maler Federico Zuccari: Ein römischer Virtuoso von europäischem Ruhm*, ed. Matthias Winner and Detlef Heikamp, pp. 147–57. Munich, 1999.

Heikamp 1957

Detlef Heikamp. "Vicende di Federigo Zuccari." *Rivista d'arte* 32 (1957), pp. 175–232.

Heikamp 1967

Detlef Heikamp. "Federico Zuccari a Firenze, 1575–1579) II: Federico a casa sua." *Paragone*, n.s., 18, no. 207 (May 1967), pp. 3–34.

Maffei 2004

Sonia Maffei, ed. *Pitture del Doni: Accademico pellegrino*. Naples, 2004.

Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici 1997

Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento. Exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence. Milan, 1997.

Sellink 1994

Manfred Sellink. *Cornelis Cort: "Constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Hollandt / Accomplished Plate-Cutter from Hoorn in Holland."* Exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Rotterdam, 1994.

Sellink 2000

Manfred Sellink, comp. *Cornelis Cort*. Edited by Huigen Leeftang. [Vol. 8] of *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*. 3 parts. Rotterdam, 2000.

Waźbiński 1985

Zygmunt Waźbiński. "Lo studio—la scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29 (1985), pp. 275–346.

NOTES

1. Because of the Italian inscription on two impressions of the print, it is sometimes called *The Painter of True Intelligence*. As discussed below, both titles imply a certain interpretation that is open to debate, but for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it throughout as *The Lament of Painting*.
2. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 53.
3. Hänsel 1999.
4. Heikamp (1957, p. 181 and n. 27) is aware that Cort died in March 1578, more than a year prior to the unveiling of the frescoes, yet still maintains that the print's purpose was to defend the artist against his critics. More recently ("Federico Zuccaro e la cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore: La fortuna critica dei suoi affreschi," in *Federico Zuccaro: Le idee, gli scritti, atti del convegno di Sant'Angelo in Vado*, ed. Bonita Cleri [Milan, 1997], p. 145), Heikamp states that although Zuccaro planned to publish a description of the dome together with engravings of some details, in the end he had Cort engrave only "una macchinosa allegoria contro le critiche" (a complex allegory against the critics). Cristina Acidini Luchinat (1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 99–101, 120n. 109) also sees the engraving as a response to criticism of the frescoes. Since Zuccaro broke with Cort in 1577, she believes that the engraving, published in 1579, is not by Cort. In a lecture presented in 2002, she repeated her certainty that the engraving was motivated by attacks on Zuccaro's paintings in the dome (Acidini Luchinat 2002, p. 45). Zygmunt Waźbiński (1985, pp. 308–9) notes that Zuccaro often created images of personal propaganda in response to critics of his work, including the *Lamento della Pittura* of 1579. Matthias Winner ("Triumph der Malerei von Federico Zuccari," in *Der Maler Federico Zuccari: Ein römischer Virtuoso von europäischem Ruhm*, ed. Matthias Winner and Detlef Heikamp [Munich, 1999], pp. 130–32) also holds this opinion, although he dates the design to 1577. This view was most recently repeated by Robert Williams, "The Artist as Worker in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in Brooks 2007, p. 99.
5. See, for example, Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 33–37, and Acidini Luchinat 2002, pp. 38–40.
6. In the second state of the *Calumny*, the inscription explicitly invites the viewer to compare a description of Apelles' painting with Zuccaro's variation on the theme. See Sellink 2000, part 3, p. 125.
7. See Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 51–52, and Hänsel 1999, p. 154.

8. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "The *Porta Virtutis* and Federigo Zuccari's Expulsion from the Papal States: An Unjust Conviction?" *Romisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), pp. 167–77.
9. Terrades was a Spanish poet resident in Florence and a close friend of Zuccaro's with whom the artist is known to have traveled (Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 101).
10. J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *L'oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort, graveur Hollandais, 1533–1578* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 204–5, no. 221.
11. Sellink 1994, p. 205.
12. Sellink 2000, part 3, pp. 132–33.
13. Impressions without text could have been printed at any time, since the text was always printed either from type, which would have to be reset each time, or from separate plates that could have gone astray at some point. Sellink lists a variant with small pictures printed in the two rectangles (*ibid.*, p. 133, variant e, Coburg). Some impressions without text are of high quality, however, indicating that they were printed early in the life of the plate.
14. Whether initially published by Zuccaro himself or by the Roman publishers Lafreri or Cavallieri, all the prints Zuccaro commissioned from Cort were issued with Latin inscriptions. See Sellink 2000, nos. 1, 17, 20, 41, 100, 211. In the second state the *Calumny* was issued with a longer Italian inscription, sometimes printed from a separate plate and sometimes from type, that provided a key to the image, but it is unclear whether this was Zuccaro's idea or Lafreri's. See *ibid.*, part 3, p. 125. For the suggestion that some of Zuccaro's prints were published by the artist himself, see Bury 2001, p. 147. This is borne out by the fact that two of the prints he commissioned from Cort received a publisher's address only in the third or fourth state, after having been widely disseminated (see Sellink 2000, nos. 17, 41).
15. This seems particularly apparent if we compare the print with another allegory of the arts engraved by Cort after a design by Stradanus (Figure 5). See Sellink 1994, no. 69.
16. The engraver may have realized that he stood to gain more by printing and selling the plate himself than by accepting a one-time payment from Zuccaro. There is evidence that Cort intended to publish at least one of his own engravings in the 1570s. See Bury 2001, pp. 19–21, 225. Thus, some of the impressions of the *Lament* without text could have been printed without authorization, and hence without any author or publication information, by Cort in Rome as early as 1577.
17. Aurigemma 1995, p. 217: "ora mo qua giu baso nel Sabatho infernale tra li spergiuri e manchator di parola mi faro cornelio Cort ed il rame del litigio atachatto al collo, non molto lontano da lui i suoi fautori e compagni." Aurigemma suggests that the contested plate could be *The Calumny of Apelles* (Sellink 2000, no. 211), but that engraving is dated 1572.
18. The last print that Cort engraved for Zuccaro prior to the *Lament* is the *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1576 (Sellink 2000, no. 100). Although the design of an engraving produced by Cort in 1578, *The Birth of the Virgin* (*ibid.*, no. 95), has been attributed to Zuccaro, neither the engraving nor the preparatory drawing in Brussels is of sufficient quality to sustain that attribution. See Bierens de Haan, *L'oeuvre gravé de Cort* (as in note 10 above), p. 45, no. 20, fig. 6. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that a print after Zuccaro's design published in 1578 would fail to bear his name.
19. Hänsel 1999, pp. 148–50.
20. Sellink 2000, no. 212 (variant d, Bologna), p. 133. The paucity of impressions remaining is not out of line with the typical survival rate for such large prints, which were often displayed on the wall rather than preserved in albums. See Michael Bury and David Landau, "Ferdinand Columbus's Italian Prints: Clarifications and Implications," in Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539)* (London, 2004), pp. 191–94, where they discuss the low survival rate of large woodcuts.
21. Hänsel (1999, p. 153) suggests that Arias Montano saw the drawing or the plate in Cort's studio when he was in Rome in 1576. Given the portable nature of prints, however, and the fact that the poet was a buyer for the Escorial Library, he may have seen it at any time before May 1579. Hänsel also notes that there is no copy in the library now, but as mentioned above, large prints were often destroyed by being displayed on the wall.
22. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 97.
23. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 46–49.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49; Hänsel 1999, p. 156.
25. "Tenendo l'occhio e la mente saldi nella vera intelligenza, che nuda gli sta davanti."
26. See, for example, Winner, "Triumph der Malerei von Zuccari" (as in note 4 above), p. 132.
27. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 49; Hänsel 1999, p. 156.
28. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, 2d ed. (Florence: Giunti, 1568), vol. 1, p. 43: "Perchè il disegno, padre delle tre arti nostre, architettura, scultura e pittura, procedendo dall'intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universale simile a una forma ovvero Idea di tutte le cose della natura." For a thorough analysis of the evolving concept of the Idea, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia, S.C., 1968), and Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 147–75. For Zuccaro, see particularly pp. 155–56.
29. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 274: "freda e debole definizione di si alto soggetto."
30. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, pp. 44–49; Hänsel 1999, pp. 148–50. The impression in the Uffizi that bears the Italian inscription does, however, appear to be a fresh and early one.
31. This document, reproduced in full in Heikamp 1957, pp. 216–18, was preserved among the files of Nicolò Gaddi, *luogotenente* of the Accademia del Disegno and dedicatee of Cort's engraving (Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 101).
32. Heikamp 1957, p. 217: "ché essendo un'anima in dua corpi, pittura et scultura, et l'Intelligenza del disegno, l'anima propria, conviene e al una et al altra, l'una et l'altra pratica et scienza."
33. Gerards-Nelissen 1983, p. 50. This is all the more likely given that the infant Cupid can be seen holding a flame and scales behind the enthroned Jupiter. In the *Porta Virtutis*, figures identified as the Graces and Spirito are visible through a triumphal arch. In the series of drawings illustrating the early life of Federico's older brother Taddeo, the young artist is shown returning to Rome escorted by Spirito, Disegno, and the Three Graces. In this instance the clearly labeled Spirito is shown as a young man with wings on his head rather than on his back. In the drawing of Taddeo painting the facade of the Palazzo Mattei, the figures that crowd around the artist on the scaffolding are identified as Spirito, Fierezza, and the Graces. See Brooks 2007, pp. 23, 26, 33–35, nos. 16, 19.
34. Cartari (1571, p. 369) writes that Hippocrates described Truth in a letter to a friend in the form of a "[d]onna, bella, grande, honestamente ornate, e tutta lucida, e risplendente."
35. See Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 56–58.
36. Heikamp (1967, pp. 28–29, pl. 20) compares the technique of this drawing to the *bozzetto* for the drawing of summer in Malta. The *modello* for the drawing of spring in the Metropolitan Museum, to be discussed below, is also carried out in a very similar technique and is very close in size and format.

37. Sellink 1994, pp. 200–201; Bury 2001, pp. 18–21.
38. It appears that Cort may have intended to publish this print himself (Sellink 1994, pp. 205, n. 5; Bury 2001, p. 21). If his relationship with Stradanus was an equal partnership, he may have had some say in the unusual prominence given to the engraver in the image. Although designed earlier, the print was published during the same period that Cort was working on Zuccaro's allegory. Perhaps Cort wanted some reference to engraving in Zuccaro's allegory as well. An object resembling a copper plate appears on the table, and it is this part of the composition where the unfinished vase of flowers appears. Is it possible that this was the bone of contention that led to Zuccaro's desire to paint his engraver in hell? Or was Zuccaro annoyed that Cort was working on Stradanus's engraving rather than finishing his own?
39. Pen and brown ink, highlighted with white, on prepared paper tinted green, 18¼ x 14¾ in. (46.5 x 36.5 cm), Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg, inv. D 69117. See Alessandra Baroni in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, p. 281, no. 227.
40. Matthias Winner, "Gemalte Kunsttheorie: Zu Gustave Courbet's 'Allégorie réelle' und der Tradition," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 4 (1962), pp. 158–60, fig. 5.
41. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 101, 120 n. 119.
42. Heikamp 1967, p. 14.
43. Acidini Luchinat 2002, p. 45.
44. Ważbiński 1985, p. 281.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 334, n. 39.
46. Heikamp 1967, pp. 28–29, pls. 20, 21. See also J. A. Gere, "The Lawrence-Phillipps-Rosenbach 'Zuccaro Album,'" *Master Drawings* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1970), p. 129, no. 16. Acidini Luchinat (1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 140–41) associates these with a slightly later period owing to the association of the temples of Virtue and Honor with a device of Guidobaldo II. More recently it has been suggested that this composition and its pendant might have been intended for the ceiling of a room in Zuccaro's Roman palazzo that was decorated with the cycle of the early life of Taddeo. See Christina Strunck, "The Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series: A New Reading of the Pictorial Program in the Palazzo Zuccari, Rome," in Brooks 2007, pp. 118–19. However, the iconography of the Temple of Fame probably derives from Zuccaro's association with Anton Francesco Doni during his stay in the Veneto, which also inspired his depiction of Time at the center of the fresco cycle of seasons in his Florentine home. See Bolzoni 2001, p. 203, and Maffei 2004, pp. 13–16, 54–60. Zuccaro also used the image of the Temple of Fame in the border of the *Calumny* of 1572. It can also be pointed out that the statues of Venus and Bacchus in *The Garden of Worldly Pleasures* in the Louvre are very similar to the statues depicted in Zuccaro's cycle of the seasons, discussed below. Indeed, the Venus Pudica is also included in the preparatory drawing of spring in the Museum's collection (Figure 11), discussed below, although her figure is not discernible in the completed fresco. Ważbiński (1985, p. 279) argues that Zuccaro's studio housed a rival academy to the Florentine Accademia del Disegno and was decorated with the scenes from the life of Taddeo.
47. The coat of arms now visible on the corner of Zuccaro's house and illustrated here replaces the badly worn original. Heikamp (1967, p. 14) observed that both the engraving and the house display the same coat of arms and that the tools sculpted on the outside of the studio can be seen in the depicted studio on the table at right. Cort's engraving of Zuccaro's *Calumny of Apelles* (Sellink 2000, pp. 123–29, no. 211) also includes the Zuccari coat of arms on each side of the ornamental frame but in an inconspicuous position.
48. From the measured drawing of Ferdinando Ruggieri, created in the early eighteenth century, it is evident that the frame is thirteen Florentine braccia (a measurement that is equivalent to an arm's length, roughly 58 cm or about 23 in.) above the base of the building.
49. Perhaps in Zuccaro's most ambitious plans the grotto would have been a real niche and Envy either a statue or a high relief situated where a later coat of arms is already visible in Ruggieri's etching. The two cartouches are similar in proportion to the two blocks of stone beneath the windows that flank the frame.
50. That engraving is *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1568 (Sellink 2000, no. 41).
51. See Sellink 2000, nos. 17, 20, 100. See also E. James Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*, exh. cat., Milwaukee Art Museum; National Academy of Design, New York (Milwaukee, 1989), pp. 192–95, no. 60, and Bury 2001, pp. 114–15, 147–48, nos. 74, 98, p. 74, fig. 4.
52. Sellink 2000, nos. 1, 156. See also Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 1, pp. 228–29, 258 n. 14, vol. 2, pp. 16–17.
53. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 34–35, figs. 70–73.
54. It is possible that a letter written by Zuccaro on May 2, 1578, refers to his plans for the fresco. Here he states that while his dome frescoes will soon be revealed, he has put his hand to another work "di altra materia e diversa inpensa" (of different subject matter and unusual conceit), quite small in comparison to his frescoes in the dome of the Florentine cathedral but already judged by many to be of great quality and unusual form, and a "cosa nova non piu usata" (new thing never before practiced). Aurigemma 1995, pp. 222–23. Certainly the allegorical composition is quite unusual in its subject matter, and to decorate his studio with such an image would have been a great novelty.
55. Heikamp 1967, pp. 28–29, pls. 20, 21.
56. Ważbiński 1985, p. 279.
57. That these students are so emphatically depicted in conversation rather than at work indicates that Zuccaro was already an advocate of the importance of discussion to artistic education—a view that would shape his ideas for the Roman academy and find clear expression in his later writings. See Peter M. Lukehart, "Parallel Lives: The Example of Taddeo Zuccaro in Late-Sixteenth-Century Rome," in Brooks 2007, p. 106.
58. Although the fresco in the center of the ceiling is dated 1579, this lunette could have been painted earlier.
59. The drawing was sold at auction at Drouot Richelieu, December 19, 2001, lot 186, where it is described as a study for the fresco of spring by commissaire-priseur Paul Renaud.
60. The drawing in the Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome, is inv. FC 126126. For the drawing in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 2581, see Piera Giovanna Tordella, "Federico Zuccari: Il mito di Aristeo in un disegno inedito," *Dialoghi di storia dell'arte* 3 (1996), p. 116, fig. 5.
61. Carmen C. Bambach, "Disegni Toscani al Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Invisibile agli occhi: Atti della giornata di studio in ricordo di Lisa Venturini*, Firenze, Fondazione Roberto Longhi, 15 dicembre 2005, ed. Nicoletta Baldini (Florence, 2007), pp. 84–85.
62. See Heikamp 1967, p. 22, pl. 8a. The drawing is conserved in the Museo Nazionale delle Belle Arti di La Valletta in Malta.
63. The walls are now decorated with a geometric design simulating panels of marble that seems to have originated with the artist, but it is hard to believe that he did not originally intend to decorate them with something more elaborate and representational. See *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut: Casa Zuccari* (Florence, 2006), p. 16.
64. See Tordella, "Federico Zuccari," pp. 112–17, fig. 1. The drawing in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (Fondi Tordi, ms. 510, c.72r) is

- inscribed with the word “VER,” Latin for “spring,” and deals with the springtime theme of the generation of life and with pollination in the guise of a rare subject drawn from Virgil’s *Georgics*.
65. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paper Conservation at the MMA, for taking the time to examine this drawing with me.
 66. Heikamp 1967, pp. 18–22. For more recent discussion of Doni as a patron of the arts, see Wendy Thompson, “Antonfrancesco Doni’s *Medaglie*,” *Print Quarterly* 24 (2007), pp. 223–38; Maffei 2004; Bolzoni 2001, especially pp. 196–204.
 67. *Pitture del Doni academico pellegrino* (Padua, 1564). The allegory also appears in a 1560 manuscript version of Doni’s *Pitture*, now in the Vatican (fols. 7v–8r). See Sonia Maffei, *Le nuove Pitture del Doni fiorentino* (Naples, 2006), pp. 93–96. See also Maffei 2004, pp. 53–60, 178–85.
 68. Heikamp 1967, p. 21. See also Bolzoni 2001, pp. 203, 305 n. 50; and Maffei 2004, p. 59.
 69. Heikamp 1967, p. 22.
 70. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 121, n. 155.
 71. Piera Giovanna Tordella in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, pp. 257–58, nos. 203, 204.
 72. Heikamp 1967, p. 22.
 73. J. B. Trapp, *Studies of Petrarch and His Influence* (London, 2003), pp. 42, 215 fig. 1, 217 fig. 3; Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938), vol. 2, pls. 19, 24.
 74. Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 88, fig. 42.
 75. Detlef Heikamp, “Bartolomeo Ammannati: Il concerto poetico di statue,” in *Il concerto di statue*, ed. Alessandro Vezzosi (Florence, 1986), p. 14, cites Raffaello Borghini, who in 1584 described the statues of the fountain as signifying the “generar dell’acqua . . . Giunone dimostrante l’aria e sotto l’arco Cerere figurata per la terra” (generation of water . . . Juno signifies the air and underneath the rainbow Ceres represents the earth). For the statue of Ceres, now in the Museo del Bargello, see *ibid.*, figs. 12–15, 28, 30–31.
 76. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
 77. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 78. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), fol. E1.
 79. See Dieter Blume, “Beseelte Natur und ländliche Idylle,” in *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*, ed. S. Ebert-Schiffner, exh. cat., Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), pp. 178–82.
 80. Letter from Tanai de’ Medici to Francesco de’ Medici, May 1, 1579, published in Heikamp, “Bartolomeo Ammannati,” p. 44, doc. XXI: “era la Flora ch’à i fiori in grenbo e l’ braccio armato e dinota Fiorenza.”
 81. Baroni in *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici* 1997, p. 281, no. 227.
 82. The house was restored by its current owners, the Max-Planck-Institut, between 2002 and 2004. “Despite loose plaster, flaking paint, sulfur blooming, and numerous traces of earlier extensive restoration work involving numerous repairs and the application of a high gloss fixative (Paraloid), the murals on the vaulted ceiling appeared to be essentially intact” (*Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz Max-Planck-Institut Casa Zuccari* [as in note 63 above], p. 16). Earlier photographs reveal that the wreaths had already taken on the form of tambourines before this time, and they were not changed in the recent restoration.
 83. Cartari 1551, fols. 182v–83r: “La primavera sempre godo, . . . Colà ne i campi, quai mi furon dote, / Un’ orto ho di terreno il piu fecondo / Che giamai fosse in alcun’altra parte. . . . Quando il mattino poi l’aura soave / fatto ha cader da gli alberi frondosi / La rugiada, e che l’herbe han già sentito / Il temprato calor di Phebo l’Hore. . . . Vengono quivi, e con le bianche mani / Raccogli-
- ono I bei fiori, . . . e vi vengono le Gratie / Medesamente à far belle ghirlande, / Che poscia premon le divine chiome.” The content is the same as in Ovid, *Fasti* 5.215–220, but Cartari adapts and expands the wording, partly to meet the demands of rhyme.
 84. In addition to introducing the tenth Muse in the engraved allegory discussed above, the Graces also appear in Zuccaro’s allegorical drawing, the *Porta Virtutis*, and show up twice in the series of drawings illustrating the life of the young Taddeo.
 85. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.195–212. Cartari 1551, fols. 181v–182v. Cartari errs in his translation when he describes Chloris wandering through fields covered with flowers, but elsewhere, on fol. 183v, he states that everything was once all one color.
 86. Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli’s Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 30–33.
 87. Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, fol. C7v–C8r.
 88. See Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d’Este* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 169–90, fig. 100.
 89. See Cristelle L. Baskins, “Il Trionfo della Pudicitia: Menacing Virgins in Italian Renaissance Domestic Painting,” in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark, Del., 1999), pp. 117–31.
 90. Angelo Poliziano, *Stanze per la giostra* 2.28.
 91. Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), pp. 162–75.
 92. Cartari 1571, pp. 499–501: “Ma si inganna di gran lunga qualunque cosi crede, percioche Anterote fu adorato non perche facesse disamare, ma perche punisse chi non amava essendo amato . . . ;” and “e potiamo dire che questo altro non sia che l’amore reciproco.” For a discussion of Cartari’s sources, see Caterina Volpi, *Le immagini degli dèi di Vincenzo Cartari* (Rome, 1996), pp. 549–51. See also Robert V. Merrill, “Eros and Anteros,” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 19 (July 1944), pp. 265–84.
 93. A direct connection between the two men is suggested by a letter of 1585 that Vincenzo Cartari wrote to Zuccaro’s landlord and financial adviser, Sebastiano Caccini, to inquire about Zuccaro (Aurigemma 1995, p. 210).
 94. Cartari 1571, p. 503.
 95. See, for example, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* or Enea Silvio Piccolomini’s *Storia di due amanti*, although in the latter the woman’s resistance is largely feigned.
 96. Baskins (“Il Trionfo della Pudicitia [as in note 89 above], pp. 129–31) describes examples of this imagery that show Cupid imprisoned within a temple that signifies the body of the bride.
 97. I am grateful to Gert Jan van der Sman, Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Florence, and Universiteit Leiden, for pointing out that this combination of attributes is entirely appropriate for marriage imagery.
 98. Petrarch, *Trionfi* 2.121–23.
 99. If we compare this marriage allegory to its later counterpart in the Sala degli Sposi in Zuccaro’s Roman palazzo, we find similar ideas expressed in a less pagan manner. Zuccaro and his wife are depicted there united by a guardian angel and framed by personifications of the virtues Castitas (Chastity), Continentia (Continence), Felicitas (Happiness), and Concordia (Harmony). See Strunck, “Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series” (as in note 46 above), pp. 114–15.
 100. See, for example, his painting for the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, reproduced in Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 249.
 101. The drawing for the *Calumny* in Hamburg does not, however, include highlighting. See *Wettstreit der Künste: Malerei und*

- Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Kurt Wettengl, exh. cat., Haus der Kunst, Munich; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (Wolftratshausen, Munich, and Cologne, 2002), pp. 210–12, no. 19. The technique used for the top half of the *Lament* is the same, apart from being on brown tinted paper. See *Meisterzeichnungen der Sammlung Lambert Krahe*, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf, 1969), pp. 26–27, no. 23, fig. 13. For the drawing for the *Coronation*, see Mundy, *Renaissance into Baroque* (as in note 51 above), pp. 191–93, and Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 282, n. 49. For the Stradanus drawing, see Bury 2001, pp. 20–21, no. 4.
102. It seems that only two of the walls of the frescoed room in Zuccaro's

house would have been suitable for a rectangular wall fresco, since one wall opens into the garden while another is broken by a window. The lunette of the window wall is decorated with frescoes of Bacchus and Silenus that could have been intended to symbolize autumn.

103. For Hercules and the Medici, see Alison Wright, "The Myth of Hercules," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze 9–13 giugno 1992)*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence, 1994), pp. 323–39.
104. For Zuccaro's role in the Roman academy, see Peter M. Lukehart, ed., *The Early History of the Accademia di San Luca, c. 1590–1635*, Seminar Series (Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, forthcoming).

A Grisaille Oil Sketch from the “De Backer Group” and Workshop Practices in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp

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Jacob (also known as Jacques) de Backer, a painter praised by Karel van Mander in his *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, remains a problematic figure in the history of late sixteenth-century Netherlandish art. None of the pictures mentioned as his works in the *Schilder-Boeck* can be securely identified;¹ no painting or drawing attributed to him carries a signature with any claim to authenticity; and, despite the admirable efforts of Justus Müller Hofstede and Leen Huet, scholars agree neither on his approximate life span nor on the definitive scope of his oeuvre.² The art trade, however, continues to baptize as “De Backer” particular kinds of paintings and drawings: allegorical, mythological, and religious subjects that were clearly made in the Southern Netherlands between about 1570 and 1600 but that at the same time display a strong influence of the late Italian *maniera*. (Indeed, during their previous stint in the art market many of the pictures now given to De Backer carried an attribution to Italian painters such as Agnolo Bronzino, Francesco Salviati, and Jacopo Zucchi.) The works currently assigned to Jacob de Backer exhibit surprising differences in artistic quality and, within the defining frame of late sixteenth-century Netherlandish Romanism, represent a plurality of individual substyles. The situation is further complicated by the fact that nearly every painting attributed to the artist is known in two or more (sometimes as many as twenty) versions.³

In previous publications,⁴ I have suggested strategies for approaching the De Backer phenomenon in order to create a more convincing profile of the artist. I called for a close reading of written sources and provenance information and a study of iconographic parallels and the evidence of prints inscribed with a “De Backer invenit.” But my ultimate suggestion was that we shift our attention away from the previous quest, often unsuccessful, to isolate original pictures by a distinct personality called Jacob de Backer and concentrate on defining a corpus of works closely related in style and iconography that we might label “the De Backer group.” Only after such a group has been identified and studied systematically can we even begin to define individual hands

within it, among them Jacob de Backer, who indeed might be better characterized as a workshop head than as a master. De Backer is never mentioned as a master in the Antwerp Liggeren, or Record of Artists. As Van Mander implied, he worked in the studio of the art dealer and painter Antonio van Palermo (1503/13–before 1589).

Even though a considerable number of previously unknown Southern Netherlandish Mannerist pictures come to light each year, scholarly efforts in the field remain sparse. And recent academic publications devoted to the philosophy of the multiplied image in Netherlandish art have contributed little to a better understanding of the actual mechanics of workshop production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵ The most promising method of dealing with the mass of replications, variations, and copies attributed to Jacob de Backer remains a close examination of the stylistic and material evidence of each work in conjunction with an analysis of its function. Studying the relationship between the different versions of a single composition can then help to reveal how the choice of particular artistic means was connected with contemporary workshop practice and the tastes of patrons and art collectors.

A case in point is a heretofore unpublished chiaroscuro oil on paper (Figure 1) acquired in 2002 by the Department of Drawings and Prints of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a work attributed to Jacob de Backer.⁶ As a recent restoration has confirmed, the paper was originally laid down on panel; traces of the wood grain are still visible on the verso of the cardboard on which the drawing is now pasted. The verso of the cardboard (Figure 2) also contains traces of a drawing in black chalk depicting the torso and head of a seated woman with a naked child standing on her leg. The oil itself (for which the chalk drawing may have served as a preparatory study) shows a seated Madonna gazing down at the infant Christ she cradles in her right arm. Jesus, positioned securely on the massive limbs of his mother, looks up at her as he stretches his left arm toward the apple she holds up in her left hand. Although there is no indication of the throne or chair Mary is sitting on, the plinth that raises her figure slightly

1. The De Backer group (active Antwerp, ca. 1570–1600). *Charity, or, Madonna and Child with Saint John*, ca. 1580–90. Brown and black oil with white heightening on paper, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 9 in. (29.5 x 23 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 2002 (2002.88)



above ground level lends her dignity. Her elegant headgear covers most of her hair. The bodice and sleeves of her dress are of more refined cloth than the massive folds of drapery winding around her volumetrically defined legs and falling over the edge of the plinth to the ground. The angel poised in the air behind the Virgin, beyond the light that illuminates the figures in the foreground, holds a crown over her head with his right hand and a palm frond in his left. The naked child at the right raises his right arm to offer two cherries to the infant Christ, and as he does so turns his back to the spectator in an elegant walking pose that was popular with other sixteenth-century painters.⁷ The child sitting on a slightly elevated spot

in the left foreground that may be the roots of a tree, his face almost completely in shadow, holds an anachronistic crucifix that clearly identifies him as the young Saint John, the forerunner of Christ.

The unusual combination of motifs in this picture evinces its maker's intense study of Italian models, earlier Netherlandish images inspired by Italian art, or both. Jacques Foucart, followed by Leen Huet, has compared the nude child presenting the cherries to Jesus to the figure of Cupid in Agnolo Bronzino's *Felicitas Publica* in the Uffizi, Florence,⁸ but this motif is more probably a free interpretation of the famous *Rest on the Flight to*



2. The De Backer group. *Torso and Head of a Woman with a Child Standing on Her Lap* (verso of Figure 1). Black chalk

Egypt by Federico Barocci that Cornelis Cort reproduced in 1575.⁹ The interaction between a seated Mary holding an apple and the infant Jesus appears in other contemporary compositions, among them Adriaen Collaert's *Holy Family* after Hendrick Goltzius of 1585.¹⁰ The massive figure of Mary seated on a plinth derives from sculptural representations of the Virgin and Child such as the famous *Madonna of Bruges* by Michelangelo (Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk, Bruges). Her weighty, volumetric figure is closely related to other Madonnas attributed to the De Backer group, most significantly the *Madonna and Child with Saint John* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Figure 3).¹¹

Not surprisingly for a picture associated with the De Backer group, the New York oil on paper is closely related to several other compositions. Another rendering, in black chalk and white heightening on blue paper, is in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinet (Figure 4).¹² That sheet, also previously unpublished, is slightly disfigured by oil stains in the upper half, but their presence does not obliterate the composition's attractions. The number 1583, which may be either a date or an inventory number, has been added in black ink in the lower right corner. The slightly hesitant drawing style of the Dresden work indicates that it was copied by a studio apprentice or follower after a superior version, perhaps an as yet untraced work on paper.

At least two paintings are connected with the composition of the New York oil sketch. One, on canvas (Figure 5), is in the church of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in Boissise-la-Bertrand; the other, on panel and of slightly inferior quality (Figure 6), was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1977 and has not been seen since.¹³ The painting in France, which the American art dealer and collector George Aloysius Lucas presented to the church of Boissise-la-Bertrand in 1894, carried an attribution to Andrea del Sarto until Foucart published it as a work of De Backer in 1988.¹⁴ The painting is a particularly successful translation of the sculptural or relief-like qualities expressed in the New York oil sketch in a colorful arrangement of tastefully positioned figures whose marble white skin is enhanced by touches of elegant if somewhat unnatural colors. Did Karel van Mander base his praise of Jacob de Backer as an excellent colorist on this kind of picture?

The New York oil served either as a *modello* for a painting, a record of a canvas or panel version after it had left the workshop, or a finished painting *sui iuris* that, like the versions on canvas and panel, was sold to a collector. Considering that the work was laid down on wood for a long time, it is tempting to assume a combination of either the first and third or the second and third functions. The New York grisaille may even be the "work in white and black by Jacques de Backer, a Charity on panel in a frame"



3. The De Backer group. *Madonna and Child with Saint John*. Oil on canvas, 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 71 in. (133 x 180.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (1689). Photograph: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York

mentioned in the inventory of the collection of the painter Victor Wolfvoet at the time of his death in Antwerp in 1652.¹⁵ If, as the traces of black chalk on the verso of the sheet indicate, the paper was reused by the same artist or group of artists, the mounting and perhaps even the paneling of the grisaille could have been done in the same shop. It may have been intended to be seen as a painting from the very beginning.

The oil “sketch” in the Metropolitan Museum has little to do with the free and more painterly monochrome oils by Italian cinquecento artists such as Federico Barocci or Jacopo Tintoretto but is related instead to the clearly defined, relieflike *chiaroscuro* produced in sixteenth-century Florence, most prominently by artists in the circle of Giorgio Vasari such as the Netherlandish painter Joannes Stradanus (or Jan van der Straet).¹⁶ The parallel with Stradanus is one of style rather than technique. His grisaille paintings were in either fresco or tempera, and none of his works on paper appears to have been made in the medium of oil. Yet the figure style and distribution of light and shadow in some of his more finished drawings, especially those that served as models for Medici tapestries and were later sent to Antwerp to be turned into engravings, are remarkably analogous to the Metropolitan painting.

In the sixteenth century several artists in the Netherlands made monochrome oil drawings on paper,¹⁷ among them Joachim Beuckelaer,¹⁸ Dirck Barendsz,¹⁹ Otto van Veen, Frans Pourbus, Crispin van den Broeck,²⁰ Bernaert de Rijckere,²¹ and Hendrick Goltzius.²² These artists used grisaille oil paintings on paper primarily as a means to prepare and define larger scale pictures; a grisaille was an intermediary step between a preliminary pen or chalk drawing and the

finished oil painting. These works may also of course have served as presentation sheets that helped patrons understand what the finished picture would look like. Van Veen’s grisaille study in oil for his large *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* in the Sint-Andrieskerk in Antwerp is a good example.²³ Another such sheet is a highly detailed grisaille on paper of the Last Judgment (private collection) that according to Müller Hofstede might be Jacob de Backer’s preparatory *modello* for the middle panel of a triptych intended for the tomb of the prominent Antwerp printer, publisher, and bookbinder Christoph Plantin, who died in 1589 (*Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal*, Antwerp).²⁴ Artists like Otto van Veen also used monochrome oil sketches on paper as models for engravers. These sketches are usually less finished than presentation sheets because the collaborating engraver would often translate the painter’s rough indications into the incised lines he required. The high degree of finish of the New York oil sketch therefore firmly excludes the possibility that it served as such a model.

As they did in the fifteenth century, in the days of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, in the late sixteenth century Netherlandish artists painted grisailles on canvas or panel for altarpieces as well as for private collectors. For example, the predella of *The Madonna of Saint Luke* that Marten de Vos painted in 1601–2 for the cathedral of



4. The De Backer group. *Charity-Madonna*. Black chalk with white heightening on blue paper, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (29.6 x 22.2 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett (C533 in C 808,2)

Antwerp (now Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) consists of several grisaille scenes from the life of the patron of the painters' guild, the Guild of Saint Luke.²⁵ Other monochrome pictures by Jacob de Backer are mentioned in the 1652 inventory of Victor Wolfoet's collection: number 86 is a grisaille painting of an unspecified subject ("a [picture] in black and white by Jacques de Backer on panel in a small frame"),²⁶ and number 80 is a *Danae* on panel ("a Golden Rain by Jackques de Backer in black and white without a frame")²⁷ that may well be identical with a grisaille painting on canvas now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Figure 7).²⁸ Another grisaille painting on canvas representing Susanna and the Elders (Figure 8) was recently auctioned as a work of Jacob de Backer.²⁹ Once the New York oil sketch was mounted on panel, it must have been regarded as an independent work, the equivalent of such canvas or panel paintings.

In terms of iconography, the Metropolitan's *Madonna and Child* is a surprisingly complicated case. Foucart has in fact defined the subject of the painting in Boissise-la-Bertrand as a personification of Charity rather than a Madonna, citing the example of Andrea del Sarto's famous painting in the Louvre, Paris, the existence of which may even have been the reason for the Boissise-la-Bertrand picture's former attribution to that artist.³⁰ Some of the more

unusual features of the composition, especially the standing child on the right, who does not appear in any of the period's more canonical representations of the Madonna with Child and Saint John, seem to confirm that alternate interpretation. Foucart was both right and wrong, however: the picture's composition is based on a typically Mannerist conceit in that it represents and confronts two closely related subjects at the same time, subjects that were both represented by well-known painters such as Andrea del Sarto.³¹ Viewers who at first glance regarded the picture as a simple Madonna and Child would have been surprised by the additional figures and would soon have understood and even admired the allegorical complexity. In addition to their value as religious images, these pictures must have had a special appeal for contemporary art collectors (the *Liefhebbers* [lovers] of De Backer's art mentioned by Van Mander).

The iconology of this and several other paintings attributed to the De Backer group was as much the product of effective workshop practice as of considered theological or philosophical reflection. In the corpus of the De Backer group are several other pictures representing a woman seated in the center of the composition with two or three nude or seminude children next to her. These figures are more clearly allegories of Charity (*Caritas*) or Divine Wisdom (*Sapientia divina*). Divine Wisdom can be seen in a picture



5. The De Backer group. *Charity-Madonna*. Oil on canvas, 66 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 52 in. (168 x 132 cm). Church of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Boissise-la-Bertrand, France



6. The De Backer group. *Charity-Madonna*. Oil on panel, 49 x 38 in. (124.5 x 96.5 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Sotheby's

7. The De Backer group. *Danae*. Oil on canvas, 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (62 x 46 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,³² and, in a slightly different arrangement, in another in the Staatsgalerie, Bamberg.³³ The Bamberg picture, several other versions of which are known (see Figure 9),³⁴ represents a young woman in an interior with a book on her lap who is pointing with her right hand at a mirror held by a genius crouching in the left foreground. Another child with an enormous torch stands to

the right and another genius flying over the woman's head brings her a palm frond and a laurel(?) wreath with flowers. In several painted versions of *Charity*, the best known of which is in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow (Figure 10),³⁵ the child on the right stands in almost the same pose as his counterpart in the *Charity-Madonnas* in New York (Figure 1) and Boissise-la-Bertrand (Figure 5), while the figure of Saint John with the crucifix has been replaced by a child standing on the left who holds a burning heart in his raised right hand. In another version of the Glasgow allegory that was auctioned in Paris in 2001 (Figure 11), the putto on the right presents the cherries to the infant Jesus with his left hand rather than with his right and an additional piece of cloth hangs over his shoulder.³⁶ The most important difference between the *Charities* of the Glasgow type and the *Charity-Madonnas* is the man cowering at the feet of the seated woman, a figure with a money bag in his hand who can be interpreted as a personification of Avarice or, alternatively, as Judas.³⁷

A painted *Madonna* of moderate quality in a private collection (Figure 12)³⁸ demonstrates that certain compositional features belonging to what must previously have been separate inventions could be freely combined. The seated Saint John holding the crucifix in the left foreground of that picture, for example, is directly related to the composition of the New York oil sketch, while the poses of Christ and the child on the right are quite different, and the seated woman not only has more matronly features but also looks up at the angel rather than looking down, as she does in most of the other versions. Another variant of the Glasgow *Charity*, last seen in an auction in 1933 (Figure 13),³⁹ shows the standing putto on the right holding a mirror in his raised right hand that functions as



8. The De Backer group. *Susanna and the Elders*. Oil on canvas, 15 x 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (38.1 x 56.2 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Jan de Maere Gallery, Brussels



9. The De Backer group. *Divine Wisdom*. Oil on canvas, 54 x 42 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (137 x 109 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Sotheby's, London



10. The De Backer group. *Charity*. Oil on canvas, 33 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (84.2 x 61.8 cm). Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow. Photograph: Giorgio T. Faggini, *La pittura ad Anversa nel Cinquecento* (Florence, 1968), fig. 170



11. The De Backer group. *Charity*. Oil on panel, 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (102 x 72 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Poulain le Fur, Paris



12. Circle of the De Backer group. *Madonna and Child*. Oil on panel, 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (108 x 76 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Tajan, Paris

13. The De Backer group. *Charity-Madonna*. Oil on wood, 32⁵/₈ x 24³/₄ in. (83 x 63 cm). Whereabouts unknown. Photograph: sale catalogue, Hugo Helbig, Munich, June 27–28, 1933, pl. 4



14. The De Backer group. *Charity-Madonna*. Oil on paper, 12⁷/₈ x 10 in. (32.8 x 25.4 cm). British Museum, London (Ff 4.54)



a kind of *speculum passionis*, reflecting the image of the crucified Christ.

There is little doubt that all of these repetitions, replicas, and variants were prepared with the help of painted models, or *ricordi*, of inventions that had previously been defined by the head of the workshop or cooperative of painters working in the same shop style, that is, by an artist who may be identifiable as Jacob de Backer. These models appear to have been executed both in pen and in oil; for example, a fragment of a pen drawing of the Baptism of Christ in the Louvre and attributed by the museum to an imitator of De Backer looks as if it was copied after a painting such as the *Baptism of Christ* in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel,⁴⁰ and was thus useful in the preparation of one or more replicas of that picture.

One wonders if such special editions and variations of existing compositions were not only the typical results of a production method based on the repetition of prototypes but were also ordered by individual clients. In other words, could compositions be adapted and assembled according to special needs from a kind of catalogue of motifs? An oil sketch on paper attributed to Jacob de Backer in the British Museum, London (Figure 14), for example, appears to be an adaptation of the painting in the Metropolitan Museum, an adaptation that most probably served as a new composition of yet another canvas or panel of the type best represented by the painting in Boissise-la-Bertrand (Figure 5). The economical reuse of figures and motifs exemplified by the London oil sketch was quite subtle. In fact, the pose of the infant Saint John lying in the left foreground is an imitation, with small variations, of the Christ Child lying on his mother's lap in the New York picture. The secondary status of the London sketch with respect to the painting in the Metropolitan is especially apparent in details such as John's right hand holding the crucifix, which is a direct but somewhat misplaced quotation of Christ's gesture in the painting.

While the London sketch conveys a clear impression of the generally good quality of the workshop that produced all or most of the De Backer group images, it also characterizes the daily routine of mass production in painters' workshops in late sixteenth-century Antwerp. Doing business on this semi-industrial scale meant that painters could create a model for a Charity and—after some minor adaptations—use it for a Divine Wisdom or a Madonna. This practice extended to compositions, originally separate, that were sometimes combined to form new images. The best of these patchwork compositions is a painting attributed to the circle of De Backer in the Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, Leuven (Figure 15).⁴¹ Another version of the same composition (Figure 16), in which the putto standing on the right offers a bunch of small oranges and orange blossoms to the infant Christ



15. Circle of the De Backer group. *Adam and Eve, Charity-Madonna, Crucifixion*. Oil on panel, 31 3/4 x 67 1/8 in. (80.5 x 170.5 cm). Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, Leuven (S/37/O)



16. Circle of the De Backer group. *Adam and Eve, Charity-Madonna, Crucifixion*. Oil on panel, 30 3/8 x 42 1/2 in. (77 x 108 cm). Private collection. Photograph: courtesy Dorotheum, Vienna

(the sale catalogue explains this detail as an homage to William of Orange), was offered for sale in Vienna in 2000 and 2003.⁴²

Huet has convincingly identified the Leuven picture as a compilation of three different inventions—an Adam and Eve, a Charity, and a Crucifixion—mentioned in Van Mander’s *Schilder-Boeck* as separate paintings “half als t’ leven” (half life-size) by Jacob de Backer in the collection of Melchior Wijntgis of Middelburg.⁴³ But does this successful connection of an extant painting with attested works actually allow us a glimpse of the true De Backer? If this should prove to be the case, it is ironic that the only way to identify a painting mentioned by Van Mander as De Backer’s is by conducting a study of a workshop compilation (or even a

copy of a workshop compilation) of rather doubtful artistic quality. For an understanding of what made the art of Jacob de Backer, or rather the brand “Jacob de Backer and Co.,” so ubiquitous and attractive to his contemporaries, the New York oil sketch offers a fresh starting point.

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NOTES

1. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*... (Haarlem, 1604), fols. 231v–232r; see Hessel Miedema, *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*..., vol. 3 (Doornspijk, 1996), pp. 235–39.
2. Justus Müller Hofstede, “Jacques de Backer: Ein Vertreter der florentinisch-römischen Maniera in Antwerpen,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 35 (1973), pp. 227–60; Leen Huet, “Jacob de Backer pictor olim famosus: Leven en wercken,” MA thesis, University of Leuven, 1989.
3. See, for example, the long lists of replicas and copies of the two Last Judgments attributed to De Backer in Huet, “Jacob de Backer,” pp. 46–53, 130–33.
4. See Eckhard Leuschner, “Ein unbekanntes Hauptwerk von Jacob de Backer in Meiningen,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1994, pp. 51–63; Eckhard Leuschner, “Antwerpener Akte: Zum Kontext eines Bildes von Jacob de Backer,” *Südthüringer Forschungen* 29 (1996), pp. 5–21; and Eckhard Leuschner, “Defining De Backer: New Evidence on the Last Phase of Antwerp Mannerism before Rubens,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 137 (April 2001), pp. 167–92.
5. See, for example, Amy Powell, “The Errant Image: Rogier van der Weyden’s *Deposition from the Cross* and Its Copies,” *Art History* 29 (September 2006), pp. 540–62.
6. Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 23, 2001, lot 63. As is the case with so many works now assigned to the De Backer group, the picture was previously sold as the work of an Italian artist, in this instance Cristoforo Roncalli, called Il Pomarancio, at the “house sale” organized by Christie’s at Ca’n Puig in Palma de Mallorca on May 24–25, 1999 (lot 680). At the time of that sale the work was claimed to have long been in the possession of the Bellpuig family, the owners of Ca’n Puig. A painting with the same composition and identical dimensions, however, features as number 23 (Florentine school, oil on paper, 11 x 8¼ in. [27.9 x 21 cm]) in the 1955 catalogue of the London-based dealer W. R. Jeudwine. The photograph of the painting in Jeudwine’s catalogue shows that 1590 is inscribed on the Madonna’s plinth. Stijn Alsteens has informed me that traces of this inscription are still visible in the New York painting, which firmly establishes that it is the work that was offered by Jeudwine.
7. Compare, for example, the nude figure of Juno in the *Judgment of Paris* of about 1560–70 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., by an anonymous Netherlandish painter (*Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508–1608: Artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principaute de Liège à Rome à la Renaissance*, exh. cat., Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome [Brussels, 1995], pp. 421–22, no. 247). See also the child next to the female figure sometimes described as Venus in Jacopo Zucchi’s *Allegory of the Silver Age* in the Uffizi, Florence (*Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici: Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence [Milan, 1997], p. 200).
8. Foucart in *Trésors sacrés, trésors cachés: Patrimoine des églises de Seine-et-Marne*, exh. cat., Musée du Luxembourg (Melun, 1988), pp. 116–17, no. 39. See also Huet, “Jacob de Backer,” pp. 109–11, no. A30. For Bronzino’s *Felicitas Publica*, see Elena Capretti in Caterina Caneva and Francesco Solinas, eds., *Maria de’ Medici (1573–1642): Una principessa fiorentina sul trono di Francia*, exh. cat., Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence ([Livorno], 2005), p. 76, no. 76.
9. Manfred Sellink, comp., and Huigen Leeftang, ed., *The New Hollstein: Dutch, and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*, [vol. 8], *Cornelis Cort*, part 1 (Rotterdam, 2000), pp. 126–33, no. 40.
10. Huigen Leeftang et al., *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): Drawings, Prints, and Paintings*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; MMA; Toledo Museum of Art (Zwolle, 2003), p. 39, fig. 28. The influence of Barocci’s composition is also apparent in Otto van Veen’s *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, dated 1589 (Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, no. 240).
11. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, Wolfgang Prohaska, and Karl Schütz, eds., *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien: Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (Vienna, 1991), p. 25, pl. 353.
12. It is attributed in the museum’s inventory to Bartolomeo Coriolano.
13. Sale, Sotheby’s, London, July 13, 1977, lot 191.
14. Foucart in *Trésors sacrés*, pp. 116–17, no. 39. See also Huet, “Jacob de Backer,” pp. 109–11, no. A30. Huet lists two replicas, the one auctioned at Sotheby’s in 1977 (see note 13 above) and another, the dimensions and support of which are unknown, offered for sale at the Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels, October 23–24, 1984 (*Weltkunst* 54 [1984], ill. p. 2508).
15. “Een stuccken van wit ende swert van Jacques de Backer wesende een Caritas op panneel in lyste,” quoted in Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 6, 1649–1653 (Brussels, 1992), p. 345, no. 66.
16. See, for example, the chiaroscuro frescoes attributed to Stradanus in the Sala di Leone X in the Palazzo Vecchio (Alessandra Baroni, *Jan van der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano: Flandrus pictor et inventor* [Milan, 1997], p. 84), and his monochrome paintings in the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa (ibid., p. 172). Chiaroscuro oil or tempera painting on canvas was also employed for funeral decorations at San Lorenzo in Florence, in which case the choice of technique was clearly related to the need for a speedy execution of the pictures; see Monica Bietti, ed., *La morte e la gloria: Apparati funebri medicei per Filippo II di Spagna e Margherita d’Austria*, exh. cat., Cappelle Medicee, Florence (Livorno, 1999). One of the few “finished” (i.e., nonsketched) monochrome oil paintings on canvas made in Rome about 1600 is Giovanni Baglione’s *Resurrection of Christ* (Louvre, Paris, R.F. 1964-28), the *modello* for the artist’s lost monumental altarpiece in the Gesù (see Maryvelma Smith O’Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome* [Cambridge, 2002], p. 18, fig. 7).
17. The best analysis of the uses and functions of chiaroscuro oil sketches in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Netherlandish art remains Justus Müller Hofstede, “Zur Grisaille-Skizze in der Flämischen Malerei des XVII. und XVI. Jahrhunderts,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ölskizze vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Ein Symposium aus Anlass der Ausstellung “Malerei aus erster Hand – Ölskizzen von Tintoretto bis Goya” im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig vom 28.–30.3. 1984*, ed. Rüdiger Klessmann and Reinhold Wex (Brunswick, 1984), pp. 45–58. Müller Hofstede’s stylistic distinction between less finished

- grisaille oils serving as models for a print and other, usually more elaborate oils that were preparatory studies for large canvas or panel paintings is especially useful.
18. Hans Buijs in *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst, 1525–1580*, ed. J. P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes, and W.Th. Kloek, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 405–6, no. 296; Wouter Kloek, “De tekeningen van Pieter Aertsen en Joachim Beuckelaer,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 40 (1989), pp. 160–62, nos. B.9a–B.9d. One of Beuckelaer’s grisaille drawings, *The Trickery of the Cibeonites*, is now in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles (90.GG.133); see Lee Hendrix in J. Paul Getty Museum, *European Drawings 3: Catalogue of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 190–91, no. 76.
 19. On Barendsz’s studies and their function(s), see Felice Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1991), pp. 16–17, no. 28.
 20. See Müller Hofstede, “Zur Grisaille-Skizze,” figs. 6, 10, 12 (Van Veen), 13 (Pourbus), 15 (Van den Broeck). For the (nonmonochrome) studies in oil on paper by Frans Floris, see the discussion of an example by him in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett in Christian Ditttrich, *Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rembrandt: Niederländische Zeichnungen des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden*, exh. cat., Albertinum, Dresden; Kunstforum Wien (Dresden, 1997), pp. 56–57, no. 19. A monochrome picture recently published with an attribution to Lambert van Noort in the Muzeum Narodowe, Wrocław, is a rare example of a preserved sixteenth-century Netherlandish oil painting on paper that must have been glued onto wood at an early date, perhaps right after production (see Bozena Steinborn, *Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu: Catalogue of the Collection of Netherlandish Painting*, 2d ed. (Wrocław, 2006), pp. 330–31).
 21. Département des Arts Graphiques, Louvre, 19304.
 22. See the *Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus* of 1599 in the British Museum, London (Leefflang et al., *Hendrick Goltzius*, p. 232, no. 83.2).
 23. Müller Hofstede, “Zur Grisaille-Skizze,” p. 50, fig. 6 (collection of the widow of Frans Baudouin).
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 55, fig. 16.
 25. Armin Zweite, *Marten de Vos als Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 318–20.
 26. “Een van wit ende swert van Jacques de Backer op panneel in binnenlystken,” quoted in Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 6, p. 345, no. 86.
 27. “Een stucxken van de Gulden Regen van Jacques de Backer van wit ende swert op panneel sonder lyste,” quoted in *ibid.*, no. 80.
 28. Ferino-Pagden, Prohaska, and Schütz, *Gemäldegalerie*, p. 57, pl. 133. I have published this painting (Leuschner, “Unbekanntes Hauptwerk,” fig. 2), which is related to a larger, polychrome version in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich, as the work of a Netherlandish painter from the circle of Frans Floris of about 1570–90.
 29. Sale, Kunstantiquariat Winterberg, Heidelberg, April 11–12, 2003, lot 37. The painting was previously offered at Christie’s, London, on May 23, 2000, lot 115, and was exhibited at the Munich art fair in 2001 by the Jan de Maere Gallery, Brussels (*Die Kunst-Messe München* 46 [2001], p. 192). The nude man on the right (a sculptural decoration of Susanna’s pool), with his complicated pose, can be compared with the river god in the *Judgment of Paris* in the State Castle, Český Krumlov, which was attributed to Jacob de Backer by Müller Hofstede in Ekkehard Mai and Hans Vlieghe, eds., *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*, exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna (Cologne, 1992); pp. 259–60. The style of both paintings, however, differs from the solid figures and economical picture planes of most of the works attributed to the De Backer group; they may thus be products of a workshop collaborator whose compositions are somewhat more complicated but less well organized.
 30. Foucart in *Trésors sacrés*, p. 116. For Andrea del Sarto’s picture in Paris, see Antonio Natali, *Andrea del Sarto: Maestro della maniera moderna* (Milan, 1998), p. 98, fig. 82.
 31. For Andrea del Sarto’s Madonna-like *Carità* in the Chiostro dello Scalzo in Florence, see Natali, *Andrea del Sarto*, p. 64, fig. 55. As del Sarto’s fresco was adapted in a composition variously attributed to Cornelis van Cleve or Vincent Sellaer (Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf, and see another version offered at the sale at Galerie Koller, Zurich, March 22–24, 2003, lot 1), its composition appears to have been available in the Netherlands prior to the beginnings of De Backer’s career.
 32. Astrid Tydén-Jordan, “Sapientia Divina, en motreformert propagandamaling av Jacques de Backer,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 52 (1983), pp. 64–74, fig. 1. A related composition, probably an allegory of the *Ecclesia Militans* (48⁷/₈ x 37³/₈ in. [124 x 95 cm]), was auctioned on April 29, 1994, by Étienne et Damien Libert and Alain Castor at Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, with an attribution to Jacques de Backer (*Gazette Drouot* 17 [1994], p. xi).
 33. Huet, “Jacob de Backer,” pp. 53–55, no. A4 (oil on panel, 41³/₄ x 31¹/₈ in. [106 x 79 cm]).
 34. A good version (Figure 9) was for sale at Sotheby’s, London, December 9, 2004, lot 102 (and previously at Christie’s, New York, October 9, 1991, lot 194). A drawing that most probably is a copy after yet another version of the composition is in the Louvre (22080; Frits Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord: Maîtres des anciens Pays-Bas nés avant 1550* [Paris, 1968], no. 702, pl. 200; Müller Hofstede, “Jacques de Backer,” p. 227, fig. 24).
 35. Tydén-Jordan, “Sapientia Divina,” p. 66, fig. 2; Huet, “Jacob de Backer,” pp. 93–94, no. A22. The picture was presented to the museum in 1854 as a work by Primaticcio.
 36. Sale, Poulain le Fur, Paris, June 21, 2001, lot 29, and December 16, 2001, lot 17 (as attributed to Jacob de Backer).
 37. The interpretation of the bearded man with the purse as Avarice is due to Müller Hofstede; Judas is a suggestion advanced by Huet (see note 2 above).
 38. Sale, Tajan, Paris, October 27, 2006, lot 39 (as “Studio of Jacques de Backer”). Another version of this composition with a few variations and an attribution to a “follower of Jacob de Backer” was auctioned at Sotheby’s, London, October 30, 2008, lot 4.
 39. Sale, collection of Ludwig Benz (Tutzing), Hugo Helbig, Munich, June 27–28, 1933, lot 239 (as “Otto van Veen”).

40. Müller Hofstede, "Jacques de Backer," p. 241; Bernhard Schnackenburg, *Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister: Gesamtkatalog*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1996), vol. 1, p. 43. The drawing in the Louvre (21.230) is currently catalogued as a copy after De Backer (Lugt, *Musée du Louvre*, no. 703).
41. Huet, "Jacob de Backer," pp. 94, 136, no. B5.
42. Sale, Dorotheum, Vienna, June 7, 2000, lot 129, and (apparently after some cleaning and restoration work) October 1, 2003, lot 83.
- See also the *Madonna with Child and Two Putti* in the Muzeum Narodowe, Wrocław (oil on wood, 42½ x 30 in. [108 x 76.2 cm]), a picture recently published by Steinborn (*Muzeum Narodowe*, p. 281) as an Allegory of Charity and attributed to Jacob de Backer.
43. "Een Adam en Eva, een Charitas en een crucifix" (Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 232r, and see Huet, "Jacob de Backer," pp. 93–95).

The Giraffe as the Mythical *Qilin* in Chinese Art: A Painting and a Rank Badge in the Metropolitan Museum

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In traditional Chinese society one of the ways of engaging with nature is to classify certain species of flora and fauna, and certain natural phenomena, geological or astronomical, as auspicious and others as omens of calamity. Several ears of corn growing from the same stalk and white deer, for example, are auspicious. The most auspicious of animals is the mythical *qilin*, sung in ancient poetry and said to have made periodic appearances, on the most famous occasion during the life of Confucius himself (although this was not necessarily that auspicious, as it occurred when the great sage was near the end of his life). As there was no precise record of what the animal looked like, its identification is open to speculation.

Thus, in the year 1414, when the king of Bengal presented a giraffe to the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–24) of the Ming dynasty,¹ it was greeted with a tumultuous chorus of chants and panegyrics by senior officials at court, affirming that the *qilin* had finally appeared as proof that a great rightful emperor was indeed on the throne.² (The emperor was an usurper.) A number of the encomia were illustrated, and a manuscript copy of one of them is preserved in the Palace Museum in Taipei.³ Another painting of the *qilin*-giraffe, inscribed and possibly also painted by one of the emperor's favorites, Shen Du (1357–1434), is also in the Palace Museum. A painting nearly identical to the two in Taipei except for the markings on the giraffe's coat is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Figure 1). Yet another copy of the painting, minus the inscription, is in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 2). Although none of them can be dated with any certainty to the time of the Yongle reign, the existence of a number of versions, some of them late, testifies to the wide and persistent dissemination of the painting.⁴

The Metropolitan Museum painting is unusual in that it is missing the Shen Du inscription (which may have been cut off) and that the giraffe, wearing a Chinese-style tassel, is led by two grooms in long red robes, reminiscent of earlier paintings depicting foreigners bringing tribute horses from Central Asia. The "tribute bearers" wear a type of two-part leather belt long in use in Central Asia but by the fif-

teenth century also adopted by the Chinese. The front of the belt, ornamented with jade or metal plaques, is buckled to the back strip at both ends, with the tails protruding on either side. This painting was brought from China by Alfred Bahr. It was published first in 1917 in *Nature* and then in 1928 by the redoubtable scholar at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Berthold Laufer, who even without knowing of the inscription appended to other versions discussed it in its historical context.⁵

After it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1947 the painting was never exhibited because of its ruinous condition, which had worsened since it was illustrated by Laufer in 1928. It remains in a poor state, as the Department of Asian Art houses many important works by early masters that demand priority for conservation attention. The painting's present state of preservation suggests a date rather earlier than is warranted. Nevertheless, it is likely to date not later than the mid-seventeenth century, when the Ming dynasty came to an end. The type of belt worn by the groom would no longer have been used in the subsequent Qing dynasty, and even if the painter was copying the figures from old paintings of tribute bearers he would probably not have reproduced this detail.

A few years ago, my colleague Denise Leidy drew my attention to this painting. Somewhat later, the painting provided a clue to the identification of a puzzling item in our textile collection.

One of the legacies of the rule of the Mongols over China was the institution of the rank badge. The badges are sewn on the front and back of the ceremonial robes of court officials to indicate their rank, of which there are nine in both the civil and military services. For civil servants each rank is denoted by a particular bird; each military rank is represented by an animal. This was an adaptation of a custom of the horse-riding people in North Asia who ornamented their ceremonial robes with images of animals and birds, the quarry of hunting expeditions. The origin of this custom is not recorded, but it could not have begun before people of nomadic origin gained control of a part of North China



1. *The Tribute Giraffe with Attendant*. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), probably 16th century. Ink and color on silk, 31½ x 16 in. (80 x 40.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of John T. Dorrance, 1977 (1977-42-1)

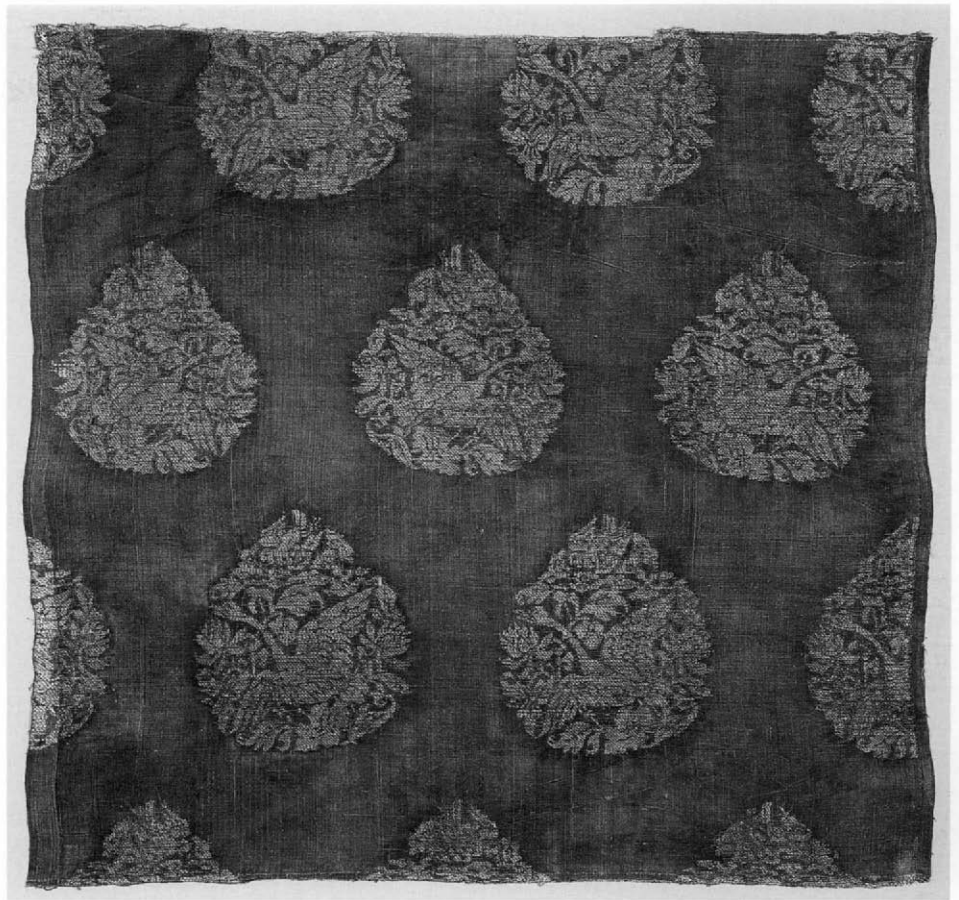


2. *Giraffe with Two Keepers*. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 16th–early 17th century. Ink and color on silk, 53¾ x 33½ in. (136.5 x 85.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, From the Collection of A. W. Bahr, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.18.21)

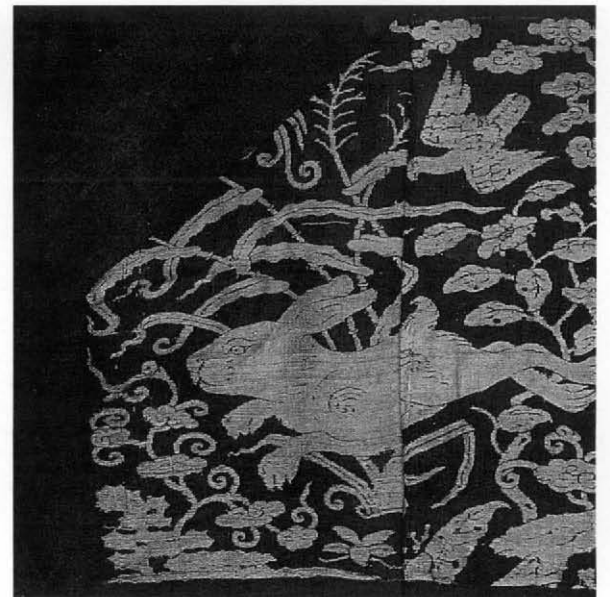
where the inhabitants could weave and embroider with silk. The Khitan, a seminomadic people originally from the basin of the Liao River in Northeast China who conquered a large part of North China in the tenth century and established the Liao dynasty (907–1125), required officials who accompanied the emperor on the Spring and Autumn Hunts—state occasions for the Khitan—to wear uniforms ornamented with depictions of wild geese in the spring and deer in the autumn. This custom was continued by the Jurchens of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), which succeeded the Liao. In the early examples of these robes (see Figure 3) the relatively small-scale image of the bird or animal is repeated over the entire uniform. Sometime during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) the decoration became a single square patch on the front and back of the robe that depicted the scene of the hunt (Figure 4).

After the expulsion of the Mongol rulers the founder of the native Ming dynasty (1368–1644) institutionalized the square patches, or badges, on the ceremonial robes of court officials. Instead of depicting hunting scenes the badges were now insignia of rank. In addition to those that denoted the rank of court officials, there was an extra badge, worn only by the nobility, depicting the imagined *qilin*. Some surviving examples with the *qilin* image correspond to printed illustrations of the *qilin* badge in manuals of the Ming dynasty on rank badges and other paraphernalia for court officials.

The Metropolitan Museum has a considerable collection of rank badges of the Ming and Qing dynasties, separate



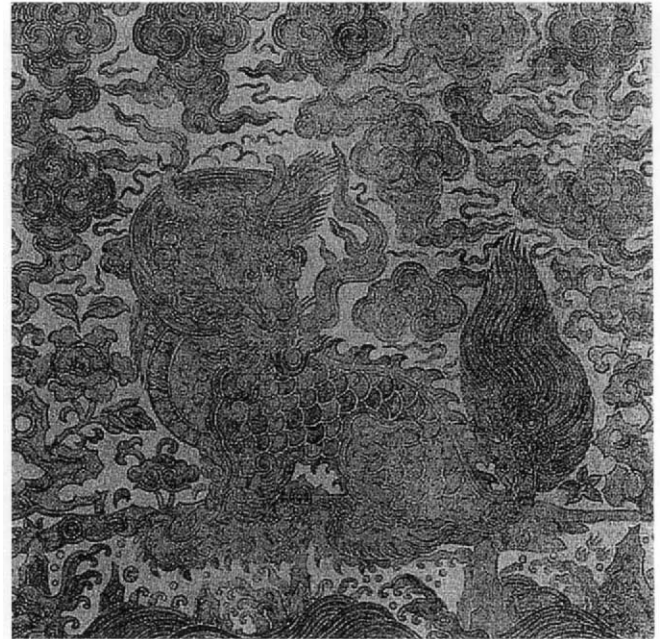
3. Woven panel with swan hunt medallions. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Silk, metallic thread, brocaded tabby; 23 x 24½ in. (58.5 x 62.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Ann Eden Woodward Foundation Gift and Rogers Fund, 1989 (1989.282)



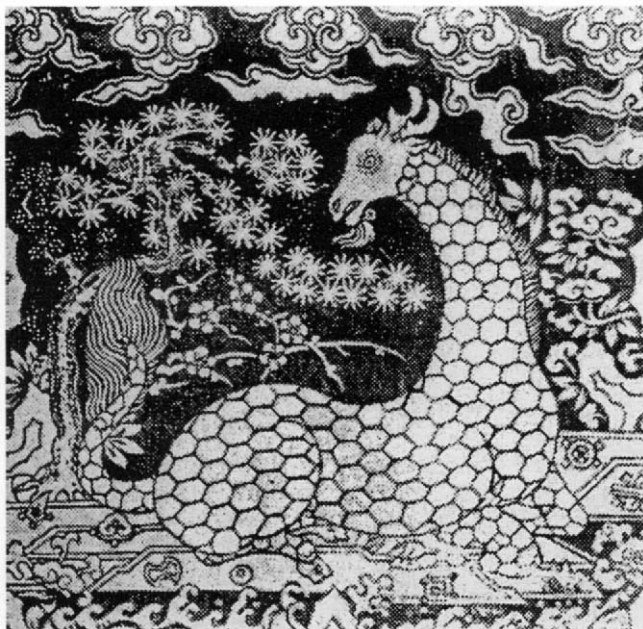
4. Robe with a badge with a falcon chasing a hare. China, Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Brocaded lampas on silk twill damask. L. 55½ in. (140 cm). Private collection, China. Photograph: Zhao Feng and Jin Lin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White Porcelain* (Hong Kong, 2005), pl. 26



5. Rank badge with a *qilin*. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 16th–early 17th century. Silk embroidery on silk gauze, 13½ x 13½ in. (34.3 x 34.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1941 (41.123.3)



6. Rank badge with a *qilin*. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 15th–early 16th century. Gold brocade. Excavated from the tomb of Xu Fu, Nanjing. Nanjing City Museum. Photograph: Zhao Feng, *The General History of Chinese Silk* (Suzhou, 2005), pl. 7-4-16



7. Rank badge with a celestial deer pattern. China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), 15th–early 16th century. Gold brocade, 15¾ x 15¾ in. (40 x 40 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Xu Fu, Nanjing. Nanjing City Museum. Photograph: Excavation report of the tomb of Xu Fu, *Wenwu* 2 (1982), pp. 28–32

patches that were sewn on robes and could be exchanged upon an official's promotion, or demotion for that matter. The badges represent most of the civil and some of the military ranks. There is, however, one badge in the collection (Figure 5) that has hitherto been unidentified. Woven in silk of many colors, it shows a recumbent animal against a backdrop of cloud forms, with symbolic mountains and breaking waves in the foreground. Everything about this badge is normal for the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries except for the identity of the animal.

That this type of badge is not unique is confirmed by archaeological finds of badges with a similar animal in tombs of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Writers of the archaeological reports and recent publications on historical costumes have all been at a loss as to the identity of the animal depicted on these badges. A rank badge found in the tomb of Xu Fu (died 1517), a duke, and his wife sports a conventional image of the *qilin* (Figure 6). But commentators were baffled by another badge from the same tomb with an animal similar to the one on the Metropolitan's badge except for its longer neck (Figure 7).⁶ The mystery is solved when we compare the image on the badge with the

giraffe in paintings such as the one in the Metropolitan (Figure 2). The hexagonal pattern of the coat of the animal, the relatively long neck, and the shape of the head make clear that this animal is an alternative representation of the *qilin*—based on the paintings of the giraffe from the Yongle reign. Seen in this light, the Metropolitan’s badge is a recension of the one found in Xu Fu’s tomb, only the neck has become shorter, making it less obviously a giraffe. The identity of the animal has been further obscured by its recumbent posture, the conventional manner in which all other animals are represented on rank badges. A date in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century can now be attributed to our *qilin* rank badge.

The solution of the mystery of our rank badge, a minor issue, is nevertheless a demonstration that the assemblage of diverse collections in a “universal museum” can serve to advance our knowledge in unexpected ways.

NOTES

1. There is a considerable body of literature in Asian and Western languages on the giraffe in China. The subject is mentioned or discussed mostly in the context of maritime trade between China and the trading ports along the coasts of Asia all the way to the east coast of Africa, with particular reference to the expeditions of the large Chinese armadas led by Zheng He, of which there were seven in all spanning the period 1405–33. In Chinese accounts of foreign lands by members of Zheng He’s expeditions (usually recruited because they spoke Persian) and in court records of the fifteenth century, Bengal was frequently mentioned as an important entrepôt along the sea route between Arab lands and China. The giraffe is, of course, not native to Bengal. The king of Bengal could have acquired the giraffe from East Africa or in Aden, the chief marketplace for goods from Africa at the time. After 1414 the Chinese also obtained giraffes directly from Aden. For an intricate discussion of the relations between China and Bengal in the fifteenth century, the Bengal king who sent the giraffe, and related topics, see Sally K. Church, “The Giraffe of Bengal: A Medieval Encounter in Ming China,” *Medieval History Journal* 7, no. 1 (2004), pp. 1–37.
2. Ignoring the prevalent practice of sycophancy at the court of the Yongle emperor, Gabriel Ferrand provided an ingenious explanation of the nomenclature of the giraffe in China. He posited that the Chinese name of the *qilin* (*k’i-lin*) was derived from the Somalian name for giraffe: *géri, giri* (Ferrand, “Le nom de la giraffe dans le *Ying Yai Cheng Lan*,” *Journal asiatique*, ser. 11, 12 [1918]). However, as Ferrand himself points out in the same article, in other fifteenth-century Chinese writings the animal is called *zulafa* (*tsu-la-fa* in Ferrand), derived from the Arabic *zurāfa*, which is the root of the name for the giraffe in practically every language in the medieval world.
3. Published in *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, vol. 20 (Taipei, 1989), pp. 135–39. The picture of the giraffe is part of a long-illustrated scroll with laudatory essays by the court official Zeng Qi. The preface to the scroll of his essays with illustrations is in his own hand and is dated 1414. The essays recount all the auspicious happenings in the reign of Yongle, including the stalk with several ears of corn, a white deer, a white elephant, the Yellow River becoming clear, and the giraffe from Bengal.
4. Of the known paintings of the giraffe associated with the court of the Yongle emperor, all except one of the two in the Palace Museum, Taipei (see note 3), are based on a painting with an inscription by Shen Du. The paintings are in the Palace Museum in Taipei, the National Museum in Beijing, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Another belonged to J. J. L. Duyvendak, and he illustrated it (along with the version now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art) in his article “The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century,” *T’oung Pao*, ser. 2, 34, no. 5 (1939), foldout between pp. 400 and 401. Of the five copies of the painting in question, only the one in the Palace Museum, Taipei (published in *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, vol. 9 [Taipei, 1989], p. 345), can be dated with certainty to the Ming dynasty, as it carries the seals of the sixteenth-century collector Xiang Yuanbian, and it is in much the best condition of all. The Shen Du inscription on the Philadelphia version repeats that on the Palace Museum version nearly word for word, but the markings on the giraffe are different from those in all the others. The painting in the National Museum, Beijing, and the Duyvendak painting are both signed by the copyists, both of Qing date judging by the formatting of the inscriptions, which are somewhat abbreviated and in which the characters for “sage emperor” are not raised above the top margin of the text. All four of these paintings are derived from the same model, with the groom in a similar posture and attire. The Metropolitan Museum version is missing the inscription, and there are two grooms instead of one and they are dressed differently.
5. Berthold Laufer, *The Giraffe in History and Art* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1928).
6. Excavation report on the tomb of Xu Fu (Ming dynasty General Xu Da’s descendant of the fifth generation) and his wife, *Wenwu* 2 (1982), pp. 28–32.

Neapolitan Metalwork in New York: Viceregal Patronage and the Theme of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses one of the most remarkable collections of Italian Baroque metalwork in the United States, outstanding not only in terms of numbers of objects but also for the different regions represented. Close study of some of these works has proved particularly fruitful for several areas of investigation: an enhanced understanding of the sculptural patronage of the Spanish viceroys in seventeenth-century Naples (a field still relatively overlooked),¹ the trade in lavish and precious sculptures shipped from Italy to Spain, and the key role played by Naples in the religious and political dispute over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which holds that the Virgin Mary was conceived free from the taint of original sin.

The Spanish kings had held the Immaculate Conception in special devotion ever since the fifteenth century.² In the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, Spanish diplomats tried to persuade the successively reigning popes to take their side in the theological conflict. This thorny dispute had already started in the Middle Ages between the Franciscans, who asserted the Virgin was conceived without sin, and the Dominicans, who were in opposition to this statement. Because the doctrine of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception had not been included in the precepts of the Council of Trent, the kings of Spain had pressed the pope to rule on the issue, but no decision was taken. Images of the Immaculate Conception were made in various media in Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century,³ at the same time that ambassadors and aristocratic supporters were sent to Rome to plead their case before the pope. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pope Paul V had evinced a benign attitude,⁴ and the Spanish colony in Rome contributed significantly to the doctrine's diffusion in the late 1620s.⁵ For example, in 1627 the duke of Alcalá commissioned from Guido Reni *The Immaculate Conception*, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the Infanta Maria, Philip IV's sister.⁶ Among the Spanish noblemen who fervently argued on behalf of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was Don Manuel de Zuñiga.

Sixth count of Monterrey and brother-in-law of the powerful count of Olivares, don Manuel was ambassador to the Holy See between 1629 and 1631.⁷ However, in 1627 the papal Inquisition had imposed a series of limitations on the definition of the Immaculate Conception,⁸ and Urban VIII maintained a diplomatic but rather tepid attitude toward the question from the 1630s onward.

By contrast, when Monterrey arrived in Naples in 1631 as its new viceroy, he found a ready audience for his ideas. Naples was then one of the largest cities in Europe and the capital of a Spanish viceroyalty, and, even earlier than the Spanish, the Neapolitans had developed a devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, who was frequently represented in painting and sculpture.⁹ In 1601 the Jesuit Order, allied with the Spanish throne in promoting the doctrine, had dedicated their Church of the Gesù Nuovo to the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰ Later, in 1618, the ruling viceroy, Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, third duke of Osuna, swore to defend the doctrine with his very life.¹¹

Study of Don Manuel de Zuñiga's patronage in the arts has concentrated on his remarkable painting collection and his role in securing distinguished Italian paintings for the Spanish court.¹² More recently, considerable attention has been paid to his unique enterprise in Spain: the erection of a new church and convent for Augustinian nuns in Salamanca, dedicated to La Purissima, that is, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.¹³ The entire project was conceived in Naples, where the majority of the works of art were made. The richly inlaid marble retable (Figure 1) was designed by the Lombard Cosimo Fanzago, then the leading sculptor and architect in Naples. At the center of the retable is the large canvas of the Immaculate Conception by Jusepe de Ribera, the great Spanish painter who had settled in Naples. This painting would become a seminal work for the iconography of the Immaculate Conception in Spain.¹⁴

Monterrey made a highly significant political and religious statement when he entrusted Ribera to execute a painting to be presented in such sumptuous surroundings. This important commission assumed a special meaning in



1. Cosimo Fanzago (Italian, 1591–1678), designer; Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, active in Italy, 1591–1652), painter of *Immaculate Conception* at center. High Altar of the Church of the Agustinas Descalzas (La Purísima Concepción), Salamanca, 1633–36

2. Cosimo Fanzago. Tabernacle, 1636. H. ca. 59 in. (150 cm). Church of the Agustinas Descalzas (La Purísima Concepción), Salamanca



Naples and was made possible there (when it might not have been feasible in Rome, for example) because not only was the city a dependency of Spain, but it also, as noted, had its own long-standing devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The viceroy exploited the expertise and skill of the city's major artists to celebrate a cause dear both to the Spanish kings and to him and his wife.¹⁵ He commissioned liturgical objects for the convent in Salamanca and for his own collection, mainly from the same silversmiths who contemporaneously were making objects for the ornately decorated votive Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro in Naples. This chapel, one of the city's most important shrines, houses the relics of the patron saint of Naples, and in the course of the seventeenth cen-

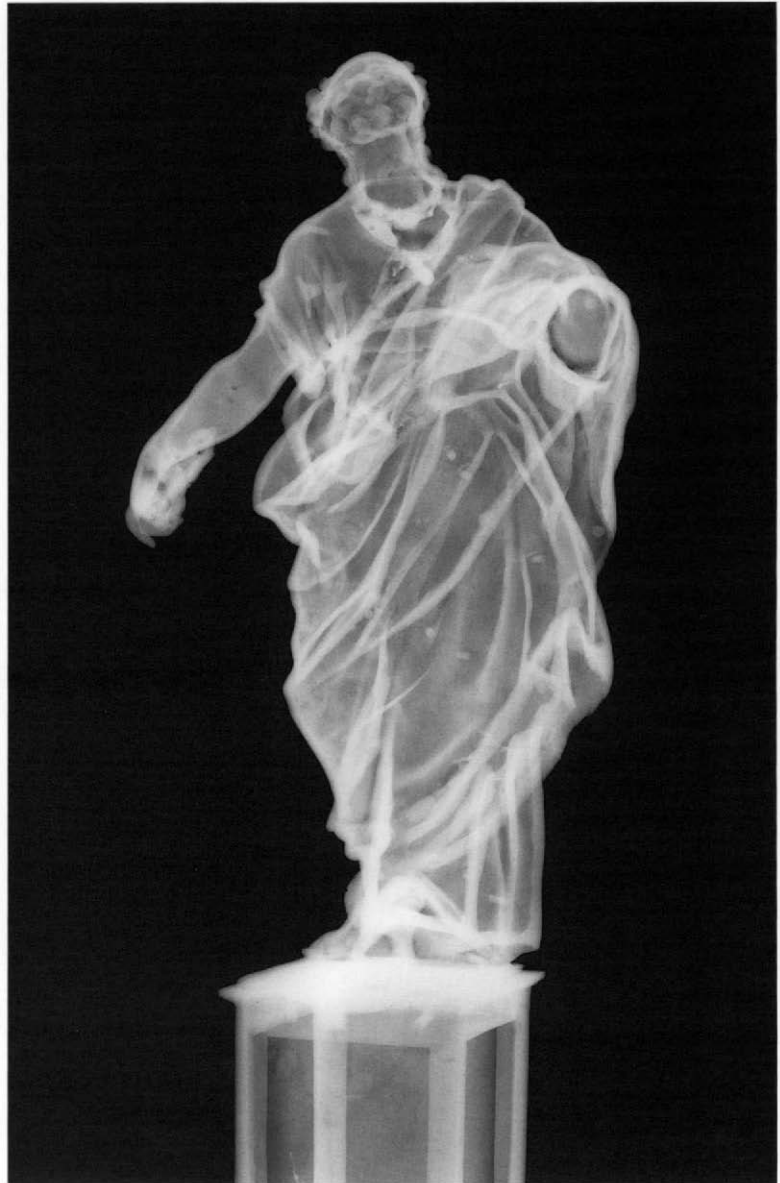
tury, the chapel's civic deputies spent great sums of money to make it one of the most arresting sites in Baroque Naples. Fanzago was an excellent choice on Monterrey's part, for the sculptor was used to doing casting himself as well as collaborating with silversmiths and metal founders who were capable of casting the great number of luxurious objects that were required.¹⁶

Fanzago's rich tabernacle, executed in gilt bronze, colored marbles, and semiprecious stones, survives in the church at Salamanca, though partially damaged (Figure 2). It was originally flanked by two statuettes representing Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Elsewhere I have discussed the *Saint Peter*, which is in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 3).¹⁷ Despite its small scale—it is



3. Cosimo Fanzago. *Saint Peter*, 1636. Gilt bronze, H. 11 ¼ in. (28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.187)

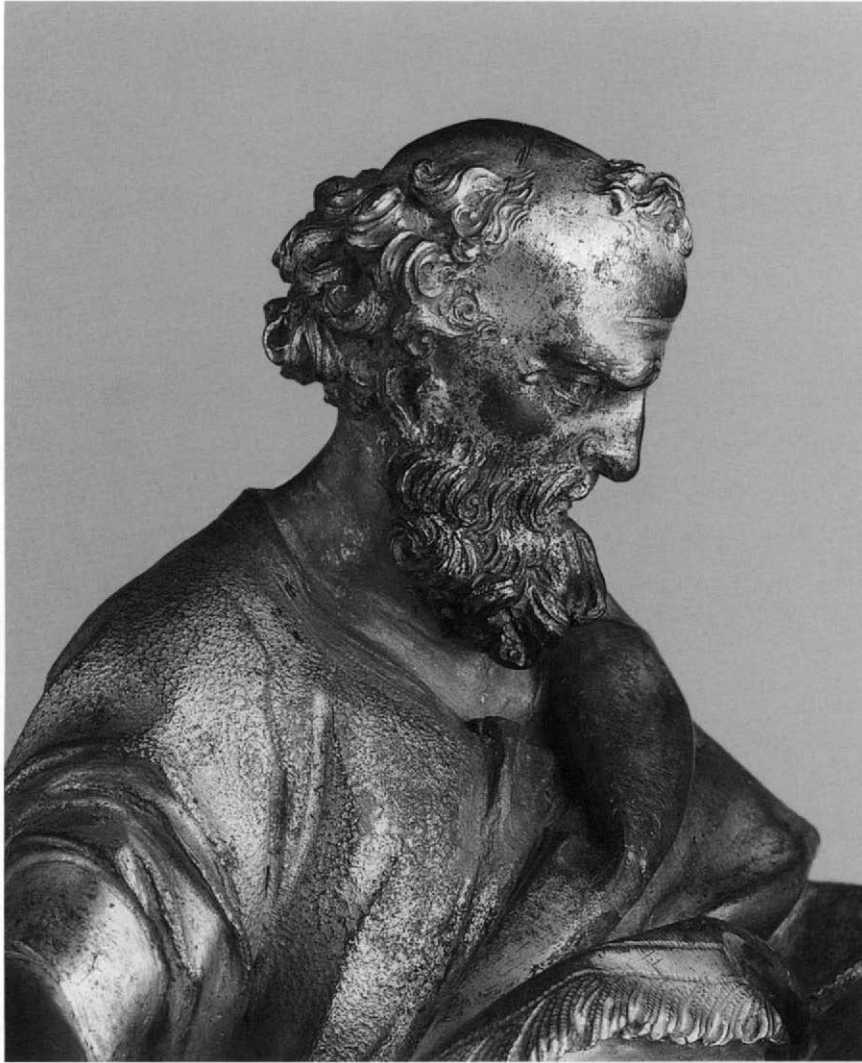
4. X-radiograph of Figure 3



less than twelve inches high—the statuette is a splendid example of the artist’s output in bronze as well as his technical mastery (Figure 4).¹⁸ The characteristic deep undercuts and sharp folds that envelop the figure complement the sense of movement, captured in the left foot that extends almost beyond the edge of the gilt-bronze cube of a base, three of whose sides are inlaid with red jasper that matches that in the tabernacle at Salamanca. Perfect

chiseling describes the saint’s bushy, scowling brows, hooked nose, and curly beard (Figure 5).

A statuette of Saint Paul (Figure 6), recently brought to my attention, is the pendant to the Metropolitan Museum’s statuette.¹⁹ Equally finely cast, the *Saint Paul* complements the Museum’s *Saint Peter* in its monumental stance and gestures: *Saint Peter* is frowningly absorbed in an open book, avidly reading a passage, whereas *Saint Paul* is portrayed



5. Detail of *Saint Peter* (Figure 3)

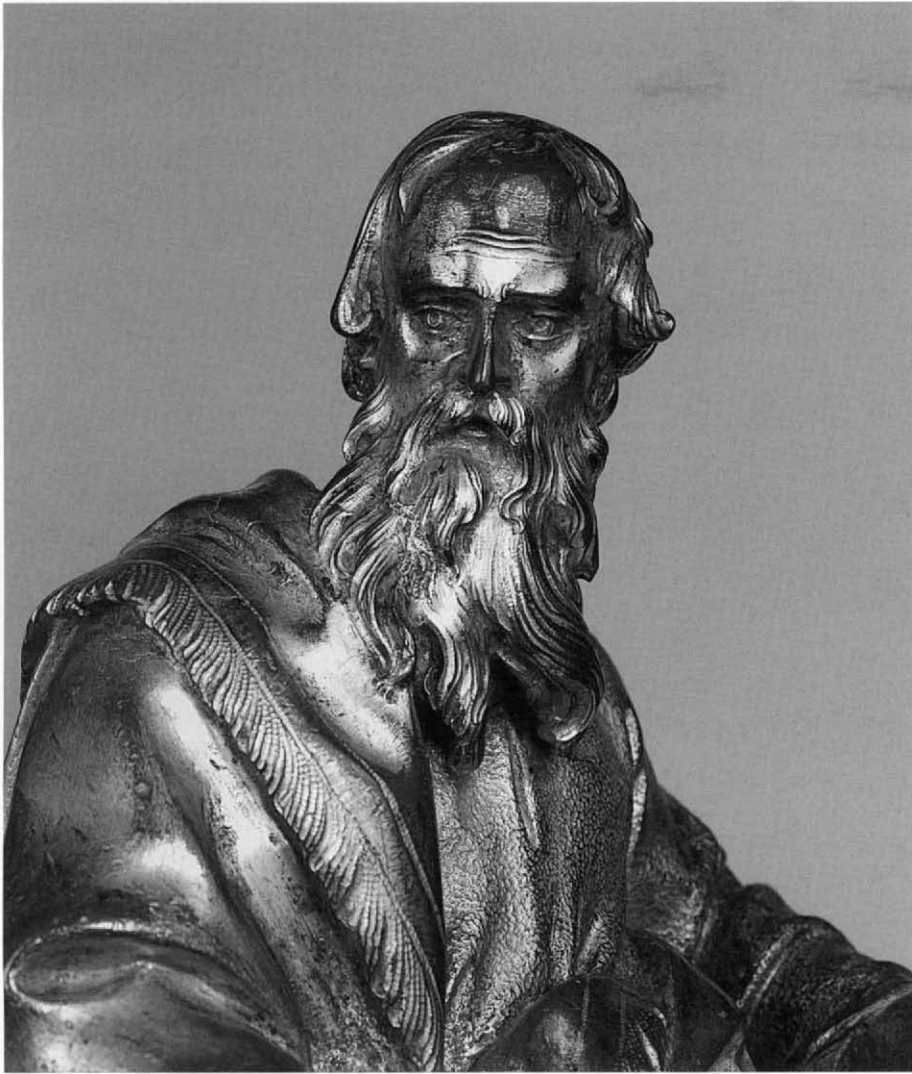


6. Cosimo Fanzago. *Saint Paul*, 1636. Gilt bronze, H. 11 1/4 in. (28.6 cm). Private collection, New York

the moment he has turned, his long, flowing beard still overlapping his mantle, which displays Fanzago's characteristic triangles on the right shoulder, the apostle's lips parted as if about to speak (Figure 7). The lines of *Saint Paul's* forehead are drawn with great delicacy, as are the eyes, the bony face, and the liquid rivulets of his beard. Fanzago's mastery in creating complex masses of drapery is evident, as is his refined differentiation of textures. *Saint Paul's* left hand is slightly damaged, especially the ring finger. Although

it now appears empty, that hand originally held the hilt of the sword, a typical attribute referring to the apostle's beheading.²⁰

Since a large part of Fanzago's formerly considerable production in bronze has been either lost or irreparably damaged, these statuettes in New York are of critical importance for the study of the artist's metalwork.²¹ They also record the artist's development toward a more solid and monumental treatment of figures that would only begin to



be employed in large-scale marble statues at the beginning of the 1640s. Although this pair of apostles was not intended to be seen in the round, they are completely modeled at the back with elegantly draped, silky mantles.

In addition to creating the lavish retable of colored marble—particularly rare in Spain—to enhance Ribera’s painting of the Immaculate Conception, Fanzago made highly sophisticated works in metal for the powerful viceregal Monterrey. Among the various objects donated to the Augustinian foundation by the viceregal couple and listed in the convent’s inventories was a lifesize silver statue of the Virgin with its pedestal and mantle in gilt bronze, which must also have been particularly striking.²² This work is lost, but by coincidence, another object in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection is likely to be related to those works that Monterrey gave to the Spanish nuns: a crozier finial, reasonably attributed to Orazio Scoppa (Figure 8),²³ a rare example of silver production in Naples in the 1630s. Between 1632 and 1635 Scoppa was at work on the monumental gate designed by Fanzago for the Treasury Chapel of

San Gennaro. The fleshy acanthus leaves, beading, and cherub heads on the crozier finial are particularly close to Fanzago’s decorative repertoire. The same forelock of thick, clustered curls on the forehead appears on the cherub heads on the finial and a marble angel from the artist’s early period (Figures 9, 10).

The commission of the marble retable for the Augustinian nuns had a far-reaching effect on the artists active in Naples. While Ribera painted four further versions of the Immaculate Conception destined for Spain, other works on this theme were produced by artists in the viceregal city in the early 1640s.²⁴ Later, in 1656, a terrible plague struck Naples. Mattia Preti was commissioned by the Neapolitan electors to paint votive frescoes over the seven city gates depicting the protective saints, as well as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, who were invoked during the pestilence.²⁵ Shortly afterward, between 1659 and 1664, the viceregal Gaspar de Bracamonte completed the refashioning of the Cappella Palatina in the royal palace and had installed on its altar a marble statue of the Immaculate Conception by

7. Detail of *Saint Paul* (Figure 6)

8. Orazio Scoppa(?) (Italian, active 1607–47). Crozier finial, 1630s. Silver; H. 9⁵/₈ in. (24.4 cm), 10¹/₄ in. (26 cm) with threaded rod. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, by exchange, 1988 (1988.45)



9. Detail of the crosier finial in Figure 8

10. Cosimo Fanzago. *Angel*, 1619–21 (detail). Marble, H. ca. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (60 cm). Church of the Gesù Nuovo, Cappella Borrello, Naples

Alexander VII proclaimed the *bull* *solicitud* that permitted priests in Spain to celebrate the Office and the Mass of the Immaculate Conception *de precepto*, thus turning it into an official religious festival, a privilege extended shortly afterward to the other Spanish dominions, notably, Naples.²⁷

In 1659 the deputies of San Gennaro commissioned a silver statue of the Immaculate Conception²⁸ and in 1664, an oratory to be frescoed with symbols of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The fresco cycle was entrusted first to the Neapolitan Luca Giordano, who was a favorite of Spanish collectors. The fresco cycle, however, was completed by Giacomo Farelli.²⁹

Concurrently, Neapolitan sculpture was increasingly sought after in Spain, especially polychrome wood statues and works in silver, which were commissioned not only by private collectors but also by religious orders. Although many of these objects have been lost, and others have yet to be traced, the celebrated silver ensemble *The Four Continents* made after models by Lorenzo Vaccaro testifies to the opulence of these works (Figure 11). The technical and conceptual execution of these figures is impressive. Each of the female allegories is wrapped in flowing mantles decorated in floral patterns, and each is seated on a globe engraved with a map of her respective continent. The incredibly refined chasing differentiates the textures of the animals supporting the globes, the garments, and the minute definition of the faces. In addition, each figure is studded with precious stones (see Figure 21).

Now in Toledo, the *Four Continents* were commissioned for King Charles II by Fernando de Benavides, count of San Esteban, viceroy of Naples from 1687 to 1695, and completed in 1695.³⁰ Vaccaro, after a brief apprenticeship with the elderly Fanzago, established himself as a leading scul-

Fanzago, to replace the painting of the same subject by Ribera that had been sent to Spain.²⁶ The placement of the statue on the principal altar of the viceregal chapel is undoubtedly a reflection of the changing artistic and religious climate in the early 1660s, in both Italy and Spain, following a highly significant event that took place in 1661. The visual and political campaign launched by the Spanish crown and the religious orders in support of the Immaculate Conception reached its turning point that year, when

11. Lorenzo Vaccaro (Italian, 1653–1706). *The Four Continents*, 1695. Silver, H. ca. 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (128 cm). Museo de la Catedral, Toledo





12. Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Giovan Domenico Vinaccia (Italian, 1625–1695). *Saint Michael*, 1691. Silver and gilt bronze, H. 63 in. (160 cm). Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, Naples

13. Detail of *Saint Michael* (Figure 12)



14. Lorenzo Vaccaro(?). *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, late 17th century. Gilt bronze and silver, H. 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (76.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1992 (1992.56)

tor who worked readily in different materials; for example, he supplied models to be cast in silver and bronze for the reliquary busts for the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro. Unlike Fanzago, who ran a vast workshop, Vaccaro did not cast his own sculptures. Instead, he fashioned models for the numerous silversmiths and wood-carvers active in Naples. Sometimes Vaccaro followed designs by major painters of the time. In the well-known instance of the *Saint Michael* (Figures 12, 13), Vaccaro used a design by Luca Giordano; the three-dimensional model was cast in silver and gilt bronze by Giovan Domenico Vinaccia.³¹ This superb statue enjoyed an immediate celebrity and was imitated in different sizes and media. One of the finest bronze and silver versions was commissioned by an otherwise unidentified Miguel Río y Egea, most probably a Spanish nobleman.³²

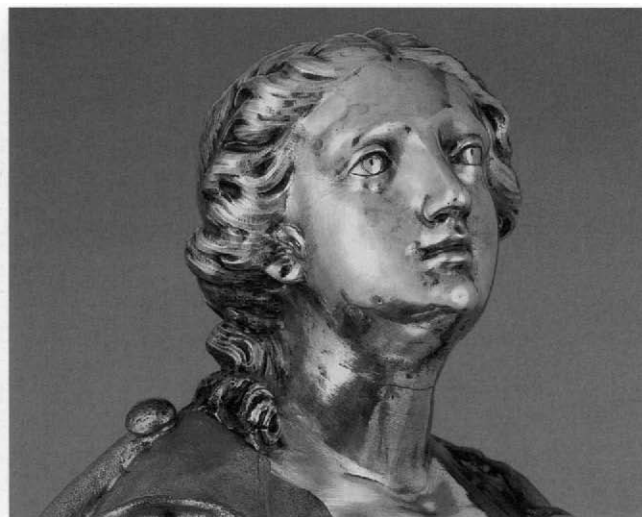
A large, elegantly composed gilt-bronze and silver statuette of the Immaculate Conception in the Museum's collection

15. Probably Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Nicola D'Aula. *Saint Hippolytus*, 1688. Silver, H. ca. 43¼ in. (110 cm). Main church, Roccaraso (L'Aquila)



16. Detail of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)

17. Detail of *Saint Hippolytus* (Figure 15)



(Figure 14) can be placed in this context of sculptural production in late seventeenth-century Naples.³³ The statuette commands attention for its refined and glittering surface and its iconography of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception as the new Eve.³⁴ The Virgin looks upward, lost in contemplation, with her right hand on her chest. She stands on a crescent moon around which coils a serpent with an apple in its mouth; the moon rests on the celestial globe. In spite of several casting flaws that have been expertly repaired, the workmanship of both the bronze and the silver is very good, and the mantle shows a skillful differentiation among the punched, matte, and lustrous surfaces.

The sober arrangement of the drapery, with its gentle curves that define the anatomy of the figure, is distant from the billowing folds of Roman Baroque sculpture and points instead toward Naples. A half-length reliquary of Saint Hippolytus in the main church of Roccaraso (Figure 15) offers useful comparisons. This sculpture was executed in cast and repoussé silver in Naples in 1688, probably after a model by Vaccaro, by the silversmith Nicola D'Aula, who left his mark on the base.³⁵ Sections of the octagonal pedestal are gilt, as are the dove and the palm. The reliquary half-

figure was donated by a pious nobleman to Roccaraso, a small town in the Abruzzi, a region that boasted several liturgical objects imported from Naples.³⁶ The differentiated chasing of surfaces is quite close to that of the Museum's statuette. Particularly striking are the parallels between the structure of the smooth heads with flat forehead, the sharply descending lines of the eyebrows, the identical shape of the eyes set deep in their sockets, the chiseling of the pupils, and the way the locks of hair tumble over the shoulders (Figures 16, 17). The flowing drapery of the Virgin's mantle and the soft fabric of the saint's sleeve that emerges from the beautifully punched lion's heads are also quite similar (Figures 18, 19). The salient stylistic affinities between the two works allow me to suggest that the same master who supplied the model for *Saint Hippolytus* to Nicola D'Aula must also have fashioned the Metropolitan Museum's *Immaculate Conception*. Both works are related to the circle of Vaccaro and probably can be traced to the artist himself. The flipped-back edges of the mantle, the scooped-out excavations that create zones of light and dark, suggestive of chiaroscuro, and the lateral movement of the left arm in the *Immaculate Conception* also recall those features of the high-relief figures of the silver altar frontal in the Neapolitan



18. Detail of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)



19. Detail of *Saint Hippolytus* (Figure 15)

20. Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Matteo Treglia (Italian, active 1681–1716). *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689. Silver. Church of Santa Maria la Nova, Naples



21. Lorenzo Vaccaro. *Africa* (detail of Figure 11)



22. Detail of the hairstyle of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)



23. Lorenzo Vaccaro. *Asia* (detail of Figure 11)

Church of Santa Maria la Nova (Figure 20), for which Vaccaro supplied models in 1689,³⁷ while the dreamy, ecstatic expression and coiffure are close to those of the *Four Continents* in Toledo (see Figures 21–23), with the chignon in the distinctive shape of a figure eight, from which a coil of curly hair flows onto the shoulders.³⁸

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* follows an iconography favored in Spain, whose first and most influential model was a painting commissioned by the marquis of Leganes from Peter Paul Rubens in 1627, which was widely imitated, especially in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.³⁹ Although it has not been possible to trace a document that specifically links the Museum's statuette to Spanish patronage, one meaningful piece of evidence is worth noting. Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marquis del Carpio, was a prominent figure at the time whose patronage influenced the arts both in Rome and in Naples, where he was viceroy from 1683 to 1687.⁴⁰ Del Carpio was one of the major patrons of Luca Giordano, and his collection of paintings and sculpture was one of the most refined. He had acquired the majority of his antique marble sculpture and small-scale bronzes in Rome, but he also commissioned pieces of metalwork in Naples, which were listed in the inventory drawn up after his death in 1689. Notably, Del Carpio owned highly valued sculptural allegories of the Four Continents, having commissioned four gilt-copper figures of them in 1687. The sculptures are now lost, but their descriptions in documents closely recall the *Four Continents* that were cast in silver shortly afterward, following Vaccaro's models.⁴¹

Like his predecessor Monterrey, Del Carpio commissioned an altarpiece to be made in Naples in even more precious materials—porphyry, gilt bronze, and semiprecious

stones—to enhance the Spanish Dominican convent in Loeches.⁴² Giovan Battista Capozio, probably a Roman master, was responsible for the marble work, while Paolo Perrella was the main artist in charge of the metal decoration.⁴³ Originally, the altarpiece was meant to frame an *Adoration of the Magi* by Giordano, but as early as 1688 the officers in charge of dealing with Del Carpio's legacy had instead decided to place at the center of the altarpiece a gilt-bronze figure of the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁴ Del Carpio's detailed inventory makes no mention of a statuette in gilt bronze and silver of the Immaculate Conception of comparable measurements. However, it is tempting to put forward the hypothesis that the statuette of the Immaculate Conception at The Metropolitan Museum of Art was created as a presentation model for a larger bronze statue destined for the porphyry altar, perhaps with the hope of eliciting the interest of a wealthy Spanish patron. The large-scale statue was never cast, and the porphyry altar entered the Spanish royal collection at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Placed in the Chapel of the Alcazar in Madrid, it was later destroyed by fire in 1734.⁴⁵

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* was, however, probably known to Neapolitan artists, and like many other examples of Vaccaro's work, it was imitated in various media. Two polychromed wood statues by different sculptors share compositional and stylistic affinities with the Museum's *Immaculate Conception*: one carved by Gaetano Patalano for the Franciscan nuns of Lecce in 1692 (Figure 24)⁴⁶ and another, severely damaged, in a church near Foggia that is attributed to Paolo di Zinno (Figure 25) and exemplifies a much later provincial repetition of themes developed in the viceregal capital.⁴⁷



24. Gaetano Patalano (Italian, 1654–after 1699). *Immaculate Conception*, 1692. Polychromed wood, H. 80 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (204 cm). Church of San Francesco, Lecce



25. Attributed to Paolo di Zinno (Italian, 1717–1781). *Immaculate Conception*, second half of 18th century. Polychromed wood, H. 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (120 cm). Old church, Accadia (Foggia)

In the late 1690s and early 1700s Nicola Fumo, Giacomo Colombo, and Gaetano and Pietro Patalano carved statues in polychromed wood destined for Spain,⁴⁸ among which were a few images of the Immaculate Conception,⁴⁹ approximately of the same dimensions as the Museum's statuette, and these figures possibly diffused a more Italianate iconography of the subject matter, more animated and fluid than the most influential type of seventeenth-century Spanish wood sculpture that had been developed by Juan Martínez Montañés.⁵⁰ With hands folded in prayer and long hair framing the downcast gaze, Virgins of the Immaculate Conception by Montañés are characterized by a hieratic frontality, their heavy mantles conferring on them a triangular shape.

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* may well have served as a model that was copied in other materials and in other regions of the viceroyalty and in Spain. In any case, it represents a rare and alluring survival of the conspicuous production of metalwork in Naples and the sculptural relationship between Naples and Spain in the seventeenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

- Exceptions are the critical studies by Alvar González-Palacios: "Un adorno per Napoli vicereale," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat., Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte and Museo Principe Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortès, Naples (Naples, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 241–301; and *Il tempio del gusto: Roma il Regno delle Due Sicilie* (Milan, 1984), especially pp. 262–98. Documents concerning the trade of works of art between Naples and Spain have been published by Edoardo Nappi, "I viceré e l'arte a Napoli," *Napoli nobilissima* 23 (1983), pp. 41–57; and Elio Catello, "Argenti e sculture lignee per i viceré di Napoli ed altre aristocratiche committenze spagnole," *Napoli nobilissima* 36 (1997), pp. 77–84. See, more recently, especially with regard to wooden sculpture: Margarita Estella, "La escultura napolitana en España: La importación de esculturas a través del mecenazgo virreinal y personaje de su entorno," in *El arte foráneo en España: Presencia y influencia*, XII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Arte, Madrid, Departamento de Historia del Arte, CSIC, November 2004 (Madrid, 2005), pp. 330–46; Margarita Estella, "La escultura napolitana en España: Comitenza, artistas y dispersión," in *Scultura meridionale in età moderna nei suoi rapporti con la circolazione mediterranea, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Lecce, 9–11 giugno 2004*, ed. Letizia Gaeta (Galatina, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 93–122; Raffaele Casciaro, "Seriazione e variazione: Sculture di Nicola Fumo tra Napoli, la Puglia e la Spagna," in *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 245–63.
- The early development of the iconography has been analyzed in the pioneering book by Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957). For a summary of the Spanish political position on the Immaculate Conception, see Thomas Willette and Maria Ann Conelli, "The Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Stanzone's Frescoes and the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (1989), p. 173.
- See Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, 1994). The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed only in 1854 by Pius IX; between 2004 and 2005 in Italy and Spain there was a series of exhibitions and conferences to mark the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma: *Inmaculada: 150 años de la proclamación del dogma*, exh. cat., Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana, Seville (Córdoba, 2004); *Inmaculada*, exh. cat., Catedral de la Almudena, Madrid (Madrid, 2005); *La Inmaculada Concepción en España: Religiosidad, historia y arte, Actas del Symposium, Colección del Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, San Lorenzo del Escorial*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2005); *Una donna vestita di sole: L'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, ed. Giovanni Morello, Vincenzo Francia, and Roberto Fusco, exh. cat., Braccio di Carlo Magno, Vatican City (Milan, 2005).
- He commissioned from Ludovico Cardi Cigoli the frescoes of the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, where there appears an image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception; see Steven Ostrow, "Cigoli's *Immacolata* and Galileo's Moon: Astronomy and the Virgin in Early Seicento Rome," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996), pp. 218–35. As Ostrow rightly underlines (p. 222, n. 14), "despite Paul V's being an Immaculist sympathiser, he staunchly resisted Spain's efforts to induce him to endorse the Immaculist position, on the grounds that the papacy would appear to be caving in to Spanish demands." In 1614 the pope commissioned a bronze statue of the Immaculate Conception by Guglielmo Bertholet to be placed atop an ancient column at the center of Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore.
- See Alessandro Zuccari, "L'Immacolata a Roma dal quattrocento al settecento: Istanze immacoliste e cautela pontificia in un complesso percorso iconografico," in *Una donna vestita di sole*, pp. 70–71.
- Howard Hibbard, "Guido Reni's Painting of the Immaculate Conception," *MMAB* 28 (summer 1969), pp. 19–32; D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text* (New York, 1984), pp. 256–57, no. 114 (MMA 59.32).
- See Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 90.
- As Hibbard poignantly summarized in "Guido Reni's Painting of the Immaculate Conception" (p. 24), there was a significant preference "for the wording 'The Conception of the Immaculate Virgin' over 'The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.'"
- Romeo De Maio, *Società e vita religiosa a Napoli nell'età moderna* (Bari, 1971), pp. 150–53; Anamaria Laneri, "L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione a Napoli tra '500 e '600," *Arte cristiana* 79, no. 744 (1991), pp. 195–205.
- Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien, 1540–1773*, vol. 1, *Die Baudenkmäler der römischen und der neapolitanischen Ordensprovinz* (Vienna, 1985), p. 406; Willette and Conelli, "Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo," pp. 169–82. In 1586 a confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was founded in Naples (Salvatore Pisani, "La Santissima Concezione a Montecalvario e la tradizione della pianta centrale a matrice ottagonale," in *Domenico Antonio Vaccaro: Sintesi delle arti* [Naples, 2005], p. 167).
- Laneri, "L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione," p. 195. For the agitated climate of religious fervor, see Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 84.
- For an updated bibliography on Monterrey's key role in the decoration of the Buen Retiro Palace, see Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, "The History of Rome Cycle," in *Paintings for the Planet King, Philip IV and the Buen Retiro Palace*, ed. Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid, 2005), pp. 169–89.
- Angela Madruga Real, *Las Agustinas de Monterrey* (Salamanca, 1983), pp. 53–100; Damian Dombrowski, "Nápoles en España: Cosimo Fanzago, Giuliano Finelli, las esculturas del Altar Mayor en las Agustinas Descalzas de Salamanca y un monumento desaparecido," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, nos. 7–8 (1995–96), pp. 87–93; Fernando Marías, "Bartolomeo y Francesco Antonio Picchiatti, dos arquitectos al servicio de los virreyes de Nápoles: Las Agustinas de Salamanca y la escalera del Palacio Real," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, nos. 9–10 (1997–98), pp. 180–86; Paola D'Agostino, "Un bronsetto spagnolo di Cosimo Fanzago a New York," *Prospettiva* 109 (2003), pp. 83–88; Paola D'Agostino, "Uno scultore barocco autonomo? Cosimo Fanzago tra il 1630 e il 1656," *Paragone arte* 71 (2007), pp. 46–47; Gabriele Finaldi, "Works by Alessandro Turchi for Spain and an Unexpected Velázquez Connection," *Burlington Magazine* 149 (2007), especially pp. 756–57.
- Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 96.
- He commissioned from Giuliano Finelli—Gian Lorenzo Bernini's first pupil, then active in Naples—marble portraits of himself and his wife, Doña Eleonora de Guzmán, kneeling in prayer in front of Ribera's painting; see Damian Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli, Bildhauer zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), pp. 146–48, 342–43, nos. A.50, A.51, figs. 120, 121.

16. D'Agostino, "Sculitore barocco autonomo?" especially p. 47.
17. D'Agostino, "Bronzetto spagnolo di Cosimo Fanzago."
18. The *Saint Peter* is the first work by Fanzago to have been X-rayed. This procedure showed that it was cast in one piece and is less than 1 millimeter thick. I wish to thank Richard Stone, senior museum conservator, Scientific and Conservation Department, MMA.
19. I am extremely grateful to Katharine Baetjer, curator, European Paintings, and James David Draper, Henry R. Kravis Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, MMA, and especially to the present owner of the statuette for allowing me to study and publish the work.
20. A few minor damages are visible in the right hand and the left foot of the *Saint Paul*, but both statuettes are in remarkably good condition, especially when one considers that the tabernacle and the statuettes were probably damaged when the dome of the newly constructed church collapsed in 1657. The tabernacle was finally set on the altar only in 1686 by two Spanish silversmiths, Juan de Figuera and Pedro Benítez, who were also responsible for its first restoration, since they were also paid for gilding some of the pieces and repairing the tabernacle that was "maltratada" (damaged) (AHP, Salamanca, Legajo 4450, Mattias Zamora, fols. 737r–741v). See also Madruga Real, *Las Agustinas de Monterrey*, p. 129.
21. For examples of Fanzago's extant work, see the almost contemporaneous series of bronze statuettes Fanzago executed for the monumental ciborium of the Carthusian monastery of Serra San Bruno in Calabria. Some of these statuettes broke off in the 1783 earthquake and were partially restored at the beginning of the twentieth century; see Gianfranco Gritella, *La Certosa di Santo Stefano del Bosco a Serra San Bruno: Documenti per la storia di un eremo di origine normanna* (Cuneo, 1991), pp. 79–92.
22. AHP, Salamanca, Legajo 4403, Mattias Zamora, fol. 787r: "una nuestra señora de plata. estatua natural con el manto i peaña de bronce dorado" (our Lady in silver. A lifesize statue with mantle and pedestal of gilded bronze). Although in this case it is not specifically recorded as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, the dedication of the church and the special devotion Monterrey had to the Immaculist cause allow us to infer that the statue represented the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The gilt-bronze mantle clearly alludes to the words of Saint John the Evangelist in the book of the Apocalypse (12:1): "the Virgin clothed with sun, and the moon under her feet." Analogous silver statues were produced in Naples in these years; for instance, Francesco Bruchmann, Italianized as Brucmanno, was paid for a silver figure of the Immaculate Conception in September 1620 (Catello, "Argenti e sculture lignee" [as in note 1 above], p. 85, n. 35).
23. For him, see Paola Giusti, "Orazio Scoppa," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, vol. 2, p. 305.
24. For instance, Cesare Fracanzano was commissioned to paint a large *Immaculate Conception* for the altar in the left transept of the Jesuit Church of San Ferdinando (Annamaria d'Alessandro, "Cesare Fracanzano," in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 143), and Bernardo Cavallino painted the subject in small-scale format—unfortunately known only through copies—commissioned for private collectors, and also the beautiful *Immacolata*, now at the Brera, Milan, which was probably destined for a church (see *Bernardo Cavallino of Naples, 1616–1656*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art [Cleveland, 1984], respectively nos. 26, 51, pp. 103–4, 151–53). Between 1639 and 1641 Massimo Stanzione frescoed the vault of the Gesù Nuovo; see Willette and Conelli, "Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo."
25. George Hersey, "Mattia Preti, 1613–1699," in *A Taste for Angels: Neapolitan Painting in North America, 1650–1750*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (New Haven, 1987), pp. 87–88, cites the first decree for the commission from a contemporary manuscript, where there is specific reference to the Immaculate Conception: "there be painted over each gate of this city the image of the *Immacolata* holding her child in her arms, and, below, the glorious San Gennaro, with San Francesco Saverio on the right, and on the left Santa Rosalia; and over the said images in capital letters this versicle is to be written: 'Praise to the Most Holy Sacrament; the Immaculate and pure Conception of the most holy Virgin conceived without stain of original sin.'" Although the frescoes are largely lost, two of Preti's *bozzetti* are in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (John Spike, "Mattia Preti, la carriera pittorica," in *Mattia Preti: Dal segno al colore*, ed. Erminia Corace [Rome, 1995], pp. 27–28).
26. For the painting, see Nicola Spinosa, *José de Ribera: L'opera completa* (Naples, 2006), p. 317, no. A312. For the statue, see Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento in Italia* (Turin, 1982), p. 123.
27. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (London, 1957), vol. 31, p. 129; Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 104.
28. In 1636 the deputies had already commissioned from Giuliano Finelli a model of the *Beatissima Vergine*—the Holy Virgin, as it is referred to in the documents—to be cast in silver (Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli*, pp. 351–53, no. A. 61).
29. Elio Catello and Corrado Catello, *La capella del tesoro di San Gennaro* (Naples, 1977), pp. 49–50; Franco Strazzullo, *La real cappella del tesoro di San Gennaro: Documenti inediti* (Naples, 1978), pp. 68–69. For the updated bibliography on Giordano's Spanish patrons and his staying at the court of Madrid, see Luca Giordano y España, exh. cat., Palacio Real, Madrid (Madrid, 2002); Giuseppe De Vito, "Luca Giordano y España (qualche osservazione)," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2002), pp. 163–85; and María Jesús Muñoz González, "Documentos inéditos sobre la llegada a España de Luca Giordano," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2003–4), pp. 158–63.
30. See, with updated bibliography, Francisco Javier Montalto Martín, "América," in *Ysabel, la reina católica: Una mirada desde la Catedral primada*, exh. cat., Toledo Cathedral (Toledo, 2005), pp. 655–57. A proper appreciation of these figures is compromised by very old photographs and the fact that for security reasons they are kept in the treasury of the cathedral and are not on display. I am grateful to Don Juan Sánchez, dean of Toledo Cathedral, for allowing me to see and study these works, and to Prado Alguierz for her assistance during my visit to Toledo.
31. Angela Catello, "San Michele Arcangelo," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, vol. 2, pp. 316–17. Vinaccia was a skilled architect, sculptor, and silversmith. He is mainly known for the impressive silver altar frontal he made for the Treasury Chapel in San Gennaro. He was commissioned by the Jesuits to produce a similar altar frontal to be sent to Madrid. In 1680 Vinaccia also cast in silver two lifesize statues of the Immaculate Conception for the Carthusians monastery of San Martino in Naples, both destroyed; see Raffaello Causa, *L'arte nella Certosa di San Martino a Napoli* (Naples, 1973), p. 107; and Elio Catello, "Argenti napoletani del seicento: Considerazioni su documenti inediti," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (1998), p. 7.
32. González-Palacios, *Il tempio del gusto*, pp. 262–71. The proliferation of small-scale sculptures representing Saint Michael continued well into the eighteenth century with Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, Lorenzo's son (Ferdinando Bologna, "A Silver Sculpture Ascribed to Domenico Antonio Vaccaro," *Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 913 [1979], pp. 220–22).

33. The statuette was purchased in 1992 and published by Olga Raggio as Roman school, probably after a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (Raggio, "The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception," *MMAB: Recent Acquisitions 1992–93* [fall 1993], p. 36). Before entering the Museum's collection the statuette had been auctioned at Christie's, New York, January 10, 1990, lot 198, as Neapolitan, with a tentative attribution to the circle of Lorenzo Vaccaro. The auction catalogue gives a possible provenance from the Barberini family that has not been traced. The head, hands, and feet are cast in silver. The body is thinly cast in bronze in two parts, joined by an internal ring; a seam is slightly visible from the outside. A modern T-shaped rod holds the statue together. The globe is hollow at the back, while the statuette is modeled in the round. I am grateful to Richard Stone, senior museum conservator, for X-rays of the work. The body of the serpent has been painted with a green varnish that covers parts of the fine chiseling.
34. Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, pp. 97–98.
35. The reliquary bust was published with an attribution to Lorenzo Vaccaro by Corrado Catello, "Scultori e argentieri a Napoli in età barocca e due inedite statue d'argento," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone De Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 281–86. Subsequently, Gian Giotto Borrelli ("Proposte per Giacomo Colombo autore di modelli per argenti," in *Interventi sulla questione meridionale*, ed. Francesco Abbate [Rome, 2005], pp. 297–303), has proposed the sculptor Giacomo Colombo as the modeler, an attribution with which I do not agree.
36. See, for example, Lorenzo Lorenzi, "Argenti abruzzesi dell'età barocca," *Antichità viva* 36, no. 4 (1997), pp. 36–45.
37. Vincenzo Rizzo, "Uno sconosciuto paliotto di Lorenzo Vaccaro," *Storia dell'arte* 49 (1983), pp. 211–33.
38. At the nape of the Museum's statuette there is a small cavity that was meant to receive a lock of hair, probably separately cast but now lost, as in the case of the allegorical figures in Toledo.
39. For this work, now at the Museo del Prado, Madrid, see Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 157–60.
40. There is a vast bibliography on the collection of the marquis del Carpio; for updated references, see Alessandra Anselmi, "Il VII Marchese del Carpio da Roma a Napoli," *Paragone arte* 71 (2007), pp. 80–109.
41. Elio Catello and Corrado Catello, *Argenti napoletani dal XVI al XIX secolo* (Naples, 1973), p. 224; Nappi, "I viceré e l'arte a Napoli" (as in note 1 above), p. 56.
42. On this impressive commission, see Leticia de Frutos Sastre, "Noticias sobre la historia de una dispersión: El altr de pórfido del VII marqués del Carpio y un lote de pinturas," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2003–4), pp. 60–76; and María Jesús Muñoz González, "La capilla real del Alcázar y un altar de pórfido," *Real sitios* 164 (2005), pp. 50–68.
43. Antonio and Paolo Perrella also cast models by Vaccaro, and among the few surviving examples worth citing are the bronze models for the equestrian monument of Philip V, now at the Museo del Prado (Rosario Coppel Aréizaga, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de la scultura de época moderna, siglos XVI–XVIII* [Madrid, 1998], nos. 54, 55).
44. In her detailed reconstruction of the porphyry altar, Muñoz González ("Capilla real del Alcázar," p. 54) states it was decided to "colocar en el centro del altar un relieve de la Concepción" (to place a relief of the Immaculate Virgin at the center). Conversely, I think it was not a relief but a statue. I was able to check the originals of the two documents she transcribes at the end of her article (respectively pp. 63, 66) in the Archivo de la Casa de Alba, and my transcription varies from hers. In the first, "in luogo del quadro di mezzo vi viene una statua della Santissima Concezione di grandezza di palmi cinque con puttini che tengono li misterij della Concettione, quale statua e puttini vengono di tutto rilievo" (my transcription), I read "tutto rilievo" instead of her "sotto[?] rilievo." The Spanish version lists the prices for the bronze that is needed for the figure of "Nuestra S.ra de bulto" (A.C.A. 221-1, fol. 1r; ACA, Caja 197-28), and it is evident the statue was to be in gilt bronze. Also, on p. 53 Muñoz González gives the measurement of the statue to be cast as 1.31 meters (4 ft. 3½ in.). I am grateful to the duchess of Alba for granting me admission to the family archive, and to José Manuel Calderón, director of the archive, for his assistance during my research.
45. Muñoz González, "Capilla real del Alcázar," p. 62.
46. Raffaele Casciaro, "La scultura," in *Il barocco a Lecce e nel Salento*, ed. Antonio Cassiano, exh. cat., Museo Provinciale, Lecce (Rome, 1995), p. 150. Gaetano and Pietro Patalano were commissioned for an impressive polychrome wood retable in Cádiz in 1693; see Agostino di Lustro, *Gli scultori Gaetano e Pietro Patalano tra Napoli e Cadice* (Naples, 1993).
47. Mimma Pasculli Ferrara, "Contributo per la scultura lignea in Capitanata e in area meridionale nei secoli XVII–XVIII," in *Contributi per la storia dell'arte in Capitanata tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Galatina, 1989), pp. 53–80, especially p. 71.
48. Estella, "Escultura napolitana en España"; Roberto Alonso Moral, "La scultura lignea napoletana in Spagna nell'età barocca: Presenza e influsso," in *Sculture di età barocca tra Terra d'Otranto, Napoli e la Spagna*, ed. Raffaele Casciaro and Antonio Cassiano, exh. cat., Chiesa di San Francesco della Scarpa, Lecce (Rome, 2007), pp. 75–86.
49. See, for example, José Luis Romero Torres, "Nicola Fumo: Inmaculada Concepción," in *Inmaculada* (as in note 3 above), pp. 312–14.
50. See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *La Inmaculada en la escultura español* (Madrid, 1955).

A Court Jew's Silver Cup

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In 1917, J. Pierpont Morgan Jr. gave seven thousand works collected by his father to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹ Among those thousands is a covered silver-gilt cup that rests on a low, collared foot with gadrooning around its base (Figure 1).² Engraved cartouches appear above and below the collar. The cup proper is decorated with repoussé figures of the twelve sons of Jacob holding attributes that symbolize their eponymous tribes. They are arranged in the following order, reading from left to right according to the direction of the Hebrew inscriptions: Reuben, with a fountain; Joseph, an ox; Asher, a sheaf of wheat; Gad, a city and tree; Naphtali, a stag; Dan, a serpent; Benjamin, a wolf; Zevulun, a haven by the sea; Issachar, an ass; Juda[h], a lion's whelp; Levi, regalia of the High Priest; and Simeon, a sword. Jacob's sons are set within an arcade formed of cast and engraved elements. An engraved band above the arcade fills the space below the lip. Another band of gadrooning marks the edge of the cover. Above are engraved zodiac signs that circle the lid. Cast rococo elements (brackets, scrolls, and masks, plus a knob) form its handle. According to the marks on the base (Figure 2), the cup was made in Vienna in 1723 by the silversmith Joachim Michael Salecker (active 1723–52).³ The cup is probably unique among the Morgan gifts for having originally been made for a Jewish patron, and it is also a link to the culture of the central European courts of the period and to the Jews who served their rulers.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the numerous courts that governed central Europe were centers of political activity, as the rulers and their subjects jockeyed for power and position according to their own needs and ambitions.⁴ At the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, these governments sought changes that would centralize their authority, create new political and administrative institutions, and in the process, shift power away from the nobility and the guilds. To achieve these ends, the monarchs of German-speaking lands welcomed members of religious minorities, who had been expelled from their countries in the sixteenth century and who were, as a result, indepen-

dent agents unrelated to the established sectors of society. Jews were attractive candidates for the new positions at court since they had developed versatile means of doing business and handling money and would be capable of furnishing economic and financial services at a time when existing economies and administrations were in need of modernization. Also, in an age characterized by nationalism, Jews possessed far-reaching, international contacts with other Jews. Samuel Oppenheimer (d. 1704), for example, organized an international network of more than one hundred suppliers who provisioned the Habsburg armies with items ranging from uniforms to horses.⁵ He arranged loans to fill the empty imperial coffers by working with other court factors, with Jewish and Christian merchants, and with financiers as far away as London and Amsterdam. His distant relative Jud Süß Oppenheimer (d. 1738) was finance minister of Württemberg from 1734 to 1737, the only *Hofjude*, or Court Jew, to attain political office. Later in the century, Chaila Kaulla (1739–1809), mother of six and wife of full-time scholar Akiva Auerbach, became the first woman to serve as a court supplier in southern Germany. She was eventually appointed an army supplier to Duke Frederick III of Württemberg and, together with her brother Jakob and the duke, established the Königliche Württembergische Hofbank, which flourished until 1906. Jews like these, who achieved positions of influence (and affluence) at German courts, were officially designated *Hofjuden*.⁶

This paper focuses on another aspect of the court, the court as a locus of conspicuous consumption, particularly of art and jewels, and the role of Court Jews as dealers and patrons. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the period when Court Jews were significant in the economic life of central Europe, was also the period when great rulers as well as people of means collected art and natural specimens, which they displayed in *Kunstammern*, designated rooms or galleries.⁷ The formation of a *Kunstammer* or *Wunderkammer* became an appropriate activity and a virtual necessity for the ruling class. A well-chosen collection of what could be found in nature or made by man was



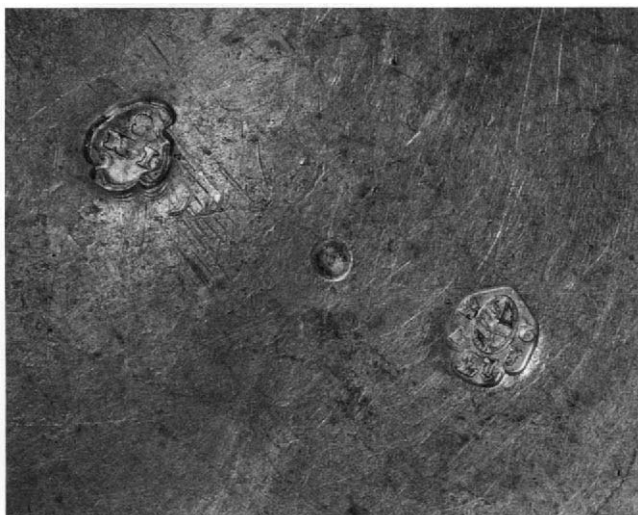
1. Joachim Michael Salecker (active 1723–52). Covered cup of Behrend Lehmann. Vienna, 1723. Silver-gilt; H. 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (37.8 cm), Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (16.5 cm). Maker's mark, city mark, and date on base. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.575a, b)

viewed as a microcosm of the greater world, the macrocosm.⁸ The collector who was master of the microcosmic *Kunstkammer* was, by analogy, master of the macrocosm. Rulers used the display of their collections for educational purposes, but especially for political effect.⁹

Court Jews played various roles—dealers, artists, and patrons—in the formation of their rulers' collections. A portrait that Anton Schoonjans (1655–1726), court painter to Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg (r. 1688–1713), and, from 1701, to King Frederick I of Prussia, painted in Berlin during the years 1702–5 shows a well-dressed man proffering a ring (Figure 3). In the 1793 inventory of Charlottenburg Palace, erected by Frederick, the sitter is called a "Court Jew."¹⁰ An inventory of Jud Süß Oppenheimer's possessions after his removal from office as finance minister of Württemberg included thousands of paintings and prints, suggesting that he must have been dealing in art.¹¹ Among the Jewish artists who served European courts was Salomon Phillip Abraham (1758–1793), who carved cameos of Dowager Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa and of her son Leopold II, despite the empress's notorious anti-Jewish sentiments,¹² an illustration of the ambiguous position of Court Jews. Jacob Abraham (1723–1800) and his son Abraham Abrahamson (1754–1811) were medalists for various rulers, Karl August of Saxony, King Frederick William II of Prussia, and Marie Antoinette, among others, during the second half of the eighteenth century.¹³

Perhaps as a result of their role as dealers, Court Jews eventually became patrons, presenting gifts to their rulers as well as to important institutions within the Jewish communities to which they belonged. An early example of their patronage is grounded in the relationship between Mordecai Meisel (1528–1601) of Prague and Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, who moved his capital from Vienna to Prague in 1583. Meisel financed various of the emperor's enterprises. He was also a dealer in works of art and a patron of architecture and art within the Jewish community, responsible for building and furnishing two synagogues and other Jewish communal buildings. In addition, Meisel donated funds toward building Saint Salvator Church, which was adjacent to the Jewish quarter. Given his prominence within the Jewish community and his relationship to the emperor, it is likely that Meisel had a role in commissioning the *Hoshen*, an amuletic work presented to the emperor by Prague Jewry about 1600 (Figure 4).¹⁴ In the center of the obverse is a circular onyx engraved with a seven-branched menorah surrounded by a Hebrew prayer for the emperor's well-being. The prayer reads (in translation):

Rudolf, the Emperor: /Y[ou] a[re mighty] f[orever] my
 l[ord]/God Almighty, show grace, strengthen, and
 bless/this emperor,¹⁵ and may his grace and fe/ar be
 over all his subject peoples¹⁶ through the [help of



2. Detail of marks on the base of the cup in Figure 1



3. Anton Schoonjans (1655–1726). *Portrait of a Court Jew with a Ring*. 1702(?). Oil on canvas, 31 1/8 x 22 7/8 in. (79 x 58 cm). Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam (GK I 6067).

the]/holy angels: Hadarniel,/Gabriel and Nuriel. A[men] S[elah]./"B[lessed be His] g[lorious] s[overeign] n[ame] f[orever] and [ever]."¹⁷

Three concentric circles surround the menorah and the prayer for Rudolf on the onyx: one bears the names of twelve angels, one the twelve signs of the zodiac, and one the names of the twelve sons of Jacob. The enameled circle of zodiac signs lies between the monochromatic onyx and the bright colors of the precious and semiprecious stones that represent those of the original *Hoshen*, the breastplate of the High Priest, on which they symbolized the twelve tribes.¹⁸ The composition of Rudolf's *Hoshen* stresses the relationship between the sons of Jacob, the tribes that descended from them, and the zodiac. For the donors, the menorah symbolized the Jerusalem Temple, the ancient center of Jewish worship; for Rudolf, the recipient, the menorah may have signified the Church as successor to the Synagogue. As early as the Ottonian period, the placement of large menorot in churches and cathedrals symbolized the triumph of the New Law, embodied in the Church, over the Old Law of the synagogue.¹⁹ One such large menorah was installed in Prague's Saint Vitus's Cathedral during the twelfth century.²⁰ Walter Cahn has recently emphasized the presence of diagrams of the menorah in manuscripts of the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, where they served as mnemonic devices summarizing the genealogy from Adam to Christ.²¹ The choice of the menorah as the central symbol on the gift to Rudolf was masterful: it was a meaningful image both to the recipient, the Christian ruler of Prague, and to its Jewish donors. United in a single work,



4. *Hoshen*. Prague, ca. 1600. Onyx, emerald, ruby, sapphire, coral, black onyx, heliotrope, hyacinth, amethyst, agate, turquoise, carnelian, gold, with enamel, 2 5/8 x 2 1/4 in. (6.8 x 5.8 cm). Kunstammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (XII.383)



5. Jonas Silber. *Weltallschale*. Nürnberg, 1589. Silver-gilt, H. 13½ in. (34.3 cm). Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (K 3885)

the onyx and its colorful circle of stones resemble the carved cameos in polychrome frames that were produced in Rudolf's court during the same period, when works in precious stones were prized by the emperor.²²

Hinged to the back of the *Hoshen* is a gold plate with enameled magical inscriptions organized around a pentagram enclosed in a hexagram. Both Latin and Hebrew letters accompany the diagrams, while the letters of the tetragrammaton and kabbalistic formulas form the inner border of a square framing the symbols; each of its corners is marked by a Greek cross. The inscriptions acknowledge Rudolf's interest in the occult,²³ while the signs, known as the Shield of David and the Shield of Solomon, associate him with the kings of Israel, a literary and artistic conceit common in the courts of Europe from the reign of Charlemagne. During the sixteenth century, the hexagram and the pentagram served both as signs of the Prague Jewish community and as messianic symbols during a period when the study of

mysticism (*kabbalah*) was expanding under the leadership of Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel (1520–1609).²⁴ An enameled representation of Jesus as *Salvator Mundi* on the inner side of the hinged gold plate may be a later addition.²⁵

A little more than a century later, in 1703, the Jews of Halberstadt gave their ruler, King Frederick I of Prussia, a gift that was said to have come from Rudolf II's *Kunstammer*. The gift marked a momentous year in the relationship between Frederick and his *Hofjude* Behrend Lehmann (1661–1730). In 1698 Lehmann had successfully petitioned Frederick, then Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg, for permission to open a *klaus*, an institution of higher learning to be staffed by four esteemed rabbinic scholars, but the building of the school was delayed until 1703.²⁶ The Court Jew had argued that without such an institution Jewish families would be forced to continue the practice of sending their sons to schools in Poland and elsewhere, causing an outflow of money from Prussia. The *klaus* complex consisted of a synagogue and a library that fronted on a garden, as well as a residence for the scholars and their families. In creating the Halberstadt *klaus*, Lehmann strengthened higher Jewish studies in the German lands and transformed Halberstadt into a center of Jewish scholarship. That same year, Lehmann petitioned Frederick to allow the Jews who were his subjects to continue reciting the *Aleinu* prayer, which was then under attack by Christians who objected to its negative reference to other faiths.²⁷ He was able to persuade Frederick that the Jews of Halberstadt did not recite the prayer in the odious manner practiced elsewhere, a fact cited in the king's decree allowing its continued recitation. Given the events of 1703, it is hardly surprising that in that year the Jews of Halberstadt gave Frederick a masterpiece of the goldsmiths' art, the *Weltallschale*, or bowl of the world, that had been made for Emperor Rudolf II by the silversmith Jonas Silber in 1589 to celebrate Rudolf's forthcoming marriage to Infanta Isabella of Spain, a marriage that never took place (Figure 5).²⁸ Behrend Lehmann, the leading member of the Jewish community and its principal supplicant in matters that came to Frederick's attention, must have played a major role in the presentation of this gem to the king of Prussia.

The theme of the bowl is the universe and the prospect of a revitalized Holy Roman Empire that would include the expanded Spanish territories. The base is engraved with the continents of Africa, Asia, and America (labeled *Hispania Nova*), on which stand three-dimensional figures of Adam and Eve accompanied by the animals of Eden. The Tree of Knowledge serves as the shaft and as the support for a model of the Temple in Jerusalem. On the underside of the bowl are the electors of the Habsburg empire, and within the bowl is a female figure representing Europe in the guise of the infanta. Twelve figures of actual and legendary Teutonic

kings dressed in antique garb and carrying shields with insignia surround a female figure personifying Germania on the underside of the cover (Figure 6), creating, together with the figures of the electors, a collective allegory of the German *Volk*. Beneath each king are his name and a cartouche enclosing a text. The signs of the zodiac appear on the top of the cover, from which rise two crossed arches supporting a triumphant Jesus enthroned on an orb with three small angels “flying” below (only one remains). In sum, the decoration of the bowl expresses the view that the newly strengthened Holy Roman Empire, forged by the proposed marriage between Rudolf and the infanta, would be based both on Christianity and on the legendary origins of the German people in the time of the Teutonic kings. Read vertically, the *Weltallschale* presents the non-Christian world of Africa, Asia, and America on the base; the period of the Old Law on the stem; the Christian empire of the Habsburgs on the underside of the bowl; their domain, Europe, within the bowl; their predecessors, the Teutonic kings of Germania, on the inside of the cover, just below heaven represented by the zodiac and the regnant Jesus.²⁹

Elaborate allegorical and hierarchically composed cups had appeared by the twelfth century, for example the Communion chalice of the Abbey Church of Saint Peter in Salzburg dating to about 1160–80.³⁰ Biblical figures surround the cup, and other figures are depicted on the foot. The paten covering both groups of figures is decorated with the New Testament subject of the Last Supper. Cups whose basins were decorated with figures of the Twelve Apostles had been made as early as the twelfth century and continued to be made in the seventeenth.³¹

These works form the artistic context of both the *Weltallschale* (Figure 5) and the Metropolitan Museum’s silver-gilt cup of 1723 (Figure 1), which is outstanding among similar cups for its Hebrew inscriptions. It bears three related iconographic themes: the sons of Jacob, the twelve tribes, and the zodiac, which repeat the iconographic themes of the *Hoshen* given to Rudolf II by the Jewish community of Prague about 1600 (Figure 4). The sons of Jacob appear around the exterior of the cup dressed in classical garb and holding shields with their insignia, the symbols of the tribes formed by their descendants. They resemble the Teutonic kings on the *Weltallschale*, who also wear antique garb and hold shields bearing their insignia, their names engraved below. On the cover, above Jacob’s sons, are the signs of the zodiac (Figure 7), in a position similar to those of the zodiac on the *Weltallschale* where they likewise signify heaven. The relationship between the sons of Jacob, the tribes, and the zodiac first appeared in Hebrew literature in the *Yalkut Shimoni*, a thirteenth-century compilation of biblical commentaries composed by Simeon of Frankfurt, known as the *darshan*, or preacher. The theme then appeared in medieval

prayer books for the Jewish holiday of *Sh’mini Azeret* but was later dropped from the liturgy.

On the Metropolitan Museum’s cup, each son with his attribute is individualized according to one of two biblical sources, the text of Jacob’s blessing (Genesis 49:2–27) or Moses’ blessing of the tribes descended from them (Deuteronomy 33:1–29). For example, Reuben, who is described by Jacob as “exceeding in rank . . . [but u]nstable as water,”³² is a dignified bearded figure carrying a pitcher of water and holding a shield depicting a fountain. Judah,



6. Detail of the underside of the cover of the *Weltallschale* in Figure 5



7. Detail of the cover of the cup in Figure 1

8. Detail of the figures around the cup in Figure 1, showing Issachar (right), Judah (center), and Levi (left)



called by his father “a lion’s whelp,” has a lion on his shield and wears the pelt of a lion, in a manner similar to representations of Hercules in antique and later art (Figure 8, center). Jacob also said, “The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff.” The figure of Judah accordingly holds a staff, and his dress and crown are patterned on representations of King David in contemporary manuscripts and printed books.³³ Levi, who was not counted among the twelve tribes, holds a shield bearing no symbol but wears the *Hoshen*, the breastplate with stones described in Exodus (28:15–30) as part of the regalia of the High Priest (Figure 8, left). One more example of the dependence of these depictions on biblical texts is Gad, who is radically different in pose and form from his brothers (Figure 9). Instead of standing as an erect, well-proportioned, noble figure, Gad sits, his fat, overblown form holding a shield, illustrating Moses’ words “Blessed be He who enlarges Gad” (Deuteronomy 33:20).

The artist or patron who determined the symbolism to accompany the figures of Jacob’s sons did so by choosing phrases from the blessing of Jacob or of Moses that could be rendered pictorially. Other details reflect engravings in contemporary Bibles and other texts, many printed under Christian auspices. The oriental headgear of the sons was often used as a mark of Jewish identity in printed sources.³⁴

For whom was this cup made? Anomalies in the order of the sons and their Hebrew names lead us to the answer. The figures of Jacob’s sons are arranged neither in birth order nor in the order of the tribes as they marched in the wilderness. The specific placement of three of the figures suggests the reason for this apparently random positioning. These three are, from right to left, Issachar, “Juda,” and Levi (Figure 8). The Judeo-German spelling of Juda is in marked contrast to the biblical spelling of all the other sons’ names, suggesting that the names of these three brothers signal the name of the cup’s owner: Issachar [ben] Juda [ha]Levi, known in German as Behrend Lehmann.³⁵ The care with which all the iconographic and artistic elements of this cup were made (for example, the pairing of the sons of Jacob with the signs of the zodiac, a common theme in Jewish liturgical works since the thirteenth century), its cost, and the spelling of Juda preclude viewing the order of the sons as anything other than deliberate.

By the early eighteenth century, Lehmann was one of the three most powerful Court Jews of his time; the other two were Samson Wertheimer (1658–1724) and Leffmann Behrens (1634–1714). His career began in earnest in 1692, when he became a *Schutzjude*, or protected Jew,³⁶ of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg. He also served Elector Frederick Augustus I of Saxony (r. 1694–1733), for whom he acquired the Polish crown in 1697, after raising ten million Polish gulden from both Christian and Jewish sources.

9. Detail of the figure of Gad on the cup in Figure 1



Augustus became known as Augustus II the Strong as a result of this coup, and Lehmann became his Polish Resident and was given leave to purchase towns and a castle in the region of Leszno in western Poland.

Whether the cup was a gift to Behrend Lehmann or whether he ordered it for himself has not been determined. The year the cup was made, 1723, saw the beginning of a period of grave problems for Lehmann's family. Residents of Dresden escalated their campaign to restrict the ability of Lehmann's son, Lehmann Behrend, to engage in trade, ultimately leading to financial difficulties for the father and to Lehmann Behrend's bankruptcy a year following the father's death.³⁷ So far, no singular event has been connected to the cup's commission. It may simply have been an offering of thanks from the Jews of Halberstadt to their most generous member in his sixty-second year. The community had a long tradition of acquiring fine silver. As early as 1679, the Benevolent Society of the community, which was then made up of only eighteen members and was responsible for sustaining the poor, acquired an extraordinarily beautiful engraved silver cup, described as half the height of a man.³⁸ It bore a Hebrew inscription in rhyme. In the early eighteenth century, the community acquired a silver-gilt cup from a Berlin silversmith, for which a local artist made a silver cover. And in 1703, the Halberstadt Jewry acquired the *Weltallschale* belonging to Rudolf II to present to Frederick I. The *Weltallschale* may have been one of the models for the iconography of the Metropolitan's covered cup with its Hebrew inscriptions. Even after its presentation to Frederick, the *Weltallschale* could be seen in his *Kunst-kammer* by Court Jews who visited the palace. Lehmann was the foremost patron of his community.³⁹ What more worthy gift to the man who built their communal institutions, who transformed Halberstadt into a center of Jewish scholarship, who served as a community functionary, and whose business interests reached throughout Habsburg Europe and beyond could there be than a superbly crafted cup made of precious metal in a design based on imperial art, on the *Weltallschale*?

There is also a possibility that Court Jews exchanged gifts with one another. In 1711, the Halberstadt silversmith T. Tübener (active 1692–1728) produced four splendid Hanukkah lamps of a novel design.⁴⁰ Their arcaded backplates enclose engraved blessings and hymns that are recited on lighting the candles. Two of the lamps, one in the Jewish Museum, New York (Figure 10), and a second in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, are crowned by a pair of lions and have bears flanking the central emblem, the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴¹ The prominence of the bears on two of the lamps suggests a connection to Behrend Lehmann, who adopted the bear as a symbol on his coat of arms, devised at least by 1696, when it appeared on the



frontispiece of the volumes of Talmud whose printing he sponsored.⁴² Another of the four lamps, one without the animals, descended in the family of Imperial Court Factor Samson Wertheimer.⁴³ Wertheimer was Court Jew to three emperors: Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI. He lived and worked in Vienna, a more prominent center of silversmithing than Halberstadt, which suggests that his having a Hanukkah lamp made by a Halberstadt silversmith was the result of a gift. It may even have been a gift from Behrend Lehmann.⁴⁴ At the time the lamps were made, there was one other Court Jew of the stature of Wertheimer and Lehmann, Leffmann Behrens of Hannover. If Lehmann commissioned the four Hanukkah lamps, the two with bears would have been appropriate for a member of his family and himself, while those without such personal symbols could have been gifts for colleagues and business partners. Similarly, the cup now in the Metropolitan made by a Viennese silversmith in 1723 could have been a gift to Behrend Lehmann from Wertheimer or another Court Jew resident in Vienna, such as Herz Lehmann, Behrend's brother.

A gift of fine silver would have been appropriate for Lehmann, who was a connoisseur of materials and workmanship. When building Halberstadt's new synagogue between 1709 and 1712, he imported twelve marble columns from Russia, some of which flanked the Torah ark. These columns were overlaid with spiraling silver-gilt vines,

10. T. Tübener (active 1692–1728). Hanukkah lamp. Halberstadt, 1711. Silver worked with repoussé, engraving, chasing, punching, appliqué, parcel-gilding, and casting; 11 ¼ x 11 ½ x 3 ¼ in. (29.7 x 29.2 x 8.3 cm). Jewish Museum, New York, Gift of Samuel Lemberg (JM 27-53)

and a silver-gilt bunch of grapes weighing a hundred pounds hung from the cupola of the ark. At the inauguration of the synagogue, Lehmann donated a Torah scroll with gold ornaments: a shield, finials, and a pointer. Extant black-and-white photographs of two curtains for the Torah ark that Lehmann donated in 1709 and 1720 give but pale testimony to the magnificence of his gifts to his synagogue, for according to the community's *Memorbuch* detailing the donations, they were woven of gilt threads.

Many Court Jews procured art and jewels for their noble patrons. But Lehmann's chief patrons, Frederick I of Prussia and Augustus the Strong of Saxony, were owners of outstanding *Kunstammern*.⁴⁵ Augustus was not only a passionate collector, he also promoted the arts by establishing the Meissen porcelain manufactory (in 1710) and other workshops to produce fine furniture, glass, and silver tableware. Augustus was one of the first to abandon the concept of the *Wunderkammer*, or mixed *Kunstammer*, with its mélange of natural specimens and art that was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He established separate galleries in his palace in Dresden each devoted to a single art form: paintings, prints and drawings, sculpture, silver.⁴⁶ Through his association with Frederick I and Augustus, Lehmann was exposed to the most sophisticated thinking about art of his day and to two of the most outstanding European collections. It was therefore appropriate that he be the owner of a work of fine Viennese silver, one with a sophisticated iconographic theme that echoes important earlier works.

Lehmann's cup belonged previously to two major collectors of works of art. J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) often purchased whole collections from others rather than forming his own in a slower, incremental way. One of his wholesale purchases was the collection of silver plate, including the covered cup, formed by the banker Eugene Gutmann (1840–1925), who established the Dresdner Bank and then headed its office in Berlin.⁴⁷ In a letter to J. and S. Goldschmidt Antiquitäten, dated April 23, 1902, Gutmann wrote that he had collected the works over a period of thirty years but was now forced to sell owing to family difficulties.⁴⁸ The Goldschmidt firm served as the intermediary between Gutmann and Morgan, and it described the Gutmann collection in a letter to Morgan, dated May 2, 1902, as the "most beautiful of its kind on the continent" and "consisting of only first-class art objects." Four years after Morgan's death, the Behrend Lehmann cup became part of the Metropolitan Museum's small collection of Judaica.

NOTES

I thank Clare Vincent of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who constantly encouraged me to complete this study.

1. On the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan's collection to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, see, for example, Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Financier and Collector," *MMAB* 57, no. 3 (Winter 2000).
2. Selected references for the cup: J. Starkie Gardner, *Old Silver-Work, Chiefly English from the XVth to the XVIIIth Centuries: A Catalogue of the Unique Loan Collection Exhibited in 1902 . . .*, exh. cat., St. James's Court, London (London and New York, 1903), pp. 16, 104, pl. xii; E. Alfred Jones, *Catalogue of the Gutmann Collection of Plate now the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan, Esquire* (London, 1907), p. 41, pl. xliii; Irene Winter with assistance of Stephanie Rachum, *Ingathering: Ceremony and Tradition in New York Public Collections*, exh. cat., The Jewish Museum, New York (New York, 1968), no. 109; Vivian B. Mann and Richard I. Cohen, eds., *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, Patronage, and Power, 1600–1800*, exh. cat., Jewish Museum, New York (Munich and New York, 1996), pp. 186–87, no. 132.
3. The maker's hallmark was correctly interpreted for the first time in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 186–87, no. 132. A capital R, apparently a mark of ownership, is engraved on the cup and cover. On Salecker, see Viktor Reitzner, *Alt-Wien-Lexikon für österreichische und süddeutsche Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 3, *Edelmetalle und deren Punzen* (Vienna, 1952), p. 171, no. 552.
4. This discussion is based on Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, passim, and the sources cited in note 6 below.
5. Michael Gaetz, "Court Jews in Economics and Politics," in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 37.
6. Selected references concerning Court Jews: Selma Stern, *The Court Jew: A Contribution to the History of the Period of Absolutism in Central Europe*, trans. from German by Ralph Weiman (Philadelphia, 1950), trans. to German, annotated, and ed. by Marina Sassenberg, as *Der Hofjude im Zeitalter des Absolutismus: Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Geschichte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2001); Heinrich Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1953–67); Selma Stern and Max Kreutzberger, *Die preussische Staat und die Juden*, 4 vols. in 8 (Tübingen, 1962–71).
7. On the *Kunstammer* in central Europe, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 167–83.
8. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The *Kunstammer* as a Form of Representation," *Art Journal* 38, no. 1 (Autumn 1978), p. 24.
9. Joachim Menzhausen, "Five Centuries of Art Collecting in Dresden," in *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; MMA, New York; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (New York, 1978), pp. 19–22.
10. The inventory entry suggests the sitter's identity as "der hof Jude zu hannover Liebmann Behrends (?)," i.e., Behrend Lehmann, who was in close contact with the Berlin court. That the subject is clean-shaven, signifying a relaxation of traditional Jewish piety, however, is inconsistent with Lehmann's devotion to Jewish law, and the identity of the sitter remains uncertain. See Cohen in

- Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 191, no. 144, with bibliography.
11. In addition to paintings, Jud Süß owned 4,256 prints, according to "Süss-Oppenheimerische Inventar-Deputation zu Stuttgart," 1737–51, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. 2° 1022. This copy of the inventory contains details not included in other versions. See Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 151–52, no. 49; Selma Stern, *Jud Süß: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und zur jüdischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1929; Munich, 1973), pp. 288–303 (partial listing of the inventory in modern German); Cornelia Foerster, "Inventar der Wohnung Joseph Süß Oppenheimers," in *Siehe der Stein schreit aus der Mauer: Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*, ed. Bernward Deneke, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Nürnberg, 1988), p. 285.
 12. For instances of Maria Theresa's anti-Jewishness, see Graetz, "Court Jews in Economics and Politics," p. 39; Cohen and Mann, "Melding Worlds: Court Jews and the Arts of the Baroque," in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 114–15; Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 142, 224, nos. 19, 224.
 13. See Mann in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 144–46, nos. 23–27, 30, 31. For other examples, see Tassilo Hoffmann, *Jacob Abraham und Abraham Abramson: 55 Jahre Berliner Medaillenkunst, 1755–1810* (Frankfurt am Main, 1927).
 14. The word *Hoshen* alludes to the breastplate worn by the High Priest in the Jerusalem Temple. On that, however, the twelve stones were arranged in four rows (Exodus 28:17), not in a circle as here. See Mann and Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 181, no. 115, with bibliography.
 15. Literally, the emperor named above.
 16. The second part of this sentence is a variant on Psalm 47:4.
 17. The last line is part of the prayer "Hear O Israel" (*Shema*), where it refers to God. It is taken from Mishnah Yoma 3:8.
 18. The stones on Rudolf's *Hoshen* are emerald, brown amethyst, ruby, sapphire, coral, black onyx, heliotrope, hyacinth, amethyst, agate, turquoise, and carnelian. The exact identification of the stones on the original *Hoshen* of the High Priest is uncertain.
 19. Peter Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), pp. 55–190.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–40.
 21. Walter Cahn, "The Allegorical Menorah," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 117–26.
 22. For examples of framed cameos, see *Prag um 1600: Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II*, exh. cat., Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Villa Hügel, Essen (Freren, 1988), vol. 1, p. 468, no. 338, pl. 70/2, and p. 475, no. 351, pl. 70/4. On Rudolf's preference for works in precious stones, see Eliška Fučíková, "Prague Castle under Rudolf II, His Predecessors and Successors, 1530–1648," in *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City*, ed. Eliška Fučíková et al. (Prague and London, 1997), pp. 24–25.
 23. On Rudolf's interest in the occult, see György E. Szönyi, "Scientific and Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II," in *Rudolf II and Prague*, pp. 223–30.
 24. By 1625, the hexagram had become the exclusive symbol of the Prague Jewish community. As the Shield of David, the hexagram also represented messianic beliefs since, in Jewish lore, the messiah will stem from the house of David. In Prague, the symbol appeared on synagogue banners and tombstones beginning in 1529. See Alexander Putík, "The Origin of the Symbols of the Prague Jewish Town. The Banner of the Old-New Synagogue. David's Shield and the 'Swedish Hat,'" *Judaica Bohemiae* 29, nos. 1–2 (1993), pp. 4–37 (especially pp. 30–37), pls. A1–A14.
 25. Jana Doleželová in *Prag um 1600*, vol. 1, p. 603, no. 505, pl. 70/3.
 26. Pierre Saville, *Le Juif de Cour: Histoire du résident royal Berend Lehman (1661–1730)* (Paris, 1970), pp. 121–23, with quotations from Lehmann's petitions translated into French.
 27. The main theme of the *Aleinu* prayer is the kingdom of God. One of its passages refers to those who "prostrate themselves before vanity and emptiness and pray to a God who does not save." Medieval Christians interpreted this phrase as a reference to Jesus, despite the fact that the *Aleinu* was probably written before the rise of Christianity, perhaps in Babylonia. As late as the eighteenth century, rulers such as Frederick forbade recitation of the prayer, and church censors ordered the passage deleted from Hebrew prayer books. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), vol. 2, cols. 555–59.
 28. Franz Adrian Dreier in *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstkammer: Eine Auswahl aus den alten Beständen*, ed. Josephine Hildebrand and Christian Theuerkauff (Berlin, 1981), pp. 114–17, no. 41; Franz Adrian Dreier, *Die Weltallschale Kaiser Rudolfs II*, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, pamphlet 1441 (Berlin, n.d.), with bibliography.
 29. Other gifts from grateful Court Jews or their communities are known from documents, as well as a few extant examples. An elaborate seventeenth-century *Nef*, a drinking vessel in the form of a ship, was given by the Court Jew Veitel David to Landgrave Friedrich II of Hesse. The ship was the type used in trade with the Levant, the sailors are depicted wearing Ottoman dress, and a pennant with a crescent moon is attached to the mast, details that represent the Levantine trade that was one of Veitel David's major economic activities. The 1786 inventory of the Hessian *Kunstkammer* lists the *Nef*, as well as a second gift from David, a green glass bearing the coat of arms of the imperial Diet, which does not seem to have survived. See Mann in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to Rothschilds*, p. 184, no. 126.
 30. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 1, *Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1964–), no. 70, pl. 7. Another example is the *Siebenbrüderkelch*, or Seven Brothers' chalice, from Swabia (Kathedral Kirchenstiftung, Ottobeuren), which features martyrs on the foot, the signs of the Evangelists on the stem, and the Twelve Apostles framed by an arcade on the outside of the cup; Reiner Haussherr, ed., *Die Zeit der Stauer: Geschichte – Kunst – Kultur*, exh. cat., Altes Schloss und Kunstgebäude Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum (Stuttgart Cannstatt, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 470–71, no. 596, vol. 2, fig. 411.
 31. For example, see the *Siebenbrüderkelch*, Swabia, ca. 1220, mentioned in note 30 above, and the *Apostelkrug*, or Apostles' tankard, ca. 1670/80 (Tragheimer Kirche, Königsberg). For the latter, see Eugen von Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst früherer Zeiten in Preussen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 84, no. 157, pl. 19.
 32. The biblical quotations in this article are from the Jewish Publication Society's *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia, 1985).
 33. For a sampling of similar figures of a crowned David with his harp in both manuscripts and printed books of the eighteenth century, see Iris Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei in Hamburg und Altona: Zur Geschichte der Illumination hebräischer Handschriften im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1999), p. 54, fig. 16, p. 93, fig. 45, p. 204, fig. 130. Most relevant is the figure of David on the frontispiece to the Talmud, whose printing was sponsored by Behrend Lehmann

- in 1696; Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 122, pl. 92.
34. For example, Heimo Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition*, exh. cat., Zeughaushalle der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, and Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983), p. 118.
 35. In the *Memorbuch* of the Halberstadt *Klaus*, Lehmann's Hebrew name is written the same way, but with the addition of his and his father's second names: "Issachar Berman son of Rabbi Juda Lima"; B. H. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt: Nebst einem Anhang ungedruckter, die Literatur, wie die religiösen und politischen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten betreffender Briefe und Urkunden* (Halberstadt, 1866), p. 81.
 36. A *Schutzjude* was a Jew who purchased a letter of protection from a ruler, thereby becoming his or her subject. The *Schutzjude* was granted specific rights such as trading privileges, and these had to be repurchased at regular intervals.
 37. Saville, *Juif de Cour*, pp. 244–47. See also Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, pp. 82–85.
 38. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, p. 39.
 39. Among Lehmann's other cultural achievements was printing five thousand sets of the Talmud, the first edition in three hundred years (see note 33 above). He also donated large sums to charity and served as the community's *mohel*, or circumciser.
 40. For two of the lamps, see Susan L. Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps from the Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and New Haven, 2004), p. 68, no. 14, p. 237, no. 163. For the Wertheimer lamp, see Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., December 13, 2006, lot 53. The fourth lamp, in the Israel Museum, is published in Karl Katz, P. P. Kahane, and Magen Broshi, *From the Beginning: Archaeology and Art in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* ([Clifton, N.J.], 1968), no. 155.
 41. One of the lamps in the Jewish Museum (Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps*, no. 14) bears a plaque and ribbon with a Latin motto instead of the imperial symbol found on the other three examples of the group. The lesser quality of the silver and the uniqueness of this element indicate that it is probably a later addition.
 42. The incident with a bear that led Lehmann to adopt it as his personal symbol is recounted in Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, pp. 49–50. For the frontispiece in the Talmud, see note 33 above.
 43. The provenance of the Wertheimer lamp is recorded in a letter dated February 19, 1929, from Dr. Michael Berolzheimer, *Hofrat*, or privy counselor, to Dr. Theodor Harburger (1887–1949), a Munich art historian. A microfilm of their correspondence is in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (microform) 1925–45, MF550. I thank Dr. Bernhard Purin of Munich for telling me of the letters' existence.

Dr. Harburger spent years recording Jewish monuments and art in Bavaria and escaped from Germany to Palestine in 1933 with his records and photographs. These have been published as Theodor Harburger, *Die Inventarisierung jüdischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Bayern*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem and Fürth, 1998). None of the four related Hanukkah lamps is included in this publication of Harburger's inventory.
 44. Berolzheimer suggested in a letter dated January 27, 1929, that Wertheimer may have acquired the Hanukkah lamp in Frankfurt in 1711, when he attended the coronation of Emperor Charles VI, a supposition that would have required that the Halberstadt silversmith Tübener was in Frankfurt at the same time. Harburger responded affirmatively to Berolzheimer's suggestion in a letter to Dr. Oppler of Hannover, the last prewar owner of the Wertheimer lamp. Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (microform) 1925–45, MF550, reel.
 45. On the history of Frederick's *Kunstammer*, see Hildebrand and Theuerkauff, *Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstammer*, especially Christian Theuerkauff, "Zur Geschichte der Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Kunstammer bis gegen 1800," pp. 13–33. For the Saxon *Kunstammer*, see, for example, *Splendor of Dresden*.
 46. *Splendor of Dresden*, pp. 22–23.
 47. On Gutmann, see Siegmund Kaznelson, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich: Ein Sammelwerk*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Berlin, 1959), pp. 743–45. On his collection of silver, see Jones, *Catalogue of the Gutmann Collection of Plate*. That Morgan had acquired the Gutmann collection by 1902 is indicated by the covered cup's exhibition that year as the property of Morgan; Gardner, *Old Silver-Work*, no. 103, pl. xii.
 48. The letters from the Goldschmidt firm to Morgan of April 23, 1902, and of May 2, 1902, are in the Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, New York, Morgan Collections Correspondence 1887–1948, G Goldschmidt J S 1902.

Pattern Books by Gilles and Joseph Demarteau for Firearms Decoration in the French Rococo Style

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The first hand-held firearms used in Europe were developed in the fourteenth century and were functional objects almost always devoid of ornament.¹ From at least the second quarter of the sixteenth century, however, the metal and wood components of firearms were often decorated, sometimes with amazing richness.² This ornamentation was generally taken from the decorative vocabulary of the time, following the same trends and using many of the same motifs as those seen on furniture, in goldsmiths' work, on clocks, in bookbinding, and in architecture, as well as on armor and weapons. A number of important drawings, etchings, and engravings of firearms ornament, both individual examples and small sets, exist from the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth, but pattern books devoted exclusively to the decoration of firearms did not begin to be published until the 1630s in France, where the practice continued intermittently into the nineteenth century.³ The high points of this particular facet of the thriving world of ornament engraving in Paris from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century include designs by Philippe Cordier Daubigny, Thomas Picot, Jean Berain, Claude Simonin, an enigmatic engraver known only through the signature on his surviving prints as De Lacollombe, and his student Gilles Demarteau, whose firearms engravings are the focus of this article.⁴ The work of these artists reflects the development of French ornament from Louis XIII to Louis XVI, when French fashions—and French firearms—set the standards for much of the Western world.

Gilles Demarteau (1722–1776) and his younger brother Joseph (d. 1765) were born in Liège, sons of Henri Demarteau, a master gunsmith. Following Joseph, Gilles was living in Paris by 1739 and was apprenticed to De Lacollombe as a *graveur-ciseleur*, that is, not simply as an engraver of prints but one trained to decorate metal objects, usually goldsmiths' work.⁵ As working artists, the Demarteau brothers were referred to as Demarteau *l'aîné* for Gilles and Demarteau *le jeune* for Joseph. Little is known of Joseph's artistic output. The pattern book that bears his name, discussed below, appears to be the largest single body of work clearly associated with him.

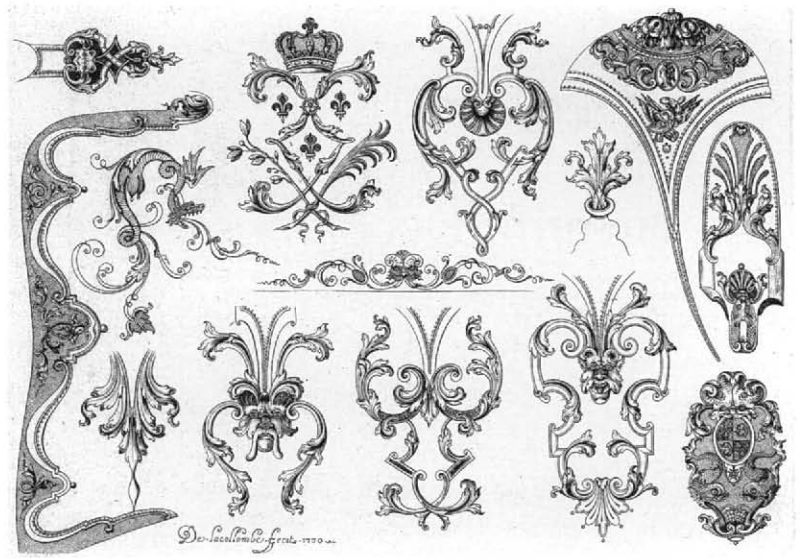
Gilles became a master in 1746 and went on to be one of the most successful engravers of his generation, establishing himself in a house in the rue de la Pelleterie (also spelled Pelterie), identified by its shop sign as “à la Cloche.”⁶ His career developed rapidly from the late 1750s onward, and he achieved renown for perfecting the engraving technique *en manière de crayon*, by which prints could replicate the appearance and subtlety of chalk drawings.⁷ He was accepted as a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1769 and was appointed *graveur des dessins du cabinet du roi* in 1770. The largest single portion of his oeuvre consists of engravings after drawings by François Boucher (1703–1770), but he also reproduced the work of many other well-known artists, principally portraits and genre scenes, but including compositions for books of ornament and design. Numerically the smallest part of Demarteau's artistic output was his handful of designs for the decoration of firearms.⁸ They also appear to be his earliest known works.

This aspect of Gilles Demarteau's oeuvre is interesting chiefly because it includes some very accomplished and innovative representations of how the French rococo style, during its peak period, could be adapted to the needs of gun makers. Demarteau's firearms designs consist of two groups. The first comprises five plates (see Figures 1–12, especially Figures 6, 8–11) that he added to a pattern book begun by De Lacollombe. The second is an undated pattern book, which appears to be Gilles Demarteau's earliest complete and independently published work of any kind. A rare example of the latter, lacking only its title page, was acquired by the Department of Arms and Armor of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2006, prompting this article (see Figures 19–37). At least two variations of that pattern book were published, in one of which the title page is replaced by Joseph Demarteau's trade card. The De Lacollombe pattern book that includes Demarteau's five plates has not been published in its entirety since its original distribution in the eighteenth century. The pattern books of the second group are even less well known. This, plus the many other

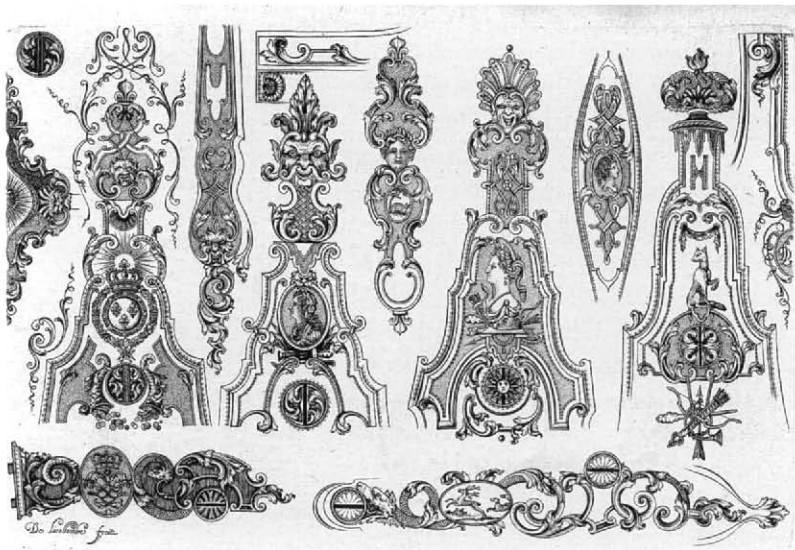
Overleaf:
1–12. Plates in De Lacollombe (French, d. after 1736) and Gilles Demarteau (French, 1722–1776), *Nouveaux Dessesins D'Arqueuseries...* (Paris, 1730–49). Livrustkammarens Bibliotek, Stockholm (PL 64): 1. Title page, dated 1730. 2. Signed in the plate: *De Lacollombe fecit 1730*. 3. Signed in the plate: *De Lacollombe fecit*. 4. Inscribed in one of the designs: *DE LACOLLOMBE FECIT*. 5. Inscribed in one of the designs: *DE LACOLLOMBE FECIT 1730*. 6. Dated in the plate: 1749, inscribed in one of the designs: *G DE MARTEAU FECIT*. 7. Signed in the plate: *De Lacollombe fecit*. 8. Signed in the plate: *De Marteau Fecit / 1743*. 9. Signed in the plate: *DE MARTEAU FECIT / 1743*. 10. Signed in the plate: *DE MARTEAU FECIT / 1744*. 11. Signed in the plate: *De Marteau fecit*. 12. Signed in the plate: *De Lacollombe fecit / 1736*



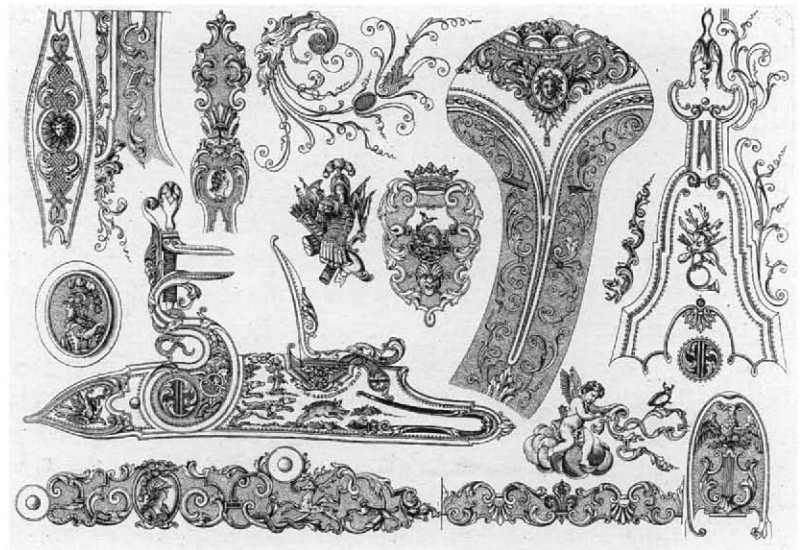
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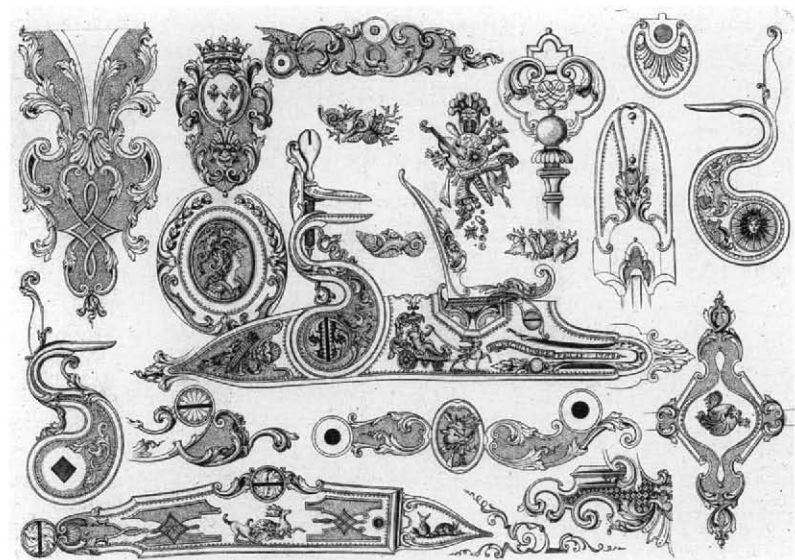
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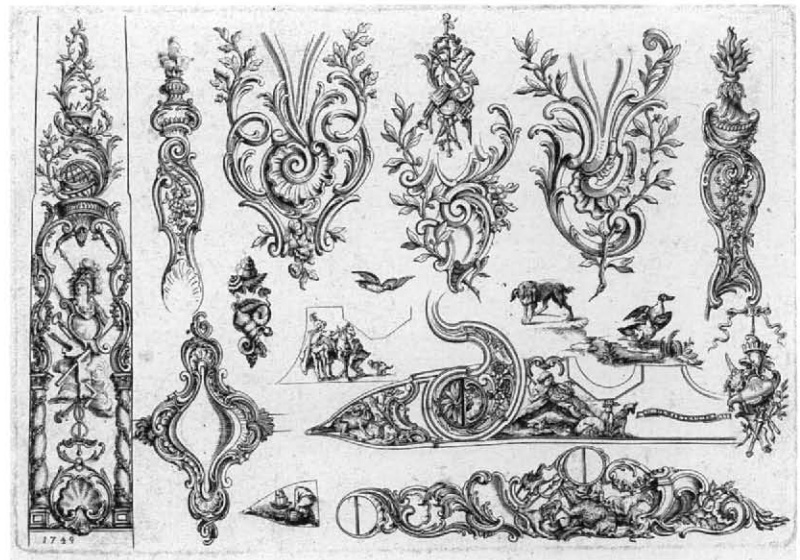
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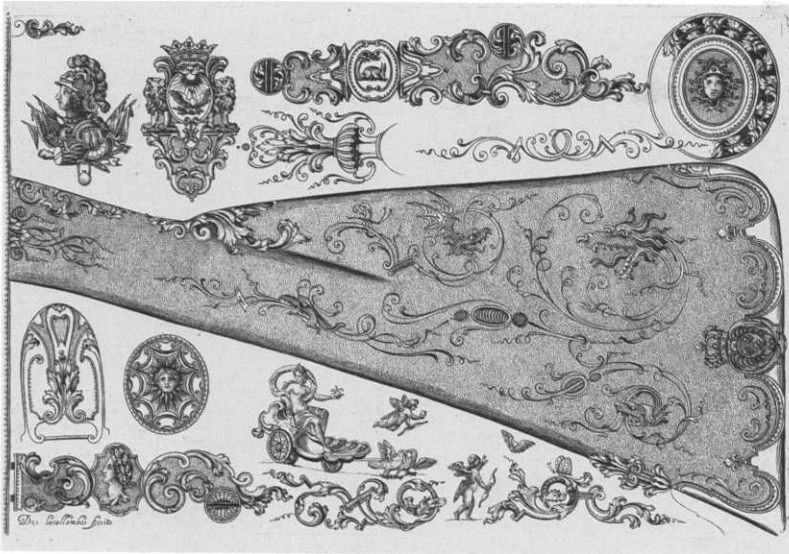
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5

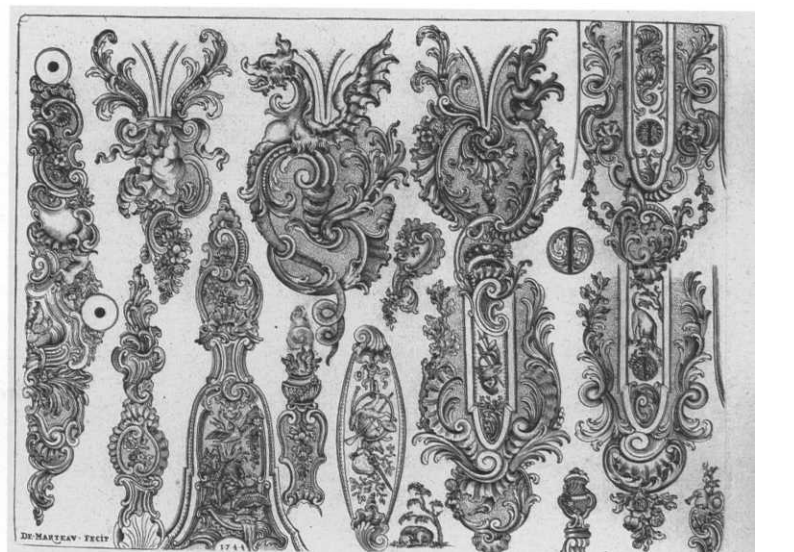
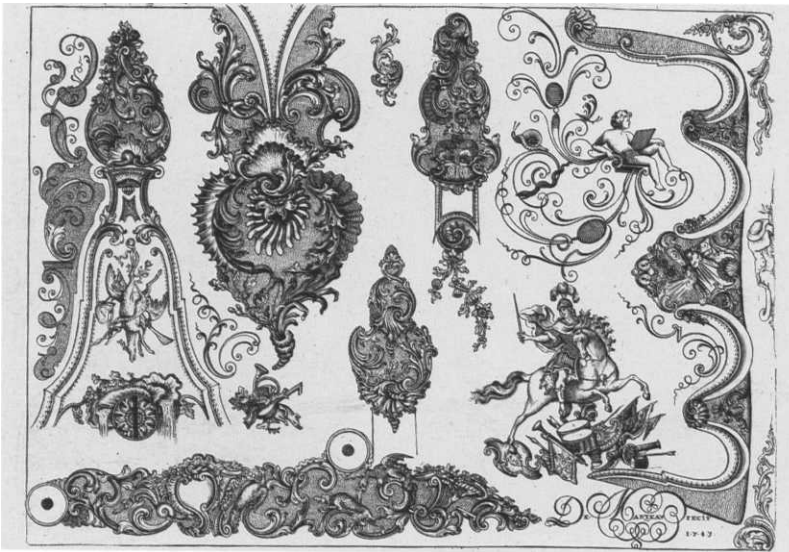


6



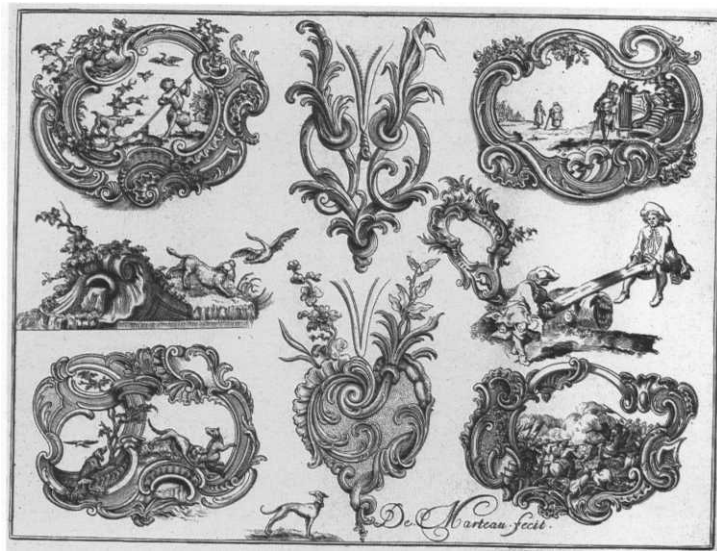
7

8

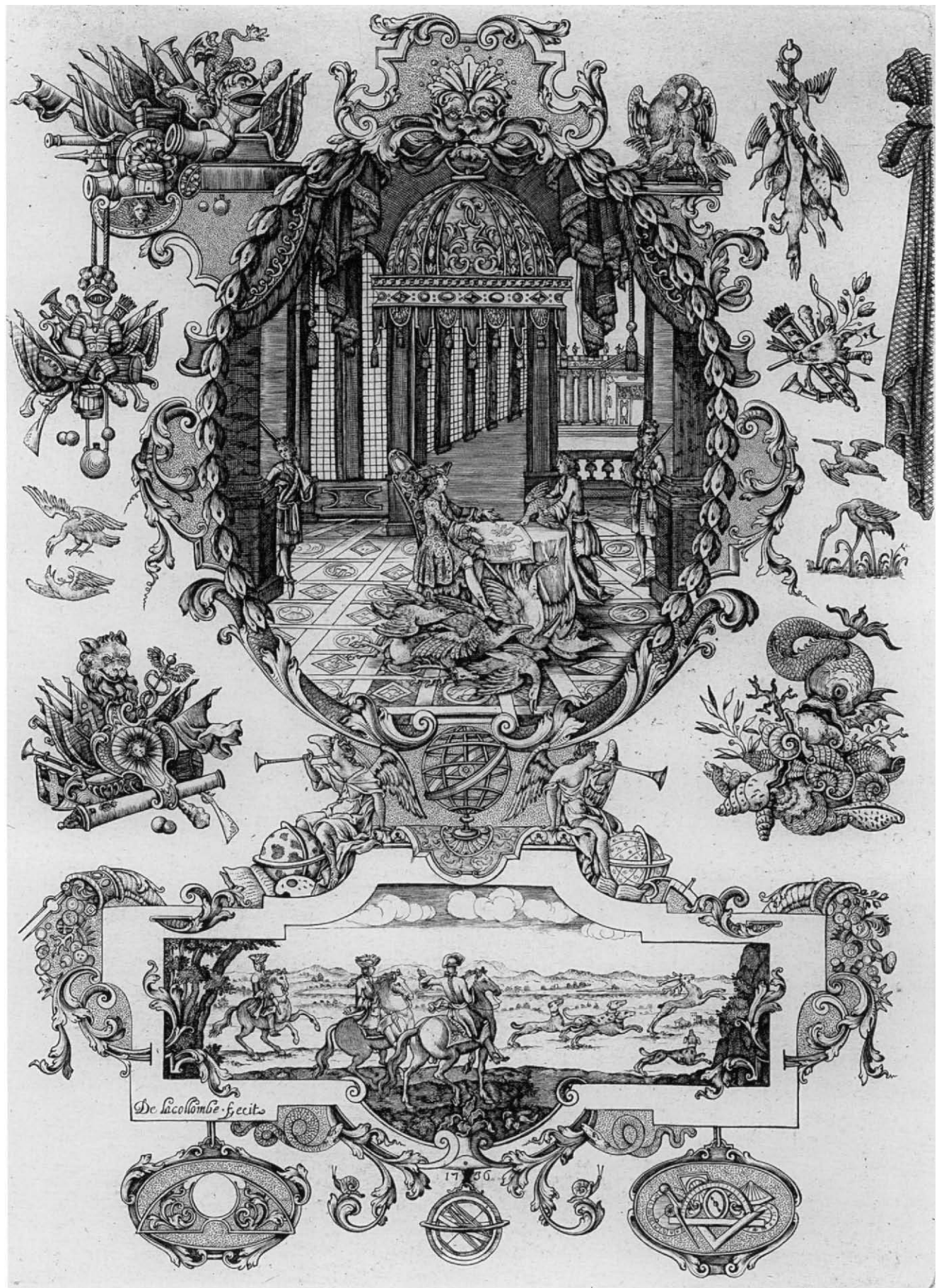


9

10



11



De la Colombe fecit

1756



13. François-Alexander Chasteau (French, recorded 1741–84). Double-barreled flintlock pistol (one of a pair), right profile showing the lock, the pommel cap, and other features. Paris, 1752–53. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Walter A. Eberstadt, 2002 (2002.521.1)

interesting features of the two pattern books, makes it worthwhile to illustrate them here in full.

The pattern book that incorporates five plates by Demarteau was apparently unfinished at the time of De Lacollombe's death, the date of which is unknown. It was subsequently augmented and sold by Demarteau (Figures 1–12), but no earlier than 1749, the date of the latest engraving in the set (Figure 6).⁹ Its title page (Figure 1) reads: *Nouveaux Desseins / D'Arquebuseries / Dessiné & Gravé Par De Lacollombe / Paris 1730 / Se Vend Chez De Marteau élève De Feu M^r De Lacollombe* (New designs for gunmaking designed and engraved by De Lacollombe, Paris, 1730, sold at the residence of Demarteau, student of the late Mr. De Lacollombe). It is followed by eleven unnumbered plates.¹⁰ Two of the sheets by Demarteau are dated 1743 and seem to be not only his earliest identifiable engravings for firearms ornament, but also his earliest securely dated engravings on any subject (Figures 8, 9).¹¹ Of the two, the excessively lavish calligraphic flourishes surrounding his signature on the one in Figure 9 make it conceivable that this was his very first published print, a suggestion corroborated by the fact that this print is also stylistically closest to the preceding designs by De Lacollombe. Of the other three by Demarteau, one is dated 1744, one is dated 1749, and one is undated (Figures 10, 6, 11). They have been cited briefly in the literature for their value in showing the transition from the early, more restrained rococo style of firearms decoration represented in the work of De Lacollombe to the effusive, fully developed rococo, or *genre pittoresque*, which flourished in the 1730s and 1740s and which is utilized so successfully in these engravings by Demarteau. They have also been noted as providing examples of Demarteau's practice of incorporating into his compositions designs by other Parisian artists, including Christophe Hüet, J. B. Oudry, Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, and the goldsmith Jean Bourguet.¹² Further comparison of Demarteau's engrav-

ings with the works of these and other contemporaries may bring more of his sources to light.

Although today it is not always immediately apparent, the designs represent specific pieces of gun furniture, i.e., the engraved and chiseled iron or cast-metal fittings that are mounted on the stock of a gun, as well as ornament that could be carved or inlaid in the wood of the gunstock itself. The types of fittings or the intended placement of the ornament can be difficult to identify, even for specialists in historical firearms, because they are often only partially shown, and frequently they are juxtaposed at angles that permit their arrangement on a page rather than in the orientation they would actually have had to one another on a gun. However, the basic form of the fittings and often also the intended placement of the ornament dictate the contours of the designs, either limiting or liberating the invention of the artist. For this reason, it is worthwhile for both arms historians and art historians to be able to identify the fittings for which the designs were intended in order to understand and better appreciate the challenges faced by Demarteau or any other ornament designers of the period.

In designs of this type by Demarteau's leading predecessors, such as Berain, Simonin, and De Lacollombe, the specific gun fittings are both beautifully conceived and clearly delineated in such a way that it would have been obvious to contemporary viewers that these were intended as firearms ornament, even though some elements of the ornament could have been applied in other contexts. In contrast, Demarteau's designs, while still practical, are more nearly examples of pure ornament. In fact, Demarteau seemed to favor the fittings and areas of decoration on a gun that would allow the greatest freedom of interpretation and flexibility of outline. For example, except for a single instance, Demarteau, unlike his predecessors, avoided depicting the gunlock, one of the fittings most frequently included by other engravers, perhaps because its outline, more than any



14. Detail of the underside of the pistol in Figure 13 showing the ramrod pipe, the forestock escutcheon, and the forward arm of the trigger guard

15. Le Faure (French, active ca. 1760–90) and Molliere (French, dates unknown). Flintlock gun, detail showing the side plate and the trigger guard. Paris, ca. 1750. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Annie Laurie Aitken Charitable Trust Gift, 1990 (1990.114.1)



16. Detail of the flintlock gun in Figure 15 showing the butt plate and the silver-wire inlay on the cheek

other piece, must follow a prescribed form. To help clarify the distinctions, the following brief definitions are given of the gun parts that are typically seen in engravings of this kind.

Flintlock or gunlock: This is the firing mechanism of a gun, which was fitted into a recess carved in the outer side of the stock at about its midpoint (Figure 13). The external parts of a flintlock presented several key areas for decoration, including the relatively flat and uninterrupted surfaces of the lock plate; the cock, an S-shaped arm that was secured to the lock plate by a prominent slotted screw at its base and had adjustable jaws at the top in which a piece of flint was held; and the steel (or frizzen), a pivoted L-shaped arm placed next to the powder pan on the side opposite the cock.

Side plate: The lock is held in the recess carved into one side of the stock by two transverse screws, the heads of which are exposed on the opposite side of the stock from the lock. The basic function of the side plate (Figure 15) is to anchor these screws and reinforce the stock at this vital

point. Unlike the lock plate, however, the contours of the side plate were limited only by the form of the stock and the need to bridge the gap between the heads of the two lock screws, as well as the artist or gun maker's imagination.

Trigger guard: A loop or half-circle with tablike arms at either end (Figure 15), this protects the trigger from being jarred accidentally. The arms are set into the underside of the stock. Both the outside of the loop and the arms were frequently decorated, and the ends of the arms could have elaborate finials (Figure 14).

Butt plate or butt cap: At its most practical, this is a simple metal plate, usually brass or iron, but sometimes also silver, covering the base, or butt, of the gunstock to protect it from damage. On a long gun (Figure 16), the butt plate usually wraps around the corners at the top (the heel) and bottom (toe) of the gun butt and extends up the stock slightly with finials or tabs. The flat surface of the butt plate, its edges, and the finials could all be decorated to varying degrees. Pistols of the period have a butt cap instead of a butt plate,

17. Detail of the breech and wrist of the gun in Figure 14 showing decoration of the breech, tang cartouche, and wrist escutcheon

18. Detail of the tang cartouche of the pistol in Figure 13



usually with a bulbous end and long narrow spurs extending up the sides of the pistol grip (Figure 13).

Barrel: Passages of decoration for the gun barrel itself are sometimes shown in designs for firearms ornament and most often take the form of a vertical or columnar arrangement with straight sides. These usually relate to the lower third of the barrel, the area known as the breech (Figure 17).

Rear sight: A smooth and usually ogival area near the breech of the barrel that forms part of the sight line when aiming the gun.

Tang cartouche: This is a decorative cartouche surrounding the barrel tang (Figures 17, 18). The barrel tang is usually a straight-sided rectangular tab, sometimes with a rounded tip, that extends from the breech end of a gun barrel and secures that end of the barrel into the stock. It often has a flat slotted screw head near the bottom. The tang itself, which is iron and is made in one with the barrel, can be elaborately decorated, as can the surrounding wood of the stock. Tang cartouches are sometimes depicted together

with decoration for the breech of the barrel, sometimes also extending downward to include the wrist escutcheon (described below).

Wrist escutcheon: A decorative cartouche located below the tang on the top of the part of the stock known as the wrist or grip (Figure 17), the escutcheon can be carved directly in the wood, a combination of carving and inlay, or a separate piece of iron or silver that is inset into the stock. It can be a separate feature, or it can extend up to and merge with the tang cartouche to frame the sides of the barrel tang.

Ramrod pipes: These consist of two or three short cylindrical metal fittings on the underside of the forestock (the long thin section of the stock that cradles the underside of the barrel), which act as keepers for the ramrod (Figure 14).

Forestock cartouche: This is located in the area on the underside of the gun where the forestock widens out into the main body of the stock (Figure 14). Decoration here is usually an elaborate cartouche carved in the wood surrounding the base of the lowest ramrod pipe and extending

19. Gilles Demarteau.
Nouveaux Ornemens
D'Arquebuseries... (Paris,
 ca. 1750–55), plate 2. Sheets
 10¼–10½ x 6⅞ x 7 in.
 (26–26.7 x 17.5–17.8 cm),
 plates 4–6½ x 3⅞–4 in.
 (10.2–16.5 x 7.9–10.2 cm).
 The Metropolitan Museum of
 Art, Purchase, Gift of Russell
 B. Aitken, by exchange, 2006
 (2006.350.1–19)



20. *Nouveaux Ornemens*,
 plate 3



down from it. Designs for a forestock cartouche can usually be distinguished from those for a tang cartouche by a V-shaped opening at the top of the former to accommodate the similarly shaped tab that forms the base of the lowest ramrod pipe on the forestock of a gun. The designs in the later pattern book by Gilles and Joseph Demarteau (Figures 19–39) are unique in giving more attention to these cartouches than any firearms engravings or pattern books before or since.

These various elements can be identified, for example, in one plate by De Lacollombe dated 1730 (Figure 5). It depicts, top left to right, a forestock cartouche above a cock, the latter shown without its top jaw or transverse screw; a wrist escutcheon above a view of the bottom of a pistol butt with a classical bust in profile in a central medallion; a side plate, below which are three groupings of seashells and one panoply that could be used to decorate virtually any part of the firearm. In the center of the page is a complete flintlock; below this are two complete side plates of different types and part of a third. The keylike motif to right of center at the top is possibly the design for the end of a tool that would accompany a gun or a pair of pistols; the three designs to the right of this are the top jaw of a cock seen from above, the front of the steel or frizzen (seen in profile on the adjacent flintlock to the left), and another cock seen in profile from the left (indicating that it is designed for the left side of a double-barreled gun or pistol); and below this is the rear sight of a gun barrel, with two roosters in its center.

At first glance, Demarteau's plate dated 1749 (Figure 6) appears to give a similarly traditional, clear-cut presentation of individual fittings and design elements, possibly because this plate is the only one of his engravings that includes the profile of a flintlock. However, the lock is incomplete. It is not fully rendered, as it is in the De Lacollombe example, but instead indicates only the parts of the lock needed to accommodate the ornament. Further, the side plate depicted below the flintlock, if it did not have its two prominent slotted screw heads, could easily be interpreted as a decorative frieze, an architectural element, or a purely ornamental caprice, as could most of the other motifs on the page. They include the columnar decoration for a barrel breech at the far left; two motifs for the ends of the arms of a trigger guard, one to the right of the barrel-breech decoration and one at the upper right side of the page; a rear sight at the lower left; and, across the top of the sheet, two forestock cartouches flanking a tang cartouche and a trophy.

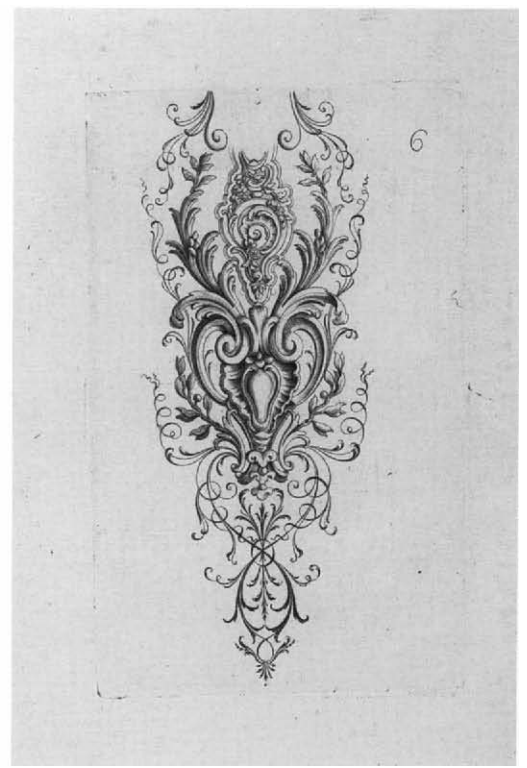
Demarteau's tendency to treat firearms designs as abstracted ornament can already be discerned in the two plates dated 1743 (Figures 8, 9) and the one dated 1744 (Figure 10), although to a lesser extent than in the 1749 plate. His undated plate in this pattern book (Figure 11), which may be the latest of the group, has only the most



21. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 4



22. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 5



23. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 6



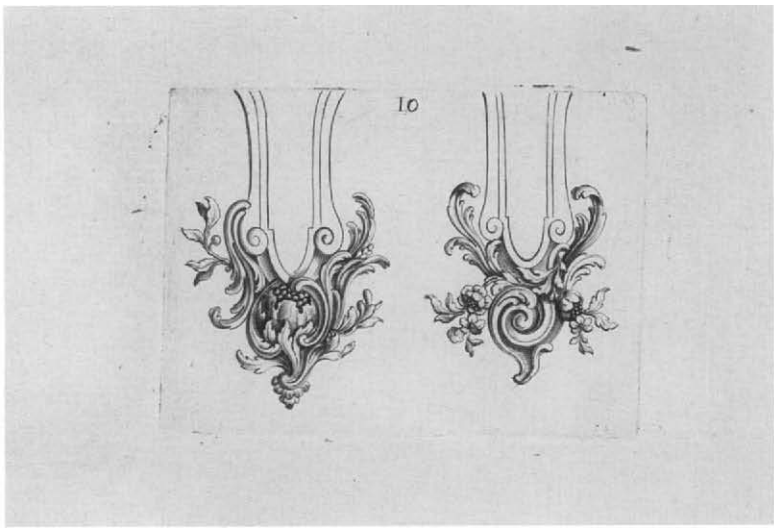
24. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 7



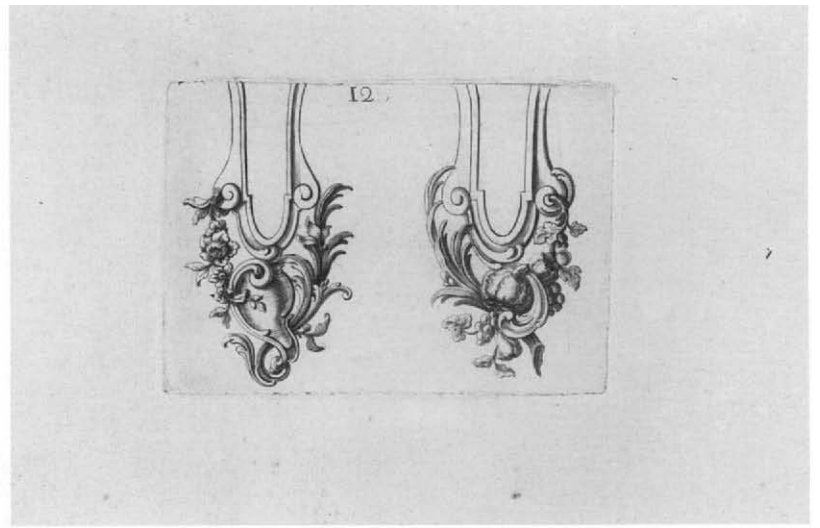
25. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 8



26. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 9



27. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 10



29. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 12



28. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 11



30. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 13



31. *Nouveaux Ornaments*, plate 14



32. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 15



33. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 16



34. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 17

tenuous link with firearms ornament in the two forestock cartouches in the center. And if not for the V-shaped notch at the top of each, even these could be seen simply as pure ornament. Flanking these are four large rocaille cartouches enframing figural scenes and two vignettes taken from works by other artists, all of which could be used to decorate any type of object and are not specific to firearms ornament in any way.¹³

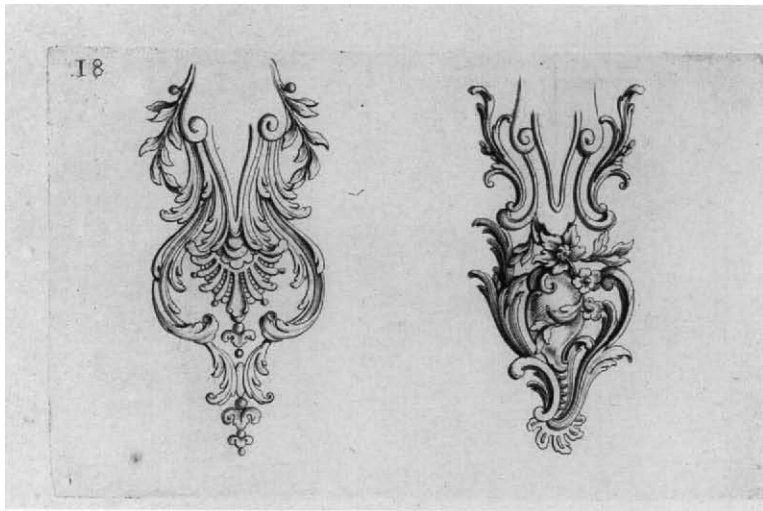
This ambiguity, and the freedom it afforded, was exploited by Demarteau in what appears to be his only complete pattern book for the decoration of firearms, which consists entirely of designs for forestock and tang cartouches. This pattern book exists in at least three variations, differing slightly in the number and choice of plates included. The four known copies of the three editions are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 19–37); the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin; and the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm.¹⁴ Two have title pages naming Gilles Demarteau, and one has Joseph Demarteau’s trade card in place of a title page.

The London version consists of a title page and nineteen plates, numbered 1 through 20. The Metropolitan Museum’s pattern book is the same as the one in London, except that it is missing plate 1, the title page. The London title page reads: *Nouveaux Ornemens / D’Arquebuseries / Dessiné et Gravé Par / De Marteau L’Ainé Se Vend Chez / Lauteur A Paris Prix*

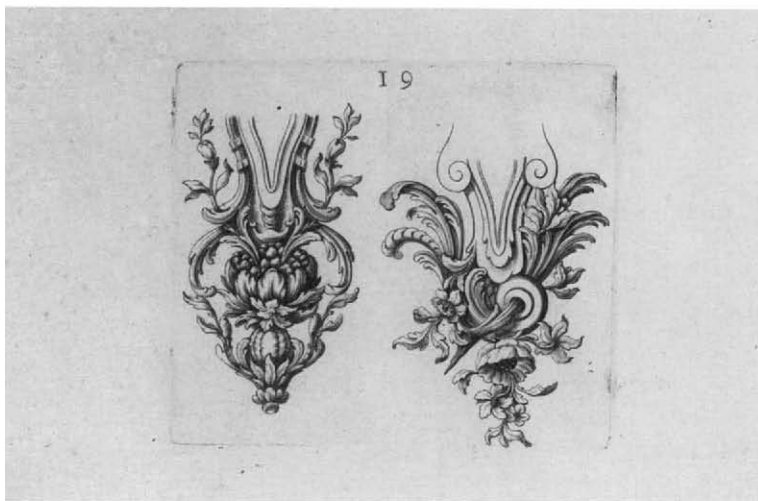
3^{li} / Rue de La Pelterie A La Cloche (New ornaments for gun-making, designed and engraved by Demarteau the elder, sold at the residence of the author, in Paris, price 3 livres tournois, rue de la Pelterie, at the sign of the clock).

The version in Berlin consists of a title page and twenty plates, numbered 1 through 21, plus three unnumbered plates. The title page (Figure 38) is the same as in the London version, except that the last line, giving Demarteau’s address, is absent.

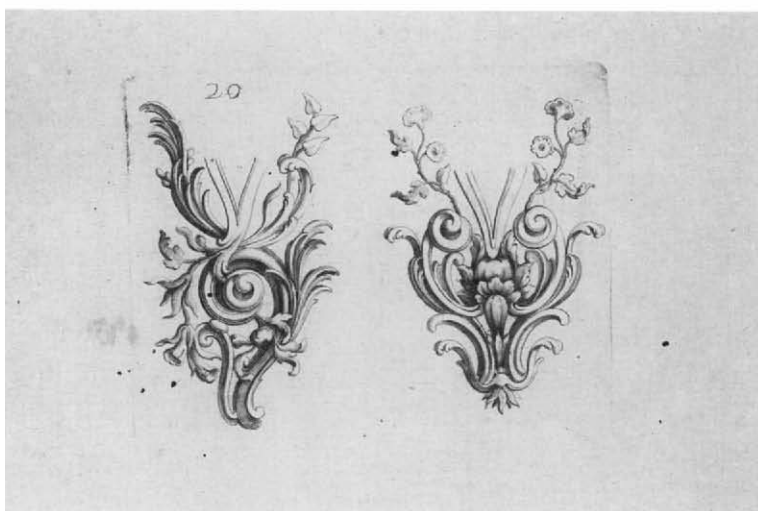
The contents of the version in Stockholm are very close to those of the one in Berlin, with the same twenty plates numbered 2 through 21, followed by the same three plates, which in the Berlin example were unnumbered but here are numbered 22, 23, and 24, plus two additional plates, numbered 25 and 26. In place of the title page found in the London and Berlin examples, however, the Stockholm pattern book begins with Joseph Demarteau’s trade card (Figure 39), which reads: *DE MARTEAU / Le leune / Graveur sur tous Metaux, / Demeure au coin du Quay Pelletier / du côté de la Greve / A Paris* (Demarteau the younger, engraver of all types of metal, residing at the corner of Pelletier Wharf on the side of the Strand, in Paris).¹⁵ The designs on plates 22–24 compare more closely to the engraving style of the trade card/title page and are simpler and clearly less inventive than the other plates, suggesting that they are the work of Joseph rather than Gilles.¹⁶



35. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 18



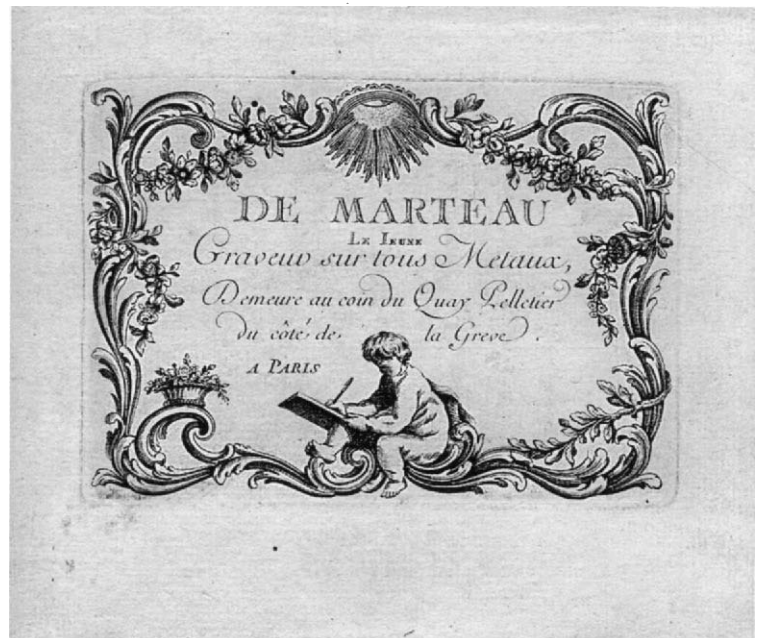
36. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 19



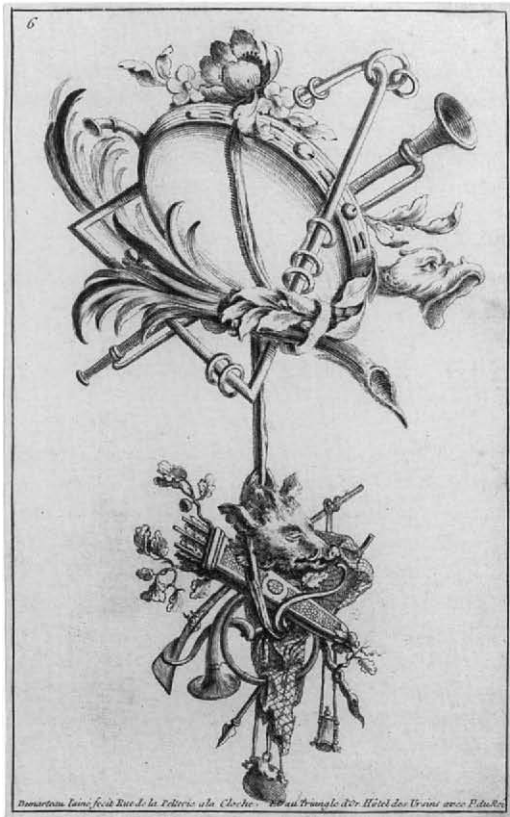
37. *Nouveaux Ornemens*, plate 20



38. Gilles Demarteau. *Nouveaux Ornemens D'Arquebuseries* . . . (Paris, ca. 1750–55), title page. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (OS 863)



39. Joseph Demarteau (French, d. 1765), engraver. Trade card that serves as the title page in the Stockholm version of Demarteau, *Nouveaux Ornemens*. Paris, before 1765. Livrustkammarens Bibliotek, Stockholm (PL 72)



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The plates in the London and New York pattern books are the same as those of the versions in Berlin and Stockholm, with the following exceptions: London/New York plate 18 is plate 21 in the Berlin and Stockholm versions. London/New York plates 10 and 12 are plates 26 and 25, respectively, in the Stockholm version but are not in the Berlin version. And the designs on plates 10, 12, and 18 in the Berlin and Stockholm versions, as well as those on plates 22–24, do not appear at all in the London/New York version.

If the pattern books were published in the order London/New York first, Berlin second, and Stockholm third, it would suggest that the project originated with Gilles, that Joseph became involved with the second version (occasioning the removal of Gilles's address from the title page and the addition of three unnumbered plates attributable to Joseph), and that Joseph then took over the pattern book altogether, replacing Gilles's title page with his trade card to indicate that he was the vendor, numbering the previously unnumbered plates, and adding two others. This may have been brought about by increased demands on Gilles's time as he became steadily more successful, particularly from the mid-1750s onward, and was engaged in more prestigious projects.

When compared with the tang and forestock cartouches included in Gilles Demarteau's engravings of 1743 and 1744 (Figures 8–10), his designs in the cartouche pattern book have a sense of lightness and balance that the 1743 and 1744 designs lack. This is emphasized by the fact that

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the designs in the later pattern book are entirely free of any sense of background or placement on an actual object, unlike the cartouches in the earlier dated engravings, many of which have stippling to indicate the wood of an underlying stock or the punched and gilded ground of the fittings, and include details of a barrel tang and the outline of the edges of a stock. The cartouches in the engraving dated 1749 (Figure 6), however, are much closer to those of the later cartouche pattern book in terms of composition, complexity, and fineness of execution. Based on this, it is reasonable to assume that the cartouche pattern book, in its three variations, was created sometime after the engraving dated 1749 and before 1765, the year of Joseph Demarteau's death. The close stylistic similarities of the cartouche pattern book with the 1749 engraving, as well as with the undated Gilles Demarteau plate in the De Lacollombe album (Figure 11), suggest that the London/New York version of the cartouche pattern book was created earlier rather than later in this date range. This is corroborated by comparing these works with a suite of six engravings by Gilles Demarteau published in 1756: *Plusieurs Trophées / Dessinées et Gravées par Demarteau l'aîné / A Paris / Chès l'Auteur rue de la Peltrie à la Cloche / Et Chès François, au Triangle d'Or Hôtel / des Ursins Avec Priv. du Roi* (Figure 40). The *Trophées* show Demarteau in the early stages of developing the *manière de crayon*, a technique that he used—and continued to perfect—in all his engravings from that point on.¹⁷ By

40. Gilles Demarteau. *Plusieurs Trophées Dessinées et Gravées par Demarteau l'aîné . . .* (Paris, 1756), plate 6. Engraving, 11 x 8¹/₁₆ in. (28 x 20.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1955 (55.503.32[6])

41. Claude Simonin et al. *Plusieurs Pièces Et Ornaments Darquebuzerie . . .* (Paris, 1705; this edition, 1777 or later), title page. Collection of James D. Lavin

contrast, signs of this technique are completely absent from the cartouche pattern book, which suggests a date range of approximately 1750 to 1755 for its execution. The intentionally loose connection of its elegant floral designs with firearms decoration also seems to signify Demarteau's own rapid departure from this genre, which, despite his obvious command of it, he never turned his hand to again. This is all the more interesting—even paradoxical—since he was from Liège, one of Europe's leading centers of firearms manufacture, his father Henri was a master gunsmith, and his master De Lacollombe is known primarily for his firearms ornament.

The Demarteau connection with firearms ornament manifested itself one last time, however, through Gilles-Antoine Demarteau (1756–1802), Joseph's son and Gilles's heir and artistic successor. Some time after 1777, Gilles-Antoine published and sold an expanded version of a pattern book of firearms designs by the gunsmith Laurent Le Languedoc and the engraver Claude Simonin, which was published originally in 1684 and then reissued in 1705 (Figure 41). Gilles-Antoine's third edition, still bearing the 1705 date of the second edition on its title page, included five additional plates, four by De Lacollombe and one more by Simonin. It can be established with certainty that Gilles-Antoine was the publisher of this edition and that 1776 or 1777 was the earliest date of publication by the line added to the title page, "chez Demarteau Grav'/Cloître S^t Benoit N^o 350." Gilles-Antoine was apparently the first member of the Demarteau family to live at that address, and he purchased the house at number 350 Cloître Saint-Benoit in 1776 or 1777, not long after inheriting the estate of his uncle Gilles.¹⁸ Presumably the plates from the second edition, along with the five additional plates, passed from De Lacollombe to Gilles Demarteau and were among the hundreds of plates inherited from him by Gilles-Antoine. That these firearms designs were still considered marketable, even though some were nearly a century old, is indicative both of their high quality and of the long-lived and widespread appeal of the French style of firearms decoration throughout the eighteenth century.

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NOTES

1. On the introduction and early development of firearms in Europe, see Claude Blair, ed., *Pollard's History of Firearms* (rev. ed. of Hugh B. C. Pollard, *A History of Firearms* [London, 1926]) (New York, 1983), pp. 25–32. For the notable exception of a highly decorated late fourteenth-century gun, see *ibid.*, p. 30, and also Claude Blair, *Pistols of the World* (New York, 1968), p. 1, fig. 1 (Historiska Museet, Stockholm, 23136).
2. The most comprehensive study of the decoration of European firearms remains John F. Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker*, 2 vols. (London, 1962–63).
3. For the best overview of firearms pattern books, see Torsten Lenk, *The Flintlock: Its Origin and Development*, ed. John F. Hayward, trans. G. A. Urquart (London, 1965), especially chaps. 11–13. See also Hayward, *Art of the Gunmaker*, vol. 1, pp. 245–62, vol. 2, pp. 292–300; and Stephen V. Grancsay, *Master French Gunsmiths' Designs of the XVII–XIX Centuries* (New York, 1970). Grancsay's book remains very useful for the number of pattern books it reproduces in facsimile, despite the fact that he was sometimes working with flawed or composite examples.
4. For relevant examples of engravings of firearms ornament by each of these artists, see Lenk, *Flintlock*, pls. 108–10, 115–21, 127–30. For the sequencing and content of the Simonin pattern books in particular, see Donald J. La Rocca, "Sorting out Simonin: Pattern Books for Decorated Firearms, 1684–1705," in *Studies in European Arms and Armor: The C. Otto von Kienbusch Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 184–207. Virtually nothing is known of De Lacollombe beyond the small number of engravings for firearms ornament signed by him and the fact that Gilles and Joseph Demarteau apprenticed under him. Heribert Seitz argued that he should be identified with a Parisian *fourbisseur*, whose name appears as *Collomb A Paris / Pont N^o 17* in the locket of an early eighteenth-century small-sword in the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm; see Heribert Seitz, "De Lacollombe as a Furbisher," *Livrustkammaren* 13, nos. 11–12 (1975), pp. 345–51. In relation to this, Catherine Norman pointed out to me (personal correspondence, August 26, 1988) that the *fourbisseur* Colomb appears in two documents dated 1723, cited in Alphonse Maze-Sencier, *Le livre des collectionneurs* (Paris, 1885), vol. 2, pp. 707, 723. However, even though a *fourbisseur* named Colomb and an engraver named De Lacollombe overlapped chronologically in Paris in the 1720s, there seems no conclusive reason to assume that they were one and the same person.
5. Unless otherwise noted, details of the lives and careers of Gilles and Joseph Demarteau are taken from H. Bouchot, "Les graveurs Gilles et Gilles-Antoine Demarteau, d'après des documents inédits," *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 18 (1905), pp. 97–112; and François Courboin, "Gilles Demarteau (I)," *L'amateur d'estampes*, no. 3 (May 1924), pp. 69–79. The first published reference to state specifically that Gilles was an apprentice in Paris by 1739 appears to be Jacques Hérold, *Gravure en manière de crayon: Jean-Charles François (1717–1769), catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé* (Paris, 1931), p. 35. Hérold is quoted on this in Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1949), p. 329. The same date, perhaps derived from these two sources, also appears in Madeleine Barbin, "Demarteau, Gilles," in *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, ed. Hugh Brigstocke (Oxford, 2001), Grove Art Online (Oxford, 2005), accessed August 1, 2007, <http://www.groveart.com/>. The date of Joseph's death is found in Courboin, "Gilles Demarteau," p. 76.
6. Both Bouchot and Courboin give detailed citations from Demarteau's will to demonstrate the wealth he had accumulated during his career

- and the generous bequests that he made to family and friends. Courboin ("Gilles Demarteau," p. 76) states that in 1765 Demarteau signed a ten-year lease on the house in the rue de la Pelleterie. According to Bouchot ("Les graveurs Gilles et Gilles-Antoine Demarteau," p. 102), Demarteau lived and worked there from 1746 until his death in 1776. According to Hérold (*Gravure en manière de crayon*, p. 36), Demarteau was established there no later than 1755. It should also be noted that while the modern spelling of the street is Pelleterie, on most of Demarteau's prints it is spelled Pelterie. On the spelling variations of this street name, see also L. de Leymarie, *L'oeuvre de Gilles Demarteau l'aîné, graveur du roi* (Paris, 1896), pp. 8–9.
7. For example, a passage in the *Mercur de France* for January 1767 (p. 165) describes an engraving as "par M. Demarteau l'aîné, connu par le degré de perfection ou il a porté le nouveau genre de gravure qui imite le crayon. Elle se vend à Paris, chez ce Graveur, rue de la Pelleterie, à la Cloche" (by M. Demarteau the elder, known by the degree of perfection to which he has brought the new genre of engraving that imitates chalk drawing. It is sold in Paris, at this Engraver's...).
 8. In 1896, Leymarie (*L'oeuvre de Gilles Demarteau*, p. 12) lists Demarteau's output as 560 numbered plates, following the *Catalogue des estampes gravées au crayon d'après differens maîtres qui se vendent à Paris chés Demarteau graveur deu roi, et pensionnaire de sa Majesté pour l'invention de la graveure imitant les dessins, rue de la Pelleterie, à la Cloche*, issued by Gilles-Antoine Demarteau in 1788. The number usually mentioned by later writers is about 700.
 9. The dated engravings by De Lacollombe, in addition to the 1730 title page, include two others dated 1730 and one dated 1736, which apparently was his last known engraving. The composition of this pattern book has been discussed in G. De Bellaigue and A. V. B. Norman, "An Eighteenth-Century French Pattern Book: Its Sources and Its Uses," *Connoisseur* 157 (September 1964), pp. 16–20, referring to a copy then in the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris (since incorporated into the Bibliothèque de l'Institut Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Art, or BINHA). See also G. De Bellaigue, "Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueteur—I," *Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 746 (May 1965), pp. 240–50; Lenk, *Flintlock*, pp. 115, 153–54, pls. 128, 130, citing the copy in the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm; and Hayward, *Art of the Gunmaker*, vol. 2, pp. 297–98 and pl. 94, citing a copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, was acquired at Sotheby's, Monaco, March 1, 1987, lot 308, ex libris Marcel Jeanson. I am grateful to Maxime Preaud for confirming the provenance of the last example and for providing other details about it.
 10. The plates of all the known copies of this pattern book were originally unnumbered. Therefore their order varies somewhat from one copy to another. For the sake of convenience, the page sequence of the Stockholm example has been followed here (Figures 1–12). Both the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie copy mentioned in note 9 above and one in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (1921-6-325) are numbered only in pencil. The plates of the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy are numbered in pencil and in ink.
 11. The index of the *Mercur de France* (Étienne Deville, *Index du Mercur de France, 1672–1832* [Paris, 1910], p. 61) does include one earlier citation under the entry for Demarteau, but this pertains to a medal engraved to commemorate an event in 1739 that was commented on in the issue for May 1741 (p. 991), where the maker is given only as "M. Marteau." Instead of being a reference to Gilles or Joseph Demarteau, however, it refers to the goldsmith and medallist François Joseph Marteau (active ca. 1720–59). I am grateful to James Draper for clarifying this point. Christian Michel ("Crayon Manner," in *Oxford Companion to Western Art*, Grove Art Online, accessed August 1, 2007, <http://www.groveart.com/>) cites an engraving done by Gilles Demarteau in an early version of the technique *en manière de crayon* in 1736, but as Demarteau was only fourteen years old at the time and still living in Liège, this seems unlikely. Courboin ("Gilles Demarteau," p. 72) listed the earliest dated print by Demarteau as 1751.
 12. For the place of these five prints by Demarteau in the transition of styles of firearms ornament, see Lenk, *Flintlock*, p. 115; and Hayward, *Art of the Gunmaker*, p. 298. For the incorporation of designs by other artists in these prints, see Lenk, *Flintlock*, p. 154; De Bellaigue and Norman, "Eighteenth-Century French Pattern Book," pp. 16, 19, 20; and De Bellaigue, "Engravings and the French Eighteenth-Century Marqueteur," passim. A specific instance of Demarteau's using another artist's designs was also kindly pointed out to me by Peter Fuhring (personal correspondence, March 8, 1993), and later published in his book *Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier: Un génie du rococo, 1695–1750*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1999), vol. 2, p. 325, no. 25e.
 13. Fuhring (*Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier*, vol. 2, p. 325, no. 25e) identified the shell and water arrangement on the left as coming from a print by Meissonnier, and Lenk (*Flintlock*, p. 154), the seesaw scene on the right as taken from Bourguet.
 14. Victoria and Albert Museum, E.169-188-1927. Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, OS 863; see *Katalog der Ornamentstichsammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin* (Berlin, 1939), p. 125; and Lenk, *Flintlock*, p. 154, and pl. 131/1, for an illustration of the Berlin title page. Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, Livrustkammarens Bibliotek PL 72; see Lenk, *Flintlock*, pl. 131/2, for an illustration of plate 6 of the Stockholm pattern book. I am grateful to Maxime Preaud for confirming that there is no copy of this pattern book in the extensive collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
 15. Another example of this same trade card is found in the collection of Waddesdon Manor (3686.1.92.188) and was brought to my attention by Perrin Stein. In addition, Peter Fuhring has kindly pointed out to me the existence of a trade card reading *De Marteau/Graveur Sur Tous/Meteaux/Rue Pageuin Proche La/Place des Victoires/Chez un Vitrier/Paris 174[4?]* (De Marteau, engraver of all types of metal, rue Pageuin near the Place des Victoires, in the residence of the glazier. . .). (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, Bibliothèque, Album Maciet, 256, 1). Comparison of this card with Joseph Demarteau's trade card at the start of the Stockholm pattern book suggests that the Demarteau named on the Musée des Arts Décoratifs example would also have been Joseph, rather than Gilles.
 16. The Stockholm pattern book is bound together with another set of designs for forestock and tang cartouches, without a title page, and with plates numbered 1 through 12, which appear to be entirely by Joseph Demarteau and are not found in any of the other versions of the pattern book under discussion. Both sets of designs are ex collection Edmond Foulc and are cited in D. Guilnard, *Les maîtres ornemanistes: Dessinateurs, peintres, architectes, sculpteurs et graveurs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1880–81), p. 159, no. 21.
 17. Hérold (*Gravure en manière de crayon*, pp. 18, 36) dates the publication of the *Trophées* to 1756, commenting on the set's place in the development of Demarteau's technique and his relationship with Jean-Charles François.
 18. Courboin ("Gilles Demarteau," pp. 70, 77) states that the house was acquired by Gilles-Antoine on September 16, 1777. However, Bouchot ("Les graveurs Gilles et Gilles-Antoine Demarteau," p. 109) gives the date as September 16, 1776. When previously publishing this pattern book (La Rocca, "Sorting out Simonin," pp. 198–204), I failed to appreciate the significance of the addition of the Cloître Saint-Benoit address to the title page for establishing the date of the third edition and mistakenly assumed that it had been published in or about 1705, shortly after the second edition.

Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's Pastel Studies of the Mesdames de France

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A pastel portrait representing Madame Élisabeth, the youngest sister of King Louis XVI of France, was recently given to The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford. A study for a painting by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803) exhibited at the 1787 Salon, this reticent, informal likeness of the young princess (Figure 1) offers a glimpse of the artistic, political, and social forces at work in France during that uneasy period leading up to the Revolution. Considered in relation to Labille-Guiard's finished portraits, this pastel and two other studies depicting Madame Adélaïde and Madame Victoire, the king's maiden aunts (Figures 2, 3), not only suggest a more accessible side of these royal personages, represented without the artifice and pomp typical of official portraits, but also reveal a less familiar aspect of Labille-Guiard's art. They are among a very few pastel studies, handled with great immediacy, that prepared the way for her more ambitious, monumental portrait style.

In mid- to late eighteenth-century France, many women were actively involved in making and exhibiting art, in spite of less than hospitable circumstances. They were admitted to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture only as exceptions, with a limit of four female members. Barred from the life drawing classes and study of anatomy available to men in the studio system, women were not prepared to undertake the large historical narratives stressing civic virtue favored by the academy and greatly admired by the Salon judges and critics. Their artistic and financial survival lay instead in the development of a reputation and client base in the painting of portraits, still lifes, or genre scenes. Not surprisingly, portraits account for a majority of the surviving works by female artists of the time.

Three women, Anne Vallayer-Coster (best known for her still lifes), Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, were talented and fortunate enough to receive royal patronage and ultimately to become members of the Académie Royale. All three were linked to the French court through the women of the royal family: Marie-Antoinette commissioned many works from Vallayer-Coster

and Vigée Le Brun, and was especially attentive to their needs.¹ The king's aunts, determined to forge a separate identity, held their own court at the château de Bellevue, near Versailles, in opposition to the queen and her entourage. They supported Labille-Guiard.

Unlike her better-known and more prolific contemporary Vigée Le Brun, Labille-Guiard left no autobiography. The details of her personal history, however, present a clear picture of a hardworking and ambitious young woman, advancing in a disciplined manner through the various stages of artistic training available to her, aiming to compete in the closely guarded world of the official Salon. She was not born into a family of artists or artisans, a historically common path to becoming a painter, but became an artist through personal choice and sheer determination. She studied first with the miniaturist François-Élie Vincent, whose studio was near her father's haberdashery in Paris on the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs. At some point between 1769 and 1774 she studied with Maurice Quentin de La Tour, one of the foremost pastelists of Europe, noted for the animation and vivid sense of physical presence with which he endowed his sitters. Labille-Guiard exhibited pastels and miniature portraits at the Académie de Saint-Luc (an alternative to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture) and, after its suppression, at the Assemblée Ordinaire des Savants et des Artistes, later known as the Salon de la Correspondance.² Finally, in 1776, she began to study the technique of oil painting with François-André Vincent, the son of her first teacher and already a promising young academician (he was to become her life's companion and, ultimately, her husband).³ She hoped, in this way, to gain admission to the academy and, with it, the privilege of exhibiting at the official Salon. It was not until 1783, at the age of thirty-four, that Labille-Guiard was admitted to the Académie Royale. Vigée Le Brun, then twenty-eight, became a member in the same year.⁴

At the 1783 Salon Labille-Guiard exhibited at least ten pastel portraits, some of which had been shown the previous year or in early 1783 at the Salon de la Correspondance.



1. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (French, 1749–1803). *Madame Élisabeth de France* (1764–1794), ca. 1787. Pastel study, 31 x 25¼ in. (78.7 x 65.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford, 2007 (2007.441)

Most were bust portraits of academicians seen against a neutral background and appear to have been made over a period of several years in anticipation of her application for admission to the Académie Royale. As they sat for their portraits, these distinguished men, colleagues of Vincent and by this time acquaintances of Labille-Guiard, had the opportunity to become more familiar with the artist and her talent and were thus more likely to support her election to the Académie Royale.⁵ In the absence of wealthy, well-placed patrons, she could shine before the

collective membership of the Académie Royale and subsequently impress the public at the biennial Salon with the fruits of her labor. The visibility of these “clients” within the Paris art world made clear her talent in capturing a likeness.

Although Labille-Guiard had studied oil painting with Vincent for seven years, she was evidently more comfortable at the time of her Salon debut with the pastel medium and had yet to find a clientele for her portraits among the nobility or business classes of Paris. In a carefully consid-



2. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Marie-Adélaïde de France (1732–1800), called Madame Adélaïde*, ca. 1787. Pastel study, 28¾ x 23⅛ in. (73 x 58.8 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York



3. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Marie-Louise-Thérèse-Victoire de France (1733–1799), called Madame Victoire*, 1787. Pastel study, 28¾ x 22⅞ in. (73.1 x 58.1 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

ered effort to improve her position as a professional artist, she began work on the extraordinarily ambitious *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* (Figure 4), an oil painting she exhibited at the Salon of 1785 and that is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, prominently displayed among masterpieces of the period in Gallery 2.⁶ A declaration of her ability to compete in the larger arena, this work was a bold and ultimately successful effort to appeal to the public imagination and generate the interest of potential sitters. The painting, which includes three lifesize figures, also carried a complex subliminal message of the kind familiar to the Salon-going public in history paintings of the pre-Revolutionary era.⁷ The subject and its handling suggest the importance of serving as an inspiration and guide to the young—of one’s gender. At the same time, the subject indirectly addressed a political issue close to the artist’s heart: the admission of women to the Académie Royale on an equal footing with men. The role of the artist-teacher in this work has some interesting

parallels with that of Socrates inspiring the young men of Athens in Jacques-Louis David’s *The Death of Socrates* (MMA 31.45), painted two years later in 1787, although Labille-Guiard’s painting is no doubt more wholesome in tone.⁸

The Salon regularly took place in September, and it is clear that Labille-Guiard’s performance there made an immediate impression in high places. In a letter to the king of November 8, 1785,⁹ the comte d’Angiviller praised the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* as “worthy of the greatest masters of the French school.” He recommends that the artist be granted a pension of 100 *pistoles*, as “Madame Guyard, in spite of her very distinguished talent, has no fortune and little business; in closing, he adds that “Madame Adélaïde tells me that she takes a particular interest in the success of this request.” A second letter from d’Angiviller to the king, datable to November, provides further information. One of the studios in the Louvre had been vacated and Labille-

4. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Mademoiselle Marie Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818) and Mademoiselle Carreaux de Rosemond (died 1788)*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 83 x 59½ in. (210.8 x 151.1 cm). Signed and dated at left, on easel: *Labille fme. Guiard/ 1785*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953 (53.225.5)



Guiard had asked to have it (“m’a fait solliciter fortement pour l’obtenir”). D’Angiviller is reluctant to recommend this out of concern for the propriety of her pupils, all young women, wandering the dark corridors of the Louvre. Instead, he proposes she be granted a pension of 1,000 livres, “considering the great interest with which Madame Adélaïde wishes to honor Madame Guyard, who, in spite of her talent has little business.” In closing his letter he again mentions the “august protection with which Madame Adélaïde honors this artist.” The pension was granted, a sign of Madame Adélaïde’s continuing influence with her nephew and of her very particular commitment to Labille-Guiard.

According to the *Année littéraire* of 1785, Madame Adélaïde was so dazzled by the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* that she offered to buy it for 10,000 livres.¹⁰ She must certainly have noticed the careful blending of assertiveness with femininity, as well as the inclusion of symbols of filial devotion and virtue in the background sculptures (a bust of the artist’s father by Augustin Pajou and a statue of a vestal virgin). She was, in fact, eager to participate in a similar feat of self-promotion. Within the court at Versailles, it was common knowledge that the comte d’Angiviller had commissioned Vigée Le Brun to paint a portrait of Marie-Antoinette and her children to be shown at the Salon of 1787; the

project was conceived as a vehicle to help restore public confidence in the monarchy, shaken by Marie-Antoinette’s extravagance and—for the tradition-bound French court—carefree behavior. Never happy to have the queen outshine her, Madame Adélaïde, neither a mother nor a wife but at this point the oldest and most forceful of the unmarried daughters of Louis XV, commissioned a full-length portrait of herself from Labille-Guiard, one that would have the same carefully programmed subtext as the artist’s 1785 self-portrait.¹¹ In addition, portraits of her sister, Madame Victoire, and their young niece, Madame Élisabeth, were commissioned,¹² to be exhibited not far from the queen’s portrait at the Salon, in this way publicly affirming the claims of the “Mesdames” (as the unmarried daughters of French kings were known) and the more conservative values of the court of Louis XV in opposition to those of Marie-Antoinette.¹³ The gesture clearly originated with Madame Adélaïde; in reality Victoire, although conservative and a devout Catholic, was more or less apolitical, and Madame Élisabeth, who sometimes disapproved of the queen’s actions and the company she kept, did not, in the end, love her the less for her weaknesses. This series of commissions, in which several powerful and contrasting female personalities—both sitters and painters—overlap in a brief historical moment, creates the sense of a simmering pot containing a particularly potent stew.

When the portraits were commissioned (probably in early 1786), Labille-Guiard would have traveled to Versailles or to Bellevue, residence of the Mesdames, and possibly to Montreuil, home of Élisabeth, to work on a study from life of each princess. She would then have borrowed from each of them, or from the Service des Menus Plaisirs, the garments and attributes that would assist her in her studio, where she would execute the larger formal portraits.¹⁴ It appears to have been somewhat unusual for a royal portraitist to begin work on commissions of this kind with pastels, certainly with pastels that were so completely worked up. Having learned to “paint with crayons” from La Tour, whose sitters included the extended royal family under Louis XV, Labille-Guiard knew that he customarily began the portrait-making process with a *préparation*, a brisk study of the head alone or simply the face, more linear than modeled, often with minimal shading around the periphery to set off the image from the light tone of the paper. Many of these *préparations*, presumably kept by the artist, have survived. The final pastel was begun on a fresh sheet of paper. La Tour’s method, unique among pastelists,¹⁵ was probably never adopted by Madame Labille-Guiard, who seems in her preparatory studies of the Mesdames and their niece to have settled on a method that is something of a hybrid—at once informal and very complete—to capture the appearance and essential spirit of her important sitters.



5. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Marie Gabrielle Capet and Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond*, ca. 1783–85. Black chalk study, 15 x 19 in. (38 x 48.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts from Mrs. Gardner Cassatt, Mrs. Francis Ormond, Bessie Potter Vonnoh, William Benton, Donald Silve, William M. Ivins Jr., and Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and other gifts, bequests, and funds, by exchange, 1998 (1998.186)

These preliminary studies for Labille-Guiard's first major royal commissions, in fact, her first important commissions of any kind—ours of Madame Élisabeth (Figure 1), and those of Adélaïde and Victoire (Figures 2, 3)—stand out for their spontaneity and directness, even among the artist's most successful pastel portraits. Although preparatory in nature, they share little in their purpose and handling with the black chalk drawing of Mademoiselles Marie Gabrielle Capet and Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond (Figure 5), one of the artist's few surviving compositional studies, made "to explore the nuances of light and cast shadow resulting from the sitters' unusual proximity to one another" in the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*.¹⁶ The remarkable freshness of the three pastels may be due to the fact that they were understood by both the artist and her sitters to be a means to an end and thus incomplete as works of art—with the possible exception of the portrait of Madame Victoire. The latter, which has a more finished appearance, was signed, dated, and exhibited at the Salon along with the paintings of Madame Adélaïde and Madame Élisabeth, perhaps in the interest of generating a greater presence for the Mesdames de France in the mind of the public. The study of Madame Victoire has something of the appearance of a candid photograph; those of Madame Adélaïde and Madame Élisabeth are more complex and seem to be direct readings of their sitters' characters, the one agitated and unsettled, the other, with its closed forms, reserved and thoughtful. All three pastels are lacking in what would ordinarily be called elegance or glamour. One or the other was an unspoken necessity for

a successful female portrait in the eighteenth century, and the finished royal portraits of the Mesdames certainly succeed in this respect.

Artists of the pre-Revolutionary period, keenly aware of and molded by the art market, were inclined to mimic the style of their most successful colleagues, particularly Jacques-Louis David. This group of pastels, however, are curiously lacking in what was then understood as "style":¹⁷ the Mesdames are neither ennobled for our benefit nor distanced from our curious eyes. Perhaps these studies can be understood as the raw material to which Labille-Guiard later added style. We feel that we have caught the artist (and, by extension, her sitters) in an unguarded moment, and that what we see of these women is somehow "off the record," delivered to us unstaged through the lens of a particularly sensitive eye. The artist's actual intention was no doubt different. Within the Académie Royale's strict hierarchy of genres—with history painting at the top, followed by portraiture, then landscape and genre—Labille-Guiard must have seen herself as creating for Madame Adélaïde and Madame Victoire large "portraits d'apparat," the closest kin to history painting. On her way to making these paintings and the more conventional finished portrait of the young and still lovely Madame Élisabeth, she stepped briefly out of the confines of the contemporary art world. It is interesting that all three pastels, including the signed and dated likeness of Madame Victoire shown at the Salon, were kept by the artist and remained in her collection until her death in 1803.



6. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Madame Clodion, née Catherine-Flore Pajou* (1764–1841), 1783. Pastel, 26 x 21 5/8 in. (66 x 55 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts Graphiques

Produced at the very end of the great age of pastel, at a moment when the artist herself was in the process of evolving from pastelist to oil painter, these studies reflect a historical as well as a personal transition. As Neil Jeffares has noted, the demise of the pastel was more precipitous in France than elsewhere in Europe, as “the Revolution brought about a return to a classicism that was better served by the Davidian style of history painting than by the essentially rococo texture of pastel, which was more suited to the *douceur de vivre* of the *ancien régime*.”¹⁸ Labille-Guiard’s formal pastels made before 1785 show the influence of Jean-Baptiste Greuze in the sweetness of their sfumato modeling, the slight sentimentality of the facial expressions, and their atmospheric backgrounds (see, for example, the 1783 portrait of Madame Clodion, Figure 6). We expect the pastels of the Mesdames to be spontaneous and searching because they are studies, but their psychological realism and greater monumentality signal the artist’s readiness to abandon the more formulaic approach of her finished pastels and move toward the greater solidity and monumentality of her large oil paintings.¹⁹

With the finished painting of Madame Adélaïde, Labille-Guiard reached discreetly toward the prevailing Neoclassicism of the Académie Royale; with her painting of the youthful Madame Élisabeth, she approached the more stylish feminine portraits of Vigée Le Brun. By August 1787, with these works either completed or nearing completion,

7. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard.
Detail of *Madame Adélaïde*
(Figure 2)



Labille-Guiard’s royal patrons were so well satisfied that they asked the king to confer upon her the title “peintre des Mesdames,” which would follow her name when it appeared in the Salon *livret*. Her first three Salon contributions for 1787 were described there as follows:

By Mme de Guyard, first Painter to the Mesdames, Academician.

109. Madame Elisabeth, painted just to the knees, leaning on a table furnished with several attributes of the Sciences.

Painting of 4 feet 8 inches, by 3 feet 8 inches.

110. Madame Adélaïde

Below, medallion portraits of the late King, of the late Queen, and of the late Dauphin, united in a bas-relief made to look like bronze; the Princess, whom one takes to have painted them herself, has just traced these words:

“Their image remains the charm of my life.”

On a folding chair is a roll of paper on which is drawn the plan of the Convent founded at Versailles by the late Queen, and of which Madame Adélaïde is the director.

The scene is set in a gallery decorated with bas-reliefs representing several episodes in the life of Louis XV; the most visible relates the last moments of this King, in which, having just sent away the princes because of the risk of the illness, Mesdames entered against all opposition, saying: “Happily, we are only princesses.” Another bas-relief can be seen in which Louis XV shows the Dauphin, his son, the field of battle at Fontenoy, telling him: “Behold the cost of a victory.”

This full-length portrait, is 8 feet 6 inches high, by 6 feet 2 inches wide.

111. Madame Victoire.

Study in pastel, to serve as the pendant to the Portrait of Madame Adélaïde²⁰

The pastel study of Madame Adélaïde, a preliminary study for the painting that figured as no. 110 at the Salon, shows the princess when she was between fifty-four and fifty-five years old. A psychological tour de force, it is one of the artist’s masterpieces. The color is kept to a bare minimum: the chair cover is bright blue, the dress the palest blue satin. A ruffled bonnet known as a butterfly cap,²¹ made of dotted swiss muslin finished with a pale blue and white striped satin ribbon, is the only part of the costume that remains in the finished picture, where it is entirely white. Strokes of unblended blue pigment, visible in the background at the upper right, contribute an airiness to the composition as a whole. Adélaïde’s sleeve, her right cheek and



8. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Adélaïde de France, Daughter of Louis XV, called "Madame Adélaïde," Represented in 1787, Painting the Medallion Portraits of Her Parents and Her Deceased Brother, 1787.* Oil on canvas, 106¾ x 76¾ in. (271 x 195 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

9. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Marie-Louise-Thérèse-Victoire de France, Daughter of Louis XV, called "Madame Victoire," Represented in 1788 before a Statue of Friendship at the Château de Bellevue, 1788.* Oil on canvas, 106¾ x 65 in. (271 x 165 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

neck, and the chair's back are artfully modeled through the blending of similar tones with the fingertip (see Figure 7), creating the impression of continuous three-dimensional surfaces. Individual strokes, "rendered decisively with the edge of a broken crayon," are clearly visible in other parts of the composition.²² The ruffled collar that sits over the fichu, a transparent scarflike drapery around Madame's shoulders, is drawn in loosely and freely with a white crayon; black, brown, and gray lines suggest shadows and outline the collar against the lighter background on the right side of the figure. In the fichu, firmly applied stripes and dots of white crayon, along with some lightly sketched-in lines indicating slight creases in the drapery, create an illusion of transparency.

The effect of the whole is something like that of an Impressionist portrait sketch, although the sitter retains the appearance of a staunch supporter of the old order. One is struck by the living presence of this complicated, intelligent woman—fierce but fragile, author of numerous court intrigues—who, with her parted lips, curiously intense gaze, and slack jaw, remains, by some miracle, feminine. A governess of the sisters, Madame Campan, describes Adélaïde as having "more wit than Madame Victoire; but she was

altogether deficient in that kindness which alone creates affection for the great,—abrupt manners, a harsh voice, and a short way of speaking, rendering her more than imposing."²³ Of the younger daughters of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska, Adélaïde was the only one permitted to remain at court, having pleaded tearfully with her father on the morning of their departure; for reasons of economy, the four youngest, ranging in age from five to just under one year old, were sent to the Abbaye de Fontevrault, far from Paris, between 1738 and 1750. After the death of her older sister Henriette, Adélaïde became her father's favorite and a determined adversary of his mistress, Madame de Pompadour.

The large finished painting of the princess (Figure 8),²⁴ among the artist's most imposing works, was hailed as a triumph by the critics. Labille-Guiard had subtly advanced her position as a painter of the "portrait historiée" by including a narrative frieze in the background representing the selfless devotion of Adélaïde and Victoire to their father, Louis XV, on his deathbed (in spite of the threat of smallpox), and by placing on an easel in the middle ground a drawing with the profiles of her deceased father, mother, and brother—all described in the *Salon livret* (see above) in the language characteristically used for the description of



10. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. Detail of *Madame Élisabeth de France* (Figure 1)

history paintings. Such a connection may have been reinforced by its position just above David's *Death of Socrates* at the Salon. Indeed, Labille-Guiard's portrait manages to convey a moral and political message with some dignity. Vigée Le Brun's portrait of the queen, *Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, and Her Children* (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon),²⁵ placed to the right of *Madame Adélaïde*, represents the dynasty's future, while the carefully constructed iconography of Madame Adélaïde's portrait emphasizes the distinguished rulers of the past and the sitter's loyalty to them.

The pastel study of Madame Victoire, then fifty-four years old, was produced at more or less the same time as that of Madame Adélaïde. It must be the work displayed at the 1787 Salon as no. 111, made in preparation for Labille-Guiard's full-length portrait of the sitter (Figure 9). The latter, not completed until 1788, was exhibited at the Salon of 1789. Although Labille-Guiard seems to have begun this pastel in the same informal spirit as the study of Madame Adélaïde, it has a considerably more finished appearance, and an effect of greater realism; this is most evident in the handling of the face and fichu. The brown, blue, and white

tones of the background have been thoroughly blended, but in the end suggest a cool indoor light more than the atmospheric effect often seen in finished eighteenth-century pastels. The artist has again faithfully represented the sitter's character, and the highly decorative bonnet featuring a light blue ribbon was transferred directly to the painting (where it is rendered, like Adélaïde's, all white for this more formal context). According to Madame Campan, Victoire, "good, sweet-tempered, and affable, lived with the most amiable simplicity in a society wherein she was much cherished; she was adored by her household. Without quitting Versailles, without sacrificing her easy chair, she fulfilled the duties of religion with punctuality, gave to the poor all she possessed, and strictly observed Lent and the fasts."²⁶ Labille-Guiard's pastel study of Victoire, thought to be the most beautiful of the princesses in her youth, reflects the good-natured, uncomplicated woman described by those who knew her. Like her sister Adélaïde, she was opposed to the anti-Church policies of the National Assembly and fled with her to Italy, seeking religious freedom and a haven from the Revolution. She died in Trieste in 1799; Adélaïde would survive her by only eight months.

In her full-length portrait, in which the sunlight and cast shadow on her blue satin dress are dramatically contrasted, Madame Victoire is shown walking in her beloved garden at the château de Bellevue, pointing toward the left, where a statue of “Friendship” is elevated on a pedestal. The subject is entirely appropriate to this princess, who rarely concerned herself with affairs of state and who wrote such delightful letters to her lady-in-waiting and good friend the comtesse de Chatellux. Her enthusiasm for her garden and the entire natural world is evident in a letter to her friend: “I passed the whole of Thursday night in the garden. Oh, how lovely the sun-rise was, and what glorious weather. . . . Madame de Mesmes was with me, in a delightful mood. I was really enchanted with the fine weather, the beautiful moon, the dawn, and the splendid sun; and then my cows and sheep and chickens, and the movement of all the work-people, who began their day’s work so light-heartedly.”²⁷ With a less weighty program than that employed in her painting of Madame Adélaïde, Labille-Guiard again created a portrait with the discursive narrative content suggestive of a history painting. In composition and handling, the influence of Anthony van Dyck and painters of the British school, such as William Beechey, John Hoppner, and Thomas Lawrence, is pronounced. As Passez has noted, the large portraits of the sisters are pendants (although they differ in width by 30 centimeters), and must have hung opposite each other at Versailles or at Bellevue.²⁸ Warm colors prevail in the interior with Madame Adélaïde, and cooler tones dominate Victoire’s daylit setting. With their figures facing obliquely, both sisters look out at the viewer, gesturing toward classicizing and personally meaningful works of art.

Madame Élisabeth, Adélaïde’s and Victoire’s niece, was between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-three when she sat for Labille-Guiard’s pastel study (Figures 1, 10). Compared with the finished painting of the sitter (Figure 11),²⁹ shown as number 109 at the 1787 Salon, the pastel can be seen as a private rather than a public portrait, suggesting Élisabeth’s reserve and modesty more than her charm. Her gaze is direct and serious; the pale blue redingote she wears—a garment that had just become fashionable—captures her youthful slenderness.³⁰ Also at the height of fashion was the immense turban of gauze and silk that can be generically categorized as a pouf. This article of clothing and the general position of the head were transferred to the painting and most of its replicas, just as the butterfly cap and pose of the head in Labille-Guiard’s pastels of Adélaïde and Victoire are carried over into their full-length portraits.³¹ These details seem to have been agreed upon in advance between the sitters and the artist. The pastel’s background is a deeper, cooler shade of blue than that used in the pastel study of Adélaïde, and the handling overall is slightly more finished; in comparison with the study of Victoire, however,



11. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Madame Élisabeth de France*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 57 3/4 x 45 1/4 in. (146.7 x 115 cm). Private collection, South America. Photograph courtesy of the Wildenstein Institute, New York

the surface is more vibrant, with more unblended—often warm—color accents in the figure. The artist seems to have found pleasure in modeling the rounded, youthful forms of this essentially half-length figure, balancing the ovoid head and slender neck with Élisabeth’s torso and arm, which cut into the space diagonally. A great deal of attention was devoted to the blue redingote, clearly too informal for use in the finished portrait. The double collar is wonderfully detailed, with its slightly curling edges, and the snug fit of the jacket is emphasized by the presence of several creases. Quick strokes of orange on the metal buttons, drawn with a light ochre that also reflects the blue of the jacket, provide a warm focus; strokes of cream or light yellow crayon around the upper left edges of the buttons read as brightly reflected light. The stillness of the composition, with its solid interlocking forms, the steady gaze of the sitter, and the artist’s faithful description of the ripeness of youth, all work together to produce a haunting portrait.

Élisabeth de France, born at Versailles on May 3, 1764, was the daughter of the Dauphin Louis-Ferdinand (Adélaïde’s and Victoire’s brother) and Marie-Josèphe of Saxony, both of whom had died of tuberculosis by the time she was three. Although she is described as a proud and fiery-tempered child, she became a pious and reserved young woman and a serious student, deeply attached to her family and the young girls with whom she was educated. To the latter she

12. Maurice Quentin de La Tour, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1748–55. Pastel, 69 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 51 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (177 x 130 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York



seems to have revealed a more spirited and playful side. Under the wings of her devout and conservative maiden aunts, Élisabeth had dedicated herself to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by the time she was sixteen. She was dearly loved by her brother Louis XVI, who found her presence steadying during his “ordeal” as King of France, a role for which he was ill-suited, and she was not inclined to forge a dynastic marriage that would require her to leave his side at Versailles. The happiest years of her life were spent at Montreuil, the château Louis presented to her on her eighteenth birthday, on condition that she not live there independently until she was twenty-five. At Montreuil Élisabeth started a dairy farm that provided milk and cheese to orphans and the elderly in the nearby village; the rest of her time was devoted to quiet study, prayer, and walking in the countryside with her friends. Although her biographers tend to emphasize her purity and goodness, she was not altogether naïve about the political situation in France. She understood but did not share the public’s antipathy toward Marie-Antoinette and was well aware of the problems created by her brother’s weakness and indecisiveness. In a letter of March 1, 1790, written to her close friend Angélique Mackau, marquise de Bombelles—then safely out of France—her royalist inclinations and her pragmatism are apparent: “If we had known how to profit by occa-

sions, believe me, we could have done well. But it was necessary to have firmness, it was necessary to face danger; we should have come out conquerors. I consider civil war is necessary. . . . Moreover anarchy never can end without it; the longer it is delayed, the more blood will be shed.” In the end, unwilling to seek exile with her aunts or be separated from her brother and the queen, she was executed in Paris during the Reign of Terror on May 10, 1794, by all accounts a tower of strength and kindness to those who accompanied her to the scaffold.

In Labille-Guiard’s finished painting (Figure 11), Madame Élisabeth is represented with heightened color in her cheeks, her head cocked slightly to the left, and her throat and wrists surrounded by ruffles. She is accompanied by “several attributes of the Sciences”: the table on which she rests her arm holds a globe, a compass, and a musical score opened on a stand, and in her right hand she holds a half-opened book. The Mesdames, and certainly Labille-Guiard, would have known La Tour’s full-length portrait of Madame de Pompadour seated at a desk, completed in 1755 (Figure 12). In La Tour’s magnificent pastel, which must have inspired the setting for Labille-Guiard’s finished portrait of Madame Élisabeth, the marquise is shown dressed with a quiet elegance, looking up from the open musical score she holds on her lap; her left arm rests on a desk, laden with attributes of the arts, literature, music, and astronomy, as well as a large globe.

The large painting of Élisabeth is somewhat uncharacteristic for Labille-Guiard, as the costume and pose approach the seductiveness of Vigée Le Brun’s female portraits. Although references to the arts and sciences accurately reflect the breadth of the sitter’s learning and interests, they read awkwardly in this portrait of a very young woman whose costume, including a turban adorned with an enormous white ostrich feather, is hardly understated. It is interesting that the replica of the portrait made for Élisabeth’s close friend the marquise de Bombelles omits all but the music on its stand. No color reproductions of the original are available, but Anne Marie Passez describes Madame Élisabeth as “dressed in the style of the Directory, with harmonious gradations of off-white, ivory, mother of pearl, and gray. Elements of color are provided by the gold of the tunic, the belt of precious stones, the red of the table and the blue velvet of the armchair.”³² Madame Élisabeth, although not intending to marry, must have been aiming for a different kind of self-definition than her maiden aunts, who were no longer of marriageable age. The portrait was greatly admired by Salon critics, and the authors of the *Mémoires secrets* noted that when she wanted to, Labille-Guiard “could give sparkle and brilliance to her brushwork. . . . The beauty of the flesh tones holds up beside those of Madame Le Brun and, as the touch of Madame Guiard is firmer, she is better able to convey the liveliness and elasticity of youth.”³³

A third “portrait en pied” by Labille-Guiard was exhibited at the Salon of 1789 along with the finished painting of Madame Victoire. It was the posthumous portrait of Louise-Élisabeth of France, duchess of Parma, with her son Don Ferdinand (now in the Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). The eldest of the eight daughters of Louis XV, and the only one to marry, she had died of smallpox in 1759 on a visit to Versailles. This striking work—which, like the large portrait of Madame Victoire, uses daylight and shadow to great dramatic effect—must have been commissioned by Madame Adélaïde. Its presence is recorded in the artist’s studio in her posthumous inventory, along with the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*: it was apparently never paid for.

A last royal commission came to Labille-Guiard through her association with the “old court” at Bellevue. This was the *Reception of a Knight of Saint Lazarus by Monsieur, Master of the Order*, commissioned by the comte de Provence (known as Monsieur), the considerably older brother of Madame Élisabeth, who later became Louis XVIII. A study for this enormous painting survives in the Musée de la Légion d’Honneur, Paris, and can be dated to 1788; Labille was still working on the project in September 1790.³⁴ In 1791, with the picture still incomplete, the comte de Provence left France without paying any part of the settled price of 30,000 livres or the expenses incurred over two and a half years. In the most difficult moment of her career, in August 1793, Labille-Guiard was ordered by the National Convention to burn the large picture, which measured more than 14 by 17 feet, as well as an autograph copy and all related studies. Besides the compositional study in Paris, she was able to preserve a pastel study for the head of the count (ca. 1788; Musée Antoine Lécuyer, Saint-Quentin), which is comparable in principle to the three studies of the Mesdames. Monsieur’s costume is loosely sketched in, but the head has a finished quality; the count’s appearance, not his character, has been faithfully recorded. This pastel also remained with the artist and was included in her husband’s posthumous sale in 1816.

Joachim Lebreton emphasizes the pride that Labille-Guiard took in her large picture for the comte de Provence.³⁵ According to him, the full-length portraits of the Mesdames de France and their sister the duchess of Parma “consolidated her reputation,” but “infinitely more precious to her than all the other favors of the court, was the opportunity to execute one of the largest paintings an artist of her time would ever be called upon to produce.” After many years of hard work and dedication, a door had opened for Labille-Guiard through the support of Madame Adélaïde following the Salon of 1785. Just six years later, with the flight of Monsieur in 1791, she lost her only remaining royal patron. Until the destruction of her most ambitious



13. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Tournelle, Called Dublin (1761–1820)*, ca. 1799. Oil on canvas, 28 1/8 x 22 1/2 in. (71.4 x 57.2 cm). Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bequest of Greville L. Winthrop (1943.230). Photograph: © Harvard Art Museum/ Art Resource, New York

composition, the artist was moving forward in her usual steady manner, with a particular goal in mind, a strategy. Had she not been forced to destroy this work, the response of those who saw it suggests that it would surely have been admired as a history painting by her colleagues within the Académie Royale.³⁶

In spite of her association with the royal family, Labille-Guiard managed to reinvent herself in the eyes of the National Assembly as a supporter of the Revolution and seems to have been allied with the more moderate faction backing a constitutional monarchy in France.³⁷ She sought out Maximilien Robespierre as a sitter³⁸ and exhibited a pastel of him at the Salon of 1791, along with at least thirteen other portraits of members of the Assembly. Apparently, most were pastels, a medium of choice under the circumstances, as it was portable and required no drying time; only one is known to have survived. At the Salons of 1795, 1798, and 1799, Labille-Guiard was represented by a number of highly accomplished three-quarter-length oil portraits (the largest measuring 39 by 31 inches), depicting intellectuals and friends more than politicians. Most of them, enlivened by distinguishing attributes, suggest small-scale historiated portraits. These works reflect a warmer, humanized variant of the Davidian sensibility then “in the air”; in fact, the artist’s last recorded Salon contribution, the striking portrait of the actor Dublin, a member of the Théâtre Français (Figure 13), was long erroneously attributed to David. Living

through most of that extremely difficult time in Paris and in Pontault-en-Brie, where she had purchased a house with Vincent, Mademoiselle Capet, and Victoire d'Avril (another former pupil), Labille-Guiard died following a brief illness in 1803 at the age of fifty-three.

The three pastel studies of the Mesdames remained with her until the end of her life. Beyond their importance as souvenirs of early professional victories and of her association with the powerful Mesdames de France (as well as the almost saintly Élisabeth), the artist may have found pleasure in the remarkable vitality of these studies. No doubt she felt immense gratitude to—even affection for—the Mesdames, particularly Madame Adélaïde, who had so forcefully encouraged the king to grant her a pension, and who was also the direct or indirect source of her most important commissions. An autograph copy of the full-length painting of Madame Adélaïde, a copy of it by another hand, and the compositional study for the large portrait of Madame Victoire in her garden must have remained with the artist, as they were included in Vincent's posthumous sale.

The pastel of Madame Élisabeth was kept by Vincent after the death of his wife, and it was purchased at his estate sale in 1816 by Gabrielle Capet. This favorite pupil and longtime companion of Labille-Guiard lived with Vincent until his death in 1816, surviving him by only two years. The pastel was included in the sale of her effects in 1818.³⁹ We lose track of it until 1909, when it is lent by Jacques Meyer to the Paris exhibition "Portraits de femmes sous les trois Républiques." In about 1963 the pastel reappears in the collection of Madame Louis Paraf (Élisabeth Wildenstein), from which it finds its way to Galerie Pardo, Paris. Pardo apparently had a connection with the William H. Schab Gallery in New York, and it was at the Schab gallery in 1969 that Mrs. Stafford acquired the portrait of Madame Élisabeth.

It is especially satisfying to have under the same roof the pastel study of Madame Élisabeth and Labille-Guiard's painted masterpiece, the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*, the artist's first step in an all-too-brief campaign to achieve the status of history painter, the highest level of art production in France, and follow the path to glory as defined by the male-centered establishment of the Académie Royale. Only with hindsight might she have grasped the irony of the situation. Labille-Guiard left a relatively small oeuvre, and it is perhaps the desire to understand the direction her art might have taken had her life been longer and less difficult that leaves us with a special interest in understanding every aspect of her artistic personality. The recently acquired pastel of Madame Élisabeth, the large formal *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*, and the Museum's lovely compositional study for the painting all suggest the remarkable breadth of her talent.⁴⁰ By itself, the pastel offers a rare glimpse of Labille-Guiard's mature style and sensibility as it was developing, before she had experienced the losses and disappointments of the revolutionary years.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks to my colleagues Katharine Baetjer, who encouraged me to write about this fascinating work; Marjorie Shelley, in whose care it was when I first examined it; and Andrea Bayer and Eve Straussman-Pflanzer, who read through the manuscript at various stages. I am also grateful to Joseph Baillio for his advice while the article was under way and for his careful reading of the text. Many thanks also to Laura Auricchio, who shared her insights about Labille-Guiard's place within the politics of revolutionary France, to Aileen Ribeiro for responding to my inquiries about costume, and to Patrice Mattia for her help in acquiring the necessary images.

APPENDIX: WORKS RELATED TO ADÉLAÏDE
LABILLE-GUIARD'S PASTEL STUDIES OF
THE MESDAMES DE FRANCE

The portrait of Élisabeth shown at the 1787 Salon (Figure 11) was sold by Wildenstein, Paris, before World War II to a South American collector, and presumably survives in a later generation of this family. This portrait probably came from the château de Bellevue, residence of the Mesdames. A study for it was sold at Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, April 8, 1990,⁴¹ and it is reproduced in color in the advertising pages of the first issue of the *Revue du Louvre* (1990). The costume as it appears in the final work has been established, but the table with its accessories has not yet been brought into the composition. At this point, as Passez reports, the color of the dress is aqua and the velvet armchair is "cranberry."

An autograph replica of the final composition⁴² came from the château de Montreuil, the estate of Madame Élisabeth, which was developed in the 1970s as a luxury hotel. The picture was apparently removed from the château during its restoration, as it belonged in 1973 to Lydie Chantrell (Paris), daughter of Jean-Baptiste Chantrell, the architect in charge of the restoration. A second autograph replica⁴³ was made for Madame Élisabeth's close friend Angélique Mackau, marquise de Bombelles, and was inherited through the marriage of her daughter or granddaughter by the Casteja family, France.

An oval painting based on the head and torso of Elisabeth as it appears in the 1787 Salon portrait is in the château de Versailles (Figure 14).⁴⁴ In this variant, the turban of gauze and silk is replaced by a smaller confection of lace and ostrich feathers.

Marie Gabrielle Capet may have traveled with Labille-Guiard on her important first visits to the Mesdames, as the engraver S. C. Miger used profile drawings ascribed to her as the basis for oval medallions of Adélaïde and Victoire.⁴⁵ The bonnets and costumes of the Mesdames in these drawings are very similar to those in which they appear in Labille-Guiard's pastel studies, as are the upholstered chairs with their rounded backs.

Several miniatures attributed to Mademoiselle Capet may represent Madame Élisabeth. An unsigned miniature in the Musée du Louvre, Paris,⁴⁶ now generally identified as a portrait of Madame Élisabeth by Capet, shows a standing young woman wearing a simple white muslin dress with an empire waist created by a dark sash; based on the costume,



14. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. *Élisabeth-Philippine-Marie-Hélène de France*, called "Madame Élisabeth," 1788. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 25 in. (81 x 63.6 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

Arnauld Doria dates the miniature to about 1787. A fine signed miniature by Capet (present whereabouts unknown)⁴⁷ portrays a young woman in a simple light-colored (possibly blue) dress with a white fichu and a feathered turbanlike headdress, quite similar to the costume in our pastel; the upholstered chair with rounded back is also present. (Doria erroneously identifies the sitter as Labille-Guiard.) A third miniature, sold at Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 2, 1955, is signed by Capet and said to represent Madame Élisabeth. She is wearing a striped dress and a bonnet with three layers of lace.⁴⁸

ABBREVIATION

Passez 1973

Anne Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803: Biographie et catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre*. Paris, 1973.

NOTES

1. See Colin B. Bailey, "A Still-Life Painter and Her Patrons: Collecting Vallayer-Coster, 1770–1789," in *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, ed. Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Dallas Museum of Art; Frick Collection, New York (Dallas, 2002), p. 68; and Joseph Baillio, *Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1755–1842*, exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas (Fort Worth, 1982), pp. 6, 49, 61–64, 78–81.
2. This was a weekly exhibition of books, paintings, mechanical inventions, and natural curiosities organized by Mammès Claude Pahin de la Blancherie and known after May 14, 1783, as the Salon de la Correspondance.
3. At the age of twenty, she had married Louis-Nicolas Guiard, but the couple appears to have had little in common. They were divorced after the Revolution when this was legally possible. Vincent and Labille-Guiard did not marry until 1800.
4. Opinion is divided about how actively the two best female portraitists of the period competed with each other. Some authorities see the "competition" as simply a talking point for Salon critics, who focused on the charms and the relative merits of the work of Labille-Guiard and Vigée Le Brun in an attempt to "sell the news." Others take the existence of their competition for granted, as there is evidence of enmity toward Labille-Guiard in Vigée's memoirs, although no record exists of Labille-Guiard's feelings toward her; they were, after all, representing feuding camps within the royal family. Joseph Baillio (conversation with the author, May 2008) is convinced that the very quality of their work during the years that they were both exhibiting at the Salon is evidence of their competitive spirit. In contrast to Labille-Guiard, a serious and private woman who worked slowly and deliberately, Vigée Le Brun was a social animal, a beautiful woman confident of her charms and at ease among the nobility of Paris; her paintings seem to convey some of this easy elegance. Unlike Labille-Guiard, who came to painting late, Vigée, the daughter of a portrait painter, was already established in her profession by 1770 at the age of fifteen and produced her first commissioned portrait of Marie-Antoinette when she was just twenty-three. Never at a loss for commissions or clients, she was also able to command much higher prices for her portraits. Contemporary critics admired Labille-Guiard's work for what they saw as its virility, firmness, and truth; Vigée Le Brun's paintings were seen as livelier (especially in their color), more feminine, and more flattering. It was generally agreed that the latter was more inventive in the way she posed her sitters.
5. Because malicious rumors, including those published and later suppressed in the *Suite de Malborough* [sic] *au Salon 1783* (transcribed in *Collection Deloynes*, vol. 13, no. 302, p. 748), suggested that Labille-Guiard was romantically involved with Vincent and that he was touching up her work—in spite of the fact that he had no experience with the pastel medium—some authors (including Joachim Lebreton, *Nécrologie: Notice sur Madame Vincent, née Labille, peintre* [Paris, an XI (1803)], offprint from *Nouvelles des arts* 2, no. 18, p. 4) claimed that she painted "numerous academicians, so that they would know from their own experience that her talent was entirely her own." For a discussion of the slanderous article and Labille-Guiard's handling of it, see Laura Auricchio, "Self-Promotion in Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's 1785 *Self-Portrait with Two Students*," *Art Bulletin* 89 (March 2007), pp. 47–48.
6. The available provenance offers little evidence that these early pastels were made for the sitters (see Passez 1973). For example, Labille-Guiard kept the portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien, the teacher of Jacques-Louis David, and after her death it remained with Vincent. Labille-Guiard's early pastel of Vincent (Musée du Louvre, Paris) was shown in June 1782 at the Salon de la Correspondance with the title "Le portrait de M. Vincent, peintre du Roi, peint au pastel pour M. Suvée, peintre du Roi," but as Passez notes (1973, p. 92), it was not included in Joseph-Benoît Suvée's 1807 estate sale. Likewise, the pastel of the painter Guillaume Voiriot, described as having been made for Vincent at the Salon de la Correspondance in June 1782, is not mentioned in the posthumous inventory of Labille-Guiard or Vincent.
7. Some indication of the informal arrangements between the artist and these academicians is suggested by Augustin Pajou's 1784 bust of Claude-Edme Labille, father of Labille-Guiard; it was made two years after the latter's 1782 pastel of the sculptor and a year after her 1783 portrait of his daughter Flore (Figure 6). The portrait of Pajou served as Labille's first *morceau de réception* at the Académie Royale. The bust of her father is included in the background of the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* and remained in her studio until her death in 1803. James Draper, in *Augustin Pajou: Royal Sculptor, 1730–1809*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris, and MMA (New York, 1997), p. 259, notes that "with it Pajou thanked Mme Labille-Guiard for her earlier pastel of him."
8. Labille-Guiard's artistic development between her first Salon exhibition in 1783 and the following one in 1785 was extraordinary. It can be seen not only in the well-known *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* but also in her portrait *The Comtesse de Flahaut and Her Son* (according to Passez 1973 in the Hood Collection, Jersey, Channel Islands), the large *Portrait of the Painter Charles-Amédée van Loo (1718–1795)* (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon), and a number of other impressive portraits in oil.
9. According to Mouffle d'Angerville, author of the 1785 commentary for the *Mémoires secrets* (see Bernadette Fort, ed., *Les Salons des "Mémoires secrets," 1767–1787* [Paris, 1999], p. 300), Labille-Guiard was not alone in this inclination. He describes her self-portrait as "un tableau historié" and later notes that "most of the portraitists exhibiting [at the 1785 Salon] seem to have aimed higher, approaching history [painting] as closely as possible." Marie H. Trope-Podell further discusses this phenomenon in "'Portraits historiés' et portraits collectifs dans la critique française du XVIIIe siècle," *Revue de l'art*, no. 109 (1995), pp. 40–45.
10. The omission of women as subjects from history painting, or their relegation to a separate, more passive part of a picture—as in David's *The Victors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (Musée du Louvre, Paris)—during the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary periods has been the subject of considerable art historical attention in the past fifteen years. See, for example, Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven, 1995), in which "an increasing masculinization of advanced art," particularly in David's studio, is thoroughly discussed. In Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils*, we must admire her pictorial imagination as she turns the solipsism of the times to her advantage in a context that seems completely natural.
11. This letter and the one subsequently discussed are published in Passez 1973, p. 301.

10. *Année littéraire* 8 (1785), transcribed in *Collection Deloynes*, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 796.
11. This commission has been the focus of several articles: see Jean Cailleux, "Portrait of Madame Adélaïde of France, Daughter of Louis XV," *Burlington Magazine* 111 (March 1969), pp. I–VI (advertising supplement), who first discusses Labille-Guiard's portrait of Madame Adélaïde in relation to Vigée Le Brun's portrait of Marie-Antoinette and her children, also exhibited at the 1787 Salon, as reflecting a political division within the royal family; and Jennifer Milam, "Matronage and the Direction of Sisterhood: Portraits of Madame Adélaïde," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Aldershot, England, 2003), pp. 115–37, who discusses (p. 117) the means by which Madame Adélaïde "directed a type of female power most appropriate to her situation through the pairing of her own portrait with those of her sisters," first in relation to Jean-Marc Nattier's portraits of the three older sisters as young women, and continuing with the portraits commissioned from Labille-Guiard. In the absence of direct evidence for Madame Adélaïde as patroness for many of these pictures, Milam coins the term "matronage" to describe her (presumed) involvement in the fashioning of her image as well as those of Victoire and Louise-Élisabeth, duchess of Parma. Melissa Hyde ("Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*," in Hyde and Milam, *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity*, pp. 139–63) focuses on the context and development of Labille-Guiard's portrait of Madame Adélaïde, which she views as presenting alongside Vigée Le Brun's portrait of Marie-Antoinette and her children "a united front of Bourbon nobility, goodness and legitimacy that extended along the entire axis of its past, present, and future" (p. 144).
12. Although no contracts for these commissions survive, there appear to be records of payment for the original portraits of Madame Adélaïde and Madame Victoire, at 5,000 livres per portrait, as well as considerable correspondence between the interested parties regarding payment for replicas of these works once the Mesdames had left France (see Passez 1973, pp. 182, 303–4; and Casimir Stryjenski, *The Daughters of Louis XV (Mesdames de France)*, trans. Cranstoun Metcalf [London, 1912], p. 191). The price set on each replica was 5,000 livres. Records of payment by Madame Élisabeth for her original portrait and two replicas, at 3,000 livres per portrait, remain in the Archives Nationales de France (see Passez 1973, p. 28). A price of 4,000 livres seems to have been established for the portrait of the Infanta, Louise-Élisabeth of France, but this picture remained in the artist's studio at her death and appears never to have been paid for. The autograph replica of the portrait of Madame Adélaïde included in the posthumous sale of Vincent may similarly be a work that was never paid for.
13. As Cailleux ("Portrait of Madame Adélaïde," p. IV) puts it, "in opposition to the Queen's extravagance, to her capricious nature, to her friends, in opposition to the feebleness of the King who yielded to the demands of his wife, there was the coalition of the daughters of Louis XV, Mesdames. The latter represented the spirit of the old Court, the rigid moral and Christian principles of their mother and of the Dauphin, their brother."
14. *Ibid.*, pp. I, III; and Xavier Salmon, *Les pastels: Musée National du Château de Versailles* (Paris, 1997), p. 102.
15. Marjorie Shelley, "Pastelists at Work: Two Portraits at the Metropolitan Museum by Maurice Quentin de La Tour and Jean Baptiste Perronneau," *MMJ* 40 (2005), p. 110.
16. Perrin Stein in *Eighteenth-Century French Drawings in New York Collections*, by Perrin Stein and Mary Tavener Holmes, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1999), pp. 188–90, no. 82, ill. This drawing was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. Stein notes that "a tiny corpus of drawings has been connected to her oeuvre."
17. An author in the *Mercure de France* on September 22, 1787 (pp. 176–77; see *Collection Deloynes*, no. 396, p. 835), commenting on Labille-Guiard's submissions to the 1787 Salon, observed, "Elle a dans le pastel une manière molle et dénuée de tout effet" (She has in her pastels a style that is weak and lacking in effect [that is, flat]).
18. Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800* (London, 2006), p. 22.
19. The pastel portrait study as a type appears to have had a limited life span within Labille-Guiard's oeuvre. Portraits of the vicomte and vicomtesse de Gand were exhibited by the artist as numbers 115 and 116 and presented as "Études en pastelle" at the Salon of 1787 along with the three portraits of the Mesdames. Only the portrait of the vicomtesse, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., has survived. It shows an attractive young woman with a fetching hat and a small bouquet of flowers attached near her bosom. Although its handling has the looseness and informality of Labille-Guiard's preparatory studies of the Mesdames, it is more decorative in effect and lacks the intense focus that the artist brought to the studies discussed here. There are no documented "finished" portraits of the couple by Labille-Guiard. A pastel study appears to have preceded the oil painting of the comtesse de Selve (Salon of 1787, Paris; see Passez 1973, nos. 90, 91). The present location of the pastel, which is signed and dated 1785, is unknown; the painting is now in a private collection in New York. Finally, a pastel study of the head of the comte de Provence, which must date from 1788, preceded an important commission for him that is discussed below.
20. "Par M.^{de} Guyard, premier Peintre de Mesdames, Académicienne.
109. Madame Elisabeth, peinte jusqu'aux genoux, appuyée sur une table garnie de plusieurs attributs de Sciencès. Tableau de 4 pieds 8 pouces, sur 3 pieds, 8 pouces.
110. Madame Adélaïde
Au bas des portraits en médaillon du feu Roi, de la feüe Reine & du feu [Dauphin], réunis en un bas-relief imitant le bronze, la Princesse, qui est supposée les avoir peints elle-même, vient de tracer ces mots:
"Leur image est encore le charme de ma vie."
Sur un ployant est un rouleau de papier sur lequel est tracé le plan du Couvent fondé à Versailles par la feüe Reine, & dont Madame Adélaïde est Directrice.
Le lieu de la scène est une galerie ornée de bas-reliefs représentant différents traits de la vie de Louis XV; le plus apparent retrace les derniers moments de ce Roi, où, après avoir fait retirer les princes à cause du danger de la maladie, Mesdames entrent malgré toutes les oppositions en disant: "Nous ne sommes heureusement que des Princesses." On y aperçoit un autre bas-relief où Louis XV montre au Dauphin, son fils, le champ de bataille de Fontenoy, en disant: "Voyez ce que coûte une victoire."
Ce Portrait en pied, a 8 pieds 6 pouces de haut, sur 6 pieds 2 pouces de large. [These are old French units of measurement, very close to current feet and inches (i.e., 1 pied = 1.066 foot).]
111. Madame Victoire.
Étude en pastel, pour faire le pendant du Portrait de Madame Adélaïde"

21. The butterfly cap was an essential part of the Bellevue uniform. The comtesse de Boigne (daughter of one of Madame Adélaïde's ladies-in-waiting) describes Madame Adélaïde in her early memoirs of the French court: "I can still see her tall, thin figure, her tucked violet dress (which was the uniform at Bellevue), her butterfly hat, and two large teeth, which were the only ones she had. She had been very pretty, but at this time was extremely ugly, and so I thought her." See Comtesse de Boigne, *Mémoires of the Comtesse de Boigne*, ed. Anka Muhlstein, 2 vols. (New York, 2003), vol. 1, p. 4. Stryienski (*Daughters of Louis XV*, pp. 187–88) identifies the bonnet worn in the Versailles portrait of Madame Adélaïde as a butterfly cap. We can see how consistently enforced the wearing of the Bellevue uniform was from Labille-Guiard's oil painting of the duchesse de Narbonne (Passez 1973, no. 85). The duchesse, another lady-in-waiting to Adélaïde, is portrayed in a satin dress, fichu, and bonnet that appear to be identical to those worn by Madame Victoire in the pastel study.
22. Shelley, "Pastelists at Work," p. 111. Shelley notes that to achieve such verisimilitude without mixing colors, "the pastelists had to apply the tints in imperceptible tonal steps and blend the strokes of adjacent hues either with the crayon or 'sweeten' them with the finger or the stump [a roll of leather]. These skills, among the most important for those working in this medium, required only the slightest pressure so as not to flatten the powder."
23. Madame Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie de Marie-Antoinette*... (Paris, 1849), p. 58.
24. The painting is visible in Bornet's engraving after Martini, *Exposition au Salon du Louvre en 1787*; see Passez 1973, fig. 3.
25. As Joseph Baillio has pointed out ("Marie-Antoinette et ses enfants par Mme Vigée Le Brun [deuxième partie]," *L'oeil*, May 1981, p. 59), the impossibility of presenting Marie-Antoinette with the timeless authority appropriate to her position as queen by divine right and simultaneously suggesting "the delicate and transitory joys of a mother surrounded by her children" burdened this beautifully painted and carefully conceived portrait with an awkwardness that was noted by many critics.
26. Campan, *Mémoires*, p. 57.
27. Stryienski, *Daughters of Louis XV*, p. 154.
28. Passez 1973, p. 210. Juliette Trey, curator at Versailles, reports (in emails to the author, September 2008) that both portraits have been relined, which would obscure any evidence that the portrait of Victoire was cut down. She adds that the records at Versailles do not mention such an alteration, but "restorations have been badly documented in the past."
29. Passez 1973, no. 72.
30. The redingote was an adaptation of the English riding costume, taken up first by fashionable Frenchmen and then adopted by the women; it was exactly the sort of costume described by J. Quicherat (*Histoire du costume en France*... [Paris, 1875], p. 613) as gaining in popularity in 1786: "Nos dames commencèrent à porter des robes en redingote, qui avaient des revers, des parements, un double collet et des boutons de métal" (Our women have begun wearing dresses *en redingote*, with lapels, cuffs, a double collar, and metal buttons).
31. Passez (1973, p. 76) calls it a "réplique au pastel de l'original ou étude préparatoire" (replica in pastel of the original or a preparatory study). The simplicity of the costume, consistent with those in the pastel studies of her aunts, as well as the informal handling, would tend to cast doubt on the identification of this work as a replica of the Salon picture. Jeffares (*Dictionary of Pastellists*, p. 271) calls it a study for the Salon picture.
32. Passez 1973, p. 172.
33. Fort, *Salons des "Mémoires secrets,"* p. 323.
34. See her letter of September 10, 1790, to Monsieur de Boistel, in Passez 1973, pp. 303–4.
35. Joachim Lebreton, a young teacher who became the head of the Bureau des Beaux-Arts in the French Ministry of the Interior during the Republic, befriended the artist in 1795 and wrote the obituary that is the most reliable source of information about her: *Nécrologie: Notice sur Madame Vincent, née Labille, peintre* (see note 5 above). Through him she would acquire the lodgings in the Louvre that had earlier been denied her. Their friendship is documented in Labille-Guiard's charming portrait of this young man, which was recently acquired by the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.
36. It also seems reasonable to suppose that if Labille-Guiard's career had not been interrupted just as it was being launched, she would gradually have abandoned the production of finished pastels in favor of the large historiated portraits in oil that appear to have been her ultimate goal.
37. Laura Auricchio (conversation with the author, June 18, 2008). Auricchio's book, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, forthcoming 2009), clarifies the artist's engagement in the sociopolitical world of Paris at the time.
38. As Auricchio (see note 37 above) points out, Robespierre was not at this point the key player in the Reign of Terror he would later become.
39. The posthumous inventories of Labille-Guiard (Madame Vincent), the sale of F. A. Vincent, and the posthumous inventory of Marie Gabrielle Capet are published in Passez 1973, pp. 305–13.
40. As this article was going to press, the Museum acquired a fourth work by Labille-Guiard, a gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. The *Study of a Seated Woman Seen from Behind (Marie-Gabrielle Capet)*, a polished *tête d'expression* in red, black, and white chalk, is dated 1789. See Perrin Stein in *The Wrightsman Pictures*, ed. Everett Fahy (New York, New Haven, and London, 2005), no. 72.
41. Passez 1973, no. 71, pl. 58 (103 x 83 cm).
42. *Ibid.*, no. 73 (151 x 118 cm).
43. *Ibid.*, no. 74, pl. 56.
44. *Ibid.*, no. 75.
45. See Arnauld Doria, *Gabrielle Capet* (Paris, 1934), p. 72, nos. 19, 20.
46. *Ibid.*, no. 21.
47. *Ibid.*, no. 23.
48. My thanks to Joseph Baillio at Wildenstein for bringing this work to my attention.

Jonathan Sturges, W. H. Osborn, and William Church Osborn: A Chapter in American Art Patronage

CHRISTINE I. OAKLANDER

Lehigh Valley Hospital and Health Network

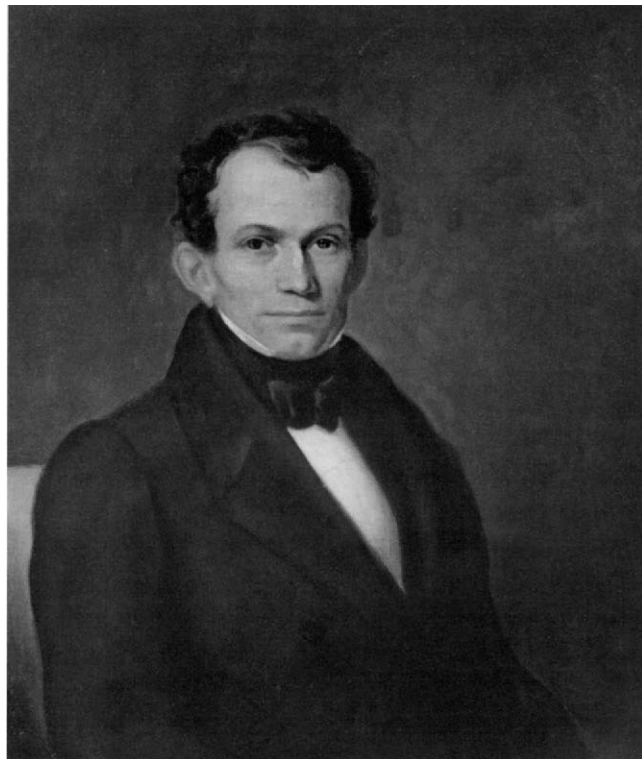
The history of the establishment of art museums in the United States is one in which private collectors and businessmen joined together to present art as a refining and educating influence for the public. By 1870, when The Metropolitan Museum of Art was founded, the educational value of museums was a prime concern for the young nation, which suffered from a cultural inferiority complex despite the industrial and financial prominence it had attained.¹ There was much talk in the popular media about the federal government's failure to establish nationally supported museums comparable to the Louvre in Paris and the National Gallery in London. The early history of American art museums was indeed quite different from that of European art institutions, reflecting the characteristic American spirit of private entrepreneurship. In the decades after the Metropolitan Museum opened to the public in 1872,² gifts and purchases of ancient art and European and American fine and decorative arts from the collections of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Collis P. Huntington, and J. Pierpont Morgan, among many, brought the institution international recognition. With the recent resurgence of interest in the history of collecting and patronage, the time is ripe for sharing the story of three generations of patrons and collectors who played significant roles in the Museum's history: Jonathan Sturges, his son-in-law William Henry (W. H.) Osborn, and Sturges's grandson William Church Osborn.

Years ago, while hunting for Thomas Cole's (1801–1848) lost unfinished series *The Cross and the World*, I noticed that W. H. Osborn, the supposed owner of at least one of the paintings, was married to Virginia Reed Sturges, Jonathan's eldest child. This article represents my first attempt to share excerpts from unpublished diaries, letters, and photographs that chronicle the lives and art patronage of the Sturges and Osborn families. The families were distinguished not only by their benevolence to artists but by their quiet support of a range of public causes.

Although the merchant Jonathan Sturges (1802–1874; Figure 1) is little known today, his art collection was listed in Henry T. Tuckerman's seminal *Book of the Artists* (1867)

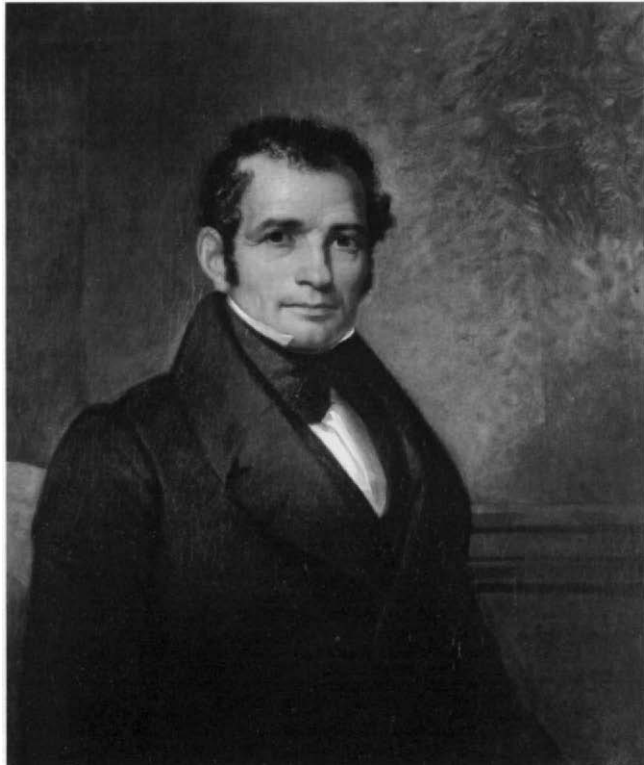
as one of ten noteworthy private collections in New York City.³ In 2005 the New York Public Library sold one of its greatest treasures, Asher B. Durand's (1796–1886) *Kindred Spirits* (1849; Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, Arkansas), an iconic painting that communicates in dramatic terms the relationship between Cole and the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), between painting and literature, between art and nature, and between nature and spirituality. Many who mourn this loss to New York's cultural heritage do not know that it was Sturges who commissioned the painting as a gift to Bryant, in tribute to his masterful funeral oration for Cole.

Born in Southport, Connecticut, Sturges spent much of his childhood in nearby Fairfield. Although he was descended from a distinguished and well-to-do family (his grandfather,

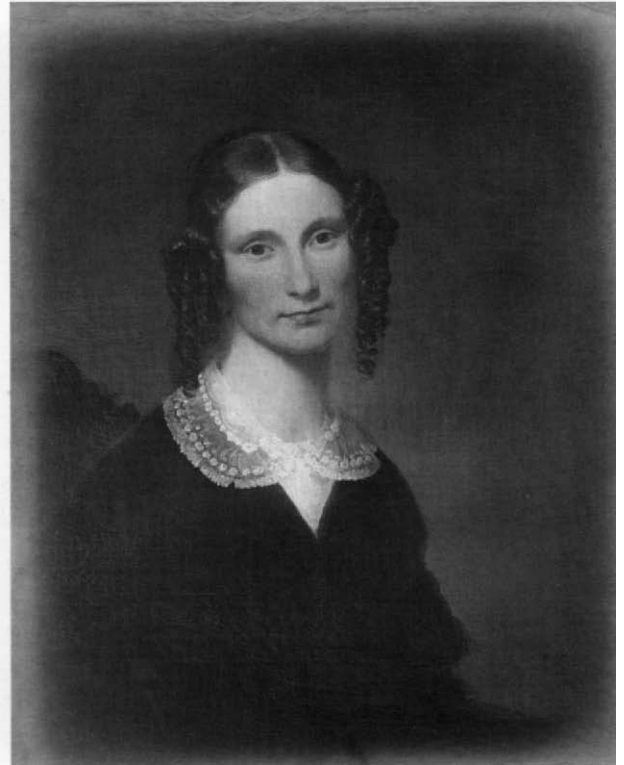


1. Asher B. Durand (American, 1796–1886). *Jonathan Sturges*, ca. 1836–37. Oil on canvas, 30½ x 25 in. (77.5 x 63.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Frederick Sturges, Jr., 1977 (1977.342.1)

2. Asher B. Durand. *Luman Reed*, 1835. Oil on canvas, 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (76.5 x 64.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mary Fuller Wilson, 1962 (63.36)



3. Charles C. Ingham (American, born Ireland, 1796–1863) or Daniel Huntington (American, 1816–1906). *Mary Pemberton Cady Sturges*. Private collection



a Yale-educated lawyer, represented Connecticut as a delegate to the Continental Congress and was a member of the United States House of Representatives), his father had lost his share of the family fortune in a failed business venture, so Jonathan was obliged to go to work to help support the family. In 1821 he left for New York City and, so the story goes, knocked on the door of R. and L. Reed, wholesale grocers, at 125 Front Street, seeking employment. Told that no vacancies existed, Sturges promptly reported next door and again rapped, not knowing that the firm occupied both buildings. Luman Reed (1785–1836; Figure 2) was impressed by Sturges's youthful perseverance and hired him as a clerk.⁴ In 1828 Reed rewarded the energetic young man by making him a partner in the firm, then renamed Reed and Sturges.⁵ After Reed's death Sturges became the senior partner, remaining with the firm until his retirement in 1867 and attaining a prominent position in the New York business world.⁶ Sturges and his wife, Mary Pemberton Cady (1806–1894; Figure 3), became personal friends of the Reeds, and Sturges learned of his mentor's interest in art and his developing friendships with Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, and William Sidney Mount (1807–1868), as well as the painter George Whiting Flagg (1816–1897). These cordial relationships would be curtailed by Reed's sudden death after only six years of collecting, yet in that brief period he became a close friend of Cole, Durand, and Mount, and the financial mainstay of Cole and Durand. In 1834 Reed unveiled the art gallery he had built on the top floor of his new home on

Greenwich Street, in lower Manhattan. There William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, Samuel F. B. Morse, Cole, Durand, Mount, other cultural and political figures, and leaders in business gathered to enjoy the collection and share the news of the day. This lively atmosphere was replicated by the Sturges family, who were known for their musical evenings. In 1863 Arthur Sturges, Jonathan's son, described such an evening in his pocket diary:

Mr. [Louis Moreau] Gottschalk came to play for us to night, and among the company assembled to hear him were Gen. McClellan, Mr. Church and Mr. Durand. . . . Just after supper Mr. C pointed to an old monk's head in the dining room, and asked who the painter was. On hearing that it was a copy from Titian by Durand he said, "Ah I see a repetition (Titian)." Gottschalk appeared to be very pleasant and intelligent.⁷

Mary Sturges's 1894 obituary provides more detail about the family's hospitality:

From her marriage to Mr. Sturges in 1828 she became identified with the best social life here. Their home . . . was the headquarters of the Sketch Club. She entertained the art and literary celebrities of the day there. Bryant, [Washington] Irving, and [Nathaniel Parker] Willis were among her friends. . . . Her husband's prominence as a merchant brought public men to their home. She knew nearly all the

Presidents. Clay, Webster, and Calhoun enjoyed her hospitality. In later years her guests included Grant, McClellan, Sherman, Burnside, Hancock, and Farragut.⁸

We can be fairly certain that Reed inspired Sturges to join the city's artistic and literary circles. This involvement had already begun by the early 1820s, when Sturges viewed John Vanderlyn's panorama *The Palace and Gardens of Versailles* (Metropolitan Museum) and his *Ariadne* (New-York Historical Society) on public display at the Rotunda in City Hall Park.⁹ The first reference to Sturges as a patron and collector is found in Reed's correspondence. In June 1835 Reed, accompanied by his son-in-law Theodore Allen, traveled to Boston with Durand, whom he had commissioned to paint John Quincy Adams and copy Gilbert Stuart's (1755–1828) portraits of John Adams and of George and Martha Washington that were displayed at the Boston Athenaeum. On June 4 Reed reported Durand's progress to Sturges:

Durand has had a sitting of Mr. Adams to day & goes again on Saturday, he feels very confident of getting a better likeness than the first one. I communicated your Message to him & it will be a pleasing undertaking to him to paint your little Boy & Virginia also if you wish it.¹⁰

The resulting double portrait of Virginia and Frederick Sturges is still owned by the family. Well satisfied with Durand's work, Sturges commissioned him to paint a second portrait, this time of his younger children Amelia and Edward, as well as portraits of himself and Reed, sympathetic likenesses that were later donated to the Metropolitan (see Figures 1 and 2). Sturges encouraged Durand's transition from portraiture to landscape painting, in 1836 giving him his first commission for a landscape, *View near Saugerties* (collection of William and Anne Jacobi).¹¹ The two embarked on a singularly close and long-lasting relationship.

It is striking that the Sturges collection was composed of contemporary American art that was mostly purchased from the artists.¹² At the time, many American collectors were focused on European old master art, much of it spurious. Just coming into fashion were artists trained in the precise and sentimental style of the Düsseldorf school, such as the German American Emanuel Leutze (1816–1868) and the American Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910). In the decades before commercial art galleries were established in New York, one could acquire contemporary American art only at the National Academy of Design, through the American Art-Union, and through auctions of private collections.¹³ Sturges provided several artists with much-needed financial and moral support. He continued Reed's close relationships with Durand, Cole, and Mount, also

extending friendship and patronage to Henry Peters Gray (1819–1877), Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900), John Gadsby Chapman (1808–1889), Henry Kirke Brown (1814–1886), Francis W. Edmonds (1806–1863), Henry Inman (1801–1846), Robert W. Weir (1803–1889), Daniel Huntington (1816–1906), and Charles C. Ingham (1796–1863), among others. Sturges helped many of them early in their careers and, like Reed, felt a sense of pride in the role he played in helping to shape a homegrown American art.

When Reed died, Cole was in the middle of an important commission for him, the famous five-painting series *The Course of Empire* (1834–36, New-York Historical Society). Cole, who had perennial money troubles and was counting on this lucrative commission, wondered if the Reed family would honor the agreement but did not know how to bring up the delicate subject. Sturges interceded for him with the Reeds, ensuring that the order was honored. Sturges himself also commissioned a major painting from Cole, *View on the Catskill, Early Autumn* (Figure 4), one of the masterpieces of the Metropolitan's nineteenth-century American art collection. A recently discovered letter from artist to patron, written in February 1837, discusses the commission, emphasizing the warm feelings shared by Cole, Sturges, and Reed while lamenting the despoliation of the region's natural splendor:

I was gratified to learn that you anticipate [the] completion [of your painting] with such interest—I assure you that the fact of yourself being always associated with the memory of Mr. Reed will not diminish my efforts to make the picture worthy of the friend of that noble friend—The picture is an American View, which I believe you desired, & it is the richest I have been able to select—It is a view

4. Thomas Cole (American, born England, 1801–1848), *View on the Catskill, Early Autumn*, 1837. Oil on canvas, 39 x 63 in. (99.1 x 160 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges by his children, 1895 (95.13.3)



5. Asher B. Durand. *In the Woods*, 1855. Oil on canvas, 60¾ x 48 in. (154.3 x 121.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges by his children, 1895 (95.13.1)



in the valley of the Catskill near this place. Mr. Reed and myself have several times together gazed on the scene & with mutual delight. The vicinity of the site from which the view is taken was a favourite haunt of mine—but its beauty has passed away—the same season that took away Mr. Reed found the valley desolate & the magnificent woods had all been felled—I take a pleasure in thinking that my picture may for years to come—tell what the Valley of the Catskill was before what is called “improvement” blasted the scene—I hope you will not anticipate too much in this picture—remember it is a view & it is impossible to introduce in a view the richness of composition & variety of objects that can be clustered together in a composition.¹⁴

After Cole’s death in 1848, Sturges was one of eleven organizers of the Thomas Cole memorial exhibition, to which he loaned three paintings: *View on the Catskill, Early Autumn*; *Mill Dam on the Catskill Creek* (1841, Currier Museum of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire); and *View on the Thames, England* (1844–45, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).¹⁵ It is also likely that Sturges at least partly financed Louis Legrand Noble’s *Life and Works of Thomas Cole* (1857).

Following the example of Reed, who invited the young George Whiting Flagg to travel to Europe in 1834 and study the old masters, Sturges sponsored a year abroad in 1840–41

for Durand, who was to repay him with paintings. Sturges asked only that he

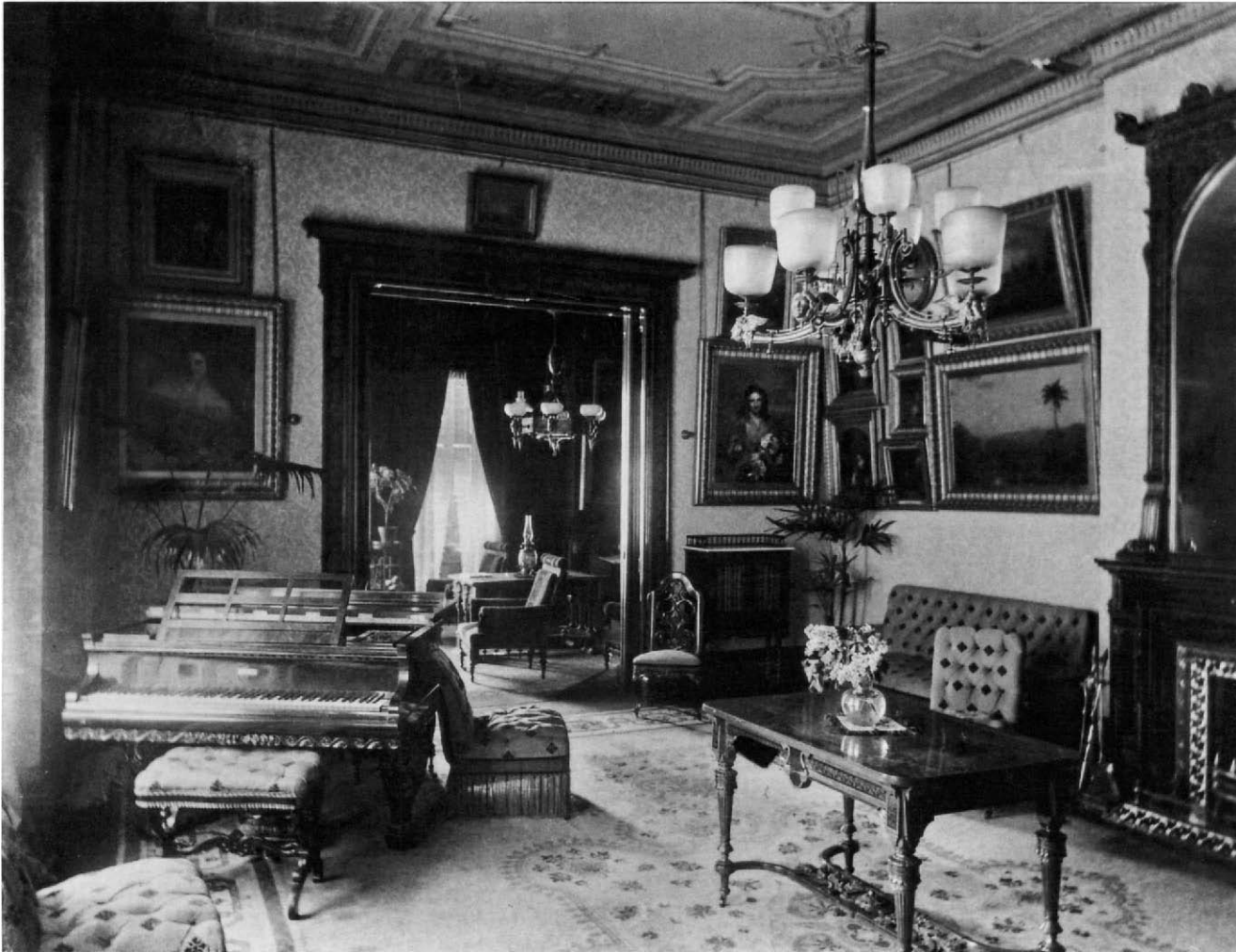
write to me as often as you can giving me an account of the galleries and pictures you see, and what you are doing, and any other information you think will interest me. If you paint any pictures send them to me if you can before you return—do not sacrifice any time that can be more fully employed to paint for me. I leave it to you what to paint.¹⁶

Sturges was arguably Durand’s most generous patron, acquiring as many as thirty paintings and making additional purchases for family and friends. Durand became a close friend and frequent visitor to the Sturges homes in New York City and Fairfield, Connecticut, and Sturges employed Durand’s son John in his business.¹⁷

Sturges commissioned three of Durand’s most famous paintings, two of which were donated by family descendants to the Metropolitan. One, *In the Woods* (Figure 5), is still considered a masterwork.¹⁸ Sturges was so pleased with this canvas that two years after its purchase in 1855 he sent the artist a bonus, remarking “enclosed please find check for Two hundred Dollars which I desire to add to the price



6. Charles C. Ingham. *The Flower Girl*, 1846. Oil on canvas, 36 x 28¾ in. (91.4 x 72.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1902 (02.7.1)



7. Interior of the Jonathan Sturges home, Fourteenth Street, New York, showing Figure 6, after 1890. Osborn Family Archives. Photograph: George G. Rockwood

of the wood picture. The trees have grown more than two hundred dollars worth since 1854 [sic]."¹⁹ *In the Woods* was Sturges's sole contribution to the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle.²⁰

Evidence of the patron's close relationships with Church, Chapman, Huntington, and Gray may be gleaned from letters and diaries and from Sturges's account book. In 1845 he listed two payments to Gray of \$100 each, on account, but we do not know if the painting in question was completed or, if so, what it was.²¹ By the mid-1850s, Sturges certainly owned two paintings by Gray: *Proserpine and Bacchus* (whereabouts unknown) and *Young Poetess* (private collection). Both men were deeply involved with the National Academy of Design: Gray was vice-president and in the early 1860s served as chairman of the building committee, on which Sturges worked closely.

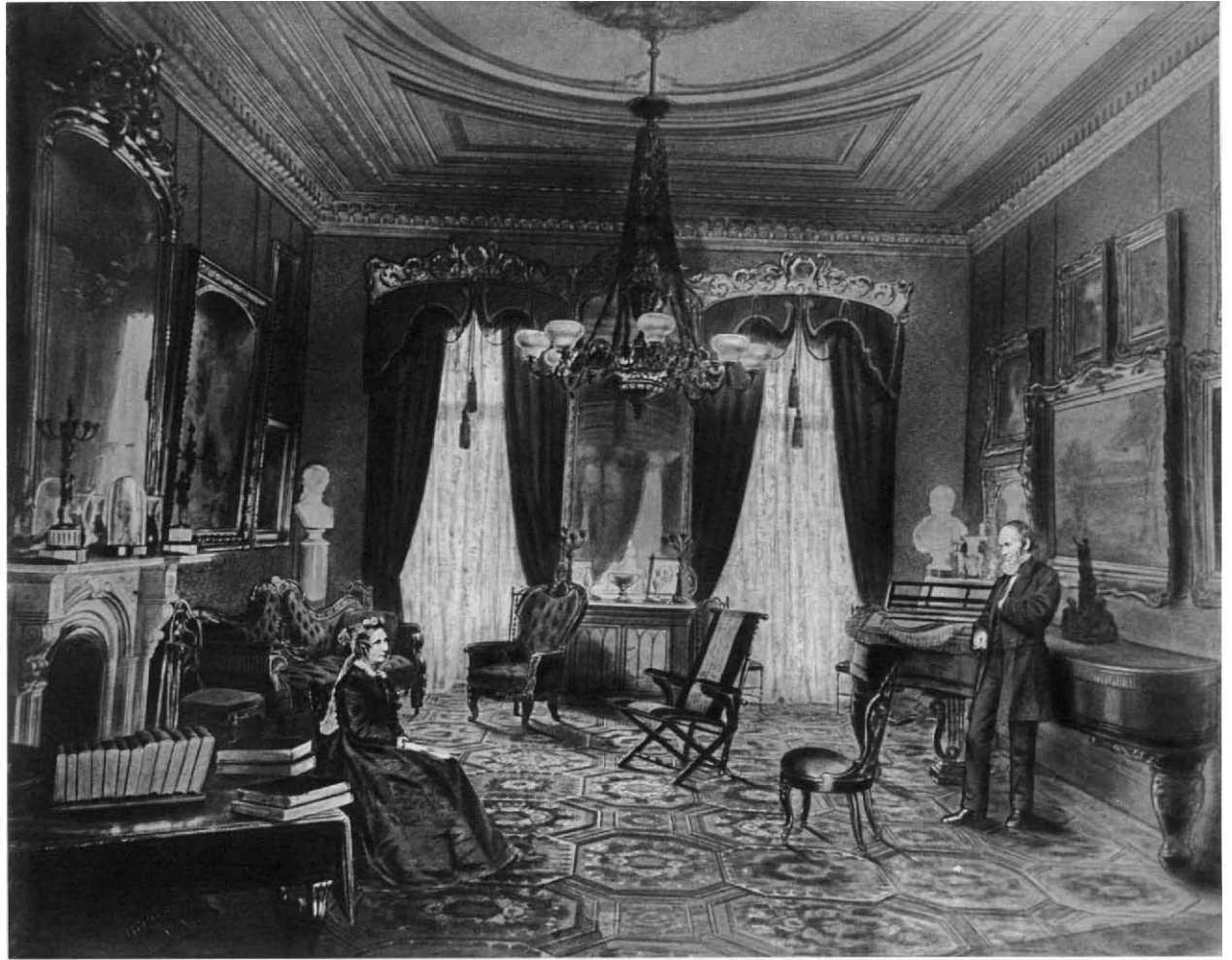
Another friend was Charles C. Ingham, founder of the Sketch Club and president of the National Academy of Design. In the 1840s he was chairman of the Academy's building committee for the 663 Broadway building project, while Sturges and his fellow businessman and art patron Charles M. Leupp were the principal financial backers.²²

Sturges owned Ingham's *Flower Girl* (Figure 6), a striking composition whose vivid colors and varieties of flowers present a still life within a genre painting. John Durand recorded his father's opinion of the painting:

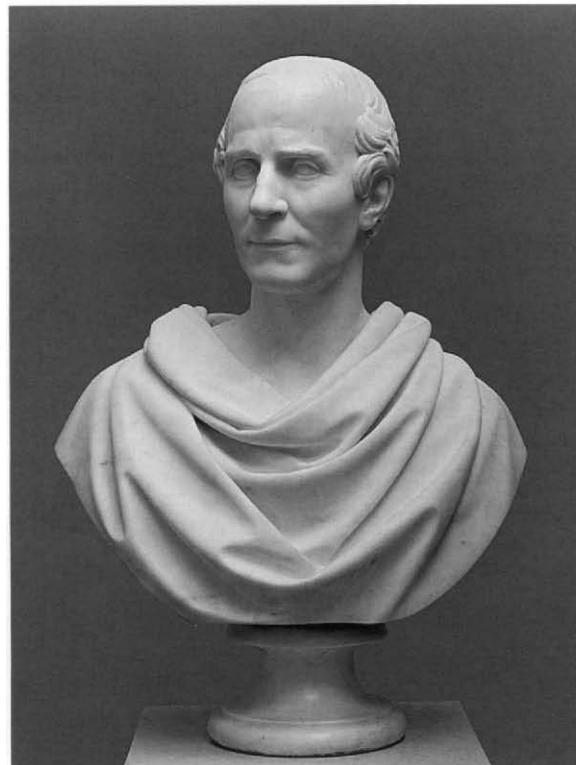
Seldom have I heard Father speak so much of a picture as one new painting by Ingham in which Flowers are very prominent. They are beautifully exquisitely painted. Almost beat the Dutch in, but there is more sentiment in his picture. Mr. Sturges has secured it [for] (\$500)[.] Mr. I has been employed all summer in it. . . . Father does not think it a high order of picture but admirable of its kind & unequalled or unsurpassed rather.²³

We know from his account book that Sturges bought *The Flower Girl* directly from Ingham, making three payments in December 1846.²⁴ Ingham borrowed the picture back for the 1847 exhibition at the National Academy of Design, the showcase for artists' best work, and today it is considered a masterwork of Victorian painting.²⁵ A photograph of the interior of Sturges's New York home shows the painting on view (Figure 7).²⁶

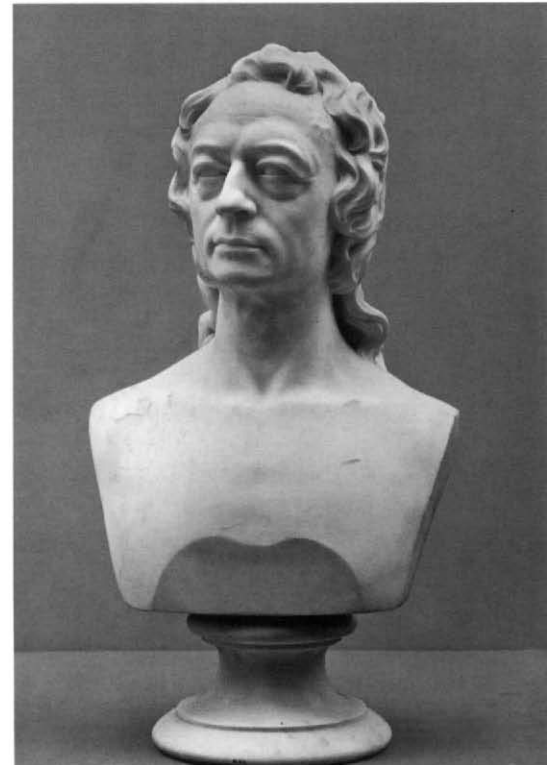
8. Parlor of the Sturges home, Fourteenth Street, New York, before 1874, showing Figures 4, 9, and 10 on view. Photographic composition with additional drawing. Osborn Family Archives



9. Henry Kirke Brown (American, 1814–1886). *Thomas Cole*, 1848. Marble, 28 x 18 x 12 in. (71.1 x 45.7 x 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges, by his children, 1895 (95.8.1)



10. Edward Augustus Brackett (American, 1818–1908). *Washington Allston*, 1843–44. Marble, 26¾ x 14¼ x 9 in. (67.9 x 36.2 x 22.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges, by his children, 1895 (95.8.2)



In another family pictorial record (Figure 8) two marble portrait busts, *Thomas Cole*, by Henry Kirke Brown, and *Washington Allston*, by Edward Augustus Brackett (Figures 9 and 10), are displayed in the Sturges home on Fourteenth Street, near Fifth Avenue. Both sculptures, posthumous likenesses, were presented to the Metropolitan. The landscape in the place of honor behind Jonathan Sturges is Cole's *View on the Catskill, Early Autumn* (see Figure 4). Entries in Sturges's account book inform us that he commissioned the Cole bust from Brown in 1848 at a cost of \$500.²⁷ We do not know how Sturges acquired the Allston bust, but he owned it by 1850, when he lent it to the National Academy. There is no evidence of a relationship between Brackett and Sturges, but the artist was friendly with William Cullen Bryant, who could have introduced them.

Inspired by his close relationship with Luman Reed and his growing interest in American art and artists, in 1844 Sturges collaborated with Reed's son-in-law Theodore Allen in founding the New-York Gallery of the Fine Arts, the city's first public art museum, to preserve and exhibit Reed's collection. Sturges, the gallery's president, backed the financially strapped organization for more than a decade. He also approached several artists for donations to supplement the collection; Durand, Cole, Mount, and Ingham, out of regard for Reed and Sturges, donated important works.²⁸ Once the collection was transferred to the New-York Historical Society, Sturges became an active and generous member. At the National Academy of Design, in recognition of his exemplary support and personal dedication, Sturges was elected an honorary member, amateur status—a distinction he shared with a select few, including Reed and his two sons-in-law. Following the successful close of the 1863 building campaign, the Academy honored Sturges by commissioning his portrait for the permanent collection, and Sturges chose Durand for the task.²⁹ The honoree responded to this recognition with characteristic humility:

I cannot consent that the Academy should feel under any obligations to me. I have been doubly compensated for all I have done by the pleasant intercourse I have so long been permitted to enjoy with so many of its members. I can truly say that my connections with Art and Artists has [*sic*] been a source of great profit to myself and family in the refining influences it has had upon us all, for many many years.³⁰

At Sturges's death, the Academy's Council recognized him as a friend who had aided them "with generous hand, true sympathy and cultivated taste," adding that "to no other lay members are we more generously and gratefully indebted."³¹

Sturges was also active in both the Sketch Club (or XXI) and the Century Association. He was a founding member of

the Sketch Club, established in 1827 as a social club by Ingham, Bryant, and other artists, writers, and patrons of the arts. Since the membership was limited to twenty-one, the Century Association was created in 1847 as a larger offshoot; Sturges was one of its founders and a lifelong member. In a diary from the 1840s, John Durand described a meeting of the Sketch Club attended by the artists Brown, Gray, Huntington, and Thomas Seir Cummings and the patrons Sturges, Leupp, Gulian C. Verplanck, David C. Colden, and John Neilson, among others:

[O]ver a glass of whiskey punch [they] sat down to tell stories, conundrums, and whatever else the moment might suggest. Mr. Brown proposed a project for naturalizing a costume wherewith to clothe our heros [*sic*] both in sculpture and in painting... [for] the difficulty of clothing statues is so great, as to render something like this plan absolutely necessary, it will not answer to cut a naked figure, or clad always with the eternal toga, making Romans instead of Americans."³²

Although Sturges was not among the founders of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, he was involved at first with its planning and then bowed out, probably owing to encroaching age and infirmity. Early discussions about the formation of a major fine-art museum in New York City took place in meetings of the art committee of the Union League Club, established in 1863 by a group of New Yorkers, including Sturges, who supported the Union and opposed slavery.³³ The club began to build an art collection and mounted a series of noteworthy exhibitions of contemporary and historical art. In 1864 the Union League was instrumental in organizing the Metropolitan Fair, a benefit for the United States Sanitary Commission.³⁴ Both Mary Sturges and her daughter Virginia Osborn were prime movers in assembling the art exhibition that was the largest and most popular feature of the fair.³⁵ Sturges loaned two paintings and helped to gather works of art and other items for exhibition and sale.

In 1869 Sturges was among those appointed to a provisional committee tasked with drafting a charter, constitution, and bylaws for the new museum. He was also present at John Taylor Johnston's home in 1870, when fundraising for the institution was discussed by leading businessmen and artists and a subscription list was drafted.³⁶ Although his friends William Cullen Bryant, Daniel Huntington, Frederic E. Church, and John F. Kensett were among the founders, Sturges wrote Durand on March 19, "This winter I am obliged to keep pretty close, I have not been out in nearly two weeks. I do not see so much of our Artist friends, not being able to go to the Century."³⁷ He was growing old, deferring to a new generation to carry the torch.³⁸ Following

11. William Henry Osborn, ca. 1853–54. Osborn Family Archives



12. Virginia Reed Sturges Osborn, ca. 1853–54. Osborn Family Archives



Sturges's death in 1874, his sterling character and his support of the arts and an array of charitable causes were eulogized by the Union League Club:

His wisdom was proverbial among his fellow-citizens, but his modesty and gentleness were as conspicuous as his wisdom. . . . His advocacy of human freedom, his devotion to the cause of education, his many acts of charity, his earnest promotion of art, and his zeal in everything that went to the improvement and adornment of the City as a home for its citizens, will long be remembered by a grateful community.³⁹

The collection Sturges assembled with such pleasure and passion over four decades was left to his family, and after the death of his wife, his four children donated three important paintings and two sculptures to the Metropolitan Museum in their father's memory.⁴⁰ Today, other works from the Sturges collection are found in the Addison Gallery of American Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the Chrysler Museum of Art, the Newark Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Morgan Library and Museum, the National Gallery of Art, and the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, among others.⁴¹

Sturges's profound devotion to the fine arts would be equaled by that of his daughter and son-in-law. In 1853 his eldest child, Virginia Reed Sturges (1830–1902), married W. H. Osborn (1820–1894), a successful businessman

(Figures 11 and 12). Born into a hardworking farming family near Salem, Massachusetts, Osborn left school for Boston at thirteen and joined the merchants Peele, Hubbell, & Co. When he was nineteen, the company sent the precocious Osborn to Manila, in the Philippines, to direct its business in that part of the world, and when he was twenty-one he was offered a partnership. In 1850 Osborn returned to the United States a wealthy man and settled in New York City, where, he said, "more happens . . . in a single day than happens anywhere else in a month."⁴² A nonconformist, he usually wore a white duck suit and straw Panama hat, a costume to which he had grown accustomed in the tropics. He was described as an accomplished man who was plainspoken and unpretentious with flashes of fiery temper:

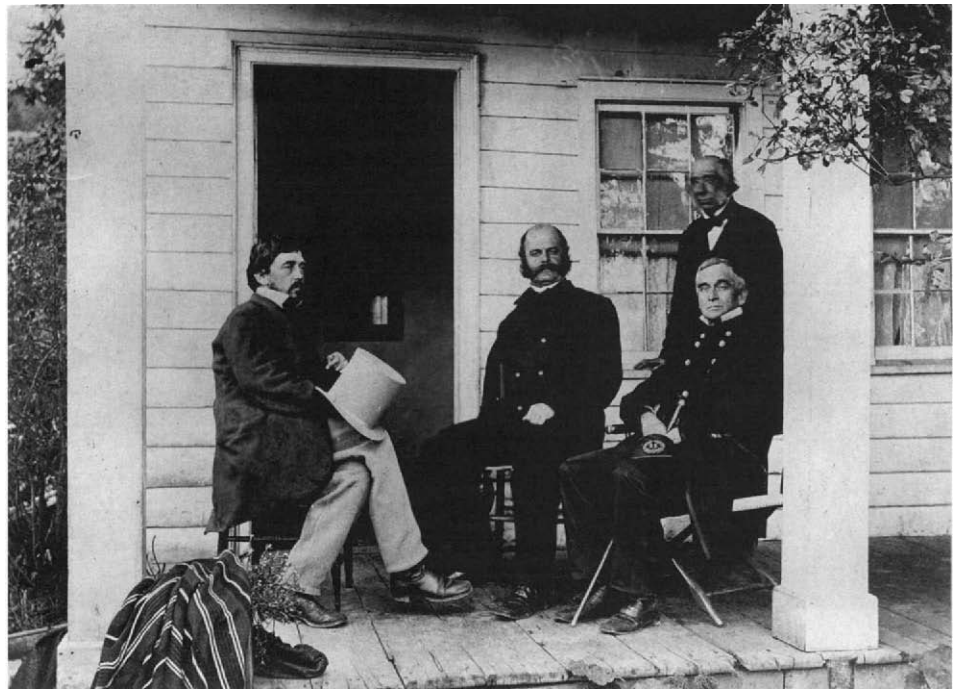
The traits that gave him so remarkable an individuality were . . . his power of will, his enthusiasm in effort, and complete self-reliance. . . . Through his indomitable perseverance he soon acquired a good commercial education, which, as time passed, was broadened in all directions. . . . Few men have had a deeper sense of stewardship, and fewer still have been as unostentatious. . . . The hatred Mr. Osborn had for shams of all sorts he did not hide. Indeed he deemed it his duty to expose such whether they were men or measures. . . . From childhood Mr. Osborn loved books, and had read extensively and with rare discrimination. His fine library was especially rich in French and Spanish literature; in both of which

languages he was fluent. . . . His love of the beautiful in nature and art was innate. Artists were among his cherished friends.⁴³

In New York, Osborn met the merchants whom he had come to know in the East Indies trade, and through them he became acquainted with Jonathan Sturges and Virginia, whom he married in 1853. It proved a happy relationship, marked by extensive travel abroad and a replication of the Sturges family's philanthropic and richly cultured home environment. Although not much of a joiner, Osborn was affiliated with a group of like-minded friends called the Travellers, convened by Frederic E. Church, whose members included Gottschalk, the explorer Isaac Hayes, the writer Bayard Taylor, and the collectors William T. Blodgett and Cyrus Field.⁴⁴ In 1854 Osborn took over the presidency of the new Illinois Central Railroad from Sturges, saving Sturges and the railroad from bankruptcy and scandal, and spending his entire fortune in the process.⁴⁵ A biographical sketch found in the Osborn family papers notes that "until 1882 . . . —great years in the history of the Company—William H Osborn . . . was the dominant, controlling personality on the Illinois Central."⁴⁶ In the 1850s he worked with Abraham Lincoln, outside counsel for the railroad; Ambrose Burnside, treasurer; and George McClellan, chief engineer and vice-president. During the Civil War he continued his relationship with Burnside and McClellan, who served as generals while Osborn directed the movement of Union troops and supplies on the Illinois Central (Figure 13).

The Sturges and Osborn families also developed a close friendship with J. Pierpont Morgan, and in 1861 Morgan married Jonathan Sturges's second daughter, Amelia, a sprightly young woman called "Memie." The match ended tragically in 1862, when she died in France of "galloping consumption,"⁴⁷ but the family ties endured through three generations—the Osborn boys addressed Morgan as "Uncle Pierpont," and Morgan would become influential in William Church Osborn's later involvement with the Metropolitan.⁴⁸ Soon after meeting Sturges, Osborn had begun to assemble a distinguished collection of American art comprising purchases and commissions, supplemented by gifts from artists and from his father-in-law. In 1857 Virginia wrote Amelia, "You must tell father, it would do his heart good to see Mr. Osborn's enjoyment of Mr. Durand's sketch. Every morning when I come down I find the curtain drawn back, and my husband drinking in large draughts of forest coolness. . . . I suppose he exclaims a dozen times 'how beautiful, how perfect it is.'"⁴⁹

Many of the Osborns' activities are recorded in letters from Virginia to friends and family.⁵⁰ In March 1855 she mentions that Frederic Church had spent the evening with them.⁵¹ If Jonathan Sturges had been a close friend of Durand, W. H. Osborn was even closer to Frederic Church.



We do not know how they met, but it may have been through Sturges. Osborn and Church were contemporaries, as were their wives, who were both deeply religious, and each couple had endured the tragedy of losing two children in the same year.⁵² Isabel and Frederic Church made the Osborns' New York town house their winter home when they were not traveling to warmer climates.⁵³ The Osborn boys became lifelong friends of the Church children, addressing one another as "cousin," and throughout his life, William Osborn used his middle name, Church, for all official purposes.

By 1856 W. H. Osborn had purchased Church's majestic *Andes of Ecuador* (1855, Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, North Carolina), and he subsequently acquired some two dozen paintings by the artist (an estimate, since no comprehensive inventory of the collection is known).⁵⁴ Among the most noteworthy were *Chimborazo* (1864, Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California); *Pichincha* (1867, Philadelphia Museum of Art); and the impressive *Aegean Sea* (Figure 14). *The Andes of Ecuador* was featured in the art exhibition at the 1864 Metropolitan Fair, and *Chimborazo* traveled to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.⁵⁵ In a photograph of the Osborns' town-house interior (Figure 15), *The Aegean Sea*, in a massive Aesthetic Movement frame designed by Church, is flanked on the left by his Arctic study *The Iceberg* (ca. 1874, Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago). *The Aegean Sea* is a glorious jumble of architectural monuments and ruins from the ancient cities of Petra, Baalbek, Constantinople, and Athens.⁵⁶ We know that Church relied on photographs taken

13. W. H. Osborn with Ambrose Burnside (center) and two other unidentified men, 1860s. Osborn Family Archives



14. Frederic Edwin Church (American, 1826–1900). *The Aegean Sea*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 54 x 63¼ in. (137.2 x 160.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. William H. Osborn, 1902 (02.23)

during his 1867–68 trip to the Middle East, as well as his extensive library, for motifs in his Orientalist paintings and for the design of Olana, his Moorish villa retreat overlooking the Hudson River. In 1887 Virginia wrote to her daughter-in-law Lucretia about the painting: “[L]ast week Mr. Church asked us to send the ‘Aegean Sea’ to his studio. He has painted on it, and improved it wonderfully. At Mr. Church’s

request we have put the ‘Aegean Sea’ in the front parlor and the Andes of Ecuador in the dining room.”⁵⁷ In 1893 Church again borrowed back *The Aegean Sea*, for exhibition at London’s Fine Arts Society. The painting came to the Metropolitan in 1902, following Virginia Osborn’s death, and remains on view to this day in the American galleries.⁵⁸ Surprisingly, given Church’s importance as a painter and his role as a founder of the Museum, it was his first painting to enter the collection.

Church and Osborn were also bound by their love for land and home—or rather, castle. An extensive correspondence documents their selections of land and vista, architect and designer, as well as crops, flowers, trees, and animals for their country estates—Church at Olana (begun 1870), and Osborn in a succession of properties in Garrison.⁵⁹ It is clear from their letters that Osborn’s choice of a manorial home overlooking the Hudson River—the Rhenish-style Castle Rock (1881)—was influenced by Olana, with its sweeping river views. It may not be coincidental that Church’s first architect for Olana was Richard Morris Hunt, who designed twin houses for W. H. Osborn at 32 and 34 Park Avenue, completed in 1870 (Figure 16).⁶⁰

Among the many gifts that changed hands between patron and painter was a canvas by the Boston landscapist George Loring Brown (1814–1889) entitled *View at Amalfi, Bay of Salerno* (Figure 17). Brown’s tranquil, static composition was one among many that he painted for the tourist trade while he was living in Rome. The circumstances surrounding this gift are revealed in a letter from Church to Osborn:

I found at an auction a fine example by Geo. L. Brown the Landscape Painter—As he resided most of his life in Boston, he is not so well known in New York, excepting among artists, as he ought to be—I always admired his best works and was glad to have the opportunity to secure the one referred to—A view at Amalfi. . . . I bought the picture for you hoping you would like it and think it a desirable addition to your collection of American Painters. You can hardly help liking the charming Claude like tone it possesses.⁶¹

Church also introduced the Osborns to the eccentric painter Samuel Worcester Rowse (1822–1901), a neighbor in the Tenth Street Studio Building. Rowse, a Bostonian, was known for his exquisitely rendered crayon portraits. W. H. Osborn purchased at least two works by Rowse.⁶² He may also have owned a *Sleeping Peri* marble by the Albany sculptor Erastus Dow Palmer, one of Church’s close friends.⁶³

If Church advised Osborn on art collecting, Osborn advised Church on financial matters, going so far as to reconcile the latter’s bankbook on more than one occasion. He helped Church secure sales, commissions, and exhibitions



15. Interior of the Osborn town house, 32 Park Avenue, New York, with Figure 14 on view, undated. Osborn Family Archives



16. Richard Morris Hunt (American, 1827–1895). Osborn and Sturges twin town houses, 32 and 34 Park Avenue, New York, completed 1870. Osborn Family Archives

through his extensive business contacts at home and in Great Britain. In 1867 Osborn financed a two-year trip for Church and his family to Europe and the Holy Land. Church paid him back gradually, at least partly with paintings. In September 1868 he wrote Osborn from Perugia:

When I get home I shall want to take a good look at the picture you have received. I hope you will not keep it unless you prefer to do so. You have been so good a friend of ours that I am particularly anxious that you should possess such of my works as you consider my best—I will gladly paint another in the place of it when I return. I can tell at a glance when I see it whether I was mistaken in my opinion or not.⁶⁴

Osborn also acquired a handful of pieces by contemporary European artists, academically trained figure painters favored by Americans: Florent Willems (1823–1905), Franz von DeFregger (1835–1921), Benjamin Vautier (1829–1898), George Jacobides (1853–1932), and Charles Landelle (1821–1908). Landelle, an Orientalist, was apparently recommended by Church. With the \$20,000 given to him by the Illinois Central upon retirement, Osborn purchased a painting by Frederic, Lord Leighton (1830–1896), *Serenely*

Wandering in a Trance of Somber Thought (1885, private collection), a portrait of the artist's favorite model, Dorothy Dene. The proportion of American to European works in the Osborn collection, perhaps nine to one, was unusual. In the 1870s and 1880s, Americans were focusing on French landscapes of the Barbizon school, paintings by the Spanish-influenced Munich school, and academic figural compositions by such artists as Adolphe-William Bouguereau (1825–1905), Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889), and Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). Osborn did not own any Barbizon paintings, but he evidently admired the Munich school.

A few of Osborn's acquisitions were made at auction or from dealers, but most of his American pictures were purchased from the artists. In 1868 both Osborn and Sturges bought works at the Abraham M. Cozzens sale, and Osborn also bought two paintings by J. F. Kensett at the 1877 estate sale of the artist's sister.⁶⁵ In 1888 he bought Church's *Pichincha* from the prominent New York dealer Samuel P. Avery Jr.⁶⁶ These purchases were complemented by works given to Virginia by her father or inherited later from her parents. Among the American artists represented in the collection were Church, Cole, Durand, Kensett, Gray, Rowse, Leutze, Daniel Huntington, Sanford Gifford (1823–1880), F. O. C. Darley (1821–1888), John Casilear (1811–1893), William Holbrook Beard (1824–1900), Louis Remy Mignot (1831–1870), W. W. Wotherspoon (1821–1888), Richard M. Staigg (1817–1881), and Thomas Crawford (1813/14–1857).⁶⁷

Probably owing to his father-in-law's close relationship with the artist, W. H. Osborn acquired two paintings by Henry Peters Gray. *The Pride of the Village* (Figure 18) is a scene from Washington Irving's short story about a doomed love affair between a wholesome country girl and a devil-may-care soldier.⁶⁸ *The Pride of the Village* appears in a

17. George Loring Brown (American, 1814–1889). *View at Amalfi, Bay of Salerno*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 33¼ x 53¾ in. (84.5 x 136.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1903 (03.34)



18. Henry Peters Gray (American, 1819–1877). *The Pride of the Village*, 1858–59. Oil on canvas, 30¼ x 25¼ in. (76.8 x 64.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1949 (49.166)



photograph of the interior of the Osborns' New York town house (Figure 19) hanging beside paintings by Church, Cole, and Huntington, whose *Ichabod Crane and Katrina Van Tassel* (1855, Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, New York) was also inspired by Irving. Despite its sentimentality, or perhaps because of it, *The Pride of the Village* was a popular favorite, lent by W. H. Osborn to both the Metropolitan Fair and the 1867 Exposition Universelle. Osborn purchased a second painting by Gray at the Cozzens estate sale.⁶⁹ The other work by Gray, *The Greek Lovers* (Figure 20), is an allegory depicting a youth and a maiden, the former wearing the Phrygian cap that traditionally symbolizes liberty. This may be a reference to the 1821–29 Greek war of independence against Ottoman Empire rule. *The Greek Lovers* appears in the series of Osborn interior photographs, flanked by works ascribed to Durand, Crawford, Huntington, Gilbert Stuart, and William Holbrook Beard (Figure 21).⁷⁰

Today paintings and sculpture from the W. H. Osborn collection are in the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, the Museum of the City of New York, the National Portrait Gallery, the Terra Museum of

19. Interior of the Osborn town house, with Figure 18 on view, undated. Osborn Family Archives



American Art, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.⁷¹ Although we can identify only a modest portion of Osborn's collection—perhaps one-third of the total—the available evidence suggests that he was not a particularly avant-garde collector. Rather, he bought what he liked, deriving pleasure from his personal contact with many artists and his ability to support their careers.

Like the Sturges family, the Osborns enjoyed an active social and cultural life. Virginia Osborn's letters chronicle social gatherings with such distinguished participants as Candace and Dora Wheeler; Worthington Whittredge; Sanford Gifford; Junius, Pierpont, and Fanny Morgan; Mayor Abram S. Hewitt; Generals Burnside and McClellan; and the British statesmen Richard Cobden, James Caird, and Henry Palmerston. In 1864 Virginia described for one of her aunts a festive holiday party:

On Wednesday evening Mr. Cozzens gave a very pleasant Twelfth Night party, which we all attended. Miss Leutze daughter of the artist was Queen and Mr. Kensett king. The ceremony was very pretty and some



20. Henry Peters Gray. *The Greek Lovers*, 1846. Oil on canvas, 40¼ x 51½ in. (102.2 x 130.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1902 (02.7.2)

of the figures quaint and striking. Mr. Bierstadt carried the boar's head, and Mr. Whittredge was an ancient harper. Several of the Trinity church boys sang beautifully, and the whole passed off pleasantly.⁷²



21. Interior of the Osborn town house, with Figure 20 on view, undated. Osborn Family Archives



22. Alice and William Church Osborn, fiftieth wedding anniversary, 1936. Osborn Family Archives

Osborn supported numerous artists, arts organizations, and causes. Although not a founder of the Metropolitan Museum, he contributed \$500, one of the most generous donations, to the first capital campaign.⁷³ Several fine paintings from his collection were given or bequeathed to the Metropolitan and continue to be on permanent display. With Sturges, Osborn donated to a fund to keep Dr. Henry Abbott's collection of Egyptian antiquities in New York City and open to the public as a museum.⁷⁴ Osborn also subscribed to the publication of engravings after several of Church's paintings and after Durand's portrait of William Cullen Bryant. In 1886 the Osborns took the English portrait painter John Hanson Walker (1843–1933) under their wing, commissioning several family portraits and arranging for other orders from friends and family.⁷⁵ Walker had come to New York in 1886 to revive a lagging career and may have been introduced to the Osborns by Lord Leighton.⁷⁶

Virginia and William Osborn had two children who survived infancy: Henry Fairfield (1857–1935) and William Church (1862–1951). Each attended Princeton University and went on to pursue graduate study.⁷⁷ Fairfield, a preeminent paleontologist, geologist, and eugenicist, taught at both Princeton and Columbia,⁷⁸ and was a founder and president of the New York Zoological Society and a president of the American Museum of Natural History. William, our focus here, made his mark as a lawyer, philanthropist, environmentalist, art patron, and longtime trustee and president of the Metropolitan Museum. After attending Harvard Law School, he became counsel principally to corporations and railroads.⁷⁹ In 1886 he married Alice Dodge, whose father was heir to a mining fortune as part-owner of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation. Both the Osborns and the

Dodges were liberal, unostentatious, deeply religious, philanthropic, and pro-Union. Apart from Alice and William's shared wealth and social status, their marriage was a love match (Figure 22).

The painter Michael Werboff (1896–1996), who painted William Church Osborn's portrait for the Metropolitan Museum in the 1940s, provided a character sketch of his patron:

[William Church Osborn] was one of the most interesting personalities that it was my privilege to know and to paint. . . . In spite of the prominent positions that [he] occupied in New York, he was [a] most unassuming person. . . . He had a profound mind and a "dry" sence [*sic*] of humor—sometimes even making fun about himself. . . . He took a liking to me and I was often invited for lunch or dinner to his home. . . . filled with works of art. . . . presided over by the "omiodored Aunt Alice," as Mrs. Osborn was affectionately called. . . . He was a true example of what could be called "a perfect—purely American—gentleman of the highest cultural and moral standards. . . . Through his life [he] tried to never live a day without doing something for the benefit of his fellow men."⁸⁰

In 1902 William Church Osborn and his brother each inherited half of the family collection, comprising nineteenth-century American paintings, sculpture, and prints, and several European paintings or copies thereof by American artists. Although the native landscape school had fallen out of fashion, William kept most of the Hudson River School works that he had inherited, apart from a handful of key paintings that he and Fairfield donated to the Metropolitan Museum, as they felt their parents would have wanted.

The year of his inheritance, William began to assemble a rather small but distinguished collection of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings, with the initial purchase of Claude Monet's *Cliff Walk at Pourville* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) from Durand-Ruel Gallery in New York. It is unclear why he chose to depart from family tradition to focus his attention and money on Impressionism and Post-Impressionism. Although this was about a decade after Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Mrs. Potter Palmer, and P. A. B. Widener had begun to collect Impressionist art,⁸¹ the style was still a novelty in the United States. Osborn's son Frederick described this first Impressionist acquisition:

He used to walk from his house at 36th Street to the subway at 14th Street. . . . About 1904 or 1905 his walk took him by. . . Durand-Rouel [*sic*] . . . and he saw in the window a painting of scenery which stirred his imagination. When he. . . asked to see the painting, he was told it was by Claude Monet who was the rage in Paris, and that Durand was introducing



23. Édouard Manet (French, 1832–1883). *The Spanish Singer*, 1860. Oil on canvas, 58 x 45 in. (147.3 x 114.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1949 (49.58.2)



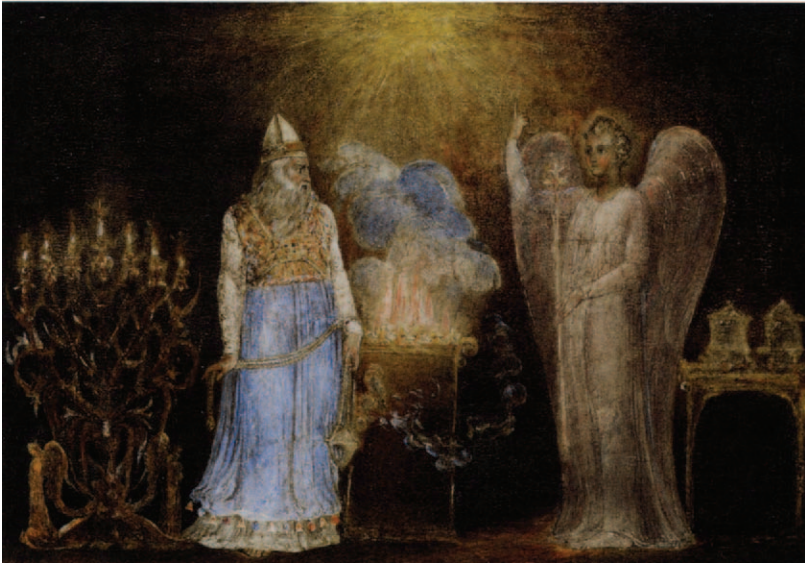
24. Library, William Church Osborn home, 40 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York, with Figure 23 and a Gilbert Stuart portrait on view, undated. Osborn Family Archives

Monet in New York. My father had the picture hung in the house for a week and then bought it, I think for four or five thousand dollars, which seemed a . . . big price for a picture by an artist who was then not much known in this country. . . . [He] bought all of [his French paintings] through New York dealers. He was very choosy about what he bought and he usually had a picture hung in his house for two or three weeks before he decided whether he was going to buy it or not. . . . By the time I went to college the main living room . . . was a gallery displaying eight magnificent Impressionists by Monet and Pissarro.⁸²

William Church Osborn also had the interiors of his New York house photographed, providing a partial record of his collection, and inventories were drawn up in 1927 and about 1951. The 1927 appraisal of the art at 40 East Thirty-sixth Street includes two Gilbert Stuarts, and paintings by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), Georges Michel (1763–1843), Jean Cazin (1841–1901), Jules Dupré (1811–1889), Robert C. Minor (1839–1904), Ralph Blakelock (1847–1919), Ernest Lawson (1873–1939), and J. A. M. Whistler (1834–1903)—most of them pictures he had purchased.⁸³ These



25. Paul Gauguin (French, 1848–1903). *Two Tahitian Women*, 1899. Oil on canvas, 37 x 28½ in. (94 x 72.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William Church Osborn, 1949 (49.58.1)



26. William Blake (English, 1757–1827). *Zacharias and the Angel*. Tempera and glue size on canvas, 10½ x 15 in. (26.7 x 38.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William Church Osborn, 1951 (51.30.1)

purchases were supplemented by the works he had inherited by Church, Durand, Kensett, Huntington, Beard, Vautier, and Rowse. The earlier inventory lists the contents of the house room by room: in his bedroom Osborn had three American landscapes, including a Durand and a Church. The Impressionist canvases—six by Monet, one by Édouard Manet, and one by Camille Pissarro—he installed in the living room, while the library featured Manet's *Spanish Singer* (Figures 23 and 24). By the time of the 1951 estate appraisal, Osborn's collection had expanded to include two pictures by Paul Gauguin (Figure 25), a second Pissarro, a John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) oil study, a Homer Dodge Martin (1836–1897), a number of oils and watercolors by George Pearse Ennis (1884–1936), a landscape by Richard Wilson (1714–1782), and a painting attributed to John Crome (1768–1821). In total, Osborn purchased two Pissarros, two Gauguins, one Manet, and seven Monets—oil paintings of substantial importance.⁸⁴

His collection, including prints, numbered just under one hundred works. Alice Osborn had purchased William Blake's *Zacharias and the Angel* (Figure 26) from London's



27. Claude Monet (French, 1840–1926). *Regatta at Sainte-Adresse*, 1867. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 40 in. (75.2 x 101.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William Church Osborn, 1951 (51.30.4)



28. Claude Monet. *Vétheuil in Summer*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 23⁵/₈ x 39¹/₄ in. (60 x 99.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William Church Osborn, 1951 (51.30.3)

Carfax Gallery before their marriage. The Michel came from S. P. Avery Jr., with whom Osborn's father and grandfather had done business. From Knoedler's he acquired Cazin's *Twilight* and the portrait of a lady by Reynolds.⁸⁵ A 1932 document from Durand-Ruel lists the nine works he purchased from them. By far the highest sum he paid was in 1906, when he bought Manet's early masterpiece *The Spanish Singer* for \$33,000. In 1902 he spent \$4,000 for Monet's *Cliff Walk at Pourville*, and in 1907 he acquired Monet's *Regatta at Sainte-Adresse* (Figure 27), which Durand-Ruel had bought one month earlier at P. A. B. Widener's Philadelphia sale. In 1912 he was obliged to pay \$12,000 to secure Monet's *Vétheuil in Summer* (Figure 28).⁸⁶ We do not know if William Church Osborn, like his father and grandfather, bought art at auction.

While Osborn's interest in French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painting was apparently a major divergence from his father and grandfather's focus on American landscape and genre scenes, I would argue that in proto-Impressionist paintings such as Pissarro's early masterpiece *Jalais Hill, Pontoise* (Figures 29 and 30), with its dark green tonality, and Monet's *Regatta at Sainte-Adresse*, with its flat, curving shoreline, wide expanse of water, and horizontal composition, there is an aesthetic kinship to landscapes and beach scenes in the Osborn and Sturges collections by Kensett, Gifford, Cole, and Durand.

Like his father and grandfather, William Church Osborn was a friend and patron of several artists. In 1951 sculptor Malvina Hoffman (1885–1966) wrote with feeling to his son Frederick, whom she was helping with the arrangements

for adding William's name to Alice's tombstone: "I felt a deep sense of personal loss when I read of the death of your father. Knowing him as a friend had been a privilege."⁸⁷ A more formal sign of Osborn's philanthropic interests was the purchase prize he established in 1929 at the annual exhibition of the American Watercolor Society. In 1948 he invited friends and family to view a display of twenty watercolors he had acquired in this manner. The artists included George Elmer Browne (1871–1946), Bertram Hartman (1882–1960), Chauncey F. Ryder (1868–1949), Henry Gasser (1909–1981), and Wayman Adams (1883–1959).⁸⁸ Osborn must have known the society's president George Pearse Ennis fairly well because he owned a half dozen of his watercolors and oils. His daughter Aileen took a few informal lessons from Ennis, who taught at the Grand Central School of Art.⁸⁹ The American Watercolor Society elected Osborn one of its first honorary nonartist members in 1944.

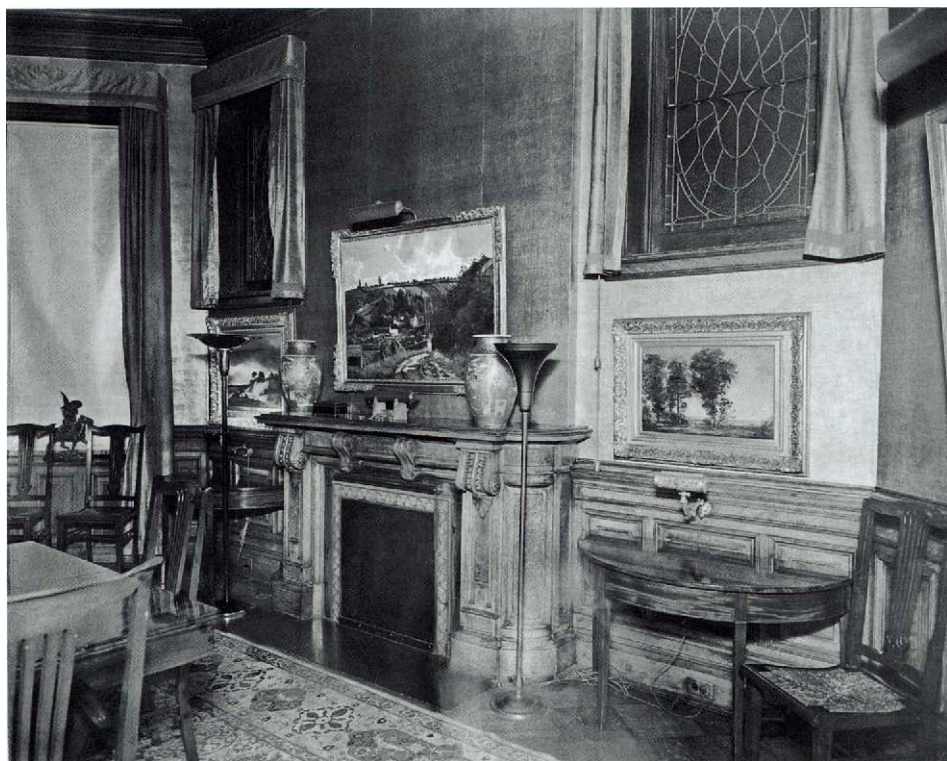
William Church Osborn loaned his art to a number of important exhibitions, notably to *Masterpieces of Art*, presented at the 1939–40 New York World's Fair (Gauguin, *Two Tahitian Women*, and Manet, *The Spanish Singer*), and to the 1940 Golden Gate International Exposition at the Palace of Fine Arts (Monet, *Regatta at Sainte-Adresse*, and Gauguin, *Brittany Landscape*). He also loaned Church's *Chimborazo*, *Sunrise in Syria*, and *Tropical Moonlight* to the pivotal 1945 exhibition *The Hudson River School and the Early American Landscape Tradition*, presented at the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1904 Osborn was elected a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum. Many of his friends and family members had been

29. Camille Pissarro (French, 1830–1903). *Jalais Hill, Pontoise*, 1867. Oil on canvas, 34¼ x 45¼ in. (87 x 114.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William Church Osborn, 1951 (51.30.2)



30. Dining room, William Church Osborn residence, with Figure 29 on display, undated. Osborn Family Archives



closely involved with the Museum, among them his father-in-law, William E. Dodge Jr., and his uncle Pierpont Morgan. His years in office coincided with a pivotal period in the Metropolitan's history, spanning two world wars, several building projects, a burgeoning in the collections and staff, and a formalization of the practices of museum management. Osborn served on the library, audit, and sculpture committees and later on the executive, finance, and building committees. In 1925 he and Alice inspected the Egyptian excavations directed by Albert Lythgoe and Herbert Winlock at Thebes and Lisht.⁹⁰ Osborn was appointed a vice-president in 1932, and in 1933, when the incumbent president, William Sloane Coffin, died suddenly, the board proposed Osborn as his successor. He declined, citing pressing civic and political obligations, instead recommending George Blumenthal, a major collector and the first Jewish trustee.⁹¹ Osborn succeeded Blumenthal in 1941, with the understanding that it would be a short-term appointment. Alice Osborn described what seems to have been his first official appearance:

Last week . . . I was in town for a reception to open the Verplank [sic] Room, which is a real acquisition to the American Wing. . . . I never knew anyone could

have as many descendants as the original Verplank had! Wednesday, the first big reception given under the new regime attracted over 3,500. Seventy-five of the Trustees, Curators, etc. dined in the really lovely new staff dining room, with cocktails before in the Armor Hall, with the knights of old surveying us. It was really like a big family party, with many amusing things said and unsaid.⁹²

Osborn played an active role in several building campaigns as well as in expanding the size and scope of the collections.⁹³ In 1907 he spearheaded the Museum's first purchase of an Impressionist painting, Auguste Renoir's *Madame Charpentier and Her Children*, a controversial acquisition because of its perceived modernity.⁹⁴ He also oversaw the removal of the most fragile and rare masterpieces from the Museum to remote storage during World War II.⁹⁵ During his presidency, the Junior Museum was established as an interactive educational resource for schoolchildren, a popular innovation that set a precedent for museums across the country.⁹⁶ In 1949 Osborn donated to the Museum Gauguin's *Two Tahitian Women*, Manet's *Spanish Singer*, and Gray's *Pride of the Village*. By the terms of his will, at his death in 1951 Monet's *Vétheuil in Summer*, *Manneporte (Étretat)*, and *Regatta at Sainte-Adresse*, Pissarro's *Jalais Hill*, *Pontoise*, and Blake's *Zacharias and the Angel* entered the Museum's permanent collection.⁹⁷ Each July Osborn gave \$1,000 toward the Museum's operating expenses, and he provided other significant financial support over the years.⁹⁸ In 1949, upon his retirement from the board, the trustees expressed their appreciation in a commemorative engraved testimonial:

During the period of your distinguished work for its benefit, the Museum has grown enormously in the strength of its collections and in its usefulness to the nation. Constant in your thought for it, wise in your counsel, and quick in your action for its advantage; alive to a sense of its obligations and opportunities, keenly interested in the arts it collects, sympathetic with the people it serves, and mindful of the welfare of those who serve it—you have brought to the Museum talents through which have come, in large degree, its rise to the position of eminence it now enjoys.⁹⁹

After Osborn's death, friends and colleagues organized a memorial committee and on June 15, 1953, unveiled the William Church Osborn Memorial Gates, guarding a new playground at Fifth Avenue and Eighty-fourth Street.¹⁰⁰ Designed by the prominent American sculptor Paul Manship (1886–1966) and in part inspired by scenes from *Aesop's Fables*, the gates paid tribute to Osborn's passions for art and the well-being of children. The gates were removed for restoration in 1993 and plans are under way to finish the

ambitious and costly project, with a reinstallation planned by the end of 2008.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, the artistic and philanthropic legacy left by three generations of Sturges and Osborn family members endures.¹⁰²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the following individuals: family descendants Frederick H. Osborn III and Anne Todd Osborn; Mary Rousseau, Alexandra Frost, and Fargo Rousseau; scholars Wayne Craven, Linda Ferber, and Ella M. Foshay, and dealer Ira Spanierman, who set me on the Osborn path long ago. At the Metropolitan Museum, Kevin Avery, James Draper, Katharine Baetjer, and Barbara File have been gracious and helpful. Joanna Ekman was a skilled and diplomatic editor.

NOTES

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Corcoran Gallery of Art were incorporated in 1870. The first public art museum in the country was the Wadsworth Atheneum, established by the patron Daniel Wadsworth and opened in 1842.
2. The city's first public art museum was the New-York Gallery of the Fine Arts, founded in 1844. By 1858 lack of funding led to the gallery's assimilation into the New-York Historical Society. See Maybelle Mann, "The New-York Gallery of Fine Arts: A Source of Refinement," *American Art Journal* 11 (January 1979), pp. 76–86.
3. For some reason, Tuckerman's inventory is incomplete. The primary sources on Sturges are Mrs. Jonathan Sturges, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (New York, 1894); JoAnne Dickson, "Patronage of Nineteenth Century American Painters: Jonathan Sturges and His Associates" (master's thesis, San Francisco State University, 1973); Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York, 1975), pp. 95–100; and "Our Private Collections: No. II," *The Crayon* 3, no. 2 (February 1856), pp. 57–58.
4. The primary source on Reed is Ella M. Foshay, *Mr. Luman Reed's Picture Gallery: A Pioneer Collection of American Art* (New York, 1990). The Reed and Sturges families intermarried twice: Sturges's eldest son Frederick (1833–1917) married Reed's granddaughter Mary Fuller (1834–1886), and Sturges's granddaughter Sarah (1901–1988) married Reed's great-great-grandson Dudley Parker (1897–1984).
5. In fact, Sturges was so hardworking that he scheduled his wedding for Christmas Day, the only holiday he allowed himself.
6. Sturges also served as a founding director and acting president of the Illinois Central Railroad as well as a director of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.
7. Arthur Sturges diary, March 24, 1863, private collection. Gottschalk, a renowned concert pianist, is considered the first American composer. The Titian copy was painted by Durand during his European travels of 1840–41.
8. "The Obituary Record: Mrs. Mary Pemberton Sturges," *New York Times*, July 31, 1894, p. 5.
9. Sturges notes this in a manuscript he wrote in the 1850s for the art periodical *The Crayon* but never published. See Sturges Family Papers, part 3, folder 8, Pierpont Morgan Library Archives.

10. Reed to Sturges, June 4, 1835, Sturges Family Papers, pt. 3, folder 2.
11. That year Sturges also purchased William Sidney Mount's *Farmers Noonning*, and he later helped to arrange for the painting to be engraved and distributed under the auspices of the American Art-Union, the popular annual lottery that promoted American art. Although he owned the painting, he made sure that Mount was fairly paid.
12. The exception was Benjamin Vautier's *Children and Dog*. Since W. H. Osborn owned two Vautiers, it is possible that his choice influenced his father-in-law to buy one.
13. The American Art-Union held an annual lottery with original works of art as prizes, distributed prints to members, and presented changing exhibitions in its gallery. For the pre-Civil War art market in New York City, see Carrie Reborra Barratt, "Mapping the Venues, New York City Art Exhibitions," in *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*, ed. Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 2000), pp. 47-81.
14. Cole to Sturges, February 24, 1837, private collection.
15. Earlier, moreover, when Cole's dear friend the painter Cornelius Ver Bryck (1813-1844) was terminally ill with consumption, Sturges had offered support in the form of a commission that he knew might never be completed. Ver Bryck was at first loath to accept, but Cole offered to finish the painting once he was gone. *View on the Thames*, the result of this gentlemen's agreement, was donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston by Sturges descendants.
16. Sturges to Durand, May 30, 1840, Asher Brown Durand Papers, New York Public Library; microfilm copy, reel N19, frame 1229, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Sturges offered to sponsor European travel for Mount as well, but he declined. In the ensuing years, Sturges made several European trips, visiting public and private galleries and artists' studios in London, Paris, and Rome.
17. Letters in the Asher Brown Durand Papers addressed to John, care of 125-127 Front Street, and correspondence referring to his employment with Sturges suggest that John worked for the business from 1836 to 1852. Reed had offered John a job in 1836, just before he died, and Sturges honored that commitment.
18. The second Durand is *God's Judgment Upon Gog*, now in the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia. This painting, unique in the artist's body of work, was deaccessioned by the Metropolitan many years ago.
19. Sturges to Durand, May 23, 1857, Durand Papers, reel N20, frame 985.
20. Sturges also loaned Durand's *Forest Scene* to the 1864 Metropolitan Fair. It is not clear if this title refers to *In the Woods* or to another Durand.
21. Sturges account book, April 4 and June 4, 1845, Jonathan Sturges Papers, reel 2672, no frame, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
22. Sturges twice helped fund Academy buildings; the first building opened in 1850, and the second in 1865.
23. John Durand diary, October 31, [1846], Durand Papers, reel N21, frame 1030.
24. The payments to Ingham were on December 1, for \$200; December 19, for \$150; and December 31, for \$150. Sturges Papers, reel 2672, no frame.
25. See Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life* (New York, 1867); Joshua C. Taylor, *William Page: The American Titian* (Chicago, 1957); John K. Howat et al., *19th-Century America: Paintings and Sculpture*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1970); William H. Gerdtz and Russell Burke, *American Still-Life Painting* (New York, 1971); and Voorsanger and Howat, *Art and the Empire City*.
26. Sturges, W. H. Osborn, and William Church Osborn each had photographs taken of the interiors of their New York City homes but not, as far as we know, of the interiors of their country homes.
27. Sturges account book, entries for May 24 and November 27, 1848, Sturges Papers, reel 2672, no frame.
28. In 1845 Sturges published a thinly disguised letter to the editor of the *Broadway Journal* refusing credit for his role as organizer and financial supporter of the gallery, suggesting to readers that rather than criticizing the modest size and uneven quality of the Reed collection, they commission paintings to help amplify it. S. J., "New York Gallery of the Fine Arts," *Broadway Journal*, March 22, 1845, p. 187.
29. Apparently the portrait either was never painted or has been lost, since the Academy has no record of it.
30. National Academy of Design Council Meeting Minutes, March 30, 1863, p. 67, transcript, reel 798, no frame, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
31. [Thomas Seir Cummings?], Council Meeting Minutes, November 30, 1874, Archives of the National Academy of Design, New York City. I am grateful to Mark Mitchell, former associate curator, for his assistance in locating this source.
32. John Durand diary, February 19, [ca. 1841-42], Durand Papers, reel N21, frames 1040-41. It is likely that the discussion was prompted by the brouhaha surrounding Horatio Greenough's marble sculpture of George Washington wearing a toga, with a partially bared torso, which was installed in the Capitol Rotunda in 1841.
33. Sturges was the club's second president. He played an important role in helping to alleviate the ravages of the 1863 draft riots.
34. According to Tuckerman, "the surprise and delight exhibited by the thousands of all degrees, who visited the Picture Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, has suggested to many, for the first time, and renewed in other minds more emphatically, the need, desireableness, and practicality of a permanent and free Gallery of Art in our Cities." Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists*, p. 11.
35. Mary was the head of the women's committee that was largely responsible for organizing the exhibition, and Virginia was a member. Jonathan loaned Inman's *Newsboy* and Durand's *Forest Scene*, a modest contribution compared to that of Marshall O. Roberts, the leading American art collector of the day.
36. "Meeting of the Officers of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *New York Times*, December 23, 1870, p. 2.
37. Sturges to Durand, March 19, 1870, Durand Papers, reel 21, frames 3-4.
38. In 1873, however, he was one of five principal donors when Henry Peters Gray's *Wages of War* was purchased for the Museum by subscription.
39. "The Late Jonathan Sturges: Action of the Union League Club—Speeches and Resolutions," *New York Times*, December 1, 1874, p. 2.
40. Although there is no complete inventory of the Sturges collection, it may have been twice as large as Tuckerman's list of thirty-eight works.
41. The collection of Sturges's son Frederick included paintings by Durand and academic European artists. Sturges's youngest child, Henry, a major bibliophile, purchased two Hudson River School masterworks, Church's *Rainy Season in the Tropics* and Cole's *View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains*, as well as other American paintings.
42. "William Henry Osborn," unpublished biographical sketch, Osborn Family Archives, Garrison, N.Y.
43. J. R. D. [John R. Duryee], "William H. Osborn," *New York Evening Post*, March 5, 1894, p. 8.

44. See John K. Howat, *Frederic Church* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 75, 118.
45. Osborn refused Sturges's offer to reimburse the money he had lost. He also served as an informal financial adviser to Jonathan and Frederick Sturges. W. H. Osborn to Frederick Sturges, April 18, 1883, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 1, folder 21, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
46. "Four Presidents in Four Years," unpublished biographical sketch, Osborn Family Archives.
47. See Jean Strouse, *Morgan, American Financier* (New York, 1999). Of the six Sturges children (Virginia, Frederick, Amelia, Edward, Arthur, and Henry), Amelia and Arthur died as young adults.
48. Morgan's relationship with the Sturges family was formative in his early collecting years, when he acquired works by leading American artists, notably Durand's *Landscape—Scene from "Thanatopsis"* (Metropolitan Museum).
49. Virginia Osborn to Amelia Sturges, February 19, 1857, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 5, folder 5.
50. Few letters from Jonathan Sturges and W. H. Osborn survive, and they are a challenge to read. Virginia Osborn was a founder and longtime president of the Bellevue Hospital's Training School for Nurses and was involved in a range of other charities. W. H. Osborn was a leading supporter of the New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled and its hospital, which treated destitute children with hernias and orthopedic problems. He also was an active supporter of the Bellevue Training School for Nurses and the Children's Aid Society.
51. Virginia Osborn to Mrs. Wheeler, March 8, 1855, Henry Fairfield Osborn and Family Papers, box 1, folder 4, courtesy New-York Historical Society. According to National Academy of Design exhibition records, however, by 1852 W. H. Osborn already owned W. W. Wotherspoon's *Torre del Greco, Naples*. He also purchased Samuel F. B. Morse's bust-length portrait of the Marquis de Lafayette at the March 1852 Philip Hone estate auction.
52. In March 1865 Herbert and Emma Church died of diphtheria as babies. In 1875 Virginia Sturges Osborn died of "brain fever" in Italy and Frederick Sturges Osborn drowned while swimming in the Hudson River.
53. In 1899 and 1900, respectively, Isabel and Frederic died at 32 Park Avenue after returning from trips abroad.
54. By then Jonathan Sturges owned Church's *Cordilleras, Sunrise* (1854, private collection), which he lent to the National Academy in 1855. Osborn lent *Andes* to the Academy in 1857.
55. Osborn also loaned Gray's *Pride of the Village* and Huntington's *Antiquarian* to the Metropolitan Fair.
56. See Natalie Spassky et al., *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 2 (New York, 1985), pp. 279–80, for a thorough discussion of *The Aegean Sea*.
57. Virginia Osborn to Lucretia Osborn, March 31, 1887, Osborn Papers, box 4, folder 5.
58. Other significant Church paintings belonging to Osborn were *Tropical Moonlight*, *Sunrise in Syria*, *Beacon off Mount Desert Island*, *Study for Jerusalem*, *The Mountains of Edom*, *The Iceberg*, and *Konigssee*. William Church Osborn donated *The Aegean Sea* to the Metropolitan in accordance with his mother's will (Osborn to Luigi Palma di Cesnola, March 4, 1902, Metropolitan Museum Archives).
59. Osborn bought hundreds of acres of land at Garrison, across from West Point, where members of the family still own property. For Olana, Castle Rock, and another Osborn property, see John Zukowsky, *Hudson River Villas* (New York, 1985).
60. Another pair of town houses, constructed around the same time for the Sturges and Osborn families, was designed by H. H. Richardson, the prominent architect of Boston's Trinity Church. The town houses were in the same block as Hunt's, perhaps even adjacent to it.
61. Church to Osborn, April 15, 1888, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 1, folder 9. Surprisingly, given Church's remarks, *View at Amalfi, Bay of Salerno* is not a small picture (roughly 33 by 54 in.).
62. We do not know who or what was depicted in these works—one may be an oil still owned by the family. Sturges commissioned Rowse to draw his son Edward (private collection). Olana owns a painting and a drawing by Rowse, whose likeness is recorded in Eastman Johnson's *Funding Bill* (1881, Metropolitan Museum).
63. The commission for a *Sleeping Peri* is discussed in the Osborn-Church correspondence, but it is unclear if Palmer ever made the sculpture for Osborn.
64. Church to Osborn, September 29, 1868, courtesy of Olana State Historic Site, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation.
65. In 1852 Osborn purchased Morse's *Marquis de Lafayette* at the Hone sale; in 1876 he donated it to the Lenox Library. The New York Public Library sold the painting in 2005 for \$1,360,000.
66. S. P. Avery Jr. to Mr. Wm H. Osborn, invoice, December 3, 1888, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 3, folder 5.
67. There is no comprehensive inventory of the Osborn holdings. The list is drawn from a brief record of artworks distributed to William and Fairfield after Virginia's death in 1902, supplemented by gleanings from letters and publications.
68. Osborn loaned *The Pride of the Village* to the National Academy of Design for display at the 1863 exhibition. The painting was reproduced in the 1864 Artist's Edition of Irving's *Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon Gent*.
69. At the sale Sturges purchased Leutze's *Columbus Before Ferdinand and Isabella* (Brooklyn Museum), as well as a Gilbert Stuart portrait.
70. See Spassky et al., *American Paintings in the Metropolitan*, pp. 101–6.
71. In 2005 a painting by Beard from the Osborn collection, *School Rules*, was sold by Sotheby's for \$296,000, setting a price record for the artist. It is puzzling that Earl Shinn did not include the collection in his lavishly illustrated *Art Treasures of America* (Philadelphia, 1879). In 1867 Osborn had merited only a passing mention in Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*, but by 1879 he had amassed holdings larger than many enumerated by Shinn. This might be explained either by Osborn's dislike of publicity or by his preference for American art at a time when European art was the fashion.
72. Virginia Osborn to Elizabeth Murray, January 8, 1864, Osborn Papers, box 1, folder 6.
73. See Winifred E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1913), pp. 129–30.
74. *Egyptian Museum. Statement of Its Position and Prospects*. [ca. 1859–60], Manuscripts Department, New-York Historical Society.
75. Walker was appreciated for his rosy, plump, delightful portraits of young children. His Osborn and Sturges portraits are currently unlocated.
76. See Belinda Morse, *John Hanson Walker: The Life and Times of a Victorian Artist* (Gloucester, England, 1987), p. 77.
77. Frederic Church's eldest son, Freddie, also attended Princeton but was expelled for cheating; Virginia Osborn paid off his college gambling debts. This event caused considerable tumult in both families.
78. In 1905 Fairfield Osborn described and named *Tyrannosaurus rex*; in 1925 he testified against William Jennings Bryan, in favor of evolution, in the Scopes "Monkey Trial." His advocacy of eugenics has been heavily criticized.

79. William Church Osborn also served on the board of several railroads, including the Detroit, Toledo, and Ironton Railroad and the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad.
80. Michael Werboff, "Mr. William Church Osborn," July 26, 1980, Osborn Family Archives.
81. Both Havemeyer and Palmer relied on Mary Cassatt as an adviser. In 1886 the first important Impressionist exhibition in the United States was presented in New York City by Paul Durand-Ruel, who then had galleries in Paris and London.
82. Frederick Osborn, *Voyage to a New World, 1889–1979: A Personal Narrative* (Garrison, N.Y., privately printed, 1979), pp. 17–18. Osborn relied on memories of long-past events and made occasional errors. Although his father's Monets were all purchased at Durand-Ruel, the recent rediscovery of a letter from Monet to Alice Osborn, thanking her for supporting Givernois soldiers fighting in World War I, proves that there was direct contact with the artist.
83. American Art Association, *Inventory and Appraisal of Paintings Belonging to William Church Osborn, Esquire Contained in the Residence at No. 40 East 36th Street, New York City*, October 24, 1927, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 9, folder 3.
84. Samuel Marx, untitled estate appraisal of paintings at 720 Park Avenue, New York City and Garrison, New York, [1951?], Osborn Family Archives. Alice predeceased William, so the appraisal includes art from the Dodge family.
85. Henry Thale to William Church Osborn, June 4, 1932, Osborn Family Archives.
86. Durand-Ruel, Inc., *Pictures Belonging to the William Church Osborn Collection*, June 1932, Osborn and Dodge Family Papers, box 9, folder 1.
87. Malvina Hoffman to Frederick H. Osborn, June 4, 1951, Osborn Family Archives. The letter implies that Hoffman designed the Osborns' tomb.
88. William Church Osborn, *Catalogue for Exhibition of Water Colors*, June 25, 1948, Osborn Family Archives. Osborn's estate inventory lists twenty-nine American watercolors, most, if not all, acquired through the American Watercolor Society.
89. Aileen Osborn Webb to William Church Osborn, March 28, [1941], Osborn Family Archives.
90. Albert M. Lythgoe, "The Egyptian Expedition," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 21 (March 1926, pt. 2), pp. 3–4.
91. Osborn was concerned that Blumenthal was the only Jewish trustee and was probably largely responsible for his appointment as president. Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970), pp. 218–19.
92. Alice Osborn to Virginia MacKaye, October 21, 1941, Osborn Family Archives.
93. For more than thirty years, Osborn chaired the committee on buildings. R. T. H. Halsey, "William Church Osborn, Eighth President of the Museum," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 36 (August 1941), pp. 162–63.
94. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, pp. 107, 168. His loans of French paintings were the Museum's first significant presentation of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art.
95. Ninety van loads containing a total of 3,500 works of art of various kinds were transported at night in just a few weeks. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, p. 283.
96. Osborn had a lifelong interest in children. He was a trustee of the Children's Aid Society, for forty-eight years serving as president. Under his leadership, the society grew to be largest child-care nonprofit organization in the country. He also supported the New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled, serving as trustee and president. His parents had been active and generous supporters of both organizations.
97. *Zacharias* is the only painting by this visionary artist in the Museum's collection. Other important French paintings from Osborn's collection were donated to Princeton University by his children.
98. See the file "Osborn, William Church, Gifts & Loan," Metropolitan Museum Archives, for relevant information.
99. Testimonial to William Church Osborn, May 16, 1949, Metropolitan Museum Archives.
100. The committee included Cleveland Dodge, Stephen C. Clark, Thomas J. Watson, Ralph Bunche, Herbert H. Lehman, William S. Paley, Nelson Rockefeller, and Francis Cardinal Spellman. "Dedication of the William Church Osborn Memorial Gates of the New Playground in Central Park . . .," 1953, Osborn Family Archives.
101. According to Kathryn Papacosma of the Central Park Conservancy, staff conservators are recasting missing pieces and welding cracks. They are replicating the Group of Deer sculpture that sits atop one of the two granite piers supporting the gates. Both granite piers have been installed at the entrance of the Ancient Playground at Fifth Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street. The gates were originally installed in 1953 in a playground built on the site now occupied by the Metropolitan Museum's Temple of Dendur.
102. For instance, William Church Osborn's great-grandson, Frederick Henry Osborn III, recently retired as director of philanthropic services at the Episcopal Church Foundation. Currently, he serves on the boards of several charitable organizations, notably Scenic Hudson, whose precursor, the Hudson River Conservation Society, was founded by William Church Osborn. Alice Dodge Osborn continued Virginia Osborn's close involvement with the Bellevue Training School for Nurses, serving as president of the Board of Managers. In 1942 Alice and William's daughter Aileen established the American Crafts Council, a direct precursor to the Museum of Arts and Design, the country's premier craft museum. Osborn family members remain closely involved with St. Philip's Church in the Highlands in Garrison, which W. H. and Virginia Osborn first supported in the mid-1800s.

James Duncan of Benmore, the First Owner of Renoir's *Bay of Naples (Morning)*

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The importance of Auguste Renoir as a landscape painter was recently assessed in the exhibition "Renoir Landscapes: 1865–1883" at the National Gallery, London, to which The Metropolitan Museum of Art lent *The Bay of Naples (Morning)* (Figure 1).¹ Until now it was believed that the first owner of the painting was the New York–based Scottish dealer James Smith Inglis (1852–1907),² but recent research, based on the ledgers of the dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922), establishes that the first owner was the largely forgotten Scottish collector James Duncan of Benmore (1834–1905).³

Duncan (Figure 2) was born on April 4, 1834, in Mosesfield, Springburn, near Glasgow, the son of James Duncan (1788–1840), a successful Glasgow bookseller. About 1850 he entered the office of Warden, Macpherson and Co., a prominent Greenock sugar-broking firm, and subsequently formed a partnership with the Greenock refiners Alexander Scott and James Bell, who also operated in London. In 1869 Duncan formed his own company, Duncan and Co., with a refinery at Clyde Wharf, Silvertown, Essex; this heralded the start of an extremely prosperous career in the course of which he became the leading sugar refiner in London.⁴ He held the prominent positions of chairman of the Sugar Refiners' Committee, chairman of the Railway and Canal Traders' Association and vice-president of the Society of Chemical Industry.⁵

Between 1870 and 1883 Duncan put together a remarkable collection of paintings and sculpture—both old masters and nineteenth-century British, German, Italian, Austrian, and French works—that was one of the most important to be formed in late nineteenth-century Britain.⁶ To house his art, in 1879 he built a vast picture gallery next to his mansion in Benmore, Argyllshire (Figure 3), where he spent time when not at his London residence at 71 Cromwell Road, Kensington.⁷ Duncan showed a predilection for French nineteenth-century paintings, especially large academic pieces such as Jules Lefèvre's *Diana Surprised* of 1879 (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires) and Jean Jacques Henner's *Églogue* of 1879 (Petit Palais, Paris). He also assembled a

significant body of Barbizon works, including Théodore Rousseau's *Mont Chauvet, Forêt de Fontainebleau* of about 1845–50 (location unknown)⁸ and Charles-François Daubigny's *Banks of the Oise* of 1863 (Figure 4).⁹

Duncan bought his most important French pictures from Durand-Ruel, whom he most likely met in the early 1870s when the dealer was organizing a number of exhibitions of French art at his Bond Street gallery under the title "The Society of French Artists."¹⁰ Durand-Ruel noted that sometime in 1872 or 1873 he sold Duncan one of his most significant early purchases of French art: Camille Corot's celebrated *La toilette* of 1859 (private collection, Paris).¹¹ The dealer's ledger for February 1874 records that Duncan also bought two works by Gustave Courbet, *Bergère avec moutons et chiens* for 6,000 francs and an untitled landscape for 3,400 francs.¹² Such was Duncan's wealth that he could afford to pay Durand-Ruel 46,000 francs for Eugène Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* of 1827 (Figure 5), arguably his greatest acquisition.¹³ Precisely when he bought the work has yet to be established, but it was most probably between 1878 and 1880.¹⁴ Duncan's name appears again in Durand-Ruel's ledger in May 1883, when he purchased William Bouguereau's *La nuit* of 1883 (Figure 6), Eugène Boudin's *Soleil couchant* (location unknown), and Renoir's *Bay of Naples*.¹⁵

John Rewald claimed in 1973 that James Inglis bought the Metropolitan's *Bay of Naples* from Durand-Ruel on May 1, 1883.¹⁶ Inglis owned the painting sometime before July 18, 1888, when he sold it to Bousod, Valadon & Cie. He did indeed acquire works from Durand-Ruel between 1881 and 1892, but none of these was by Renoir,¹⁷ and his name does not appear at all in Durand-Ruel's ledger for 1883. The ledger for May 1, 1883, clearly records Duncan as the purchaser of *Naples*, stock number 2391, at a price of 3,000 francs. That original stock number, 2391, can still be seen on the back of the Metropolitan's painting.¹⁸ How long Duncan owned his Renoir is not known, but it is likely to have been in his collection until at least 1886, the year he was forced to sell many of his paintings when his business

1. Auguste Renoir (French, 1841–1919). *The Bay of Naples (Morning)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 23½ x 32 in. (59.7 x 81.3 cm). Signed and dated at lower right: *Renoir. 81.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Julia W. Emmons, 1956 (56.135.8)



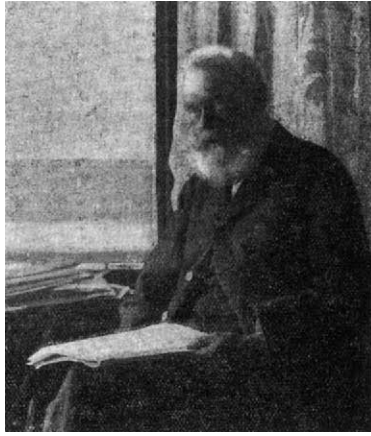
suffered serious financial difficulties as a result of foreign bounties on sugar.¹⁹ Inglis most likely bought the picture between 1886 and 1888, either directly from Duncan or through a dealer.

Duncan's acquisition of *The Death of Sardanapalus* alone would have ensured his reputation as a collector, but his purchase of the Renoir secures his place in the history of nineteenth-century British collecting of French art. Until now it was thought that the first Impressionist work to enter a Scottish collection was Edgar Degas's *At the Milliner's* of 1882 (Metropolitan Museum), which the Glasgow collector Thomas Glen Arthur (1857–1907) bought from the dealer Alexander Reid (1854–1928) in 1892.²⁰ But Duncan's purchase of the Renoir nine years earlier confirms that his was the first Scottish collection known to feature an Impressionist work. Duncan is thereby revealed as one of a small, pioneering group of British collectors who bought Impressionist paintings in the 1870s and early 1880s, among them Henry Hill (1812–1882), Louis Huth (1821–1905), Samuel Barlow (1825–1893), and Constantine Ionides (1833–1900). Huth became the first English collector to own an Impressionist painting when he bought *Le foyer de la danse à l'Opéra*,

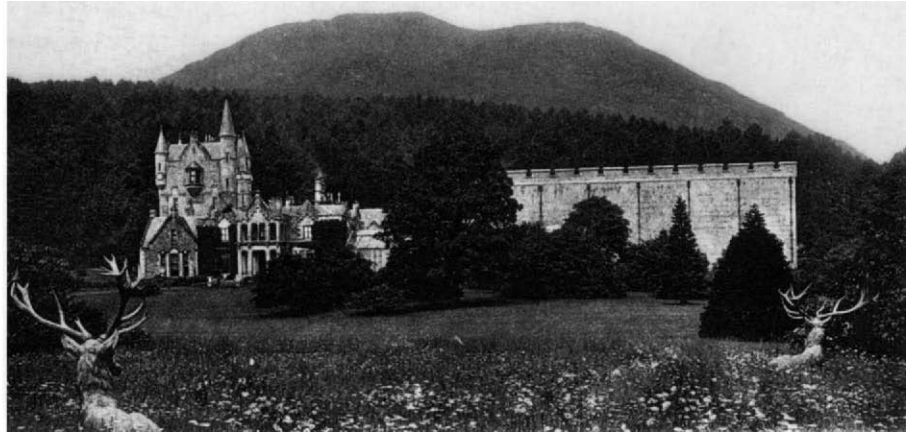
which Degas painted in 1872 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), from Durand-Ruel in 1873.²¹ Hill bought seven works by Degas, including *The Dancing Class* of about 1870 and *The Rehearsal of the Ballet Onstage*, probably of 1874, both of which are now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and he also owned Claude Monet's *Garden Orchard Scene with Blossom and Poplars*, which dates to before 1882 (present location unknown).²² Ionides acquired Degas's *Robert le Diable* of 1876 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) from Durand-Ruel in 1881.²³ Barlow was the first English collector to evince a taste for Impressionist landscapes, showing a preference for Camille Pissarro, by whom he owned four pictures, including *Une rue à Louveciennes* of 1871 (Manchester City Art Gallery).²⁴

The apparent lack of interest in Renoir's work in Britain may partly be explained by the fact that in the 1870s collectors there had few chances to see it. Between 1872 and 1874 Durand-Ruel exhibited only three of Renoir's pictures in London,²⁵ and not until July 1882 did he show his paintings again, this time at White's Gallery in King Street.²⁶ In April 1883 the dealer organized an exhibition entitled "Paintings, Drawings and Pastels by Members of 'La Société

2. James Duncan of Benmore (1834–1905), ca. 1900–1905. Photograph: *Mansfield House Magazine* (Mansfield College, Oxford), 1905



3. Benmore House, Argyllshire, with the Picture Gallery at the right. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historical Monuments, Edinburgh



4. Charles-François Daubigny (French, 1817–1878). *The Banks of the Oise*, 1863. Oil on wood, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (37.5 x 67 cm). Signed and dated at lower left: *Daubigny. 1863*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.815)



5. Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798–1863). *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827. Oil on canvas, 12 ft. 10 in. x 16 ft. 3 in. (3.92 x 4.96 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 2346). Photograph: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York



6. William Bouguereau (French, 1825–1905). *La nuit*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 82 x 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (208.3 x 107.3 cm). Hillwood Museum, Washington, D.C. (51.12)

des Impressionistes” at Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell’s gallery in London at which he showed eight paintings by Renoir, some of them landscapes. The exhibition received mixed reviews. The most complimentary critic praised Renoir as a figure painter.²⁷ The most powerful invective was reserved for his landscapes, along with those of Monet and Alfred Sisley, in which one reviewer discerned “as much vulgarity—of sentiment, ambition and technique—as can well be put on canvas.”²⁸

By the time the Dowdeswell show opened in London on April 20, Duncan had very likely already seen Renoir’s work at the exhibition Durand-Ruel had installed three weeks earlier at his gallery in the Boulevard Madeleine in Paris. The Paris exhibition was devoted entirely to Renoir and showed seventy paintings, fourteen of which were landscapes, including *The Bay of Naples*.²⁹ The landscapes provoked extremely negative responses from French critics, even from such champions of Impressionism as Philippe Burty and Gustave Geffroy, both of whom cited Renoir’s paintings of Naples as the most convincing evidence of the artist’s failure as a landscape painter.³⁰

There is no evidence to explain Duncan’s motive for buying *The Bay of Naples*, the only Impressionist work he appears to have owned. It may simply have been the subject matter that interested him, as he also acquired a *Bay of Naples* by the seventeenth-century painter Johannes Lingelbach (1622–1674).³¹ His purchase of a Renoir at the beginning of May 1883, immediately after so many negative critical reviews of the artist’s landscapes had appeared in Britain and France, attests to his independent taste. Not only was *The Bay of Naples* the first painting by Renoir that Durand-Ruel sold in Britain, it proved (so far as we know) to be the only Renoir acquired by a British collector in the nineteenth century.³²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Colin B. Bailey et al., *Renoir Landscapes: 1865–1883*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; and Philadelphia Museum of Art (London, 2007).
2. John Rewald first published the painting’s provenance in “Theo van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 81 (January 1973), pp. 1–108, where (p. 62, n. 60) he cited François Daulte as having supplied the information. This provenance is cited by Christopher Riopelle in Bailey et al., *Renoir Landscapes*, p. 249, n. 1. Inglis initially worked as manager for Cottier and Co. at 144 Fifth Avenue in New York. The firm had been founded in London by the Glasgow entrepreneur Daniel Cottier (1838–1891), who specialized in stained glass and furniture design and also dealt in paintings, showing a marked preference for the Hague and Barbizon Schools. The New York branch was opened in 1873. Following Cottier’s death, Inglis succeeded him as head of the firm and formed a fine collection of paintings by Courbet, Degas, Corot, Daubigny, and Monticelli (see “Rare Works Shown at Inglis Sale,” *New York Times*, March 9, 1909). For information on Cottier, see Brian Gould, *Two Van Gogh Contacts—E. J. van Wisselingh, Art Dealer; Daniel Cottier, Glass Painter and Decorator* (Bedford Park, Ill., 1969); and Max Donnelly, “Daniel Cottier: Pioneer of Aestheticism,” *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society* 23 (1999), pp. 33–51. I am grateful to Simon Houfe for drawing my attention to Donnelly’s article.
3. Durand-Ruel listed the painting as “Naples,” stock no. 2391, which he sold to “Monsieur Duncan” on May 1, 1883, for 3,000 francs. I am grateful to Madame Flavie Durand-Ruel for providing me with this information.
4. See Duncan’s obituary in the *Glasgow Herald*, August 15, 1905, p. 9.
5. In his capacity as chairman of the Sugar Refiners’ Committee Duncan contributed many articles on sugar refining to the *London Times* in the late 1870s and 1880s (see, for example, “The Sugar Question,” November 1, 1879, p. 4).
6. I am presently working on a more detailed article about Duncan’s collection.
7. Duncan bought Benmore estate in 1870. I am grateful to Peter Baxter for this information. In 1873 Duncan moved from 5 Highbury Hill to 71 Cromwell Road, which was his London residence until the mid-1890s. I am grateful to Anne Beales for clarifying this.
8. See Michel Schulman, *Théodore Rousseau (1812–1867): Catalogue raisonné de l’oeuvre peint* (Paris, 1999), p. 226, no. 379.
9. I am grateful to Ronald Pickvance for drawing my attention to the fact that Duncan owned this painting. The picture was exhibited in 1878 as “River Scene” in the Glasgow Corporation Galleries; see *Official Catalogue of the Glasgow Fine Art Loan Exhibition in Aid of the Funds of the Royal Infirmary, Held in the Corporation Galleries, Sauchiehall Street: With Descriptive and Biographical Notes by a Member of the Acting Committee, May–June–July, 1878* (Glasgow, 1878), p. 2, no. 3. The catalogue entry for the painting tallies exactly with the Metropolitan’s painting. I am grateful to Frances Fowle for drawing my attention to this catalogue. It was probably *The Banks of the Oise* that Duncan lent to the Munich International Exhibition in 1883, where it was exhibited as “Landschaft”; see *Illustrierter Katalog der internationalen Kunstausstellung im Königl. Glaspalaste in München 1883* (Munich, 1883), p. 239, no. 424. I am grateful to Christian Fuhrmeister for sending me an electronic copy of this catalogue. Duncan’s name first appears in connection with the picture in *Collection H. V. (Henri Vever): Catalogue De Tableaux Modernes De Premier*

- Ordre, Pastels, Aquarelles, Dessins, Sculptures Dont La Vente Aura Lieu Galerie Georges Petit, Paris*, February 1–2, 1897, lot 34 (Collection Duncan). Robert Hellebranth (*Charles-François Daubigny, 1817–1878* [Morges, 1976], p. 94) lists the Metropolitan's painting as no. 264. However, he also illustrates *Bord de l'Oise*, 1865 (*ibid.*, p. 99, no. 285), the composition of which is identical to no. 264. As all the information for no. 285 is taken from the description found in the catalogue of the Henri Vever sale cited above, which is undoubtedly the Metropolitan's painting, it seems that Hellebranth mistakenly included two entries for the work: nos. 264 and 285. I am grateful to Asher Miller for so kindly answering my questions about *The Banks of the Oise*. This is the only Daubigny that has thus far been linked to Duncan's collection.
10. Douglas Cooper first published details of the Impressionist paintings that were shown at the eleven exhibitions between 1870 and 1875 in *The Courtauld Collection: A Catalogue and Introduction* (London, 1954), p. 22. See also Kate Flint's appendix "Impressionist Works Exhibited in London 1870–1905," in *Impressionists in England: The Critical Reception*, ed. Kate Flint (London, 1984), pp. 356–75. For a recent detailed account of all the Impressionist works shown at these exhibitions, see "Appendix 1: List of Exhibitions of Impressionist Art in Britain, 1870–1913," in Madeleine Korn, "Exhibitions of Modern French Art and Their Influence on Collectors in Britain, 1870–1918: The Davies Sisters in Context," *Journal of the History of Collections* 16, no. 2 (2004), pp. 207–8. Less attention has been given to the other French works that Durand-Ruel exhibited, some of which were important canvases, such as Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*. See *Catalogue of the Society of French Artists Exhibition*, July 5, 1873, no. 13.
 11. See Lionello Venturi, *Les archives de l'Impressionnisme* (Paris, 1939), vol. 2, p. 185.
 12. I am grateful to Flavie Durand-Ruel for this information. *Bergère avec moutons et chiens* was most likely *La bergère*, 1866, whose present location is unknown. See Robert Fernier, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Courbet: Catalogue raisonné*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1977–78), vol. 2, p. 18, no. 547.
 13. See Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1981–89), vol. 1, 1816–1831, p. 114.
 14. The earliest Duncan could have bought the painting would have been sometime after Durand-Ruel showed it at his Paris gallery in 1878. The catalogue of this exhibition (*Exposition rétrospective de tableaux et dessins des maîtres modernes* [Paris, 1878], no. 141, p. 24) lists the painting as belonging to a M. Fremyn. Although Johnson (*Paintings of Delacroix*, vol. 1, p. 114) acknowledges that *The Death of Sardanapalus* was exhibited at Durand-Ruel's gallery in 1878, in his provenance entry he does not list Fremyn as having owned it. Fremyn was a notary who owned several works by Delacroix (see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 135, vol. 3, 1832–1863, pp. 223, 235–38, 244). According to the Durand-Ruel archives, the lists of paintings in Durand-Ruel's ledgers are complete from 1880 to 1890 and do not include the *Death of Sardanapalus*, which makes it probable that Duncan acquired it between 1878 and 1880. I am grateful to Flavie Durand-Ruel for confirming that there is no record of the sale of *The Death of Sardanapalus* in Durand-Ruel's ledgers.
 15. According to the Durand-Ruel archives, *La nuit* and *Soleil couchant* were both purchased by Duncan on May 5, 1883, for 36,750 and 4,000 francs respectively.
 16. See note 2 above.
 17. I am grateful to Paul Louis Durand-Ruel for clarifying this.
 18. I am grateful to Asher Miller at the Metropolitan Museum for checking the details on the back of the painting and for so kindly answering my queries about *The Bay of Naples*.
 19. *The Bay of Naples, La nuit, La toilette*, and many other paintings were sold privately.
 20. This was first discovered by Ronald Pickvance, who in 1966 supplied the information to The Metropolitan Museum of Art that was subsequently published in Charles Sterling and Margareta Salinger, *French Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 3, XIX–XX Centuries (New York, 1967), p. 81, and in Ronald Pickvance, *A Man of Influence: Alex Reid (1854–1928)*, exh. cat., Scottish Arts Council Gallery, Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 10. For information on Arthur, see Frances Fowle, "Appendix 3: Biographies: Collectors," in Vivien Hamilton, *Millet to Matisse: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century French Painting from Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow*, exh. cat. (New Haven, 2002), p. 199.
 21. See Ronald Pickvance, "Degas's Dancers: 1872–6," *Burlington Magazine* 105 (June 1963), p. 257. Pickvance (p. 257, n. 14) also records that in the summer of 1873 Huth bought three Corots from Durand-Ruel, two of which are reproduced in *Catalogue of the Highly Important Collection of Fine Pictures and Drawings of Louis Huth*, sale cat., Christie, Manson and Woods, London, May 20, 1905, lots 87, 88. I am grateful to Simon Houfe for drawing my attention to this catalogue. Huth made his money in banking and assembled a notable collection of paintings, which he housed at Posingworth Manor in Sussex. The mainstay of his collection was the British School, which included works by Gainsborough, Hogarth, Reynolds, Stubbs, and Constable (see *ibid.*). For further information on Huth, see Korn, "Exhibitions of Modern French Art," p. 194.
 22. See Ronald Pickvance, "Henry Hill: An Untypical Victorian Collector," *Apollo* 76 (1962), pp. 789–91; and Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 429–30.
 23. This was first pointed out by Pickvance ("Degas's Dancers," p. 266, n. 86). On June 7, 1881, Ionides paid Durand-Ruel 10,000 francs (£600) for the painting. I am grateful to Madame Durand-Ruel Godfroy for this information. See Andrew Watson, "Constantine Ionides and His Collection of 19th–Century French Art," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 3 (1998), p. 28. For further information on Ionides as a collector of French art, see Andrew Watson, "The Collection of Constantine Alexander Ionides (1833–1900): With Special Reference to the French Nineteenth-Century Paintings, Etchings and Sculptures," PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2002.
 24. See Cecil Gould, "An Early Buyer of French Impressionists in England," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (March 1966), pp. 141–42. For further information on Barlow, see Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, pp. 388–89, and also Korn, "Exhibitions of Modern French Art," p. 215.
 25. *Le Pont des Arts, Paris* of about 1867–68 (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) was shown at the "Fifth Exhibition of the Society of French Artists" in 1872, and *La loge* of 1874 (Courtauld Institute, London) and *The Dancer* of 1874 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) at the "Ninth Exhibition" in 1874. The titles of these pictures were first published in Cooper, *Courtauld Collection*, p. 22.
 26. See Korn, "Exhibitions of Modern French Art," p. 208.
 27. Contemporary reviews of the exhibition are reproduced in Flint, *Impressionists in England*, pp. 55–64.
 28. "The Chronicle of Art," *Magazine of Art*, 1883, p. xxix.
 29. This was shown with its sister painting, *The Bay of Naples* (Evening) of 1881 (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts). Durand-Ruel bought the two paintings from Renoir on May 22, 1882, for 700 francs each. Bailey (in Bailey et

al., *Renoir Landscapes*, pp. 68, 80, n. 127) cites the stock numbers originally listed by Durand-Ruel as “no. 2390, Naples, 700ff.” and “no. 2391, Naples, 700ff.” As we now know that stock no. 2391 relates to the Metropolitan’s version, and as Renoir produced only two views of Naples before 1882, the other painting of Naples that Durand-Ruel bought in 1882, no. 2390, had to have been the Clark version. Paul Louis Durand-Ruel has kindly informed me that the firm purchased no other painting of Naples by Renoir before 1936, and he concludes therefore that no. 2390 is the Clark version, which in 1884 Durand-Ruel sold to the New York collector Erwin Davis. The two versions of *The Bay of Naples* are recorded in *Catalogue de l’Exposition des oeuvres de P.-A. Renoir* (Paris, 1883), as no. 31, *Naples (soir)*, and no. 32, *Naples (matin)*. It was presumably *Naples (matin)* that Duncan acquired. I am grateful to Paul

Louis Durand-Ruel for this information. The 1883 exhibition is discussed by Bailey in Bailey et al., *Renoir Landscapes*, pp. 71–73. For details of Durand-Ruel’s creation of the gallery, see M. Ward, “Impressionist Installations and Private Exhibitions,” *Art Bulletin* 73 (December 1991), p. 617. For a contemporary British review of the exhibition, see *Art Journal* (London), 1883, p. 167.

30. Bailey et al., *Renoir Landscapes*, pp. 72–73.

31. See *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Pictures and Sculpture, Being the Remaining Portion of the Collection of James Duncan, Esq., Late of Benmore*, sale cat., Christie, Manson and Woods, London, February 9, 1895, lot 99.

32. The first Renoir listed by Korn (“Exhibitions of Modern French Art,” p. 216) is *Les parapluies* of about 1881–86 (National Gallery, London), acquired by Sir Hugh Lane in November 1907.

The Recently Acquired Kongo Mangaaka Power Figure

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The Kongo power figure at the entrance of the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing's African galleries in the Metropolitan Museum cannot fail to elicit a visceral reaction (Figure 1). Its commanding presence assaults the viewer and demands a response. This seminal masterpiece of African sculpture eloquently transcends its original milieu to inspire wonder as it did on the coast of western Central Africa more than a century ago. Rarely have cultural artifacts pulled out of context so evoked the sensations of awe and intimidation in a museum context. For a fuller and more nuanced appreciation of the significance of this sculptural achievement, however, it is essential to understand the challenge the commission presented for its creator, the role such a figure played in Kongo society, and the work's place within the broader corpus of related examples.

KONGO POWER IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to situate this work in a meaningful context, we must first consider the cultural ideal it references and the tumultuous and cataclysmic social dynamic to which it responded. Kongo culture is centered in southwestern Democratic Republic of the Congo and extends north and south of the Congo River as well as into adjacent regions of Congo (Brazzaville), Cabinda, and Angola. The recorded history of this region of western Central Africa provided by outside accounts extends back to the arrival of the Portuguese along the coast in 1480. A century earlier, the Kingdom of Kongo, a loosely confederated state based on the region's iron industry, had established its capital at Mbanza Kongo in northern Angola.¹ The kingdom was situated within easy trading distance of sources of copper, iron, and salt, and the tribute system overseen by its leaders stimulated and controlled trade networks that extended from the Atlantic coast into the interior as far east as the Kwango River.

Initially, the alliance with Portugal (developed by the Portuguese in their quest to seek new sources of precious metals) contributed to the radical expansion of these arteries of exchange and the greater centralization and

consolidation of the Kongo rulers' power. To cement their ties and fortify their position, the kings of Kongo converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century.² Consequently, Christianity was adapted as a royal cult that set the nobility apart from the rest of the population. Crucifixes cast in brass by Kongo smiths are tangible evidence of this political ideology (Figure 2). Such artifacts were emblems of their owners' elite status and membership in an influential trading association.³ In this context Christ was identified with great healers and mediators and rendered with African features.⁴ The cross was similarly correlated with regional symbols that mapped the journey between this world and the next.⁵

By the 1550s the development of the transatlantic slave trade was placing great pressures on the region, and slaving interests increasingly dominated. The historian Joseph Miller has chronicled the trade's ineluctable and far-ranging destructive impact:

The revolutionary sequence of political change that recurred in the expanding Atlantic zone caused the slaving frontier to roll eastward like a wave. Behind the wave, merchant princes accumulated slaves from disturbed areas. They also took others in tribute from their own population by less overtly violent means. The process started on the coast in the mid-sixteenth century, crossed the Kwango and Upper Kwanza in the eighteenth century, and reached the innermost parts of Central Africa in the late nineteenth century.⁶

These social pressures contributed to the collapse of the Kongo kingdom by the end of the seventeenth century and an increasing balkanization of the region.

The Kongo peoples continued to play a major role as middlemen in trade networks that carried slaves and ivory from the interior to the Loango coast during the nineteenth century. The period in which the Metropolitan's great power figure was created coincided with the abolition of the slave trade to the Americas in the mid-nineteenth century. Despite this international ban, established systems of slaving stayed



in place to generate labor for the colonial exploitation of natural resources on behalf of Portuguese and Belgian interests that followed. By that point the population had already suffered incalculable trauma and the landscape had been ravaged by ecological depredation. Against this backdrop of generations of turmoil and instability, coastal communities channeled their aspirations for security and protection into an art form that was a spectacular manifestation of divine power charged with imposing social order and justice.

KONGO POWER FIGURES

One of the major genres identified with African art, Central African power figures belong to a broad category of ritual instruments known in Kongo society as *minkisi* (singular *nkisi*). One of the earliest descriptions of *minkisi* is provided by the seventeenth-century Dutch geographer Olfert Dapper.⁷ During the nineteenth century, thousands of *minkisi* collected along the coast entered Europe's newly founded ethnographic collections. They were also targeted for destruction by missionaries as pagan idols and confiscated by colonial authorities as agents of resistance; by the first quarter of the twentieth century, their creation was effectively suppressed, and many were even burned in bonfires. The generic characterization of such artifacts as "fetishes" by European sources has denied their roles as carefully calibrated diagnostic tools used by ritual specialists for investigating antisocial acts and as catalysts for divine intervention.

The Kongo art specialist Robert Farris Thompson has broadly described *minkisi* as sacred medicines from God.⁸ The historian of Kongo religion Wyatt MacGaffey has emphasized the continuity between the earliest definitions of *minkisi* from sources such as Dapper and those provided by twentieth-century Kongo authorities in the region. Both identify spiritual forces that control particular activities or functions and the material creation of a receptacle filled with medicinal matter through which those powers may be invoked.⁹ The *nganga*, or specialist who ministers the power of an *nkisi* to others, is an individual who may combine the roles of healer, diviner, and adjudicator.¹⁰ He composes the *nkisi's bilongo*, or activating medicines, gathered within a customized receptacle or affixed to its exterior.

The spectrum of concerns addressed by *minkisi* was far ranging, and each ritual instrument was broadly classified

1. *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka*. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kongo; second half of 19th century. Wood, paint, metal, resin, ceramic; H. 46½ in. (118 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Laura and James J. Ross, Daniel and Marian Malcolm, Robert T. Wall, Jeffrey B. Soref, Sidney and Bernice Clyman, and Steven M. Kossak Gifts, 2008 (2008.30)

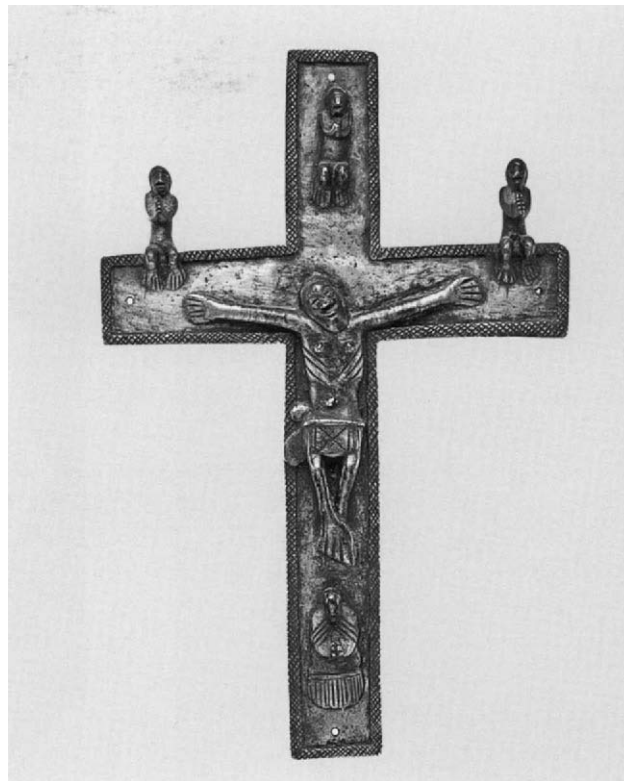
as an *nkisi* of the “above” or “below,” reflecting its association with the domain of either the sky or the earth and water.¹¹ Component ingredients identified with specific attributes were chosen to attract the force that would most effectively address specific kinds of problems confronted by a given specialist’s clientele. All *minkisi* included spiritually imbued matter such as earth drawn from burial sites or white clay obtained from riverbeds, associated with the ancestral realm.¹² Additional elements were selected for their capacity to guide a particular *nkisi*’s power.¹³ *Minkisi* of the “below” were concerned with women’s affairs and healing.¹⁴ Those of the “above” were devoted to governance and maintenance of public order. Consequently, the latter were deployed in the investiture of chiefs, in the implementation of measures to achieve consensus between rival parties, and in the identification and pursuit of those responsible for disruptive criminal acts. Many of the *minkisi* devoted to these ends also served as deterrents to antisocial behavior and were categorized as *minkondi* (sing. *nkondi*). The more functions that were attributed to an *nkisi*, the greater was the importance that it was accorded.¹⁵

MANGAACA—THE ENFORCER

The monumental figure in the Metropolitan’s collection once belonged to the most influential and ambitious class of *minkondi* power figures—those identified with the pre-eminent force of jurisprudence, Mangaaka. British traders along the Loango coast mentioned Mangaaka as one of the spectacular Kongo figures with individual names and regional reputations¹⁶ and sought to collect these impressive works for museums in England. The form, created as a worthy vessel for the manifestation of Mangaaka, personifying an abstract boundless power, conveyed extraordinary strength and authority. In Kongo society the citizenry of a community presented themselves to a massive Mangaaka figure as the highest court of appeal to seal and guarantee important covenants, end disputes, regain wholeness of mind and body, and confront adversaries.¹⁷ It has been suggested that the need to regulate trade along the Loango coast ranked high among the charges brought before such figures.¹⁸ As the embodiment of the Kongo ideal of an unrivaled and unfettered force of justice, a figure of this stature was designed to intimidate and instill respect and reverence for established codes of moral conduct.

THE CREATIVE PROCESS

The process of composing a Mangaaka power figure for a Kongo community began with the inspired efforts of a master sculptor, followed and augmented by those of the ritual



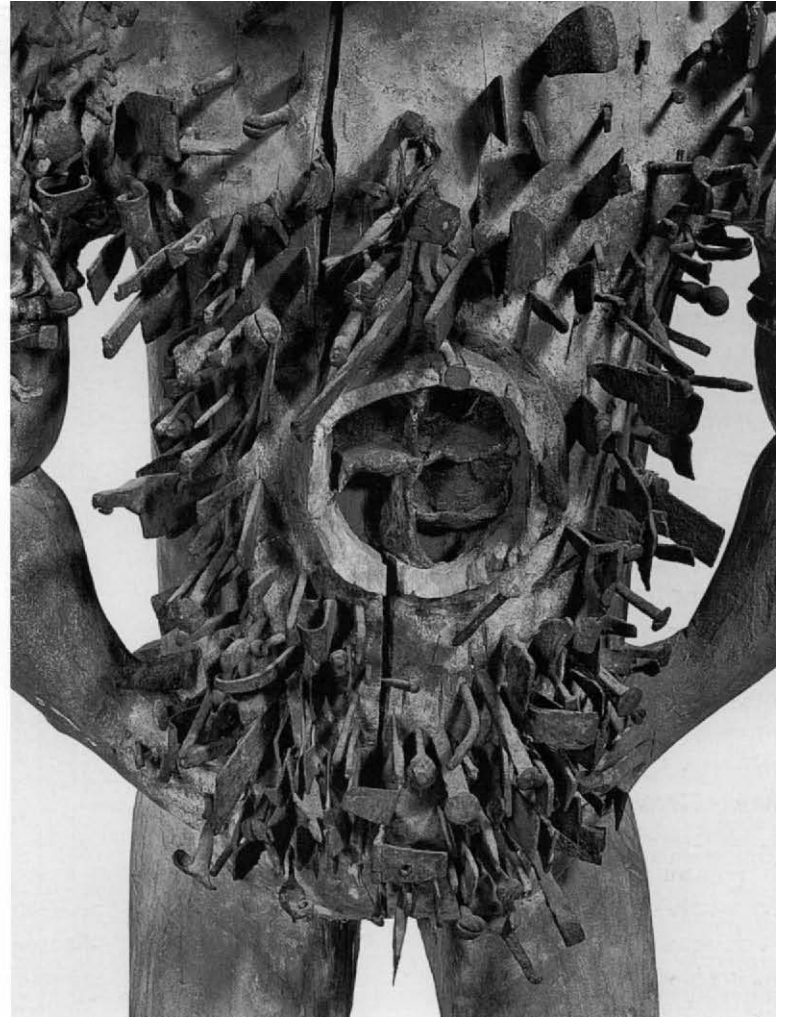
2. *Crucifix*. Angola, Kongo; 16th–17th century. Brass, H. 10¾ in. (27.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Ernst Anspach, 1999 (1999.295.7)

specialist charged with consecrating the work and assuming the role of its intermediary. Initially, the contracted artist was presented with the challenge of rendering the elusive and intangible subject of peerless power in concrete terms. Ultimately, the work’s success would be measured by the artist’s ability to generate a representation that would harness the force housed within the figure. Given this goal, it was critical that the artist capture a sense of an engaged and animated presence.

The sculptor first selected the wood of a sacred tree favored for *nkondi*.¹⁹ Testing of the Mangaaka figure in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts (see Figure 5) identified this wood as *Canarium schweinfurthii*. Although most of the other figures preserved in Western institutions have not been analyzed to date, testing of the Metropolitan’s example has yielded a consistent finding, identifying the genus as *Canarium* or *Dacryodes*, in the same family.²⁰ On a practical level, MacGaffey notes that this hard, dense wood is among those less prone to insect damage.²¹ Once the figure of this immensely powerful being was freed from the wood block by the sculptor, the entire surface was subsequently rubbed with red clay by the *nganga* to emphasize its role as mediator between living and dead, and visible and invisible.²² Examination of the Metropolitan’s work has revealed several layers of black plant-derived organic pigment covering the entire figure except for the upper legs.²³



3. Detail of the head of *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka* in Figure 1



4. Detail of the torso of *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka* in Figure 1

VISUALIZING MANGAACA

At some undocumented point in time, a Kongo sculptor in the Chiloango River region formulated a highly compelling set of conventions for representing Mangaaka, and these features were adopted as a distinctive iconography and body language associated with the subject. Central to the treatment is Mangaaka's representation as a presiding authority and enforcing lord or chief. A key attribute for establishing this status is the crowning element of his distinctive *mpu* woven bonnet, worn by chiefs or priests in Kongo society.²⁴ Protective double bands of raffia cord, *nsunga*, encircling the biceps allude to the interlacing of mortal and ancestral realms and a ritual leader's potential to give and take life.²⁵ This idea is reinforced by the figure's elevation on raised blocks, which underscore his privileged position straddling the boundary between life and death. The defiant forward thrust of the chin and the bend of the knees intimate readiness to confront crises and spring into action. His pose (known as *pakala*), in which he leans forward with arms placed akimbo on the hips, is the aggressive

attitude of one who challenges fearlessly.²⁶ The stance has also been related to the attitude *vonganana*, meaning "to assert oneself, to be somebody, to come on strong."²⁷

The sense of Mangaaka's unyielding physical strength is articulated through the dramatic expanse of his torso and the heft of his broad shoulders. These are configured to suggest an impenetrable defensive barrier capable of absorbing and withstanding any challenge. The massiveness of the shoulders at once gives aesthetic expression to the idea of indomitability and may also highlight the seat of the spiritual capacity associated with taking control known as *mayembo*.²⁸

Features of Mangaaka's facial physiognomy also complement his uncompromising, aggressive appearance while asserting his intensely alert and omniscient character (Figure 3). The prominent forehead is a feature identified with intelligence. The capacity for heightened understanding is further apparent in the dramatic contrast between the wood and the cut and inlaid glazed ceramic eyes pierced with prominent iron pupils. MacGaffey has noted that such "glaring" or "naked" eyes were intended to inspire fear.²⁹ Beyond

this intimidating effect, however, the prominence given to the eyes announces the unrelenting scrutiny that will be brought to bear on all matters that fall under Mangaaka's purview. His sensory acuity is also apparent in the emphasis given to the ears that project from the sides of the head. Finally, the open mouth exposes filed teeth, a sign of civilized refinement, and intimates the animate character of the figure and its subject's readiness to pronounce on matters brought before it. Examination of the Metropolitan's work has revealed that the teeth were further accented in white: one layer is an indigenous pigment, while the other is European paint.³⁰ The pronounced emphasis on the facial features, in combination with the posture and gaze, conspires to impress the viewer with a sense of the figure's immediacy.

Among the visual focal points of a monumental power figure, ultimately regarded as a vessel for the force it embodies, is the hollowed receptacle designed to be filled with medicines once the sculpture was transferred to the ritual specialist (Figure 4). The principal site for embedding such matter is a centrally positioned cylindrical cavity that, once filled, was sealed with resin, so that it protrudes prominently from the figure's abdomen. In Kongo culture the belly, or *mooyo*, is associated with life and the soul.³¹ Its projection is associated with an organ that Kongo peoples believe to be present in those capable of consuming others mystically. Mangaaka's protruding belly signals his capacity to combat such agents.³² The unaltered mystical charge of medicinal matter is still intact in many examples of Mangaaka such as the work in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 5). Residual vestiges of the interior compartments that once housed the empowering medicines are apparent in the exposed and emptied stomach cavity of the Metropolitan's figure.

All Mangaaka figures appear to have originally had beards composed of added organic matter. The example in Detroit, as well as those in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (Figure 6), and the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central, Tervuren (Figure 7), have retained this feature, composed of a compound of resin, clay, palm wine, medicinal matter, and a raffia fiber fringe.³³ Identified with the power and status of elders and ritual specialists in Kongo society, the attribute was held in place with nails.³⁴ While the fragile organic matter of the beard is missing from the Metropolitan's figure, its outline survives as a smear of resin (which may have served as an adhesive) along the contours of the face that is punctuated by the surviving nail understructure. The black pigment along this edge is thicker than elsewhere because it was added once the beard was in place.³⁵

The Mangaaka figure was "dressed" in an item of the *nganga's* attire, further underscoring both its lifelike quality and its identification with the ritual specialist who oversaw its deployment. Typically, the figure's lower half was con-



5. *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka*. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kongo; second half of 19th century. Wood, metal, resin, enamel, cowrie shell; H. 46 1/8 in. (117 cm). The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Eleanor Clay Ford Fund for African Art (76.79). Photograph © 1998 The Detroit Institute of Arts

sealed by a skirt, hung directly below the stomach and extending to just above the feet, composed of woven raffia palm fiber.³⁶ This relatively fragile fiber addition, which remains in place on the Field and Tervuren works, is missing from a good number of the figures in the corpus. Metal elements added to the knees of the Metropolitan's Mangaaka suggest that the skirt may have been removed while the figure was still in use.

A noteworthy feature of this genre is an exterior bristling with nails and other metal elements. Contrary to popular misconceptions, the dramatic exterior was not part of the work's original aesthetic. As individuals petitioned the force to sanction agreements or redress various social conflicts, those appeals and resolved matters were recorded by driving different hardware elements into the figure. These alterations were overseen by an officiating ritual expert, who aroused the force housed within the sculpture to action or summoned it to witness resolutions between parties.³⁷ The hardware elements succinctly distilled, documented, and provided closure on debates and conflicts. Consequently, the exterior additions represent the cumulative concerns of a community

6. *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka*. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kongo; second half of 19th century. Wood, metal, resin, ceramic, fiber, clay, cowrie shell, animal hair; H. 44½ in. (113 cm). Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. © The Field Museum (A109979_Ac)



7. *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka*. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kongo; second half of 19th century. Wood, metal, resin, enamel, fiber, clay, cowrie shell; H. 44⅞ in. (114 cm). Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgium (EO.0.0.7777). Photograph: R. Asselberghs, RMCA Tervuren ©



and attest to the figure's central role in adjudicating these matters over an extended period of time. Thompson has surveyed the different types of hardware among the forest of accumulated metal elements embedded in the closely related Mangaaka figure in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Those found on the Metropolitan's example are similar, but they differ in their quantities and relative proportions, and also include a few additional varieties.³⁸

Approximately four hundred nails, spikes, knives, blades, and other diverse items of iron hardware make up the dense assemblage that projects from the Metropolitan's figure. There are signs that some additional forty-four were either removed or broken off at some point. The metal elements include both locally handcrafted varieties and imported European machine-manufactured ones that became available in the nineteenth century. The types of hardware include *nsonso*, long iron nails used when an argument was

sealed with a vow; *mbeezi*, blades that served to unite an individual to the community; and *baaku*, knives with flaring heads and tapered stems used to eradicate evil in a community.³⁹ Ellen Howe, conservator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has noted that there are multiple sizes of *baaku*, some of which appear to be miniatures, inserted in the Museum's figure in various orientations. On the basis of visual analysis, she has observed that the most impressive pieces of ironwork are centrally positioned on the torso and chest, suggesting a hierarchy of placement. She has also pointed out that, since the nails holding the beard in place were probably among the first to be added at the time of the work's completion, they are likely to be among the earliest items of hardware present. Two types of handmade nails remain in place—one was forged and hammered into a pin-like shaft form, and the other was cut with a chisel from a piece of metal sheet.⁴⁰

Another hint of the work's original use can be detected in surviving traces of fiber tied or wrapped around fourteen of the metal elements. Known as *mfunya*, these shreds of European cotton fabric and indigenous plant fiber were generally drawn from bits of a client's clothing to underscore the source of a particular petition.⁴¹ Another, more intimately scaled *nkisi* in the Metropolitan's collection retains an abundance of *mfunya*, reflecting a very different aesthetic of accumulation and displaying a demeanor of serenity and inward reflection (Figure 8). The concerns directed to that figure are manifested in the complex tangle of artifacts suspended from textile ribbons draped around the exterior of the figure. This weighty cloak bedecked with attachments, representing problems requiring resolution, includes miniature carvings, bands of beads, powder and snuff containers, arrows, and vegetal matter.

THE CHILOANGO RIVER MASTER

The Metropolitan's Mangaaka figure is one of only about twenty such monumental (more than a meter high) Kongo works that have been preserved in Western collections. Given the consistency of certain shared traits and stylistic features, the art historian Ezio Bassani has attributed seven of these works collected between 1898 and 1912 to a single artist. He has proposed that the sculptor, active along the Chiloango River between 1880 and 1910, was responsible for this group of works in concert with a single *nganga*.⁴² The formal criteria he sets forth as distinctive to the corpus are for the most part evident in the Metropolitan's example. Bassani identifies the elements of the signature style of the Chiloango River Master as the following: elongated, muscular bodies; broad, rounded shoulders whose frontal silhouette delineates an arc; a stance in which the upper body is bent slightly forward and the weight is shifted to the right; slight relief definition of the upper back, marked at the summit by curved lines delineating the shoulder blades bisected by a vertical indentation of the spine; an upraised face that is thrust forward on a strong neck; a gesture of arms bent at the elbow so that the hands rest on the hips, with the horizontally placed thumbs thrust backward; short legs that are slightly bent and spread apart; and carefully carved feet and ankles raised on discrete rectangular blocks.⁴³

Bassani extends the Chiloango corpus to three additional figures (including the Detroit example), which he proposes to be works by the master's atelier.⁴⁴ Based on the visual evidence, however, I would suggest that while the ten examples identified by Bassani (as well as others in the Kongo corpus that have since been likewise associated with the Chiloango River Master's circle) belong to the distinct Mangaaka sculptural genre, it is unlikely that they represent the work of a single hand or atelier. Although the authors of



8. *Nkisi*. Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kongo; 19th–first half of 20th century. Wood, metal, fiber, cowrie shells, beads, arrows, nuts, pigment; H. 23 1/8 in. (58.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.127)

these complex large-scale works clearly embraced many significant conventions of an established prototype, stylistic nuances point to many different authors' interpretations of a paradigm rather than the vision of an individual sculptor.

Two of the seven works attributed to the Chiloango River Master are those in Tervuren and the Field Museum. As noted previously, these examples are especially striking for the pristine state of the features added by the *nganga* such as the beard, skirt, and abdominal power charge. In order to assess the fine points of such a sculpture's rendering, it is necessary to look beyond the gestalt of the body as the site for a dramatic accumulation of applied matter. It then becomes apparent that the work in the Field Museum is considerably more elongated than the others. The pronounced verticality is consistent throughout the work, seen in the greater height of the blocks supporting the feet, the attenuation of the lengthy torso, and the spiky finial of the headdress at the summit. The overall form of the work in

9. Back view of *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka* in Figure 1



10. Side view of *Nkisi N'kondi Mangaaka* in Figure 1



Tervuren is broader, with a wider face and stockier, more compact torso. There are also differences in the gazes of these two figures. While the head of the Field Museum figure is inclined slightly upward, that of its counterpart in Tervuren faces squarely ahead. Ironically, the completeness of these two works tends to eclipse the sculptural form, obscuring the fact that the representations are far stiffer and less expressive than the figures in the Metropolitan Museum (as will be discussed below) and the Detroit Institute of Arts. Although the Mangaaka in Detroit has retained its sealed abdominal receptacle, other additions are now missing, affording an unobstructed view of the physiognomy. The forward lean of the body is graceful and agile, and the powerful torso is in more harmonious proportion to the head

and lower body. It is also apparent that the artist sought to impart a greater degree of naturalistic modeling to the face and legs.

A DISTINCTIVE VISION

MacGaffey has emphasized that realism was rarely an important dimension of Mangaaka representations.⁴⁵ Although the Metropolitan's work shares the hint of naturalism apparent in the Detroit example, its sculptor introduced a heightened expressive intensity that generates greater dramatic impact. While the massive scale of the head is impressive and intimidating, at the same time there is a sensitive rendering of the contours of the cheekbones and a soulful

aspect to the facial expression. Clearly the face, which radiates a great deal of character, was fully conceived before the now-missing beard was secured in place with metal elements. Careful scrutiny of this visage suggests a judge who is all too familiar with the full range of human foibles and has the ability to see into the consciences of those who come before him.

The most astonishing achievement, and original departure, evident in this interpretation of Mangaaka is how assertively it occupies our space. This is a work of sculpture that one experiences differently from every angle. The raking forward lean of the figure is as close to imminent motion as one can imagine. The work's dramatic impact is most impressive from the back (Figure 9). The impossibly broad sweep of the curved shoulders beyond the immense trunk is a riveting sight, above which the upper limit of the sharply inscribed spine gives rise to the steep incline of the neck. Viewed from either side, the curved contours of the buttocks and the calves counter the overall forward thrust of the figure (Figure 10). Ironically, although the sculptor introduced this remarkable formal tension, it is apparent that he realized that it would be concealed from the viewer, since the surface of the buttocks retains evidence of adze marks that were deliberately left rough, in contrast to the highly finished back.

In the representations of both the head and torso, there is something at once slightly monstrous and recognizably human. The colossal physique distorts the mortal body to suggest an epic apparition so formidable it would be inconceivable to challenge its authority.

The delicacy of the ankles terminating in diminutive feet appears incongruous with the rest of the sculpture's proportions. This disparity may in part reflect the fact that the feet have undergone extensive restoration. X-radiography at the Museum has revealed that the front sections of each foot (the toes and part of the instep) and the rectangular blocks at their bases are replacements.⁴⁶ At some point in time, rot or insect damage began from the underside of the blocks as a result of direct exposure to the ground and continued vertically through the interior, so that when the figure left Africa, it is likely that the sculpture was barely self-supporting. Similar long-term damage to the base and feet appears to have affected a significant number of related works now in European collections.⁴⁷

The condition of the Metropolitan's figure suggests that it may have been deconsecrated at some point before it left Central Africa. Although it has been stripped of much of the matter that would have been added by the ritual specialist, ghostly traces of such substances remain across the surface. The exposed abdominal cavity, although an emptied void, affords us a view of the capacious interior chamber that was a defining feature of the sculptor's design, providing a

glimpse of the inner workings of this complex instrument. The aperture is subdivided into a series of separate chambers that served as discrete compartments for different medicines to be added by the *nganga*. The beard and skirt originally contributed by the *nganga* are now absent, allowing us to appreciate the remarkable vitality of the figure. Thus, the ravages and interventions over time that have resulted in various losses of sacred matter have denuded the work on one level. On another, they reveal traces of the figure's engagement in the most pressing issues confronting its community and ironically restore an unobstructed sense of the sculptor's original vision.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF POWER

A formidable presence, this Kongo personification of sheer power leans forward with head thrust out, invading our zone of comfort and defying gravity. Its fully resolved form is riveting from all vantage points. The term in the history of art that best captures the intention and impact of this African masterpiece is *terribilitá*. Since the Renaissance, its use has been synonymous with Michelangelo and the awesome quality of his artistic conception and execution. The Oxford English Dictionary also defines this concept more broadly as a "terrifying or awesome quality." The author of the Metropolitan's Mangaaka figure, among the most impressive sculptural creations from sub-Saharan Africa, sought to inspire awe, to intimidate, and to evoke a power without bounds. At the nexus of the most contentious and vital concerns of the community it served, the work was ultimately intended to inspire reflection on the consequences of transgressing established codes of social conduct. On a sculptural level, the Museum's Mangaaka figure is arguably the most outstanding example of a key genre in the African art canon.

In Kongo society the success of such a sculpture was doubtless measured in terms of its searing visual impact as a force for deterrence that shielded its membership from antisocial acts. Thompson has characterized this genre at the very summit of its tradition's creativity as a monument "to Kongo cultural self-confidence."⁴⁸ When we consider the volatility of the sociopolitical landscape in which Mangaaka operated, patronage of the power figure may be seen as the effort of a defiant community to seize some measure of control over its people's lives at a time of social chaos. By allying their fates to the most august power imaginable, society members sought to inoculate themselves against acts of treachery and to prevent rivals from challenging their rights to self-determination. Removed from that context, the container for this force remains indisputably an electrifying and majestic creation that transcends its tradition to strike a profound chord within all those who stand before it.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bassani 1977

Ezio Bassani. "Kongo Nail Fetishes from the Chiloango River Area." *African Arts* 10, no. 3 (1977), pp. 36–40, 88.

MacGaffey 1986

Wyatt MacGaffey. *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire*. Chicago, 1986.

MacGaffey 1993

Wyatt MacGaffey. "The Eyes of Understanding: Kongo *Minkisi*." In *Astonishment and Power*, pp. 18–103. Exh. cat., National Museum of African Art. Washington, D.C., 1993.

Thompson 1978

Robert Farris Thompson. "The Grand Detroit N'Kondi." *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art* 56, no. 4 (1978), pp. 206–21.

NOTES

1. David Birmingham, "Society and Economy before A.D. 1400," in *History of Central Africa*, ed. David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (London and New York, 1983), vol. 1, p. 27.
2. Joseph Miller, "The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone," in *History of Central Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 135–36.
3. MacGaffey 1986, p. 210.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
6. Miller, "Paradoxes of Impoverishment," p. 150.
7. Olfert Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (1686; facsimile, New York, 1970), pp. 333–38, cited in Sylvia H. Williams, "Fragments of History," in *Astonishment and Power*, p. 13, exh. cat., National Museum of African Art (Washington, D.C., 1993).
8. Thompson 1978, p. 209.
9. MacGaffey 1993, p. 27.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
12. Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 37.
13. Thompson 1978, p. 209.
14. MacGaffey 1993, p. 71.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
17. Thompson 1978, p. 207.
18. MacGaffey 1993, p. 42.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
20. Ellen Howe and Marijn Manuela, correspondence, July 2008, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA.
21. MacGaffey, conversation with the author, January 4, 2008.
22. MacGaffey 1993, p. 44.
23. Adriana Rizzo, Department of Scientific Research, MMA, email message to the author, July 2008.
24. Thompson 1978, p. 214.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
26. *Ibid.*
27. MacGaffey 1993, p. 44.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
30. Howe, correspondence, July 21, 2008.
31. MacGaffey 1993, p. 65.
32. Thompson 1978, p. 219.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
34. MacGaffey 1993, p. 43.
35. Howe, correspondence, July 21, 2008.
36. Thompson 1978, p. 219.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
38. Preliminary examination by Ellen Howe, to be followed by further analysis and forthcoming publication in the new periodical *Metropolitan Museum Studies in Art, Science, and Technology*.
39. Thompson 1978, p. 216.
40. Howe, correspondence, July 21, 2008.
41. MacGaffey 1993, p. 76.
42. Bassani 1977.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
45. MacGaffey, conversation with the author, May 16, 2008.
46. Howe, correspondence, June 15, 2008.
47. The Metropolitan's work was acquired in January 2008 from the collection of Boris Kegel-Konietzko, a Hamburg collector and former dealer who had inherited the work from his mother. Kegel-Konietzko's parents were antiquarians who collected for the Völkerkunde museums of Hamburg, Berlin, Lübeck, Leipzig, and Frankfurt.
48. Thompson 1978, p. 219.

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