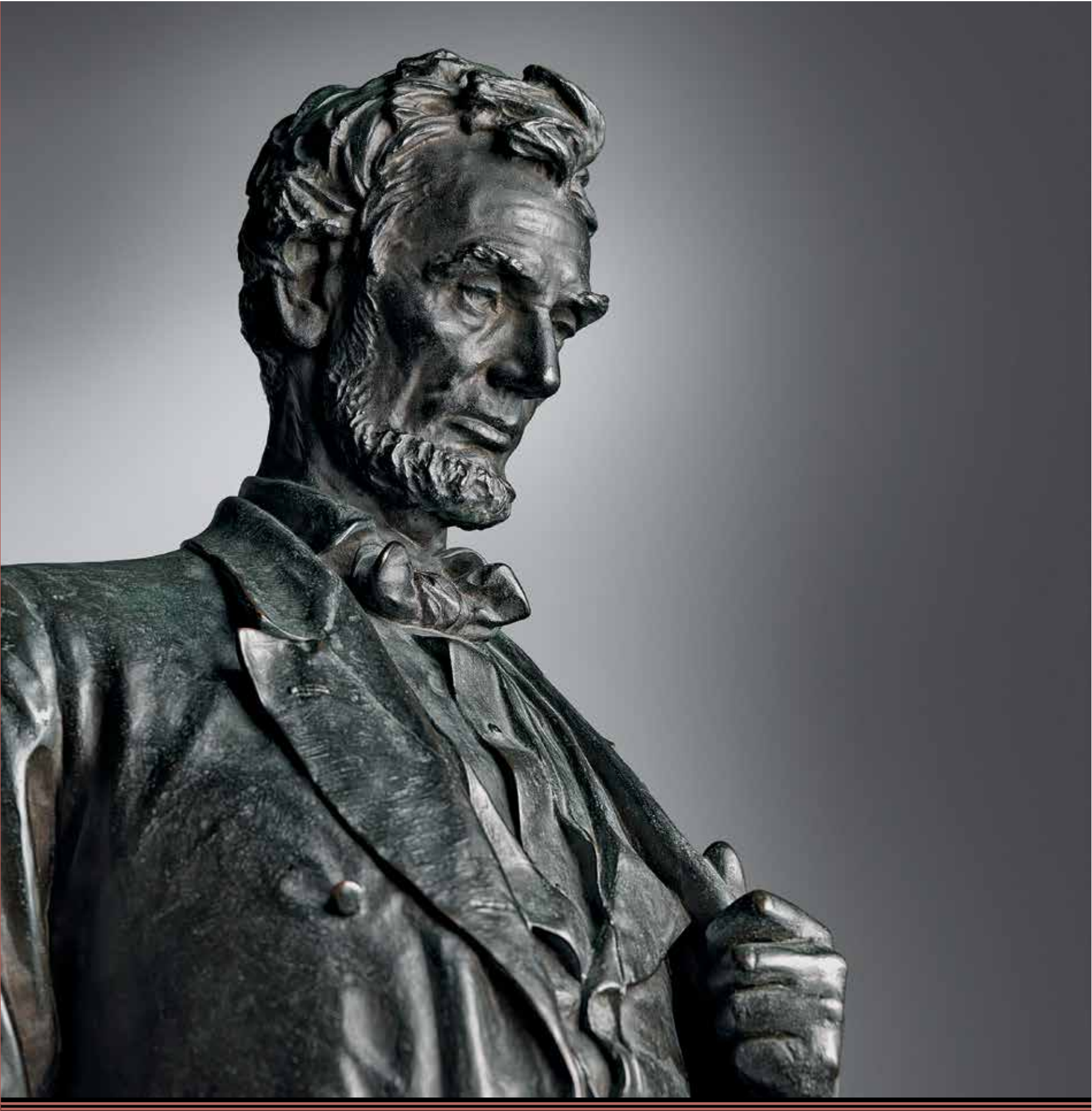

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Cover illustration: Detail of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (American, 1848–1907), *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), 1884–87; reduced 1910 (this cast, 1911). See Figure 1, page 224.

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Manuscript Guidelines for the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be addressed to:

Elizabeth L. Block
Senior Editor
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The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028

Manuscripts are reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial and editorial departments. **To be considered for the following year's volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15.** Once an article is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for publication is $100, and each author receives a copy of the *Journal* volume in which his or her article appears.

Manuscripts should be submitted as Word files. In addition to the text, the manuscript must include endnotes, captions for illustrations, and a 200-word abstract. Each part of the article should be in a separate file except the endnotes,which should be linked to and appear at the end of the text file.

For the style of bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Style and Procedures*, which is available from the Museum's Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7–10, fig. 23).

All photographs and drawings must be submitted with the manuscript, each identified according to the list of captions, which should also include photograph credits. We require either high-resolution digital scans, glossy black-and-white photographs (preferably 8 x 10 with white borders) of good quality and in good condition, or color transparencies (preferably 8 x 10 but 4 x 6 is also acceptable). For digital images, TIFF files are preferable to JPEGs. Files must be at least 300 dpi and, if applicable, in RGB color mode. On a photocopy or printout of each illustration please indicate the figure number, the picture's orientation, and any instructions for cropping. Reproductions of photographs or other illustrations in books should be accompanied by captions that include full bibliographic information. **The author of each article is responsible for obtaining all photographic material and reproduction rights.**

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

Metropolitan Museum
JOURNAL

VOLUME 48 / 2013

Amenhotep, Overseer of Builders of Amun: An Eighteenth-Dynasty Burial Reassembled

NICHOLAS REEVES

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And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.
—T. S. Eliot[1]

In 1930, following a contested will and much legal wrangling, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was at last able to take full and formal possession of the varied collection of paintings, sculpture, and other objets d'art that had been bequeathed to it fifteen years previously by the New York lawyer and businessman Theodore M. Davis (1838–1915).[2] For the Department of Egyptian Art, the securing of this legacy proved a particular coup, further consolidating[3] the Museum's claim to be a repository not merely for a wide range of Egyptian antiquities but for some of ancient Egypt's finest surviving works of art.[4]

The Davis collection had been long in the making and owed its quality to two principal factors. After visiting Egypt for the first time in 1881, Davis wintered there regularly for much of the next quarter century, buying at a time when significant artworks were still to be had. In 1902, his collecting took a rather different turn. At the instigation of the young Antiquities Service inspector Howard Carter, Davis began to dig, embarking on the remarkable series of excavations in the Valley of the Kings for which he is best remembered today.[5] Davis's reward as sponsor of this work was a proportion of the finds made, generously gifted to him by the Egyptian government.

Although Davis retained for himself the choicest objects received in these divisions, much he passed on, initially to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[6] In 1906, with the move to New York of Albert Lythgoe, Boston's Egyptian art curator, the excavator's loyalties shifted to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and it was the Metropolitan that in due course carried off the main prize: the Davis collection itself.[7]

Over the years, perhaps inevitably, scholarly interest in this collection has tended to focus on Davis's peerless array of excavated finds, with the many excellent pieces he acquired from dealers attracting significantly less attention because of the perceived lack of research potential. The present discussion of one specific group of Davis purchases seeks to redress that imbalance and to challenge the prejudice that lies at its root. The items in question are: a cartonnage headpiece of traditional form with richly gilded face, MMA 30.8.69, prepared as embellishment for the mummy of an unidentified man during the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1427–1400 B.C. (Figure 1); a second gilded mask, MMA 30.8.68, less conventional in design and seemingly later in date, which had formed part of the funerary equipment of an unnamed woman (Figure 2); and two sheets of a papyrus Book of the Dead, MMA 30.8.70a, b (Figures 25, 26).

This article had its origins in a chance observation: that the first of the two Davis masks (MMA 30.8.69) appeared to share the same stylistic and constructional features as a fragmentary coffin lid preserved in the Myers Collection at Eton College (ECM 1876). Closer study has been able not only to confirm this impression, but to establish that both mask and lid were in fact made for the same man. As the Eton lid informs us, this owner was a high-ranking director of construction projects within the Karnak temple complex at Thebes—the "Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep," the same individual who had commissioned the Book of the Dead fragments MMA 30.8.70a, b. All surviving information concerning the funerary arrangements of this Amenhotep is assembled and assessed here. In the present analysis the new attribution of MMA 30.8.69 proves to be key, shedding fresh light on several important aspects of the man and his tomb. Among the conclusions drawn is that the second of the Davis masks, MMA 30.8.68, had been prepared for Amenhotep's wife, the lady Mutresti.

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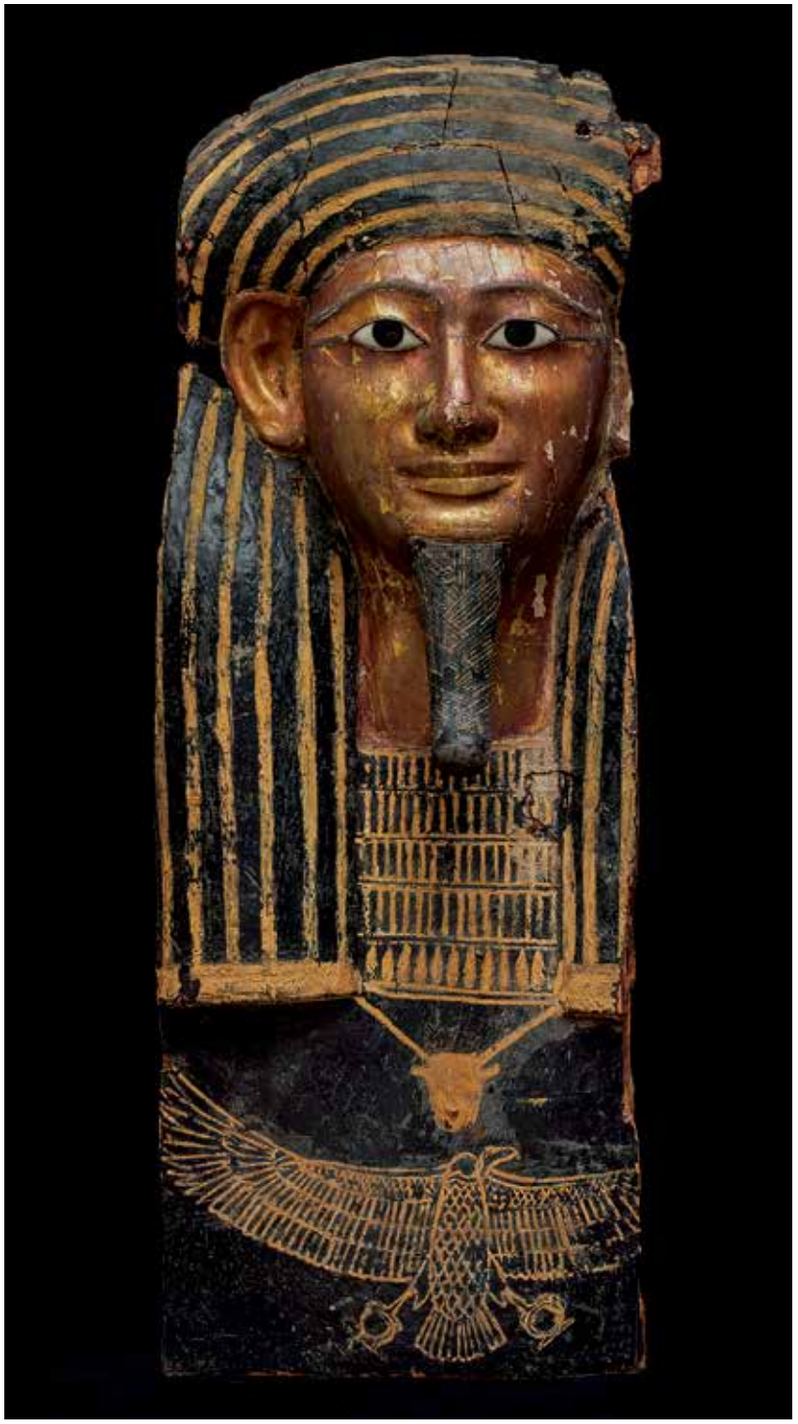
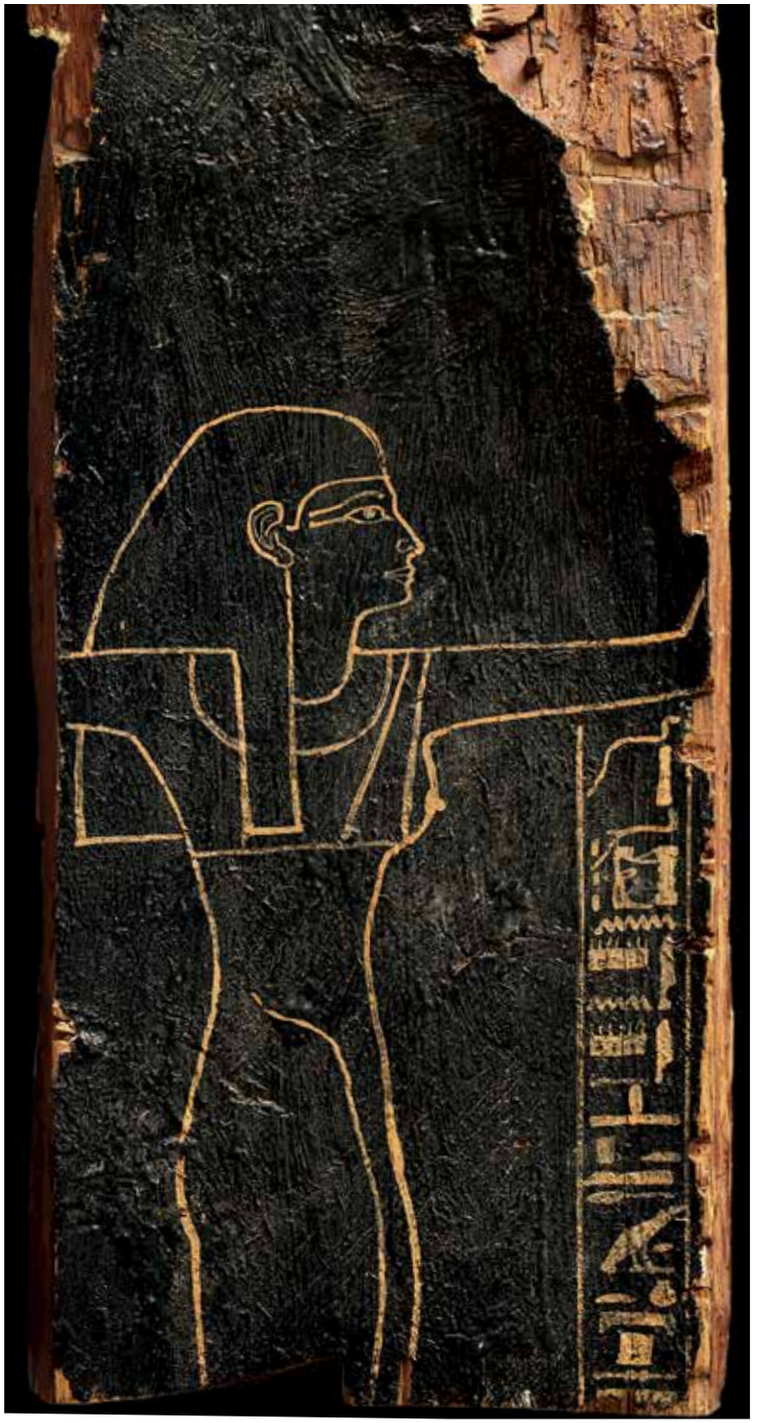
1. Cartonnage mask of a man (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Linen, gessoed, resin-coated, painted, and gilded; papyrus, H. 20 in. (50.8 cm). After conservation, 2013. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.69). Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

2. Cartonnage mask of a woman (ca. 1400–1375 B.C.). Linen, gessoed, resin-coated, painted, and gilded, with applied details, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm). After conservation, 2013. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.68). Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA



3. Exterior of fragmentary coffin lid of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Wood, resin-coated, painted, and gilded, H. 32⅝ in. (83 cm). Myers Collection, Eton College, Windsor, Bequest of William Joseph Myers, 1899 (ECM 1876). Photograph: courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, Windsor, and Tomohiro Muda



4. Decorated interior of fragmentary coffin lid shown in Figure 3. Photograph: courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, Windsor, and Tomohiro Muda


5. Left: statue of King Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.), detail of face. Greywacke, H. of complete standing figure 26¾ in. (68 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 36680 = CG 42077). Right: detail of Figure 3. Photographs: (left) Jürgen Liepe; (right) courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, Windsor, and Tomohiro Muda

KNOWN OBJECTS FROM THE BURIAL OF AMENHOTEP, OVERSEER OF BUILDERS OF AMUN

Coffin

The investigation takes as its point of departure an object preserved in the Myers Collection at Eton College in Windsor, England: the spectacular upper portion of an inscribed coffin lid (ECM 1876)[8] (Figure 3) originating in the burial of an "Overseer of Builders of Amun" (*imy-r ḳdw n imn*) named Amenhotep (*imn-ḥtp*).[9] This piece arrived at Eton as part of the collection of William Joseph Myers (1858–1899),[10] a British military officer and former pupil of the school who passed a number of years in Egypt between 1882 and his early death in 1899.[11] That ECM 1876 had been acquired during the final four years of Myers's collecting is suggested by its absence from the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition held in London in 1895.[12] Since Myers loaned generously to this event, had the Amenhotep lid then formed part of his collection it would almost certainly have been included.

Amenhotep's coffin lid had been assembled from several tenon- and mortise-joined sections of large, heavy, and expensive timber (tentatively identified as Lebanese cedar). As preserved today at Eton College the piece is very much a fragment—all of the outer edging is broken away, and at some stage following its discovery the (presumably splintered) lower edge was neatened up by inexpert sawing. The fragment's current maximum dimension is 32⅝ inches (83 cm).[13] As discussed below, this is considerably less than half of the lid's original length. Its present maximum width is 11¾ inches (30 cm), and its maximum thickness (at the tip of the beard) is 6¾ inches (17 cm).

Both the outside and the inside of the Myers fragment are finished in the shiny, black resin varnish characteristic of coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty. To the outer surface had been added, in contrasting yellow outline, the details of a striated wig, a tubular-beaded broad collar with drop-pendant edging, a pendent heart amulet, and, on the breast, a Nekhbet vulture with wings displayed outer-surface up in the regular New Kingdom manner.[14]

The piece's most striking feature is the face, modeled with notable subtlety and distinguished by numinous, inlaid eyes (seemingly of indurated limestone and obsidian) and by a surface of red-tarnished gold[15] over gesso. From this face we may conclude that the coffin (along with the rest of the owner's burial equipment) had been prepared during the reign of Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). A comparison between the lid and the best official "portrait" of the king, in greywacke (from the Karnak cachette: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 36680 = CG 42077),[16] reveals the modeling of the two to be virtually identical, despite the different materials employed (Figure 5). This quality almost certainly identifies the coffin as a product of the royal workshops.[17]

No inscriptions are now present on the Eton fragment's outer surface. The interior (Figure 4), however, preserves a single column of large, elegantly written yellow hieroglyphs containing the coffin owner's name and principal title and the opening words of Pyramid Text 356:

> Words spoken [by] the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep, true of voice: "O my mother Nut, spread [thy wings over me! . . .]"

This text does not stand alone, but serves as caption to a highly sensual depiction of the named goddess, Nut, shown with her arms upraised, again executed in yellow and clearly by the same draftsman-scribe. With the lid in place the divinity's head would have turned to face the coffin's right.

6. Decorated right exterior side of the coffin case of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.) (see Figure 10, B). Wood, resin-coated and painted, L. 79⅞ in. (203 cm). Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (VM 151). Photograph: Lana Troy

7. Decorated left exterior side of the Victoria Museum coffin case (see Figure 10, D). Photograph: Lana Troy

8. Decorated exterior head end of the Victoria Museum coffin case (see Figure 10, A). Photograph: Lana Troy

Although the missing edge and body fragments of the Eton lid have not yet been located, the coffin's intact and abundantly inscribed case (or trough or base) is known, and resides today in the Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (Figures 6–9).[18] The dimensions of the case establish the original, undamaged dimensions of the Eton lid: 79⅞ inches (203 cm) in length and 24⅜ inches (62 cm) maximum width.[19] Available photographs indicate that the Uppsala piece had been constructed of several individual sections of wood variously joined by wood pegs and lashing.

Like the Eton lid, the Uppsala case is decorated both inside and out in yellow on a black resin ground. Dominating the exterior of the head end (Figures 8, 10A) is the lower part of a kneeling goddess, presumably Nephthys; the upper portion of the figure, with its identifying head ornament, originally occupied the now-lost head end of the Eton lid. On either side (see Figures 6, 7, 10B and D) at the case's shoulders, elbows, knees, and feet, are positioned four transverse bands of hieroglyphic text that mimic in their placement the horizontal shroud-retention straps of a mummy. These text bands continue inscriptions that began on the now missing

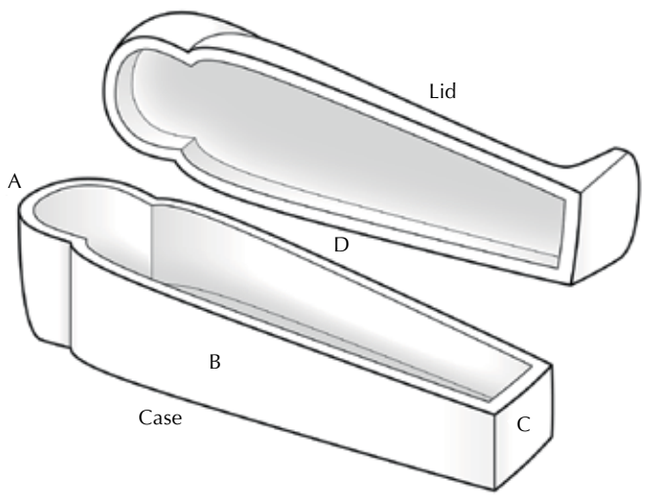
section of the Eton lid (see Figure 11)—a layout that implies the original presence on the lid of a further, vertical, band of text, now lost, extending from the waist down to the toes.

On each of the two long sides of the Uppsala case, occupying the spaces between the transverse shroud-retention bands, are images of six standing deities: on the case's right outer side (see Figures 6, 10B), from head to foot, Hapy, Anubis, and Qebehsenuef; on its left (see Figures 7, 10D), Imseti, Anubis, and Duamutef. Each figure is accompanied by an appropriate text. On the exterior left side of the case, adjacent to where the head of the mummy would once have faced, stand two opposed *wedjat*-eyes.

The footboard (see Figure 10C) seems to have been left undecorated.

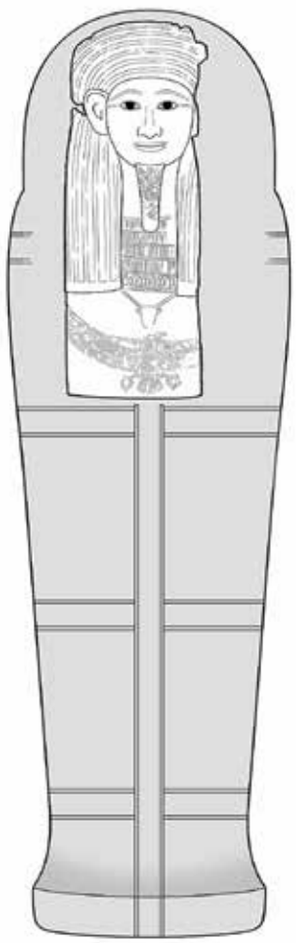
The resin-coated interior of the Uppsala case (Figure 9) carries on its floor a worn image of the goddess Nut, similar to that observed on the interior of the Eton lid but here turning her face toward the coffin's left side. Her arms extend across the floor and up both coffin walls to symbolically embrace and protect the mummy. Before the goddess, on the case's floor, is a column of abraded hieroglyphic inscription. While the coffin is now swept clean of all contents, older photographs show what appear to be the tattered remnants of mummy wrappings, attached to the surface and perhaps the consequence of resinous unguents having been poured over and run beneath the (now lost) mummy at the time of the funeral.

Finally, the only part of the Uppsala case left in its natural wood state is the top edge. Planed smooth, it displays thirteen irregularly spaced mortise slots, cut to receive the wood tenons that formerly located and secured the lid.



10. Reconstruction of the Amenhotep coffin case and lid, locating the elements A–D described in the text. Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

9. Decorated interior of the Victoria Museum coffin case (see Figure 10). Photograph: Lana Troy



11. Reconstruction of the Amenhotep coffin lid showing the placement of the Eton fragment and the positioning of the texts (missing areas shaded). Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

12. Set of four canopic jars of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Painted pottery, H. with lids 15½–16¼ in. (39.4–41.3 cm). Art Institute of Chicago ([18]92.36–.39) (temporarily Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago [OIM 17281–17283 and 18003]). Photograph: Art Institute of Chicago

13. Shawabti figure of the Overseer of Works, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.), seen from four angles. Painted wood, H. 6 in. (15 cm). Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (OIM 18022; formerly Art Institute of Chicago, [18]92.234). Photograph: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago

Canopic Jars

The distinctive title "Overseer of Builders of Amun" found on the Eton coffin lid and on the Uppsala case serves to identify several other items originating from Amenhotep's burial. All the pieces are of a similarly high quality, and all are distinguished, if not by their intact condition, then by a generally clean and fresh appearance. Principal among them is a set of canopic jars in the Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 12).[20] T. G. Allen describes them as follows:

> All four covers . . . represent human heads, intended as portraits [*sic*] of the deceased. The inscriptions[21] [are] painted in black in four columns on the front of each jar. . . . To show which jars and covers belonged together, the maker has scrawled just inside each cover the name of the goddess who appears in the formula on the corresponding jar. The set is of pottery, both jars and covers made on the wheel. The faces, all beardless, have been modeled by hand, so that through the general similarity of the conventional type individual differences in size and shape appear. The skin is painted yellow, the hair black. Face, neck, and ears are outlined in red. The eyes are white, with pupil and iris and eyebrows black. The jars are now empty; but scraps of linen wrappings still cling to the inner surface of 92.36.[22]

The jars vary between 15½ inches (39.4 cm) and 16¼ inches (41.3 cm) in overall height (with lids in place), and they share a consistent maximum diameter of 10 inches (25.4 cm). The set found its way from Amenhotep's tomb to Chicago in 1892, seemingly via the Luxor antiquities dealer Muhammad Muhassib (1843–1928).[23]

Shawabti Figure

A single, well-preserved shawabti figure of Amenhotep is known (Figure 13).[24] Allen describes it as follows:

> Unpretentious . . . made of soft wood, painted white, with the face yellow and the features and incised hieroglyphs black. . . . On the base the name Amenhotep occurs alone, written with pen and ink in . . . hieratic—evidently a memorandum made before the text was cut.[25]

The figure stands approximately 6 inches (15 cm) high, and its principal text is the regular extract from Book of the Dead chapter 6.[26] The piece was first accessioned by the Art Institute of Chicago in 1892,[27] with its source probably Emile Brugsch, keeper in the Bulaq and, later, the Giza and Cairo museums.[28]

Book of the Dead

Extensive portions of Amenhotep's papyrus Book of the Dead have been preserved,[29] written in elegant, semicursive hieroglyphs and illustrated with colored vignettes. Clearly a document of the highest quality, when intact it measured some 13¾ inches (35 cm) in height and ± 65 feet (20 m) in length. Its many fragments display a number of interesting features.[30] Those relevant to the present discussion may be summarized as follows:

14. Principal vignette (frame 16) from the Book of the Dead of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Painted papyrus, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm). British Museum, London (EA 10489). Photograph: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The manuscript has been assigned on grounds of style to the period late Thutmose III–Amenhotep II,[31] which is generally consistent with the Amenhotep II dating proposed above for the coffin lid.

By providing an interesting additional title for Amenhotep—"Overseer of Works in the Temple of Mut" (*imy-r k3t m pr-mwt*)—the text identifies Karnak as a particular geographical focus of the man's professional activities.[32]

The document preserves important specifics of the owner's immediate family: his wife is "the lady of the house (*nbt pr*) Mutresti"; his father "Overseer of Works (*imy-r k3t*), Senna"; and his mother "the lady of the house (*nbt pr*), Kama." In frame 16 of the British Museum section (Figure 14)—the document's principal vignette—Amenhotep's son is named as "Sennefer." He appears in the role of *sem*-priest, though he is not accorded any specific title. This is the family tree:

Overseer of Works, Senna (m) = Lady of the house, Kama (f)

|

Overseer of Builders of Amun/Overseer of Works (in the Temple of Mut), Amenhotep (m) = Lady of the house, Mutresti (f)

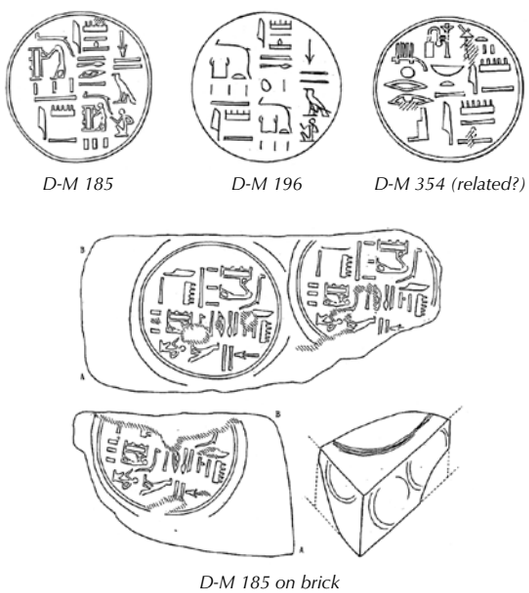
|

Sennefer (m)

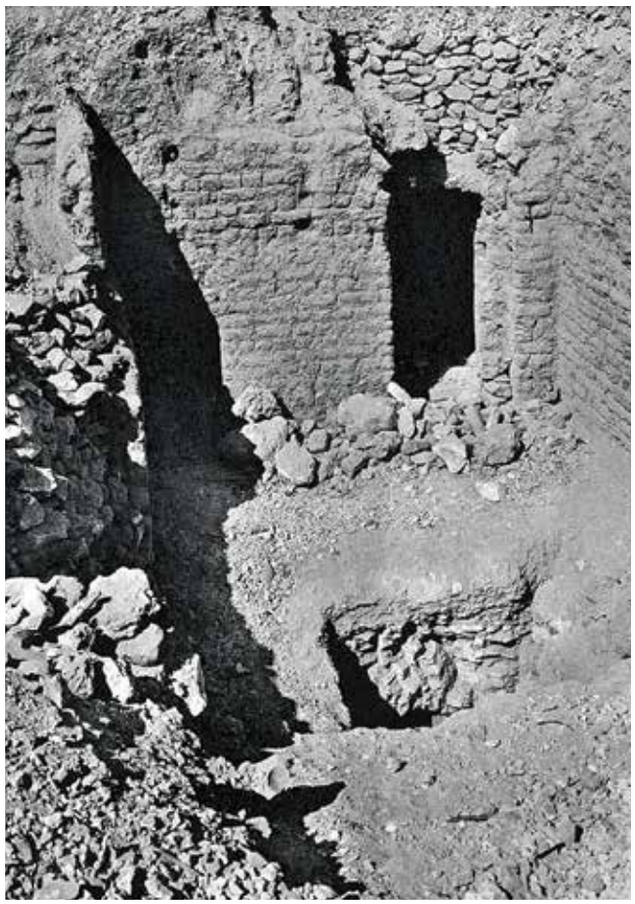
Tomb

Several examples of terracotta cones and bricks originating from the superstructure of Amenhotep's tomb[33] have been recorded, impressed with the Davies-Macadam (D-M) corpus[34] stamps 185[35] and 196[36] (70 and 69, respectively, in the older Daressy listing)[37] (Figure 15).[38] The hieroglyphic texts on both are arranged in three columns, and translate:

D-M 185 Overseer of Builders of Amun (*imy-r ḳdw n imn*),/Amenhotep, true of voice, engendered by the Overseer of Builders/Senna



15. Cone and brick stamps of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep, Overseer of Works of Amun, Amenhotep, and Scribe of All the Artisans of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Drawings: (top row, from left) after Davies 1957, nos. 185, 196, and 354; (left) after Van Siclen 1991, p. 45



16. Remains of the mud-brick chapel of Theban tomb A 7 as photographed in 1906. From Gauthier 1908, pl. I

D-M 196 Overseer of Works of Amun (*imy-r k3t n imn*),/ Amenhotep, true of voice, son of the Overseer of Works,/Senna

A third stamp, D-M 354 (Daressy 101) (see Figure 15, top right), Charles C. Van Siclen believes may also be associated with this funerary chapel.[39] Extant impressions carry a mix of vertically and horizontally arranged hieroglyphic signs, which translate: "One revered before Osiris,/Scribe of All the Artisans of Amun (*sš ḥmwt nbt n imn*),/Amenhotep."[40]

No evidence of context is known for the speculative D-M 354. Nine of the D-M 185 and 196 impressions, however, were discovered by Henri Gauthier[41] during the course of excavations at Dra Abu'l-Naga in 1906, and associated by him with a nearby tomb now designated A 7 (Figure 16).[42]

In identifying this tomb's ancient owner, Gauthier did not rely solely upon stamped funerary cones. As he records, "We in fact found in this tomb a piece of decorated ceiling, featuring the remains of a band of black hieroglyphs on a red ground, as follows: ."[43] Although he recognized the fragment's significance, Gauthier's translation of the name of the tomb owner's wife was faulty: ". . . his wife, the lady of the house, Mut . . . ir . . . i(?)" ["sa femme, la dame de la maison, Mout . . . ir . . . j(?)"]. Fortunately, the British Museum portion of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead[44] preserves reference to the same woman, allowing us to establish the fragment's full and correct reading—"[. . . Amenho]tep, true of voice, and his wife, the lady of the house Mutres[t]i,

17. The possible location of Theban tomb A 7 today. Photograph: John H. Taylor

true of voice"—and to support Gauthier's two surmises: first, that the lady was indeed wife to the Overseer of Builders of Amun; and, second, that A 7 had served as the couple's tomb.

Despite the fact that large sections of the mud-brick superstructure of A 7 were still standing and photographed by the excavator in 1906,[45] the tomb's precise location has long remained uncertain. Gauthier indicated that the chapel lay close to the Dra Abu'l-Naga tomb of Djehutynefer, A 6,[46] which Friederike Kampp tentatively locates "in the vicinity of grave no.-162-, possibly grave no. -174-?"[47] More recent assessments, however, favor a location for tomb A 7 some distance to the west (Figure 17).[48]

Aside from funerary cones and the single scrap of painted ceiling decoration, Gauthier's 1906 excavations at the site of A 7 yielded remarkably little in the way of burial equipment: a blue faience ring bezel bearing the name of the god Amun-Re (discovered January 18, 1906);[49] a similar bezel, this time "with the signs [présentant les signes] [illegible]" (January 19, 1906);[50] and a blue faience fragment inscribed with a broken cartouche "giving the remnants of the name of a king Amenhotep"[51]—the king in question perhaps being Amenhotep II, rather than Amenhotep I, as proposed by Gauthier (found January 19, 1906). On January 20, a scarab turned up, inscribed with the hieroglyphs *re* and *maat*.[52] None of the pieces was illustrated by the excavator, and their present whereabouts is unknown.

This paucity of excavated finds is both surprising and instructive. It suggests that the pre-Gauthier clearance of Amenhotep and Mutresti's burial—once richly provisioned, to judge from the larger inscribed items discussed above—had been exceptionally thorough. The question is: What happened to the remainder of the contents? While a number of additional inscribed pieces might conceivably be proposed,[53] can any of the uninscribed material from Amenhotep's tomb today be identified? We now turn to the Metropolitan Museum pieces.

THE DAVIS MASKS AND PAPYRUS

The Male Mask

The mummy headpiece MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1) is 20 inches (50.8 cm) high, 16 inches (40.6 cm) wide, and 17½ inches (44.5 cm) deep. It was modeled in multiple layers (at least eight) of gum- or glue-soaked linen[54] draped over a three-dimensional "former."[55] The resulting cartonnage hood was then allowed to dry, trimmed to shape, and its outer surface gessoed, after which it was sealed both inside and out (except for the face) with a coating of black resin.[56] Onto the outer surface was added colored detail in yellow (orpiment), red (ocher), Egyptian blue, and Egyptian green[57] (the last two darkened almost to black), defining and/or elaborating the wig, a schematically beaded broad collar with falcon terminals, and a small, spread-winged pectoral vulture. At the rear of the mask, in yellow, are painted two opposed jackals couchant on shrines (Figure 18).

18. Far left: back view of mask in Figure 1 showing opposed jackals on shrines. Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

19. Left: three-quarter view of mask shown in Figure 1. Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

20. Details of eye inlays, with arrows indicating wood joints: right, top and bottom ECM 1876 (see Figure 3); far right, top and bottom MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1). Photographs: (right) courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, Windsor, and Tomohiro Muda; (far right) Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

The ears, face, and neck are gilded,[58] and the eyes (dark wood-framed units with Egyptian alabaster sclerae and obsidian pupils) and separately modeled eyebrows and cosmetic lines are located within hollow, backed sockets. X-radiography suggests that the ears, too, were separately modeled, in wood, and attached prior to the application of gold leaf.[59]

Both in its wig type and basic yellow-on-black decoration, MMA 30.8.69 is by far the more formal of the two Davis masks, and in that formality it closely resembles the Eton coffin lid. The modeling of the facial features is also strikingly similar, the principal point of difference being the size of the inlaid eyes: those employed for the mask are somewhat smaller than those used in the coffin lid. The material that defines the eyebrows and cosmetic lines is identical in both mask and lid. Rather than the metal, faience, or glass inlays more commonly encountered, a dark, fine-grained wood (probably ebony) was again employed.[60] The manner in which the wood eyebrows were constructed is also the same. In both the Eton lid and the Metropolitan mask they are fashioned in two separate sections so as to capture the curve, and are neatly joined beyond the position of the outer canthus of each eye (Figure 20). It was this series of common features that first raised the possibility that lid and mask might be associated, perhaps as products originating from the same funerary workshop.

William C. Hayes briefly describes MMA 30.8.69 in the second volume of *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959)—seemingly the sole detailed discussion—picking up on most of these features:

> In 1889 [*sic*] a . . . mask . . . with gilding confined to the face, throat and ears, was acquired by Theodore M. Davis in Luxor. It comes without much question from an important tomb in the Theban necropolis and is probably to be dated to the middle or later years of the Thutmoside period. The headdress . . . is painted black with yellow stripes, and on the tab at the back two Anubis animals, face to face on shrines, are drawn in heavy yellow outline. Blue, red, and green alternate in the bands of the broad collar, which as usual is provided with shoulder pieces in the form of painted falcon heads. The eyes are [ebony framed] and, in addition, the brows and corner markings are inlaid in ebony.[61]

Hayes noted a further, interesting detail, to which we will return:

> Adhering to the front of the mask are bits of linen mummy wrappings and small sections of a papyrus Book of the Dead [see Figure 29] which had apparently been spread out over the head and breast of the mummy with the inscribed side up.

As Hayes concludes:

> It is difficult to be sure whether the bland and pleasant face is that of a man or a woman, but one's inclination is to identify the subject as a man.[62]

The Female Mask

The second Davis headpiece is MMA 30.8.68 (see Figure 2). A photograph in the Supplementary Files of the Department of Egyptian Art (see Figure 21) shows the piece in the distorted, fragmented, and incomplete condition in which it entered the Museum,[63] prior to extensive conservation work undertaken in 1956 and revisited in 2013. The assumption is that, as acquired by Davis, the mask had been in essentially this same, broken condition.[64]

MMA 30.8.68 is now 13¾ inches (35 cm) high, 15¾ inches (40 cm) wide, and 4¾ inches (12 cm) deep. As the more aesthetically striking of the two Davis masks (Figure 22) it is today the better known, primarily because Hayes included a photograph of it in its then newly restored state in the second volume of *Scepter of Egypt*. He comments upon it as follows:[65]

> [T]he subject is without any doubt a woman, or, rather, a lady of fashion. Though her face and throat are gilded and her eyes inlaid like those of our other masks, she wears, not the traditional striped headdress and the funerary broad collar, but a wig and jewelry of the most up-to-date designs, seen on ladies of the court only from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. The wig, a prodigious affair made up of innumerable crinkly black locks, is crowned by a floral fillet, most elaborately designed and painted in four or five colors. There is a broad collar, but . . . it is made up of rows of gold *nefer*-signs against bands of green, blue, and red. Above the collar the lady wears a necklace composed of five rows of large ball beads, simulated here by hemispherical studs of polychrome faience [*sic*] glued [*sic*] to the surface of the mask. Gold, blue, and black pendants descending from the ends of this necklace and from a prominent lock on the front of the wig are also molded in faience and fastened in position with glue [*sic*].[66]

The mask is distinguished not only by its overall style but also by several details of its manufacture. Although produced in the same general manner as MMA 30.8.69—by draping glue- or gum-soaked linen[67] over a form and trimming to shape after it had dried—the interior, rather than being resin-coated, was painted in black over a layer of gesso.[68] Similarly the exterior: the plaited locks of the wig, modeled in low-relief gesso, were painted with the same

21. Mask shown in Figure 2, main section. Before conservation, June 1956. Photograph: file image, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

22. Three-quarter view of mask shown in Figure 2. Photograph: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

23. Interior of cartonnage mask (see Figure 21) showing the painted head of a winged and kneeling image of the goddess Isis. Before conservation, June 1956. Photograph: file image, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

24. Enlarged detail of Figure 23

black, while the fillet, face, and neck were embellished with separate and distinct sheets of gold leaf.[69]

The eyes were modeled in gesso and set into copper-alloy frames probably filled with and certainly secured by gesso within molded recesses in the cartonnage. The eyebrows were simply painted, in Egyptian blue, on top of the facial gilding. There is a good deal of applied detail. Two flat-backed, drop-shaped faience beads (attached, as throughout, by being pressed into a thick layer of wet gesso) figure as terminals to either end of a plain braid of hair formed in gesso and originally framing the face. This braid is for the most part broken away. The five round-beaded rows of the uppermost collar are of plaster, alternately gilded or painted blue, flanked on either side by two additional flat-backed, drop-shaped beads of blue faience and a single surviving drop-shaped bead of gilded plaster. These last were perhaps intended to represent the returned ends of the collar's corded ties. The lower, broader *nefer*-collar is painted in a yellow pigment (orpiment) against a ground of Egyptian blue, Egyptian green, and orange (orpiment mixed with red ocher). A deep, decorated flange still present on this collar's lower left-hand side indicates that the mask's lower front had originally exhibited a curious, boxlike three-dimensionality so far without parallel.

Finally, and most unusually of all, it appears that the interior of MMA 30.8.68 had also been decorated, in part, over its black painted coating. Immediately behind the central section of the large *nefer*-collar, between the lappets, may be recognized elements of a figure of the goddess Isis (Figures 23, 24): *st*-throne head ornament, wig, and profile face. The incomplete preservation of this goddess—who would originally have been shown kneeling with protective outstretched wings—suggests that the front formerly extended below the broad collar in a development of the "tab" characteristic of masks of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.[70] Like the mask's right shoulder and back, however, this lowermost section is now lost.

How Theodore Davis Acquired the Masks

Lacking as they do either formal inscriptions or an excavated context, the two Davis masks have for years languished in the Metropolitan Museum's early New Kingdom study gallery as uninformative dealer pieces. Closer study, however, reveals that there is a substantial amount to be said and deduced about the two items.

Both, in fact, are discussed at considerable length in the unpublished diary of Davis's longtime companion, Emma B. Andrews (1837–1922):[71] "A Journal on the Bedawin, 1889–1912."[72] Subtitled "The Diary Kept on Board the Dahabiyeh of Theodore M. Davis During Seventeen[73] Trips up the Nile," its pages contain a mass of incidental detail on all manner of occurrences, finds, and purchases made in Egypt over two significant decades. This documentation is of widely varying quality and reliability, but in the case of the masks we are fortunate. Since they were Davis's first substantial acquisitions, Emma Andrews took a particular interest, and because she was present during the negotiations leading up to their purchase, she fully records the circumstances.

The first entry of interest in the journal is dated "Monday, Feb. 3d," 1890:

> This morning . . . [we] went off to the town antiquity hunting. M.S.[74] had introduced us to an old Mohammed Mohassib[75]—a friend of his, and the most prominent dealer in antiquities in Luxor. Theodore bought several good things of him this morning. . . .[76]

The same Egyptian dealer features again later that same day:

> This evening old Mohammed Mohassib appeared a really interesting old man, speaking English imperfectly but intelligibly—with such a gentle respectful manner. I am beginning to look upon him in the light of a friend. He was very mysterious at first, and

> I felt that something was in the air, and he presently explained that two very fine mummy cases and some papyrus had come into his possession that day, which had been taken out of a tomb only the day before, and if the governor [Davis] would like to see them, he would send for them.[77] A young son of his[78] whom he is bringing up to the business was with him, and he was despatched for the things—and after a while returned with a man, bringing in a huge, mystic looking black parcel, from which were taken the heads of two fine mummy cases [i.e., the masks] . . .[79]

Significantly, this was not all that Muhassib produced. As the journal proceeds to explain, the two masks were accompanied by

> a basket of papyrus, which seemed to have been hastily stripped from the mummy case, as particles of it were still adhering to the case. It [the papyrus] was very much broken. Theodore after some haggling bought them all—and the heads were transferred to the top of the big locker in my room. I had them however tied up in paper, as they are a little too suggestive uncovered, for sleepy observation.

The following morning, "Feb 4. Tuesday," the Davis party was again out shopping:

> Another very warm day, and we devoted the morning to hunting antiquities. At one of the shops we fell in with an Englishman by the name of [Greville] Chester,[80] who has spent 21 winters in Egypt—and has some accurate knowledge of antiques—as he buys for the British Museum, and Ashmolean in Oxford—he had promised to come and look at our purchases.

Chester appears again later that same day:

> We had intended this afternoon about 4 [o'clock] to row down to Karnac, 2 miles from here, and then ride over to the temples—but just as we were having tea on deck, Mr. Chester appeared and stayed some time talking and looking at our purchases. He says the papyrus is a portion of the Ritual of the Book of the Dead, but as there may be some other matter with it, advises [Theodore] to submit it to an expert in London, and says he will give him a card of introduction to the head of the Egyptian department of the Museum [there].

Emma Andrews's account of these purchases is both interesting and important. By the mention of scraps of papyrus still adhering to its front, the first of the masks is definitively identified as MMA 30.8.69. A subsequent description of the second mask (in the journal entry of February 4, 1890)[81] similarly compares with MMA 30.8.68 in its pre-restoration state (see Figures 22, 23). Both headpieces are recorded as having arrived at the shop of Muhammad Muhassib together, and from the same tomb; and at the time of their purchase by Davis on February 3, 1890, both had evidently been but a short time out of the ground.

Even more significant is the journal's further revelation—that the two masks had not traveled alone, but with an assortment of fragments from a Book of the Dead that Davis also acquired. Mrs. Andrews's intelligent assumption was that the several scraps of papyrus still adhering to the surface of MMA 30.8.69 had originally formed part of the same manuscript as Davis's separate loose sheets. In her understanding, masks and papyrus had originated from the same burial assemblage. If it can be demonstrated that they did, then obviously the name on these sheets is likely to identify the mask's otherwise anonymous owner.

The Davis "Basket of Papyrus" and Other Fragments

Although the journal does not provide any detailed description of this fragmented text, two non-joining sections from a Book of the Dead manuscript of appropriate Eighteenth Dynasty date did accompany the Davis bequest to New York. These sheets were accessioned sequentially and immediately after the masks as MMA 30.8.70a, b (Figures 25–28). Interestingly, the papyri preserve a name: "Amenhotep," with the title "Overseer of Builders of Amun." These Metropolitan Museum sections therefore provide a second and more substantial link between the Eton lid and the cartonnage mask MMA 30.8.69. It begins to look as if Major Myers's coffin lid and the Metropolitan Museum's mask were not only products of the same workshop, but had in fact been made for the same man.

But do MMA 30.8.70a, b represent the entirety of Davis's purchase? The journal's description of "a basket of papyrus" suggests rather more than two sheets. Is it possible that Davis originally owned more of this document than eventually ended up in New York?

As already noted, other pieces of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead are known, and as we look closely into the recent history of these fragments it transpires that several may indeed have passed through Davis's hands. Among them are three large sections preserved today in the Redwood Library and Athenaeum in Newport, Rhode Island, the origins of which are clearly stated in the 1891 *Annual Report of the Directors of the Library and Athenaeum*:[82]

> Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport has presented the Library with three sections of papyrus from the mummy case of Amenhetop [*sic*], of the 20th Dynasty [*sic*] (about 1,000 B.C.) [*sic*] passed as

25. Right: section from the Book of the Dead of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (ca. 1427–1400 B.C.). Painted papyrus, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.70a). Photographs 25, 26: Anna-Marie Kellen, The Photograph Studio, MMA

26. Far right: section from the Book of the Dead of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep (MMA 30.8.70b)

27. Right: reverse of the papyrus shown in Figure 25. Photographs 27, 28: file images, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

28. Far right: reverse of the papyrus shown in Figure 26

> genuine by the British Museum. This papyrus . . . contains a portion of the ritual "Book of the Dead."

Despite the *Report*'s misspelling of the ancient owner's name and an error in the supposed date of the papyrus, it is clear that all three of the Redwood's fragments represent portions of the same Eighteenth Dynasty text as the two sections in the Metropolitan Museum. Furthermore, as gifts from Theodore Davis, it may reasonably be inferred that they formed part of the "basket of papyrus" the collector had purchased from Muhammad Muhassib on February 3, 1890.

Indeed, this supposition is confirmed by the mention in the Redwood Library *Report* that its fragments had been "passed as genuine" by the British Museum. This comment picks up on Greville Chester's suggestion, noted in Andrews's diary on February 4, 1890, that Davis submit his fragments to an expert in London for examination. As a later entry in the diary records, that is precisely what happened:

Sunday morning, May 4th [1890].
Bull Hotel—Cambridge [England].
. . . We spent one afternoon at the British Museum, Theodore taking down his papyrus for repairs and translation. . . .

Since Davis seems to have owned papyri from no other source, at this time or later, Mrs. Andrews's wording—"his papyrus"—may be understood to indicate that the Redwood Library fragments did indeed originate from the single basketful of texts purchased, along with MMA 30.8.68 and 30.8.69, from Muhammad Muhassib on February 3, 1890.

Other significant portions of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead seem as if they too might be associated with the Muhassib basket. One particularly important grouping is held by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Its collection of thirteen large sections and sundry fragments (MFA 22.401) arrived in Boston during or before 1922 as a gift from the museum's then curator of Chinese and Japanese Art, John Ellerton Lodge.[83] How Lodge came by his portions of the Amenhotep document seems not to be recorded, though a Davis association has on occasion been assumed.[84] If there is any basis to that supposition, then Lodge may have been an acquaintance through Davis's early involvement with the MFA. Seemingly less likely is a direct family link, even though John Ellerton Lodge's mother, the wife of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, bore the Davis name.[85]

If Muhassib had had in his possession, and had sold to Theodore Davis alone, all of the fragments of Amenhotep's papyrus within tomb A 7, then the story of the text might well end there. But Davis was not the only buyer. Within a year of the collector's purchases, the British Museum acquired from the Reverend Chauncey Murch (1856–1907),[86] head of the American Mission in Luxor, a largely intact section of a Book of the Dead (EA 10489, part of which is seen in Figure 14). The ancient owner's name is again preserved, and here, too, it proves to be Amenhotep, "Overseer of Builders of Amun." At 47½ feet (14.5 m) in length, the Murch manuscript represents the most important single portion of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead to have come down to us.

Where Reverend Murch acquired EA 10489 is not recorded. It may, or may not, have been from Muhammad Muhassib; certainly there were other, smaller scraps of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead in circulation elsewhere in Luxor, which would surface decades later—in the Schriftmuseum, Amsterdam (via the Dortmond collection), in a private collection in Stockholm, and in the Queensland Museum in far-distant Brisbane, Australia.[87] Of these strays, we know that the last group at least had been purchased directly from west bank locals—possibly the very men who had stumbled upon tomb A 7 and its contents in the first place.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE BURIAL OF AMENHOTEP

The Papyrus in Context

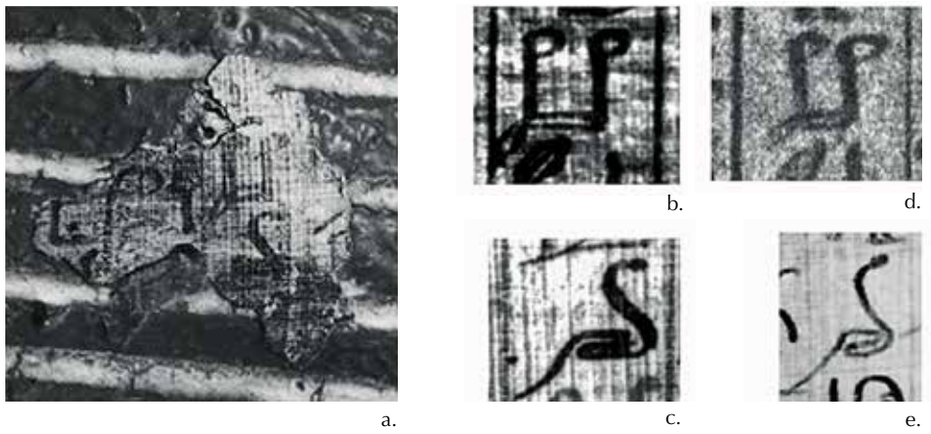
With the exception of the third Redwood Library section of Amenhotep's papyrus (which has only recently resurfaced), of the scraps still attached to the Metropolitan mask, and of the Brisbane fragments, the component parts of the Overseer of Builders' shattered Book of the Dead text were first tracked down and studied in meaningful detail by Irmtraut Munro.[88] She was able to establish not only the likely sequence of its chapters but also other crucial details of the manuscript's redaction. Building on Munro's work, we are now in a position to take the study of this document one archaeological stage further.

Turning first to the seven abraded fragments still adhering to the mask MMA 30.8.69 (Figure 29): these prove not to be random scraps haphazardly glued to the surface during modern times, but remnants of a complete "page" of funerary text. Significantly, from one of these fragments—no. 4—a name can now be teased out: it is "Amenhotep," with traces still visible above comprising the final strokes of the man's title, [*imy-r ḫ*]*dw*, "[Overseer of Buil]ders" (Figure 30). By the distinguishing of these few signs, the suspected but hitherto circumstantial attribution of the mask MMA 30.8.69 is definitively established.

A second significant papyrus scrap is no. 5, attached to the mask's same left lappet, some distance below

29. Cartonnage mask MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1), showing location and modern numbering of attached fragments of papyrus. Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

30. Papyrus fragment 4 attached to MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1) (correctly oriented). Photograph (manipulated): Gustavo Camps, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA



a. b. c. d. e.

31a.: Papyrus fragment 5 attached to MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1) (correctly oriented); 31b., c.: details from Amenhotep's Book of the Dead, in the hand of "Scribe A"; 31d., e.: details from Amenhotep's Book of the Dead, in the hand of "Scribe B." Photographs (manipulated): (a.) Gustavo Camps, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA; (b., c., d., e.) Bonn Totenbuch-Projekt

fragment no. 4 (Figure 31a). Here, several signs are recognizable, including the "toe" hieroglyph, *sꜣḥ* (Gardiner D63), followed by a serpent determinative (Gardiner I12). The manner in which the signs have been formed clearly identifies the hand of the first of the two ancient scribes—designated "A" and "B"—now recognized[89] as having been responsible for executing the hieroglyphic portions of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead manuscript (Figures 31b–e).

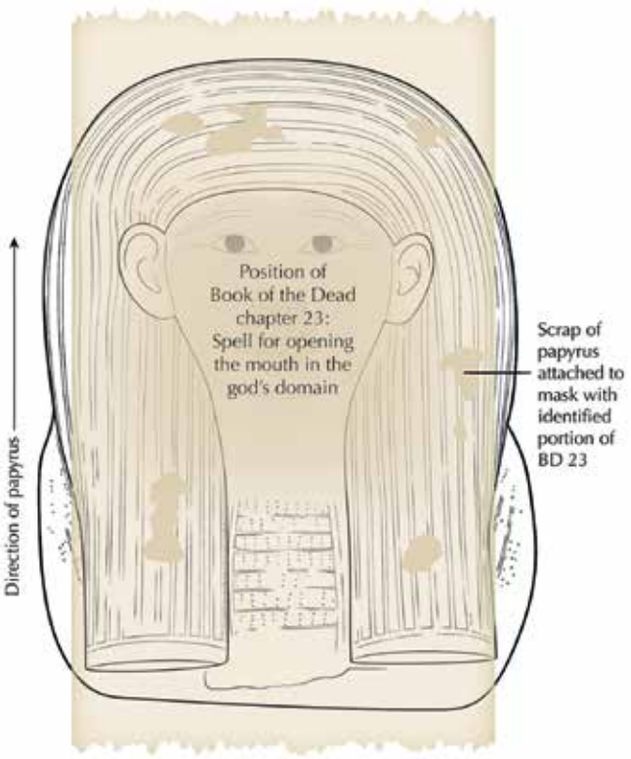
It is possible to venture further, for only one word employed in the Book of the Dead combines the *sꜣḥ*-sign and the serpent-determinative. That word is a name; the name is that of an obscure funerary goddess, Sahit; and the sole section of the text in which this goddess is mentioned is the Book of the Dead, chapter 23. From the mask's seven, small, glued-on scraps, therefore, it is possible to reconstruct a version of the following "Spell for opening the mouth . . . in the god's domain":[90]

> *He* [the deceased] *says:*
> *My mouth has been opened by Ptah; the bonds that gag my mouth have been loosed by my city(-god). Thoth comes fully equipped with magic; he looses Seth's bonds that gag my mouth. Atum gives me my hands, which [he] has put on guard. My mouth is given me; my mouth has been parted by Ptah with this metal chisel of his with which he parted the mouths of the gods. I am Sekhmet-Uto, who sits at the starboard side of the sky; I am Sahit (the great), lodging amid the Souls of Heliopolis. As for all the magic and all the [statements] uttered against me, however, may the gods stand against them, my whole Ennead and their whole Ennead.*

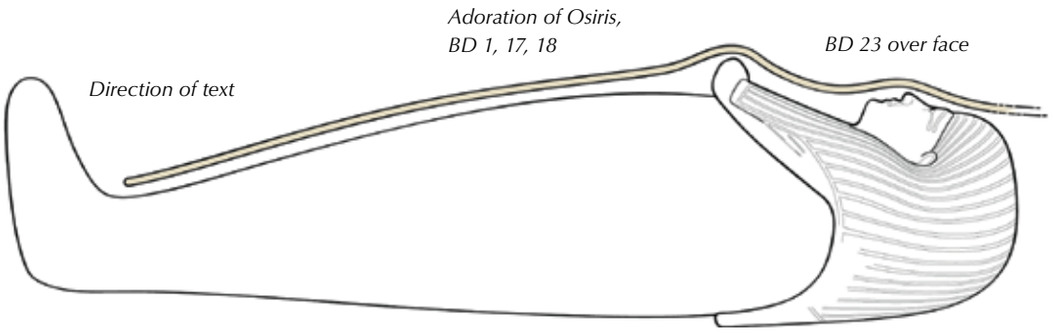
Fragment nos. 4 and 5 not only confirm that the first Davis mask had formed part of the burial equipment of the Overseer of Builders Amenhotep. They also indicate precisely where in the man's tomb his Book of the Dead document had been deposited—within the Eton lidded coffin, with the "Spell for opening the mouth . . . in the god's domain" deliberately positioned, text uppermost, over the mouth of the deceased's funerary headpiece, MMA 30.8.69. What is more, this positioning had been considered sufficiently critical for the manuscript to have been held in place by several dabs of resin glue. The position of these dabs is indicated today by the seven papyrus fragments the ancient adhesive continues to secure.[91]

The original placement of chapter 23 is shown in reconstruction in Figure 32. The orientation of the mask's surviving fragments indicates that the officiating priest had stood on the coffin's left when it was positioned horizontally. When the text was later disturbed by robbers, the dabs of glue holding the manuscript in place caused the sheet to break up, perhaps irredeemably. To date, only one other scrap of BD 22/23 has been identified, among the fragments now preserved in Amsterdam.[92]

Although many complete or fragmentary copies of the Book of the Dead have survived, the original context of such documents—their placement within the burial—is not well understood.[93] Being able to establish not only the general positioning of Amenhotep's papyrus within the man's coffin but also the specific placement of chapter 23, unrolled over the face of the deceased's funerary mask, as well as both the fact and method of the text's attachment, thus represents a significant development—not



32. Original position of Book of the Dead chapter 23 over the face of MMA 30.8.69 (see Figure 1) (reconstruction). Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA



33. Preliminary arrangement of the opening chapters of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead manuscript (reconstruction). Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

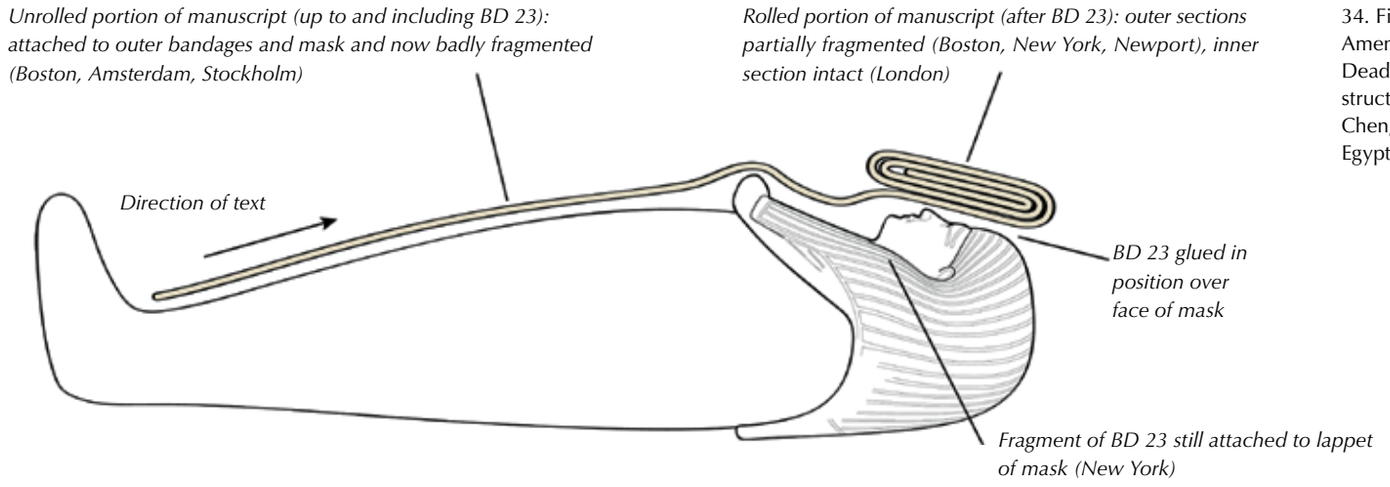
least because it provides a firm baseline for establishing the precise arrangement of the remainder of the Amenhotep manuscript.

The numbering of Book of the Dead spells is, of course, a modern conceit and often bears scant relationship to the sequence and coverage encountered in actual papyri. In Munro's reconstruction of Amenhotep's text, chapter 23 followed chapter 18, which came after chapter 17, which followed chapter 1 and an Adoration of Osiris scene—this last representing the formal start of the document. If we approximate backward in the Amenhotep scroll from chapter 23 positioned over the face, it becomes apparent that these preceding chapters must have been displayed unrolled over the wrapped mummy's torso and legs (Figure 33).[94] The scrappy preservation of the opening spells is also telling. The implication is that these sections, too, had formerly been glued in place and that they had similarly fallen apart when the attempt was subsequently made to remove them.[95]

The manner in which the remainder of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead was arranged on the mummy may be established from an examination of the text's opposite end—the portion acquired by Chauncey Murch for the British Museum. What we see today is far from how the Murch document appeared on its arrival at that museum. The manuscript is now cut into a series of sixteen consecutive sections (plus sundry scraps), each section measuring between 23¾ and 28¼ inches (60.3 and 71.6 cm) in length.[96] The physical condition of these sheets is uniformly excellent, with virtually no material loss or fragmentation. This perfection of preservation is revealing: from it we may deduce that, as acquired by Murch and as it finally passed to the British Museum, this portion of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead scroll remained completely unopened.

The chapter sequence established for Amenhotep's manuscript by Munro allows us to discern yet more information. By their position within the overall document, the larger portions of the papyrus preserved in Boston, Newport, and New York evidently represent the frayed outermost layers of the Murch roll. The remarkable consistency in their dimensions (roughly half the present width of the now-framed sections in the British Museum) provides a clear reflection of that roll's original form: flattened and square. How that square, flattened roll was originally positioned is suggested in Figure 34.[97]

From the above discussion, the following conclusions may be drawn concerning the ancient disposition and subsequent treatment of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead:



34. Final arrangement of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead manuscript (reconstruction). Drawing: Sara Chen, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA

> The opening sections of the papyrus scroll had been unfurled, arranged over the wrapped legs and body as far as chapter 23, and seemingly held in place atop the bandages by a series of dabs of glue.
>
> At chapter 23 the unfurling of the manuscript had stopped, with the folded remainder of the text, a flattened package, positioned directly over the face of the mask where it was similarly held in place with (seven) dabs of glue.
>
> When the mummy was subsequently disturbed by robbers, the glue-dabbed introductory sections of the manuscript up to and including chapter 23 shattered into numerous fragments.
>
> In contrast, the portion of the document that was still rolled could be lifted off essentially intact. With careless handling, however, it too began to crumble, this time at its fragile, folded edges, causing the outer layers to separate into a series of frayed sheets, now measuring roughly 13¼ inches by 13¼ inches (33.5 cm).

In specific "collection" terms: what for the most part Theodore M. Davis managed to acquire of this papyrus roll were its outer sections. What Chauncey Murch secured for the British Museum was the roll's flattened, still intact, core. The smaller scraps now preserved in a range of collections around the world seem mostly to represent fragments of the opening sections of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead papyrus that had been glued, text uppermost, to the surface of the mummy wrappings and mask, and that had broken up when clumsy hands later attempted to detach them.

Amenhotep and Mutresti

Since the female mask MMA 30.8.68 has been associated with its male counterpart MMA 30.8.69 from the time of their first appearance in 1890, it had most likely been recovered—as Muhassib intimated—from a body buried alongside the Overseer of Builders' own and, as now established, within Theban tomb A 7. In the absence of any other candidate, it is reasonable to assume that the headpiece belonged to the tomb-owner's wife, Mutresti. Its bewigged style, with face-framing plait, conforms closely to the manner in which this lady is represented in Amenhotep's funerary papyrus (see Figure 14).

Mask MMA 30.8.68 has consistently been regarded as later in date than MMA 30.8.69, primarily because its subject is dressed in costume of daily life—a style not normally encountered in mummy-related contexts (i.e., coffins, masks, shawabti figures) before the Amarna period (ca. 1353–1336 B.C).[98] Yet, the perceived presence of a "tab" extending below the collar of MMA 30.8.68 (see above, p. 20) is an early feature, as is the specific style of Mutresti's wig,[99] which finds several parallels in the art of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty[100] (and perhaps the preceding Seventeenth Dynasty also).[101] How to reconcile this conflicting data?

The likelihood is that Mutresti outlived her husband, who either had died young or, more likely, been an older man married to a much younger woman. The absence of any mention of a wife on the Overseer of Builders' funerary cones and bricks—they include instead the name of his father, Senna—may indicate that Amenhotep was still unmarried at the time he began to prepare his tomb. Mutresti's relative youth is also hinted at by the depiction of the couple's son, Sennefer, in the final vignette of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead; curiously, he carries no title. This absence may suggest that Sennefer had been a mere child at the time of his father's funeral; if so, Mutresti would have been a relatively new mother.

On the other hand, the face of MMA 30.8.68 conveys the impression of a woman of some age, which would point to a considerable period of time having elapsed between Amenhotep's death and Mutresti's own. Given the normal human life span, it seems unlikely that Mutresti's death can have much postdated the reign of Amenhotep II's successor, Thutmose IV (1400–1390 B.C.).[102] Certainly it is unlikely that she lived into the Amarna period. The sole viable explanation seems to be that the introduction into funerary art of costume of daily life occurred somewhat earlier than has previously been recognized.

The Robbery of the Tomb

Finally, what may be ventured concerning the exploitation of Amenhotep's tomb?

The journal of Emma B. Andrews records the dire situation that prevailed at the time Davis acquired his pieces:

> It is very stirring and exciting to think of the constant digging and searching among the tombs across the river [on the west bank of Thebes]. Every Arab in Goornah I am told spends his night in this way. It is against all law—the government allows no digging or excavations—but they seem powerless to prevent it. It would be difficult to put such extensive territory under sufficient guard . . . In the meantime hundreds of hands are surreptitiously at work at it—valuable things are destroyed and injured by hasty and forbidden search. The beautiful, highly ornamented mummy head of a woman that Theodore bought has had the back of it torn hastily off, and what has become of the rest of the case, and the mummy with its valuable things folded in its wrappings! These men dare not offer what they find, for sale openly—either they have to part with them at a moderate price, to

> two or three dealers in Luxor, who in their turn secrete them until a safe and advantageous opening offers itself—or—they sometimes make a secret sale directly to the tourist. It is soon known among this thriving fraternity, that a tourist is anxious to buy good things, and willing to pay for them—and this accounts for the one or two mysterious men, who are constantly squatting on the bank near us, and who if he catches the eye of us holds up some bag or packet to attract our curiosity.[103]

Had Muhammad Muhassib's "suppliers" been the first to enter tomb A 7? In fact, the evidence suggests not, pointing rather toward modern diggers having stumbled upon a tomb that had already been entered. The Eton coffin lid provides important clues here. Its edge-breaks clearly show that the coffin had been treated with immense violence in order to break the tenons and separate the lid from its case. The inference is that, for the perpetrators, Amenhotep's beautiful coffin was an object of no commercial worth—in which case the robbery ought to be datable to a period before the existence of an antiquities market. What those early plunderers were interested in was clearly the jewelry—precious, recyclable metals—that embellished the mummy within, as well as other reusable commodities, such as linen and fresh oils.[104] The preservation of the intrinsically valuable gilded faces of the coffin and masks permits further speculation. If the robbery indeed dates from antiquity, then it had been a hurried one—carried out when the necropolis still lay under official pharaonic guard and the penalties for tomb robbery were severe.[105]

Several opportunities for a dynastic plundering of Amenhotep's tomb may be detected in the archaeological record. During the Ramesside period, a century and a half after Amenhotep's burial, it appears that tomb A 7 was usurped, and a mud-brick porch—clearly visible in the Gauthier photograph (see Figure 16)—added by its new owner. Six inscribed mud bricks recovered by Gauthier suggest the possible identity of this man: an "Overseer of the Storehouse of the Estate of Amun (*imy-r šnᶜ n pr-imn*), Setau."[106] Whether the burial shaft visible in the foreground of Gauthier's image is that originally employed by Amenhotep, or a later shaft added by the new owner, is not clear. That a substantial amount of Amenhotep's funerary equipment has survived, however, and in generally fresh condition, suggests that Setau's takeover involved not the displacement of the original owner from his funerary chamber, but rather the cutting or employment of a new shaft and burial chamber.

Which is not to say that those preparing Setau's funerary apartments had been unaware of Amenhotep's burial. Abundant evidence survives to show that undertakers regularly exploited if not the mummies of their own clients, then certainly those bodies previously buried in the same tomb.[107] Indeed, Amenhotep's burial may have already been relieved of a proportion of its valuables decades before Setau's usurpation—when Mutresi's remains were deposited in her husband's crypt.

Whoever the ancient culprits were, a scene of considerable damage and confusion is likely to have met the eyes of modern robbers when they chanced upon the principal burial chamber of tomb A 7 in late 1889 or early 1890. Now, though, different treasures were sought: *antikas*, those mundane objects of life and death considered unworthy of attention by tomb raiders in antiquity and ordinarily abandoned where they lay, wantonly smashed or else consigned to the flames. Unlike their predecessors, this modern generation of robbers seems to have worked deliberately, systematically, and with care. Eager to make the most of their unexpected windfall, they spent time recovering not only the larger sections of Amenhotep's crumbling Book of the Dead, but its many fragments also. So thorough was their clearance that when Henri Gauthier conducted his official excavations at the site in 1906 there would be virtually nothing left for him to find.[108]

The Dispersal of the Find

Some of what the locals recovered from Theban tomb A 7 was sold off directly to passing tourists, including the Queensland fragments of Amenhotep's funerary papyrus.[109] Larger and more significant items passed directly into the antiquities trade, with Muhammad Muhassib the sole merchant whose involvement in the enterprise can be established today. Buyers, including Theodore Davis, Chauncey Murch, and others unnamed, were able to acquire these salvaged remnants as curiosities for their collections or for resale. Through these intermediaries the detritus of Amenhotep and Mutresti's burial eventually came to rest in a range of museums and collections across the world—including Eton College, Windsor; the Victoria Museum in Uppsala; the Art Institute and Oriental Institute in Chicago; The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The British Museum in London; the Schriftmuseum in Amsterdam; Queensland Museum in Brisbane; and of course The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Curiously, another institution also came into possession of material from Amenhotep's tomb, namely, the Giza Museum, successor to the Bulaq Museum and precursor to the present Egyptian Museum located on the edge of Cairo's Tahrir Square. How did objects secured by enterprising Theban diggers and their dealer(s)—individuals whose principal aim in life was to bypass the authorities—end up in the hands of the Egyptian government? With an answer to this question, the last remaining piece of the puzzle drops neatly into place.

A first hint is provided by the memoirs published by the former keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, E. A. Wallis Budge.[110] Like Emma Andrews in her journal, Budge's account reveals the extent to which

the Theban necropolis was being exploited by the local populace during the 1880s and beyond. In 1887–88 the new director of the Antiquities Service, Eugène Grébaut (1846–1915),[111] determined to stamp out this scourge. Arrests and confiscations became increasingly common as the Antiquities Service cracked down on the trade, pursuing not only those engaged in the digging but dealers also, including Muhammad Muhassib.[112] On October 30, 1890, Budge, in a letter from Egypt to his chief, Peter Le Page Renouf, was obliged to report: "Our friend Grébaut has stopped all excavations, both public and private, and as a result antiquities [are] very rare and not cheap."[113] Until Grébaut's departure in 1892, items by the score would be confiscated for transfer to the Giza Museum. Evidently, among the confiscated materials were objects previously salvaged by local diggers from the tomb of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep.

Once in Cairo, what happened to these objects? From hints in his unpublished diaries,[114] William Joseph Myers had had as his principal guide in forming the collection now at Eton the Bulaq and Giza Museum keeper, Emile Brugsch. On at least one occasion, in 1894, Brugsch was Myers's actual source—for his spectacular Old Kingdom wood servant girl (ECM 1591).[115] As mentioned earlier, Brugsch had been the probable source also, in 1892, for the Oriental Institute/Art Institute of Chicago Amenhotep shawabti,[116] while the trough of Amenhotep's wood coffin came to Sweden a decade later through essentially similar channels—as a gift of the Egyptian government.[117] The route followed by the Uppsala case renders it all the more likely that the Eton lid was yet another piece that had fallen into the hands of the Egyptian authorities and that Myers's source for it was the museum itself via Emile Brugsch. For the future, this opens up a completely fresh avenue of investigation: the possibility that additional pieces from the burial of Amenhotep, confiscated by the Egyptian government prior to 1892, reside still, as yet unrecognized, in the present Cairo Museum.[118] If so, the identification of this material is keenly awaited for the further light it may be able to shed on the character and extent of the Overseer of Builders' burial arrangements.

CONCLUSION

The tomb of Amenhotep, Overseer of Builders of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep II, was no ordinary burial. As that of an official of high rank it had been richly provisioned, quite likely by the royal workshops at the king's express command. Given this quality and importance, the discovery of the tomb by local diggers rather than in formal archaeological excavation is regrettable. In this instance, however, the loss of information has proved not wholly irretrievable, since several of the principal elements of Amenhotep's burial equipment may now be recognized. (See Appendix.)

The present study began with a description and assessment of Amenhotep's best-known piece—the fragmentary lid of his coffin preserved in the Myers Collection at Eton College. It now comes full circle with a better understanding of how the Eton lid found its way from the man's tomb and into the possession of the collector William Joseph Myers.

At the core of the investigation, and supporting its conclusions, have been the uninscribed mummy headpieces MMA 30.8.69 and 30.8.68, two of Theodore M. Davis's earliest purchases. Although these previously lacked an obvious context, it is now possible to assert that the former with certainty, and the latter with considerable probability, originated in the tomb of the same Overseer of Builders, Amenhotep. This conclusion, by its wider ramifications, proves to be a deduction of some significance. Internally, the assignment of the Davis masks broadens considerably our understanding of the A 7 burial and permits a range of archaeological details to be salvaged: the physical disposition of the man's funerary papyrus; the differing ages of Amenhotep and Mutresti; the approximate date of the tomb's robbery and the identity of the robbers; and the manner in which the finds were dispersed following their initial discovery. Externally it does even more, pushing back further than previously recognized several significant funerary milestones.

The larger lesson, however, is that dealer materials are not always a lost cause. As this study has shown, archaeological orphans, too, have their tales to tell—when the gods chance to smile.

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NOTES

1. T. S. Eliot, "Little Gidding," the last of his *Four Quartets* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), p. 59.
2. Theodore Montgomery Davis (usually, and erroneously, cited as Theodore *Monroe* Davis): for a biographical summary, see Bierbrier 2012, pp. 145–46. For recent studies, see Gordon 2007 and Adams 2011 and 2013.
3. The Carnarvon collection had been secured only four years previously, in 1926, through the generosity of Edward S. Harkness. See Lythgoe 1927.
4. The Egyptian items in the Davis bequest were accessioned as MMA 30.8.1–1104 and 30.115.68. See generally Davis Bequest 1930 and Davis Bequest 1931, pp. 4–12. On its scope: "The collection, numbering [well] over a thousand objects, covers a wide range: Egyptian and classical antiquities; European paintings, sculpture, furniture, and textiles; Near Eastern rugs, textiles, pottery, and miniatures; Far Eastern porcelain and amber" (Joseph Breck in Davis Bequest 1931, p. 3).
5. Reeves 1990, pp. 292–321; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, pp. 73–80.
6. A search in the collections database of the Museum of Fine Arts (www.mfa.org/search/collections?keyword=theodore+m+davis) yields the following accessions: MFA 03.1036a–b, .1088, .1090–.1094, .1095, .1097–.1102, .1104a–b, .1107, .1109, .1110, .1112–.1115, .1117–.1126, .1128, .1132, .1134; 04.278.1–.2; 05.60–.65, .66a–b, .67–.79, .81–.83, .85a–c, .89a–c, .91, .95, .97.
7. Pre-bequest Davis objects include MMA 99.3.1–6; 07.226.1–3; 09.184.1–805; 10.178.1–2; 10.184.1–4; 11.155.6–9; 12.182.32; 14.6.1–619.
8. Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, p. 24, no. 19. The sole previously published image of the lid's under surface (by Tomohiro Muda) is in Reeves 2008, p. 28.
9. For the title in context, see Eichler 2000, pp. 157–58: "Among the materials relating to the administration of the 18th Dynasty Amun temple, only three specialist overseers of construction are documented. All bear the title 'overseer of builders of Amun' (*jmj-r3 ḳdw n Jmn*). . . . The overseer of builders of Amun *Jmn-ḥtp* (105), on the other hand, is attested by many monuments since almost the entire [*sic*] tomb outfit of TT [*sic*] A.7 is preserved. In addition, he carries the title of an *jmj-r3 k3t m pr-Mwt* and thereby belongs to the group of construction management which was presumably recruited from among the specialist craftsmen." (Im Material zur Verwaltung des Amuntempels sind in der 18. Dynastie nur drei Aufseher spezieller Bauhandwerkergruppen belegt. Alle tragen den Titel 'Aufseher der Maurer des Amun' [*jmj-r3 ḳdw n Jmn*]. . . . Der Aufseher der Maurer des Amun *Jmn-ḥtp* [105] ist dagegen durch zahlreiche Denkmäler bezeugt, da fast die gesamte Grabausstattung des wahrscheinlich ihm zuzuweisenden Grabes TT A.7 erhalten ist . . . Er trägt außerdem den Titel eines *jmj-r3 k3t m pr-Mwt* und gehört damit zu der Gruppe von Bauleitungspersonal, welches sich vermutlich aus spezialisierten Handwerkern selbst rekrutiert.)
10. William Joseph Myers was in Egypt between 1882 and 1887 as aide-de-camp to General Sir Frederick Stephenson, taking part in operations of the Sudan frontier field force in 1885–86 and the battle of Giniss (December 30, 1885). Myers left the regular army in 1894, thereafter making four further visits to Egypt in a private capacity: in February–March 1894, March–April 1896, December 1896–March 1897, and finally, it appears, in autumn 1899 en route to the Boer War, during which he was killed by a sniper's bullet at the battle of Farquahar's Farm on October 30, 1899. See generally Stephen Spurr, "Major W. J. Myers, O.E.: Soldier and Collector," in Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, pp. 1–3; Stearn 2006; and Bierbrier 2012, p. 395. Myers's diaries, preserved in Eton College Library, Windsor (Eton MSS 317–347), provide a useful chronology, but shed disappointingly little light on his collecting activities.
11. Though Myers's time in Egypt overlapped with that of Theodore Davis, there is no evidence that the two men ever met.
12. Burlington Fine Arts Club 1895a; Burlington Fine Arts Club 1895b.
13. In Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, p. 24, no. 19, the maximum dimension is given in error as 72 in. (183 cm).
14. Lacovara 1990, especially pp. 23–26.
15. Schorsch 1998; Schorsch 2001, especially pp. 67–70.
16. Legrain 1906, pp. 44–45, pl. XLVII; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 139.
17. Another feature pointing to the coffin's creation in a royal workshop is the fact that the interior as well as the exterior carries decoration. See Taylor 2001, pp. 226–27.
18. Uppsala VM 151; see Eichler 2000, p. 255, no. 105. The piece was a gift from the Egyptian government in 1902 (the year the Giza Museum was closed and the Cairo collection transferred to Tahrir Square). The sole publication is Lugn 1922, p. 31, no. 30, pl. XXII. I am indebted to Geoffrey Metz, Curator of the Victoria Museum, for accession details and other help, and to Lana Troy and Anders Bettum for valuable study photographs of this piece, general advice, and assistance with establishing the texts.
19. Lugn 1922 gives the minimum width as 16⅛ in. (41 cm), and the height (base to rim) of the case as between 11⅞ in. (30 cm) and 15¾ in. (40 cm).
20. Art Institute of Chicago, [18]92.36–39: Eichler 2000, p. 255, no. 105. See Allen 1923, pp. 19–20, ill. The jars were at one stage transferred to the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, where they were renumbered as OIM 17281–17283 and 18003; when they were returned to the Art Institute during the 1990s their original accession numbers were reinstated. For clarification of these and other numbering overlaps I am grateful to Emily Teeter and Mary Greuel.
21. Sethe 1934, pp. 5*–6*, Typus IX/IXa.
22. Allen 1923, p. 20.
23. The accession register of the Art Institute of Chicago is marginally ambiguous concerning the jars' source. According to Mary Greuel (personal communication): "Objects that arrived in a group were listed in columns with their source and price noted. On the page that records the jars, there is no notation of their source, but above them in this list is the record of other objects 'bought of Muhammed Mohassab at Luxor.' There are clear ditto marks for other pieces, but none for the jars. However, . . . it is all very casual." For Muhammad Muhassib (Mohammed Mohassib), see Bierbrier 2012, pp. 376–77.
24. Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, 18022, transferred from the Art Institute, Chicago (see note 27 below). See Eichler 2000, p. 254, no. 104 (= the same man as no. 105; the title is a variant of that found on his funerary papyrus [see below]—"Overseer of Works of Amun" [*imy-r k3t n imn*]). For more on this piece, see Allen 1960, p. 66, pl. CV.
25. Allen 1923, pp. 64–65. Cf. Allen 1960, p. 66.
26. See Allen 1960, p. 72 and pl. CV. "Its charm," Allen wrote elsewhere (1923, p. 65), is that it "is the most correctly written of all the Art Institute [of Chicago] examples."
27. Accession no. [18]92.234. See Allen 1923, pp. 20, 64–65.
28. I owe the following to Karen Alexander (personal communication): "My search for information on the dealer for our 1892.234

(OIM 18022) shabti [shawabti] is inconclusive—in our Old Register where all object facts were recorded, the entry for 1892.234 was frayed. However, all the objects listed before the shabti and presumably part of the same group, were bought from Emil [*sic*] Brugsch Bey." For Emile Brugsch (1842–1930), see Bierbrier 2012, pp. 83–84.

29. Cf. Eichler 2000, p. 255, no. 105. The listing of known fragments of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead and the chapters they contain includes Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 30.8.70a, b (/// 42V - 64V - 30B - 78V ///) (unpublished; the reverse sides of these two sections of the manuscript display a series of sweeping strokes, suggestive of the surface having been employed, somewhat incongruously, to clean an ink-laden brush of considerable thickness [Figures 27, 28]; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 22.401.1–14 (/// 1 /// 17 /// 86[V] /// 79V - 55+38B V - 63A - 89V - 64V - 43V - 45 - 30A V - 41 - 42V /// 72 - 105V - 141/143V - 130V - 133+R V - 134V - 136/136A /// Tb41(?) /// 52(?) /// 124V /// 190(?) /// 148 - 153A V /// 147 /// 64 - 30B - 78 ///) (unpublished); British Museum, London, EA 10489 (/// 85V - 83V - 84V - 88V - 82V - 77V - 155V - 156V - 102 - 136/136A V - 136B V - 149V - 150V - ? - 126V - 125A - 125B V - 125C+D V - 116V - 112V - 113V - 96/97V - 108V - 109V - 146V - 144V - 100/129V - 99/99B V - Opfer-Szene) (essentially unpublished, but cf. Quirke 1993, pp. 29–30, no. 7 and p. 71); Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island, fragments 1–3 (unpublished); Schriftmuseum, Amsterdam, Coll. Dortmond 22 (/// Tb 1 /// 17 /// 18 /// 23 - 22 /// 78V /// 85 /// 86 /// 141 ///) (Dortmond 1969); private collection, Stockholm ([Ad.O.] /// 17 ///130 ///) (Peterson 1967). I am grateful to Marcus Müller of the Bonn Totenbuch-Projekt for generously supplying photographs of the various portions of this manuscript. Further details and a bibliography are to be found on the Totenbuch-Projekt website at www.totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133544. For a basic (though now incomplete) chapter listing and sequence, see Munro 1988, p. 291, no. 67. Supplementary to this core group, a mass of additional fragments of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead has recently and unexpectedly come to light in Brisbane, Australia: Queensland Museum E6108. They were collected by Professor Edgar March Crookshank (1858–1928), a bacteriologist who was in Egypt in 1882 as surgeon to the British Expeditionary Force; in 1909, Crookshank wrote in a letter (no. 6789) that "many years ago" he had visited Deir el-Bahri and collected antiquities and that he had bought the papyrus "from a native for [GBP?] 10." These new fragments were first identified by John H. Taylor, to whom I am indebted for advance information, including the details on Crookshank, which were provided to him by Brit Asmussen of the Queensland Museum. For an initial report, see Asmussen and Healy 2012.
30. The text of Amenhotep's Book of the Dead will be the subject of a dedicated study by John H. Taylor; thus, my comments here are restricted to the archaeological aspects of the document.
31. Munro 1988, pp. 41–42.
32. I am grateful to Betsy Bryan for a preview of her forthcoming article, "Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom," which is suggestive in regard to Amenhotep's possible activities at Karnak.
33. Eichler 2000, p. 255, no. 105.
34. Davies 1957. For updates and a full discussion of this class of object, see most recently Zenihiro 2009, and Kento Zenihiro's website, The World of Funerary Cones, www.funerarycones.com.
35. Zenihiro 2009, p. 104, records the Gauthier specimens (see below) found in the vicinity of Theban tomb A 7 on the main hill of Dra Abu'l-Naga (in association with Davies-Macadam type 196), as well as others from the southern part of that site and in the vicinity of TT 11-12, similarly located. A single stamped brick is known (Figure 15).
36. Ibid., p. 107, records both the Gauthier examples found (together with examples of Davies-Macadam type 185) in the vicinity of tomb A 7, and another specimen that, anomalously, comes from the Valley of the Kings.
37. Daressy 1892.
38. Neither of these two types (nor of D-M 354, see below) is represented in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's extensive holdings of stamped funerary cones and bricks, which incorporate Norman de Garis Davies's personal collection (MMA 30.6.1–.183).
39. See Van Siclen 1991, p. 45, publishing the fragment of a pyramidal corner brick with three impressions of D-M 185: "When the piece was in position, the impressions were on their sides [i.e., at 90 degrees to the vertical]. The interior corner slopes to ca. 2 cm [4/5 in.] thick, and there is a sculpted recess on the top and bottom. A similarly shaped object with the same orientation of the impressions is published by Hari [*Bulletin de la Société d'Egyptologie, Genève* 8 (1984)], p. 55 with Figure. The impression, Davies and Macadam, no. 354, names 'the scribe of all the artisans of Amun, Amenhotep,' who may be the same individual as here." Van Siclen's signaled follow-up article, "Amenhotep, the Chief Builder of Amun," has not yet appeared.
40. Zenihiro 2009, p. 152.
41. Gauthier 1908, pp. 121–71, especially pp. 126–27, §§VI–VII.
42. Porter and Moss 1960, p. 449.
43. Gauthier 1908, p. 126: "nous avons en effet trouvé dans ce tombeau un morceau de plafond décoré, portant les restes d'une bande d'hiéroglyphes noirs sur fond rouge, ainsi conçue: [hieroglyphs]." This description is suggestive of burning: see Kampp 1996, vol. 2, p. 616.
44. See note 29 above.
45. Gauthier 1908, pl. I. The question of whether this mud-brick structure was original to Amenhotep's burial or represents a later (Ramesside?) building is raised by Kampp (1996, vol. 2, p. 616). She writes: "In the photo reproduced by Gauthier . . . it may be recognized that the brick porch probably comes from a reuse phase, since the original façade of limestone is still visible on the far left of the picture." (Auf dem bei GAUTHIER . . . abgebildeten Photo ist zu erkennen, daß der Ziegelvorbau wahrscheinlich einer Wiederbenutzungsphase entstammt, da die originale Fassadenmauer aus Kalksteinbrocken auf dem äußeren linken Bildrand noch zu erkennen ist.) If this is correct, then Gauthier (1908, p. 142) may have found evidence to identify that usurper: "From January 17 to 29 we found at the tomb of [Amenhotep], on the eastern slope of the mountain, six identical bricks, made of mud mixed with chopped straw. They measured [14 5/8–15 in. x 6 3/4–7 1/8 in. x 4 in. (37–38 cm x 17–18 cm x 10 cm)]. All six bore, inscribed within a rectangle . . . the title and the name" (Du 17 au 29 janvier, nous avons trouvé au tombeau d'[Amenhotep], sur le versant est de la montagne, six briques identiques, en terre crue mélangée à de la paille hachée. Elles mesuraient [14 5/8–15 in. x 6 3/4–7 1/8 in. x 4 in. (37–38 cm x 17–18 cm x 10 cm)]. Toutes les six portaient, inscrits dans un rectangle, le titre et le nom) of an "Overseer of the Storehouse of the Estate of Amun, Setau" (*imy-r šnʿ n pr-imn st3w*).
46. Manniche 1988, pp. 88–90.
47. Kampp 1996, vol. 2, p. 616: "In der Nähe von Grab Nr. -162-, evtl. Grab Nr. -174- ?"
48. The findspot of only one of Amenhotep's funerary cones may be established with any confidence today: an example of Davies-Macadam no. 185, recovered from the vicinity of TT 11–12. See

Galán and Borrego 2006. The British Museum's John H. Taylor undertook his own brief survey of possible sites for the location of A 7 in October 2012, and his conclusions seem also to favor locating the tomb in this general area: see his photo, reproduced here as Figure 17. As he says: "Gauthier's photo [Figure 16] shows a brick wall to the right of the entrance and also a pit in front, but both of those could have disappeared in 100 years. The general configuration of cliffs, bricks, and doorway [shown in Figure 17] are closer to his photo than anything else I could see in the Dra Abu'l Naga area." For the site, see the photograph in *Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (Autumn 2004), p. 38, at the point where the houses (now demolished) are seen standing on the left. Possibly "the actual entrance is the one visible about 2 cm [¾ in.] in from the lower left edge of [the *Egyptian Archaeology*] photo" (John H. Taylor, personal communication, October 15, 2012).

49. Gauthier 1908, p. 144, §C, no. 7.
50. Ibid., no. 8.
51. "donnant les débris du nom d'un roi Aménophis." Ibid., p. 143, §C, no. 2.
52. Ibid., p. 144, §C, no. 5. The hieroglyphs potentially conceal a reference to Amenhotep III. See further below, section "Amenhotep and Mutresti."
53. Possibly other strays from the local clearance of tomb A 7, unrecognized as such, were among the pieces acquired by Theodore Davis from Muhammad Muhassib about the time (as will be discussed below) he purchased his two masks and a "basket of papyrus." Potential candidates (suggested by no more than their character, date, and/or condition) include a well-preserved heart scarab, inscribed but without name, still mounted in its original gilt-bronze mount (MMA 30.8.1080). No inscribed heart scarab of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep is currently known (information I owe to the kindness of Claude Laroche). A second is the gold-mounted steatite scarab (ring bezel?) (MMA 30.8.583), inscribed with the prenomen of Amenhotep II, "Aakheprure" (written with three *kheper* beetles), and motto. Another potential (non-Davis) candidate is MMA 60.38, a (restored) two-handled pottery jar with elaborately painted (*faux* stone) surface and impressed hieroglyphic inscription reading *im3ḫy ḫr inpw-imy-wt wsir imn-ḥtp*: "One revered before Anubis who is in his bandages, Amenhotep." It presents no specific title, however, and the name "Amenhotep" is itself exceedingly common. The jar, evidently one of a set of four, is of a type more usually encountered in limestone, with examples known from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu in KV46 in the Valley of the Kings (CG 51102: Quibell 1908, p. 48, pl. XXIV); and, of unknown provenance, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 22.2.30a, b–.33a, b: Hayes 1959, p. 277, fig. 169). MMA 60.38 may be traced back to the collection of General Sir John Grenfell Maxwell (1859–1929; Bierbrier 2012, p. 364), sold at Sotheby's, London, *Important Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of General Sir John Maxwell, G.C.B.,* June 11–12 1928, p. 11, lot 59, shown in pl. IV in its unrestored state. According to the preface of the sale catalogue (penned by Howard Carter), "The nucleus of this collection . . . was first formed in the year 1886. . . . From that date, Sir John gradually added to it until he amassed some 1,200 specimens." The findspot given on the accession card for MMA 60.38 is "said to be from Mallawi," but, as a later note observes, there is in fact "no evidence of alleged provenance."
54. The textile visible in several different areas of the mask is woven with undyed linen, using single yarns warp and weft, "S" twist. The structure is a simple 1/1, predominantly warp face plain weave. The warp count is 30–32/cm, and the weft 18/cm. The consistency of the thread count over a range of different areas of the mask indicates that a single textile source was used in its creation. I am indebted to Emilia Cortes, Department of Textile Conservation, MMA, for her comments on this textile and on the textile of MMA 30.8.68 (see note 67 below).
55. For the making of cartonnage coffins, which was clearly a similar process, see Adams 1966, pp. 55–56, and Krekeler 2007.
56. The resin appears to be composed of a heated mixture of Pinaceae and Pistacia resins with fatty acids from a nondrying oil or fat also present. Analysis was performed by Adriana Rizzo, Department of Scientific Research, MMA, using reactive pyrolysis-gas-chromatography mass spectrometry (Py-TMAH-GCMS).
57. Pigments on both MMA 30.8.68 and MMA 30.8.69 were identified by Ann Heywood, Department of Objects Conservation, MMA, using polarized light microscopy and X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis.
58. Removal of the darkened and discolored modern coatings, including shellac (analysis by Rizzo using Fourier-transform infrared microscopy [FTIR]), revealed an unevenly tarnished but far more striking surface.
59. Visual examination by Heywood.
60. The employment of this material is not, of course, a feature unique to the Eton coffin lid and Metropolitan mask 30.8.69. Other instances of wood eye inlays, of comparable date, have been observed—for example, on the coffin of Hormose in the Metropolitan (MMA 36.3.172) and on the coffin of Senhotep in the Louvre (E 7724). (For knowledge of the latter and a photograph I am indebted to Anders Bettum.)
61. Hayes 1959, pp. 222–23.
62. Ibid., p. 223.
63. As Hayes records (ibid., p. 223), "Unhappily, the mask before it came into Mr. Davis's possession had suffered a good deal of damage: its back broken away and lost, the crown of its head and one of its sides crushed and warped out of shape." According to the Museum accession cards, a number of loose ornaments loaned by Theodore Davis prior to his death (MMA loan nos. 1474.583–.586) were subsequently discovered to be pieces from mask 30.8.68 and reattached.
64. See the entry for Tuesday, February 4, 1890, in Emma B. Andrews's unpublished journal (Andrews 1889–1913)—note 72, below.
65. Hayes 1959, p. 223.
66. The Objects Conservation report of June 6–October 29, 1956, contains an interesting section on the construction of the piece: "Fibrous core, solidified in front and back with gesso and covered with paint. Construction in detail: succession of layers (from inside out) [-] 1/ Black paint[;] 2/ Gesso (analysis: chalk)[;] 3/ About 3 layers of fibrous material (linen) saturated with a gumlike substance which is water soluble[;] 4/ Gesso, applied and modeled into hair pattern[;] 5/ Paint layer[;] 6/ Surface coating (Estimated to be shellac type)[;] 7/ Face: Gold leaf over gesso. Heavily surface coated."
67. The textile was examined by Emilia Cortes, Department of Textile Conservation, MMA, at a point where the cartonnage surface is missing on the front of the mask, proper left side, top, below the painted and gilded fillet. The textile is woven with single yarns warp and weft, both "S" twist. The structure is a simple weave 1/1 warp face, plain weave. The warp count is 28/cm, the weft count 13–14/cm. The warp direction of the textile runs parallel to the edge of the diadem, and splicing—a feature that characterizes Egyptian dynastic textiles—can be identified in one of the warp yarns in the analyzed area.
68. The black pigment is carbon-based, but identification of the binder was complicated due to the infiltration of modern wax and shellac

coatings. Analysis identified proteinaceous glue and components of an oleo resin from the Burseraceae family. Analysis by Rizzo, Scientific Research, MMA, using FTIR, and Py-TMAH-GCMS.

69. As with MMA 30.8.69, the removal of darkened and discolored modern coatings, including shellac (analysis by Rizzo using FTIR), revealed an uneven red tarnished surface.
70. Cf. the tabs illustrated in Dodson 1998, pp. 93–99, pls. XIV, XV.
71. For Emma B. Andrews, see Bierbrier 2012, p. 21.
72. Andrews 1889–1913. A typescript copy is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Egyptian Art; another is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (Mss. 916.2.An2); see www.amphilsoc.org/mole/view?docId=ead/Mss.916.2.An2-ead.xml.
73. In the Egyptian Department copy this number has been corrected in pencil to "[19]."
74. Mohammed [Muhammad] Saleh, the Davis party's Egyptian "fixer."
75. See note 23 above.
76. See note 53 above.
77. Wilbour 1936, pp. 461–62, notes that Muhassib "used to go out of his shop and bring in better things from other rooms. So when the police sealed up his shop [during Grébaut's purge, about which see below], they got only the poorest things." Emma Andrews elaborates on the custom (journal entry for February 4, 1890): "These men never keep their best things on exhibition—nor do they produce them unless they are very sure of their customers. They keep them in safe hiding either in or out of the house."
78. Perhaps Mahmud Muhassib (Mahmoud Mohassib), for whom see Lilyquist 2003, p. 111.
79. The second of these is referred to in greater detail in the entry for Tuesday, February 4. See the section below, "The Robbery of the Tomb."
80. The Reverend Greville Chester (1830–1892), for whom see Bierbrier 2012, pp. 119–20.
81. Andrews 1889–1913, and the section below, "The Robbery of the Tomb."
82. This information was kindly brought to my attention by Whitney Pape, Ezra Stiles Special Collections Librarian at the Redwood Library.
83. Information courtesy of Lawrence Berman, Department of Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
84. The Redwood Library's Prints and Drawings Collection database (as Whitney Pape informs me) refers to the Museum of Fine Arts sections of Amenhotep's papyrus as follows: "The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has a large section, apparently of the same papyrus, which was acquired in 1922 *as a gift from Theodore M. Davis* [my emphasis] who also donated other works to the museum's Egyptian collection." The source of this information is unknown; it may reflect either an older verbal tradition at the MFA or merely an assumption based on the known origins of the Redwood Library sections.
85. See "Lodge, Henry Cabot (1850–1924)," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress,* http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=L000393. In 1871, Lodge married Anna Cabot Mills Davis, and their first-born (in 1872), Constance Davis Lodge, perpetuated the maternal family name. John Adams, author of the recent Theodore M. Davis biography (see note 2 above), nevertheless thinks a direct family association with Theodore improbable (personal communication, July 25, 2012). He writes: "Theo had lots of high-roller friends in Boston including Quincy Shaw, Alexander Agassiz and Frederick Ayer; he was a member of the Tavern Club, along with Charles Elliot Norton of Harvard and Martin Brimmer, of the MFA. Also, of course, D. G. Lyon, Lythgoe and Robinson. So it appears he might well have known the Lodge family, but I found no mention of them in his surviving correspondence."
86. The Reverend Chauncey Murch: see Bierbrier 2012, p. 392.
87. See note 29 above.
88. Munro 1988. Previous work had of course been done on individual portions of the text by a range of scholars, including the MMA's Eric Young, whose transcription of 30.8.70a, b is preserved in the Supplementary Files of the Department of Egyptian Art; Peterson 1967; and Doll 1981, p. 30 (for a scanned version of which I am indebted to Luigi Prada). See note 29 above.
89. By Irmtraut Munro, who distinguishes the two hands on the Bonn Totenbuch-Projekt photographs which were generously made available to me by Marcus Müller.
90. Based on Allen 1974, p. 36, Spell 23.
91. See below, note 95.
92. The Amsterdam fragment in fact presents a possible join with fragment 5, still attached to the lappet of mask MMA 30.8.69.
93. See Niwiński 1989, pp. 6–7. Additionally, Reeves 1985 and Reeves 1990, p. 163, n. 142 (though it should be noted that the large Tutankhamun guardian figures proved on X–radiographic examination to have been carved solid: Kondo 2005).
94. As Stephen Quirke (Petrie Museum, University College London) observes, with the papyrus arranged somewhat in the manner of a linen shroud—which had been the dominant vehicle for funerary literature in the very early Eighteenth Dynasty.
95. See Munro 2010, pp. 61–62. Also Niwiński 1989, p. 7, citing the Book of the Dead of Kenna attached to the surface of the man's mummy preserved in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (T 2): d'Athanasi 1836, p. 78. Niwiński notes that this papyrus—which, according to d'Athanasi covered the body "from the head to the feet in twelve folds"—had been "stuck to the outer surface of the mummy-bandages by means of bitumen." Niwiński had considered papyrus attachment to be a post-Amarna phenomenon—which it clearly is not. See additionally Liebieghaus 1993, pp. 254ff., no. 62; Taylor 1999; Martin and Ryholt 2006, pp. 273–74; and Küffer and Siegman 2007, p. 165, fig. 7.
96. No record of this treatment seems to have been made, or at least to be preserved, in the British Museum's Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan. Ismail 2011, p. 186, indicates that the British Museum curator was not averse to sectioning a manuscript himself even before it left Egypt.
97. As John H. Taylor points out to me, there is a Twenty-sixth Dynasty instance of a rolled papyrus being placed inside the inner coffin above (i.e., on top of) the mummy's head. See Verhoeven 1993, vol. 1, p. 11, and vol. 2, pl. 4. Whether there was sufficient space for the still-rolled and presumably quite bulky portion of Amenhotep's papyrus to have been placed in the gap between the top of the mask and the coffin, however, is debatable.
98. Cf. MMA 66.99.38 (Cooney 1953, p. 10, no. 45). Both Schneider 1977, vol. 1, pp. 165–66, and Taylor 2001, p. 227, date the innovation in coffins and shawabti to the post-Amarna period.
99. As Hans Schneider observes (1977, vol. 1, p. 165), "In the early part of the [Eighteenth] dynasty [tripartite ladies' wigs] are never extended further down than the level of the base of the *usekh*-collar. In late dyn. 18 the hair masses extend further down, and may even extend below the level of the breasts."
100. Cf. the female half of a painted sandstone statue pair, MMA 13.182.1b, currently dated to ca. 1504–1425 B.C.: Hayes 1959, p. 157, fig. 86.
101. MMA 16.10.224, carved in indurated limestone, currently dated by the Museum to 1580–1550 B.C., but formerly identified as a

representation of Ahmose–Nefertari of the early Eighteenth Dynasty: ibid., p. 55, fig. 26.

102. If the Gauthier scarab (note 52 above) is to be read as *nb-m3ʿt-rʿ*, then conceivably Mutresti died under Amenhotep III (ca. 1390–1352 B.C.).
103. Andrews 1889–1913, p. 93, entry for Tuesday, February 4, 1890.
104. See Reeves 1990, passim; Reeves and Wilkinson 1996, pp. 190–93.
105. In the late New Kingdom, regular punishments for tomb robbery included mutilation (the cutting-off of nose and ears), impalement on a sharpened wood stake, or banishment to Nubia, presumably to work as a slave in the gold mines. See Peet 1930, vol. 1, p. 23.
106. See note 45 above.
107. See Winlock 1924, p. 28, and Reeves 1990, passim.
108. We might compare this situation with the tomb of the three minor Asiatic wives of Thutmose III, so efficiently cleaned out by Theban locals prior to and after 1916 that little more than the odd bead and potsherd remained for excavators to recover in 1988. Lilyquist 2003, pp. 57–110.
109. See note 29 above.
110. Budge 1920.
111. For Eugène Grébaut, see Bierbrier 2012, p. 223.
112. Ismail 2011, p. 189.
113. Budge 1920, vol. 1, pp. 145–46. Cf. Wilbour 1936, pp. 455–56, 461–65, 488, 580, 584. Baedeker 1895, p. xvii, observes that "The exportation of antiquities is forbidden, except with a special certificate of permission; and luggage is accordingly examined again as the traveler quits the country." With Grébaut's departure and the return to the directorship of Gaston Maspero, however, the rules would be relaxed considerably: "On the other hand, thrifty administration sometimes innovates in the direction of dispersion: Egypt starts to sell, in the most official manner in the world, antiquities excavated from digs, in a saleroom installed at the museum which will exist until 1952. It offers 'duplicates,' second-rate examples of monuments of a type well known, small objects such as amulets and scarabs that the museum will not miss, and will provide buyers with memories in some way 'guaranteed authentic' by the Department of Antiquities at a time when the industry in touristic fakes is already booming. In addition, these objects have a provenance, which is specified when bought. Such sales may relate to important monuments as in 1903–1905, a time of acute economic crisis, when the Department of Antiquities of Egypt sells mastaba chapels to various Western museums (Berlin, Brussels, London, New York, Paris . . .)." (A l'inverse, l'administration économe innove parfois dans le sens de la dispersion: l'Egypte se met à vendre, le plus officiellement du monde, des antiquités issues de fouilles, dans une salle de vente installée au musée, qui existera jusqu'en 1952. On y propose des 'doubles,' représentants de second choix esthétique de monuments d'un type bien connu, des petits objets du type amulettes, scarabées, qui ne manqueront pas au musée, et fournissent aux acheteurs des souvenirs en quelque sorte 'garantis authentiques' par le Service des antiquités, à une époque où l'industrie du faux touristique est déjà en pleine expansion. De plus, ces objets ont une provenance, précisée lors de l'achat. Ces ventes peuvent porter sur des monuments importants comme en 1903–1905, moment de crise économique aiguë, où le Service des antiquités de l'Egypte vend des chapelles de mastabas à différents musées occidentaux [Berlin, Bruxelles, Londres, New York, Paris . . .]) David 2009.
114. See note 10 above.
115. Schneider et al. 2003, pp. 19–20; cf. p. 29, no. 4.
116. See note 28 above.
117. See note 18 above.
118. It is worth pointing out that our Overseer of Works Amenhotep has no connection with the Overseer of Works Amenhotep whose statue inscription is recorded by Georges Legrain (1908, p. 145, no. 253). Legrain identifies this statue (Cairo, JE 36498) as a piece discovered in the Mut Precinct by Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay in 1903, referencing their *Temple of Mut in Asher* (1899), though without page number. As the date of Benson and Gourlay's publication clearly indicates, this assignment is in error. The sculpture (a headless block statue) is not mentioned in the book, nor, if Legrain's date of excavation is correct, can it have been a later Benson and Gourlay find since their last season of digging was in 1897. As Percy E. Newberry rightly surmised (though he mistakenly credits the attribution to Legrain), the subject of this statue was a later and far more celebrated bearer of this name and title: the Amenhotep III–era Amenhotep son of Hapu. See Newberry 1928, pp. 141–43. See further Porter and Moss 1972, p. 268.

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APPENDIX
THE BURIAL OF AMENHOTEP, OVERSEER OF BUILDERS OF AMUN: CONSPECTUS OF EVIDENCE

Description	Present Location	References
Shaft tomb with remains of (Dynasty 19?) mud-brick chapel	Luxor, Egypt: Dra Abu'l-Naga, Tomb A 7	Gauthier 1908, p. 126 and pl. I; Kampp 1996, vol. 2, p. 616
Funerary cone/brick stamps: a. Davies 1957, no. 185 b. Davies 1957, no. 196 c. Davies 1957, no. 354 (same man?)	Unknown	Gauthier 1908, p. 126; Davies 1957, nos. 185, 196, 354(?)
Coffin lid (upper portion only), painted, gilded and inlaid wood	Windsor, U.K.: Myers Collection, Eton College, ECM 1876	Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, p. 24, no. 19
Coffin case, painted wood	Uppsala, Sweden: Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, VM 151	Lugn 1922, pl. XXII (30)
Cartonnage mask	New York: MMA 30.8.69	Hayes 1959, pp. 222–23
Cartonnage mask (of a woman)	New York: MMA 30.8.68	Hayes 1959, p. 223
Canopic jars (4), painted pottery	Chicago: Art Institute, [18]92.36–.39 (formerly on loan to the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, and there re-registered as OIM 17281–17283 and 18003)	Allen 1923, p. 20
Shawabti figure, painted wood	Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum, OIM 18022 (formerly Art Institute [18]92.234)	Allen 1923, pp. 64–65; Allen 1960, p. 66, pl. CV
Fragment of inscribed blue faience, "donnant les débris du nom d'un roi Aménophis . . ."	Unknown	Gauthier 1908, p. 143, no. 2
(?Steatite) scarab, base inscribed with *re* and *maat* signs (Nebmaatre?)	Unknown	Gauthier 1908, p. 144, no. 5
Blue faience ring bezel, inscribed with the name of Amun-Re	Unknown	Gauthier 1908, p. 144, no. 7
Blue faience ring bezel, inscribed	Unknown	Gauthier 1908, p. 144, no. 8
Book of the Dead manuscript, on papyrus	a. London: British Museum, EA 10489 b. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 7 scraps (1–7) attached to 30.8.69 c. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.8.70a, b d. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 22.401.1–.14 e. Amsterdam: Schriftmuseum, Collection Dortmond 22 (11 frags.) f. Newport, R.I.: Redwood Library (3 sheets) g. Stockholm: private collection (5 frags.) h. Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Museum E6108 (numerous frags.)	See generally (though excluding the Brisbane frags. [h] and some other pieces) Munro 1988, p. 291, no. 67. A full publication of the various fragments of this manuscript is in preparation by John H. Taylor.

Herakles Takes Aim: A Rare Attic Black-Figured Neck-Amphora Attributed to the Princeton Painter

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Recently, the Department of Greek and Roman Art acquired an Attic black-figured neck-amphora dating about 540–530 B.C. that has several very unusual features (Figures 1–4).[1] Its broad ovoid body tapers abruptly to a flat base, but there is no foot to support it, and the vase looks like it might tip over. Almost no ornamental patterns articulate the different parts of the vase to balance the figural decoration. The mythological subject is divided between obverse and reverse, and the scene is reduced to just the two principal characters. On Side A of the body, Herakles prepares to shoot an arrow at Geryon, the triple-bodied monster who appears on Side B (Figures 1, 2). Below each handle, a large siren (a bird with the head of a woman) flies to the right (Figures 3, 4). Each side of the neck depicts a solemn group of four figures. On Side A, two youths and a man stand behind a youthful player of the aulos (double flute) (Figures 1, 15). Side B is the same, except that all the figures are youths (Figures 2, 16).

From the late seventh century B.C. until the end of the sixth, pottery made in Athens (called Attic) was decorated in the black-figured technique. The figures appeared in silhouette against the light background of the clay and were enlivened by incised lines as well as by accessory red and white color applied discreetly on top of the black glaze.[2] Many different shapes and sizes of vases were decorated in Attic black figure. One of the most popular was the neck-amphora, a lidded vessel used for storing wine and other commodities.[3] A fine example of about 540–530 B.C. is by the Swing Painter and depicts Poseidon slaying the giant Polybotes on one side (Figure 5) and the Judgment of Paris on the other.[4] It has an echinus mouth, a slightly concave neck, and an ovoid body that tapers to a torus foot with a fillet between the two. The handles have three vertical components (sometimes called ribs), and they are unglazed on the underside. A chain of lotuses and palmettes decorates the neck, and a configuration of lotuses and palmettes separates the figures on the obverse from those on the reverse. Below the figures, there are three zones of ornament: lotus buds, a meander (or key) pattern, and directly above the foot, a zone of rays. The result is a harmonious balance between shape, ornament, and figures.

Compared with standard neck-amphorae like one by the Swing Painter (Figure 5), MMA 2010.147 not only presents a particularly austere appearance with regard to shape, ornament, and placement of figures (Figures 1–4), but also has many unexpected details, such as the mouth with its groove and ring instead of the customary echinus profile.[5] The flat, top side of the mouth is glazed, which is unnecessary for a lidded vase.[6] The tongue pattern on the shoulder is normal, but instead of the customary lotus-palmette configuration in the large area below each handle and encircling the handle root, our painter drew a row of red and black tongues that are framed at each end by a spiral (Figures 3, 4).[7] The handles of MMA 2010.147 are ridged, not ribbed, and are glazed on the underside instead of reserved.[8] Two closely spaced lines serve as ground for the figures; below there is a black line, a band of glaze, and a narrow reserved line at the very bottom. One of the greatest differences between MMA 2010.147 and the standard neck-amphora is the former's broad, bulbous body that curves sharply inward to a base so narrow in diameter it makes the vase look top-heavy (Figures 1, 4). The Panathenaic prize-amphora in Florence attributed to Lydos of about 550 B.C. may appear similar, but its body does not taper as strongly, the figures are placed much higher on it in a panel, and it has a small foot (Figure 6).[9] I have no explanation for the absence of a foot on MMA 2010.147. The cup in Berlin signed by Ergotimos, dating about 570–560 B.C., lacks both a stem and a foot, but it is a broad, low vessel and stands easily without tipping over (Figure 7).[10] John D. Beazley described MMA 2010.147 as a neck-amphora "of unique shape, recalling the pointed amphora."[11]

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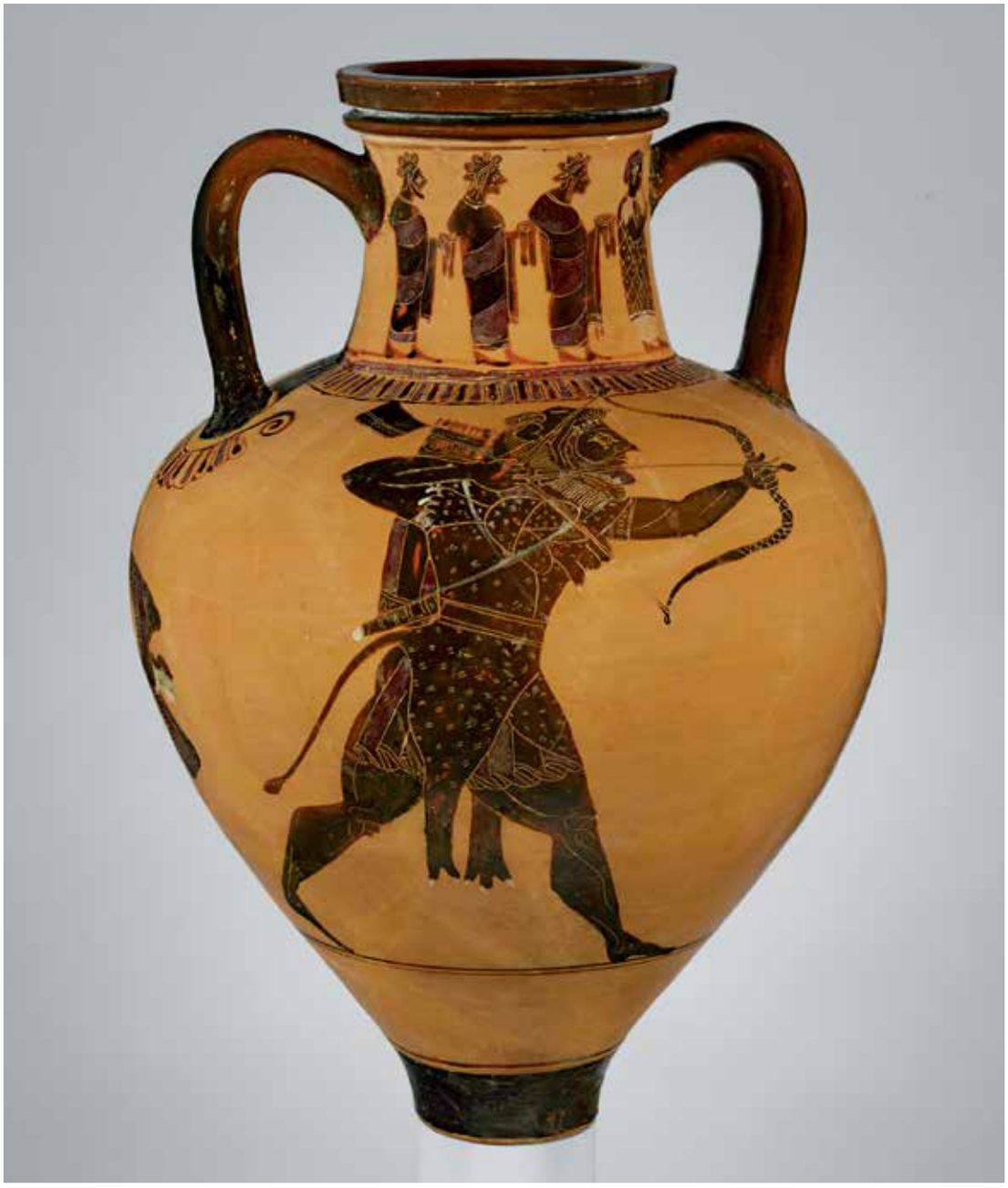
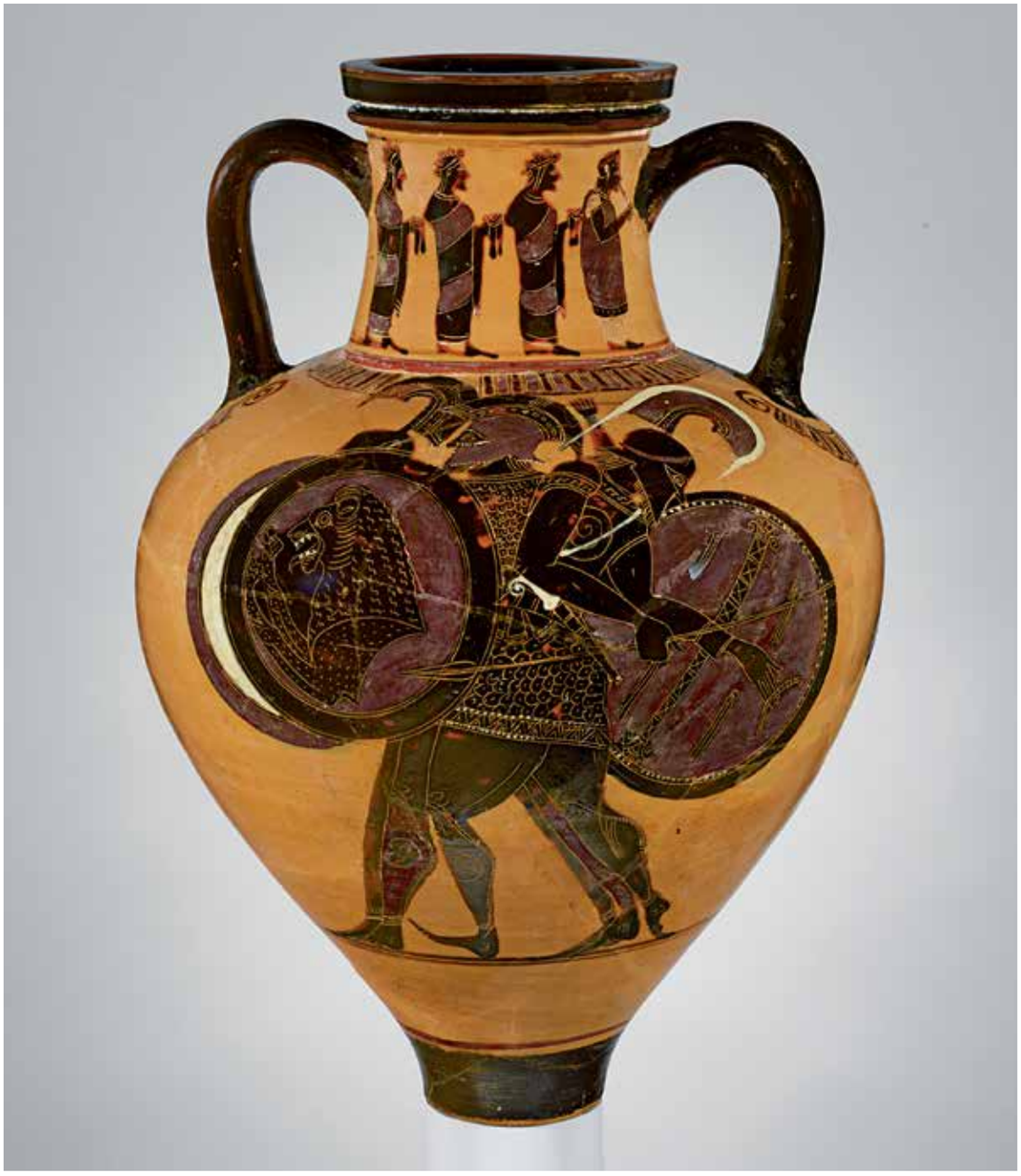


1. Neck-amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 540–530 B.C. Attributed to a the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 13 in. (33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 2010 (2010.147). Obverse (Side A) showing an aulos-player and procession on the neck and Herakles on the body. Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

The conspicuous lack of ornament on MMA 2010.147 dramatically increases the importance of the figures (Figures 1–4), completely unlike MMA 98.8.11 (Figure 5). This striking manner of decorating a vase, designated by Beazley "the free-field or 'red-bodied' type," occurs mainly on small vessels, especially olpai (jugs), occasionally on oinochoai (jugs), cups, and neck-amphorae, and it is most prevalent from late in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. until about 500 B.C. or a little later.[12] The footless cup by Ergotimos with merrythought handles is probably the earliest example (Figure 7). It has three figures on each side framed by a palmette configuration at the handle. MMA 2010.147 is contemporary with the red-bodied olpe in Basel attributed to the Princeton Painter but shares with it only the red body (Figure 8).[13] Below the handle root of the vase in Basel is a large palmette. Depicted on the body are three youths, a boy, and two dogs, of which two youths and one dog are visible in Figure 8. The effect is similar to compositions set in a panel, and it almost appears as if the artist forgot to surround the figures with glaze. On red-bodied vases, elegant lotuses or palmettes and vines usually flank the figure (or figures) and "in effect, the entire vase becomes the picture field, the upper and lower limits given by the black lip and foot."[14]



2. Reverse (Side B) of Figure 1 showing an aulos-player and procession on the neck and Geryon on the body

HERAKLES AND GERYON

Herakles was the most popular Greek hero, especially in the sixth century B.C. His Twelve Labors performed in servitude to his cousin Eurystheus and his numerous adventures offered an enormous body of exciting and varied material for Attic vase painters eager to depict the feats of their favorite hero. One of his most dangerous Labors is the tenth, stealing the cattle of a monster named Geryon, who had a very complex anatomy: he was triple-bodied, conjoined at the hips, with three heads, three torsos, six arms, and six legs, a challenge to any painter striving for visual clarity and a semblance of plausibility. Emily Vermeule described him as among "the most interesting of the chancy immortals of the western islands."[15] Geryon lived on the island of Erytheia far to the west and accessible only by crossing Okeanos, a large body of water believed to encircle the earth. He possessed a herd of splendid red cattle guarded by his herdsman, Eurytion, and by Orthos, the two-headed dog. Before Herakles could steal the cattle, he had to kill Eurytion and Orthos, but most dangerous of all was Geryon himself, a formidable opponent who fought the hero fiercely. After dispatching Geryon, Herakles drove the monster's cattle across Okeanos and back to the Greek

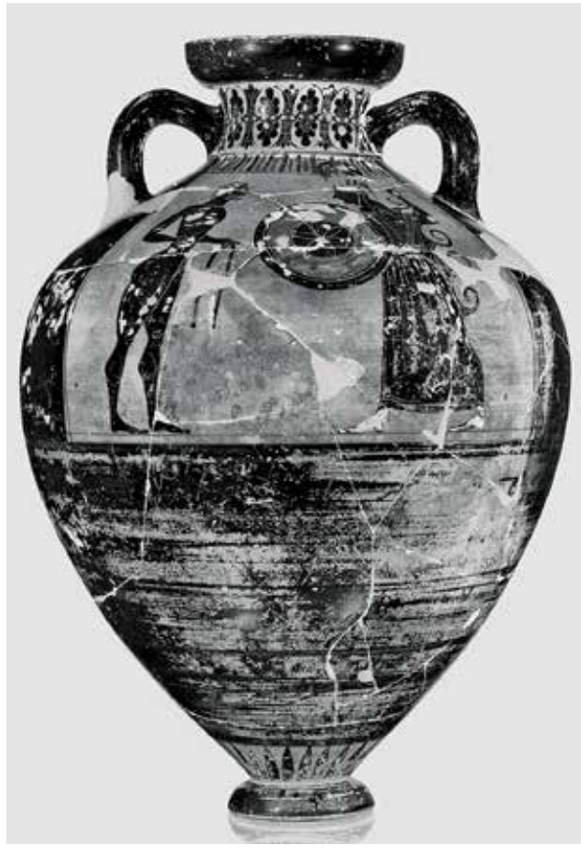
3. Figure 1, Side A/B, showing flying siren

4. Figure 1, Side B/A, showing flying siren

mainland, then to Tiryns in the Peloponnese, a lengthy journey fraught with danger.[16]

On Side A of MMA 2010.147, Herakles strides to the right, his bow drawn (Figures 1, 9), an arrow aimed at Geryon, who appears on Side B. The hero wears a short pleated chiton under his belted lionskin. Pairs of short incised strokes articulate the lion's pelt, closely spaced lines indicate the ruff, the mane is black, and added white emphasizes the teeth and sharp claws. The forepaws are tied in a huge knot, but it is unclear which is the right paw and which is the left. A scabbard is suspended from a white baldric over Herakles's left shoulder, and its end projects behind his back just above the tail of the lionskin. A quiver attached to a similar baldric over the hero's right shoulder hangs down his back. The flap is open, and the feathered ends of eight arrows project from the case. The midsection of Herakles's bow is thickened to make it stronger, and most of it is wound with braid to provide a firmer grip.[17] Incision defines the strings of the bow and the shaft of the arrow where they overlap with the hero.

On Side B (Figures 2, 10), Geryon moves to the left toward Herakles on Side A. He wears hoplite dress consisting of a Corinthian helmet, a corselet over a short chiton, and greaves. His weapons are spears and round shields.[18] The near Geryon has been wounded, but there is no gushing blood or protruding arrow to indicate an injury. He turns his upper body 180 degrees to the right, head downward, and stumbles, for his feet are not flat on the ground, and his right foot is sharply curved, with just the toes touching the earth. Geryon's chiton is decorated with a dotted scale pattern. The painter incised a large spiral on the chest of the corselet. Geryon's Corinthian helmet has a high red crest with a thick white line emphasizing the top and the tail.[19] Greaves complete his armor; the edge of each is decorated with a row of white dots to indicate the small holes drilled in actual greaves to hold the leather or cloth lining in place.



5. Neck-amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 540–530 B.C. Attributed to the Swing Painter. Terracotta, H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of F. W. Rhinelander, 1898 (98.8.11). Obverse showing Poseidon and Polybotes

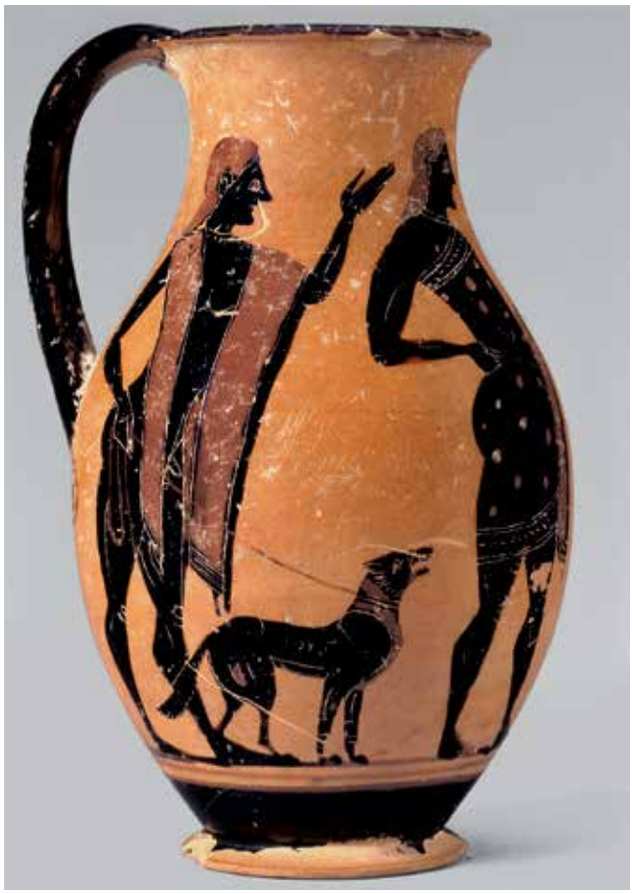
6. Panathenaic prize-amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 550 B.C. Attributed to Lydos. Terra-cotta, H. 22⅞ in. (58 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (97779). Obverse showing Athena and a victorious athlete. Photograph: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana-Firenze

A spiral incised on this figure's left greave and three curved lines on the right one reflect the musculature of the leg.[20] At the right side of the near figure, a sheathed sword is suspended from a white baldric over his left shoulder. He has released his grip on the shield and holds his spear loosely in his right hand. Accessory red covers the inside of the shield, which is separated from the black rim by a row of white dots. Saltire squares between double lines decorate the armband, which terminates at each end in a palmette framed by spirals, and there are four incised tassels on the interior of the shield.

The middle Geryon wears a corselet decorated with a dotted scale pattern. His head is protected by a red low-crested Corinthian helmet (Figures 10, 11). White dots imitating the holes to attach a lining accent the eye opening, cheekpiece, and neck guard, a feature particularly similar to a bronze helmet dedicated at Olympia, dating to the mid-seventh to early sixth century B.C. The Olympia helmet is edged with large inlaid silver nails surmounted by ivory discs (Figure 12).[21] Geryon aims his spear at Herakles and holds out a round shield, its device a fierce lion protome with large white teeth and a lolling tongue, incised against a red background (the painter forgot to add red to the area between the lion's mouth, neck, and paws). Simple curved lines indicate the ruff, esses define the mane, and very short strokes imitate the smooth hair of the shoulder and fore-legs.[22] This Geryon's greaves are red, and the left one is decorated with a spiral and a row of white dots.

The far Geryon is overlapped mostly by the middle Geryon. We see the crown and high crest of his helmet and a little of his shield, which has a red rim and a white surface. His greaves are black and also have white dots at the edge. The painter forgot to give him a spear.

7. Cup with merrythought handles. Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 570–560 B.C. Signed by Ergotimos as potter. Terracotta, Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung (V.I. 3151). Showing the Capture of Silenos. Photograph: Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin



8. Olpe (jug). Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 540–530 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. with handle 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm). Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Kä 411). Showing two youths and a dog. Photograph: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig

The earliest illustrations of the Geryon labor occur in the late seventh century B.C., but most appear in the second half of the sixth.[23] In Attic black figure, the subject first occurs on a hydria attributed to Lydos dating about 560–550 B.C. (Figure 13).[24] In this vivid scene, Herakles stands at the far left, ready to shoot an arrow at Geryon, who attacks from the right. The hero wears a belted lionskin over his short chiton. Five arrows project from his quiver, which hangs at his left side, its flap open. Eurytion lies on the ground near death, for his eye is closed, although he has no visible wound. He is dressed in a short chiton and a herdsman's cap.[25] Geryon, wearing customary hoplite dress, is armed with spears and round shields, the devices a tripod on one shield and a snarling lion protome on the other. The near and far Geryon attack Herakles as a united pair, spears held high, looking very powerful and threatening. An arrow has pierced the open left eye of the middle Geryon and exited through his helmet just above the start of the nose guard. This image recalls the description in a fragment of the *Geryoneïs* by Stesichoros, with which Lydos might have been familiar. Stesichoros states that Herakles shot the arrow "cunningly into his brow, and it cut through the flesh and bones by divine dispensation; and the arrow held straight on the crown of his head, and . . . Geryon drooped his neck to one side."[26] Geryon stumbles and falls backward still holding his shield, clearly doomed to a painful death. In this very graphic scene, Lydos combined the major elements of the myth in an unforgettable image.

Most of the representations of Herakles and Geryon in Attic black-figured vase painting are similar to this one. A good example in the Metropolitan Museum is attributed to

9. Detail of Figure 1. Obverse showing Herakles

10. Detail of Figure 2. Reverse showing Geryon

a painter of Group E (Figure 14).[27] Herakles moves to the right, holding his club in his right hand at waist level. At his left side is Orthos: one head points upward, mouth open; the dog is clearly in pain. The other head of Orthos is not shown. Between Orthos and Herakles, Eurytion has collapsed and struggles to right himself, his left arm braced on a rock, his right hand still holding his sword. Geryon, in hoplite dress and armor, strides to the left, ready to attack Herakles. The near Geryon stumbles slightly and turns back, suggesting he is wounded, but no injury is visible and his eye is wide open. He still grips his shield and spear firmly. The other two parts of Geryon aim their spears at Herakles, looking very fierce, concentrating completely on the hero's defeat.

The depiction of the hero and monster divided between obverse and reverse on MMA 2010.147 is completely different from any other representation of this myth (Figures 1, 2).[28] The short ground line created by the strongly incurving profile of the vase may have prompted our painter to opt for this unusual presentation. It would have been very difficult to fit this myth into a composition on one side, even if it were reduced to the main participants, Herakles and Geryon. Their weapons offer another reason for separating them. The bow and arrow are most effective when there is distance between shooter and target, and so is the spear, although it also may be used as a thrusting weapon. The division of the subject implies distance between Herakles

11. Detail of Figure 2. Reverse showing the head of the middle Geryon

12. Helmet of the Corinthian type, found at Olympia. Greek, ca. mid-7th to early 6th century B.C. Bronze, H. 8⅞ in. (22.6 cm). Archaeological Museum of Olympia (B 2610). Photograph: DAI Athens-Olympia 3128

13. Hydria (water jar). Greek, Attic, black-figure, ca. 560–550 B.C. Attributed to Lydos. Terracotta, H. 15⅛ in. (38.4 cm). Villa Giulia, Rome (50683, ex. M 430). Showing Herakles and Geryon. Photograph: DAI Rome 75.319

and Geryon.[29] The artist surely realized this, because he included no ornament below the handles that would interfere with the narrative. The odd shape of the body of MMA 2010.147 and the figure on each side are a perfect fit. On Side A (Figure 1), Herakles strides to the right and fills the space. On Side B (Figure 2), Geryon moves to the left, and his three outstretched shields elegantly fill the widest portion of the vase. MMA 2010.147 is the earliest example of this innovative system of decoration for a mythological subject known to this author.[30]

Three other scenes in Attic black figure show the confrontation between Herakles and Geryon divided between the obverse and the reverse of the vase, but none is as dramatic as that of MMA 2010.147, and each has additional figures. On a standard neck-amphora by the Swing Painter dating about 540–530 B.C., Herakles, encouraged by Athena, aims his arrow at Geryon on the other side.[31] The near Geryon turns away, but it is unclear if he is wounded.[32] Orthos lies on the ground, an arrow projecting from each head. On an unattributed neck-amphora dating about 530–520 B.C., Herakles has wounded Orthos, but it is not clear where, and he aims his arrow at Geryon on the other side; the near Geryon is injured, for he turns away and looks downward.[33] In these two representations, the lotus-palmette configuration at each handle and the patterns below the figures distract the viewer from the narrative and weaken its effect. On an unattributed late sixth-century B.C. eye-cup, Athena, with spear poised, strides to the right beside Herakles, who aims his arrow at Geryon on the other side; the near Geryon is wounded.[34] The large eyes framing the figures greatly diminish the intensity of the attack.

14. Amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540 B.C. Attributed to a painter of Group E. Terracotta, H. 14⅞ in. (37.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.11). Reverse showing Herakles and Geryon. Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

THE SIRENS

Sirens appear as single images or as multiples of two and sometimes three. Usually, they are small compared with the human figures, but on MMA 2010.147, a large siren flying to the right occupies much of the space below each handle (Figures 3, 4).[35] These two examples rank among the most impressive depictions of sirens in Attic black figure. Each wears a red fillet around her head and an incised necklace. Her flesh is white with an incised ear, eyebrow, and eye; a black dot indicates the pupil. Pairs of short lines decorate the wing bows; the middle section of each wing is red; flight feathers and tail feathers are incised. Legs and feet are held close to the body, indicating that neither siren will alight very soon.

Emily Vermeule called sirens "beguiling and dangerous."[36] In Greek vase painting, sirens appear in many contexts, but it is not always clear what role they play in narrative representations.[37] At times, the presence of a siren is something of a riddle, and the modern interpretation of its significance may produce completely opposite explanations, even in a single scene. A good example in Attic black figure, contemporary with MMA 2010.147, occurs on an amphora by a painter from Group E. A siren hovers above the reins of a chariot team belonging to a hero inscribed Anchippos. John Pollard wrote that "a Siren appears before him [Anchippos] as if to warn him of impending doom." Beazley remarked that "a human-headed bird is seen in the air, doubtless a good omen."[38]

The meaning of the sirens on MMA 2010.147 is quite problematic. Sirens are never associated with regions as far west as Erytheia. They are connected mainly with southern Italy, parts of Sicily, and places to the east, and thus are greatly removed geographically from Geryon. Each siren is visible only when the vase is viewed from the side with barely a glimpse of Herakles or Geryon, which makes it

15. Detail of Figure 1. Neck showing the aulos-player and figures behind him

16. Detail of Figure 2. Neck showing the aulos-player and figures behind him

difficult for the viewer to integrate them into the narrative. If they both flew toward Geryon, an ominous interpretation of their presence would be plausible, but only one flies toward him; the other flies toward Herakles, who will be the victor in this battle. Furthermore, sirens almost never appear in scenes with Herakles.[39] Sirens are complicated mythological creatures that defy neat, tidy classification. They occur in various contexts and often possess demonic powers connected with death, but they are also musical, and can be enchanting songstresses. Their presence is often enigmatic, and we may never know what our painter's intention was when he included them on MMA 2010.147. Their inclusion on our vase may have nothing to do with the myth.

THE AULOS-PLAYERS AND THEIR COMPANIONS

On Side A of the neck of our vase, a youthful aulos-player stands to the right, followed by two youths and a man (Figure 15). A red cap covers the head of the musician, except for three long locks in front of his ear and a short fringe of hair above his forehead. Over a long white chiton with incised vertical lines, he wears an *ependytes*, a loose-fitting sleeveless garment that reaches to about mid-calf and is associated with musicians, especially youthful aulos-players.[40] Dotted lozenges decorate the *ependytes*, and a white line defines the lower edge. Around the head of each companion is an ivy wreath with large leaves, drawn rather carelessly. Each figure wears a mantle with broad stripes alternating red and black and in his outstretched hand holds an object, perhaps a shallow vessel resting on a hanging fillet. On Side B (Figure 16), the aulos-player has a red fillet around his head, and over a long white chiton with vertical lines, he wears a red *ependytes* with a black lower border decorated with incised dots. The three youths behind him are dressed like those on Side A, and each carries a similar object.

The identification of the aulos-player and of the trio standing behind him is not assured (Figures 15, 16). The man and youths carrying objects wear ivy wreaths, which suggests a Dionysiac connection, even though the god is not present. The aulos-player is a serious performer, as indicated by his demeanor and clothing, the *ependytes* over a long chiton. He is not an entertainer, such as one might encounter at symposia or other bibulous occasions, because entertainers do not wear the *ependytes*, as noted by Margaret Miller, who remarked on "the combination of chiton and *ependytes* in festive contexts: weddings, festivals and festival competitions" that "Athenian musicians wear their *ependytai* over a long chiton" and "in all archaic instances known to me, the *ependytes*-wearing musician is an *auletes*."[41]

Each object held by the figures behind the aulos-player is defined by three incised concentric arcs and rests on two hanging forms without incision that surely represent a thick fillet. Joan Mertens described the object held by the man and youths as "something articulated as circular with two pendant appendages."[42] These objects must represent something tangible; the best comparison I have been able to find

17. Chalice. Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. mid-6th century B.C. Unattributed. Terracotta, H. 9½ in. (24.2 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (CA 2988). Showing an aulos-player and a procession of men and youths. Photograph: Musée du Louvre

occurs on an unattributed chalice in the Louvre that is close in time to MMA 2010.147 (Figure 17).[43] An aulos-player, dressed in a red *ependytes* over a long white chiton, faces a group of men and youths. Two of the men hold objects quite similar to those held by our youths and man, except that a single incised arc defines the shape above the fillet, and the fillets are white, but these are marginal differences. François Villard suggested that these are offerings and perhaps the object with the fillet is a phiale, a very low wide bowl used for pouring libations.[44] The drawing of both examples is not as precise as one might wish, but the likelihood that these figures carry objects intended to be used in a sacrificial ritual remains strong.[45]

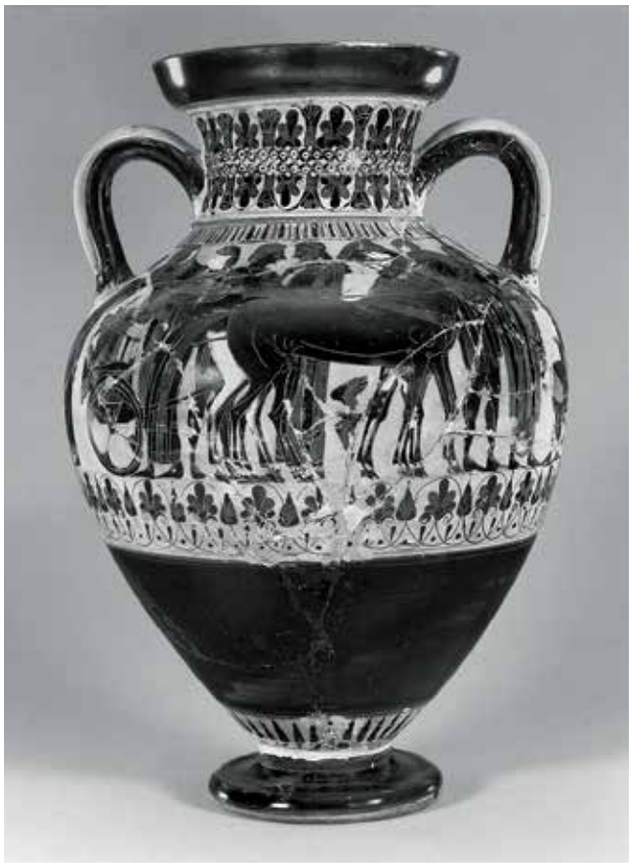
THE ATTRIBUTION OF MMA 2010.147

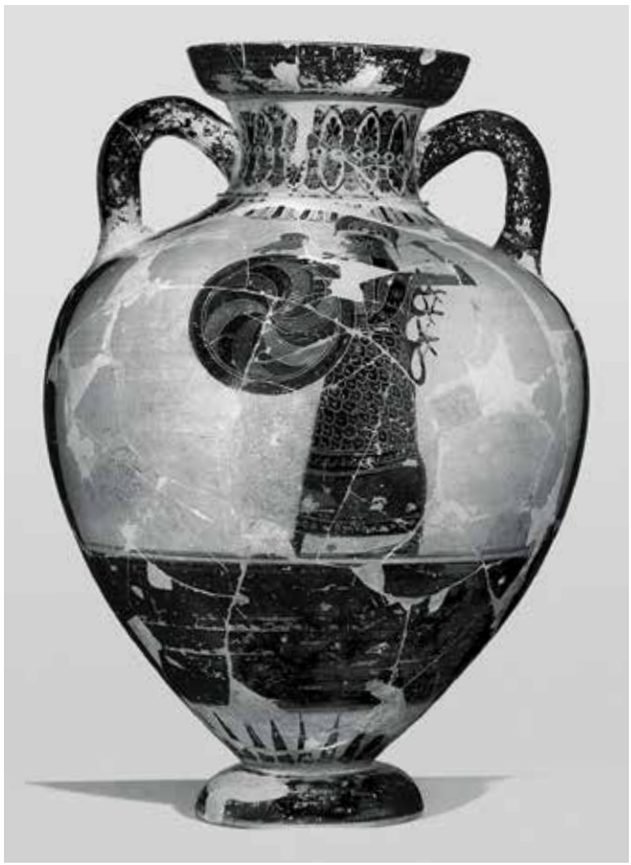
When a Greek vase painter signed a vase with his name and the verb *egrapsen* (painted), there is no doubt who decorated it, but an unsigned vase requires stylistic analysis if one is to discover the identity of the author. Only by examining specific details, which in essence are the artist's "handwriting," can one attribute a vase to a known painter or create a new artist by recognizing similar unattributed works. It is also important to understand that the style of drawing may also be in the "manner of" or "circle of" a specific painter and not by the artist himself.[46] Attributing vases can be tricky, and "establishing stylistic family trees for black-figure artists is a delicate process, as are qualitative judgments."[47]

In 1964, Herbert Cahn attributed MMA 2010.147 to "a master working under the influence of Exekias ('so-called Group E')" but without discussion.[48] So far, there has not been either a definitive study of this group of painters or an attempt to determine how many artists may have comprised it.[49] The painters of Group E preferred to decorate one-piece panel amphorae and neck-amphorae of a special type with a broad shoulder and a heavyset appearance. The general effect of their vases is rather dark with a restrained application of ornament and accessory color. These painters are competent, and some are very good, but for the most part, they are not especially imaginative or creative,[50] and they usually depict popular subjects in rather standard compositions, often repeating or varying them only slightly. A relevant example is their twelve preserved representations of Herakles and Geryon.[51] No painter or group of painters produced so many Geryon representations, which may have prompted Cahn to attribute MMA 2010.147 to Group E.

Nothing in the preserved oeuvre of Group E is similar to MMA 2010.147, which is exceptional for its shape, its red-bodied appearance, and particularly its subject divided between obverse and reverse. The painters of Group E are much too cautious to attempt such radical departures from the customary manner of vase decoration, and MMA 2010.147 is not by one of its painters. Among the artists active in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., the painter of MMA 2010.147 is closest to the Princeton Painter and the painters that comprise his group, a suggestion made to me by Heide Mommsen,[52] and I think a strong case can be made for attributing our vase to the Princeton Painter himself.

The eponymous vase of the Princeton Painter is a handsome neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape, which on Side A depicts a man and woman in a chariot, perhaps a wedded pair (Figure 18), and on Side B shows a fight among three warriors, flanked by horsemen.[53] The neck is embellished with a double chain of lotuses and palmettes, with a dot in each link of the chain. The compositions are not set in panels; instead, a figure facing inward frames each scene. Below them is an elegant frieze of upright lotus buds and palmettes that continues around the vase without





18. Panathenaic amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540–530 B.C. Name vase of the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 16⅝ in. (42.2 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Trumbull-Prime Collection, 1889 (169). Obverse showing a man and woman (wedding procession?) in a chariot with attendants. Photograph: Trustees of Princeton University, Clem Fiori

19. Panathenaic amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 17⅜ in. (44 cm). Universität Heidelberg (73/3). Obverse showing Athena. Photograph: Universität Heidelberg

interruption. A zone of rays appears above the foot. The effect is a precise and colorful balance of ornamental patterns, figural decoration, and black glaze. It is one of the Princeton Painter's best vases.

A neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape in Heidelberg attributed to the Princeton Painter by Heide Mommsen and dating about 540 B.C. demonstrates the more restrained side of this artist. Side A depicts Athena striding to left, holding out her shield with an owl perched on its rim, a spear in her raised right hand (Figure 19).[54] The very wide body of this amphora tapers rather sharply toward the echinus foot, and the large amount of unglazed space around the goddess bears some resemblance to a red-bodied vase. If one mentally eliminates the broad band of black glaze below the figure and the rays above the foot as well as the foot itself, one can almost perceive it as a precursor of MMA 2010.147 (Figures 1–4).

An attribution of MMA 2010.147 to the Princeton Painter depends on comparison with details on other vases by the painter, starting with Geryon because he provides the most criteria. MMA 1991.11.2, a fragmentary neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer, offers many good parallels.[55] Side A depicts Herakles, two warriors, Athena, and Hermes (Figure 20). Most important on this vase is the device on Athena's shield, a fierce-looking lion protome, seen against a red background. As on MMA 2010.147 (Figure 10), the Princeton Painter forgot to add red to part of the background, in this case, the area below the left forepaw. A similar device appears on the shield of a warrior on Marburg A1009 (Figure 21).[56] Another comparable detail is the large spiral incised on the corselet of the dying Geryon (Figure 10), which occurs on the corselet of the warrior standing opposite Athena on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 20), and also that of a warrior on the shoulder of Marburg A1009 (Figure 21). A single large spiral is common on corselets by the Princeton Painter, but not on those by his contemporaries, which usually have two small incised spirals that imitate the modeling on a real corselet and relate to the pectorals of the wearer.[57] On the greaves worn by the middle and near Geryon (Figure 2), the anatomical references to knee and calf, as well as white dots to indicate the holes for attaching the lining on a real greave, recur on the warrior beside Athena on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 20) and the one at the heads of the horses on Marburg A1009 (Figure 21).[58]

Quite a few warriors by the Princeton Painter wear red helmets, as do those by many other painters, so this is not a criterion for attribution, but the white line emphasizing the edge of the helmet crest of the near Geryon on MMA 2010.147 (Figures 2, 10) occurs frequently in the work of the Princeton Painter, for example, Athena's helmet and that of the warrior standing beside her on MMA 1991.11.2

20. Fragments of a neck-amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Dietrich von Bothmer Gift, 1991 (1991.11.2). Obverse showing Herakles, two warriors, Athena, and Hermes. Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

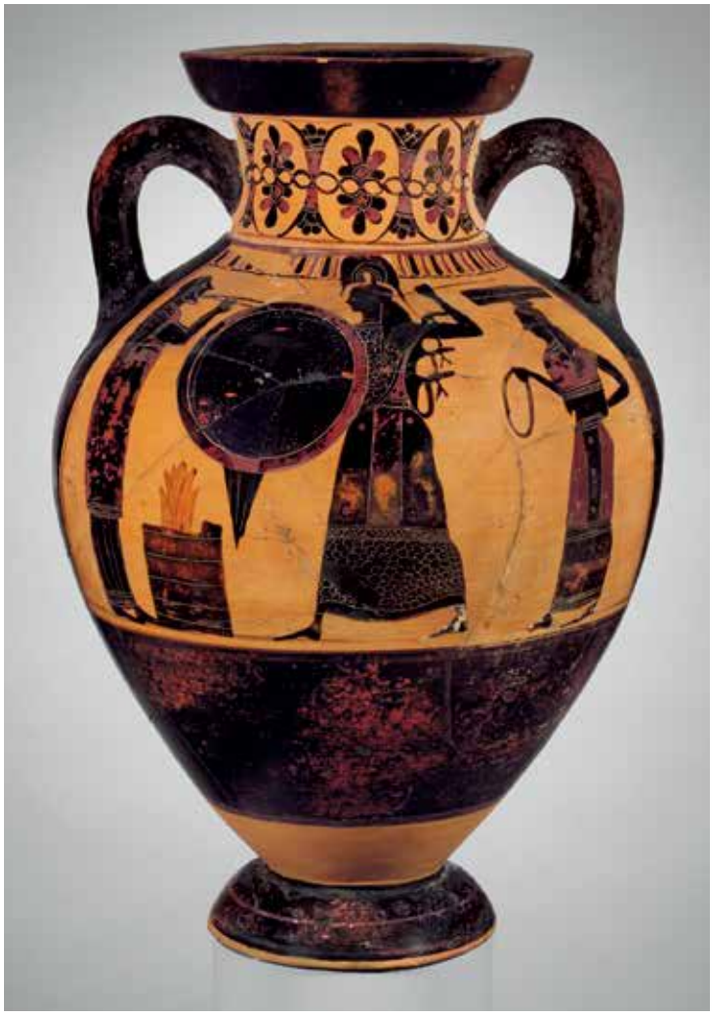
21. Hydria (water jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540–530 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, 8¾ in. (22.3 cm). Philipps-Universität Marburg, Archäologisches Seminar (A1009). Showing a fight on the shoulder and a warrior mounting a chariot (leaving home?) on the body. Photograph: Philipps-Universität Marburg

(Figure 20) and the warrior in front of chariot horses on Marburg A1009 (Figure 21), and also on helmets by the Swing Painter.[59] Most unusual on the middle Geryon's helmet on MMA 2010.147 is the inclusion of white dots to simulate the holes for a lining (Figure 11), which the painter included on the helmet worn by a warrior on Marburg A1009 (Figure 21).

The scale pattern with dots decorating the chiton of the middle and near Geryon (Figure 10) appears on Athena's *ependytes* on Heidelberg 73/3 (Figure 19), on Athena's aegis and on the Boeotian shield of the warrior beside her on MMA 1991.11.2 (Figure 20), and also on MMA 53.11.1 where it decorates Athena's aegis and the lower part of her peplos (Figure 22).[60] The saltire squares separated by double lines are unusual decoration for the armband of a shield (Figure 10), but there are two parallels in the work of the Princeton Painter. One occurs on the shield of the warrior charging to the right on the reverse of Princeton 169, the other on the armband of the passenger's shield in the chariot on Side B of MMA 1991.11.2.[61] Usually, the outer surfaces of shields are black; the white shield with the red rim held by the far Geryon on MMA 2010.147 (Figure 10) is most unusual, but in the work of the Princeton Painter, the warrior in front of the mount on the shoulder of Marburg A1009 has a similar shield (Figure 21), also a charging warrior on the shoulder of his famous neck-amphora in London.[62] One further oddity is that the far Geryon has no spear, a notable omission on other vases by the Princeton Painter, for example, MMA 56.171.9.[63]

The image of Herakles is also important for the attribution of MMA 2010.147 to the Princeton Painter, even if he provides fewer criteria. Peculiar is the knot of the forepaws of his lionskin (Figure 9). Compare, for example, his lionskin on an amphora once on the Rome art market, known today only in a drawing; the knot is small, but the crescent shape above two lobes is quite similar (Figure 23).[64] The hero's quiver with open flap, protruding arrows, and vertical panels resembles that on Munich 1378 by the Princeton Painter, which depicts him lifting a heavy tripod.[65]

There does not seem to be a good comparison for the flying sirens (Figures 3, 4). Sirens usually like to hover or to perch



22. Neck-amphora of Panathenaic shape (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 550–540 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 7⅜ in. (18.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1953 (53.11.1). Obverse showing Athena striding toward a flaming altar, an aulos-player, and a woman holding a garland. Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

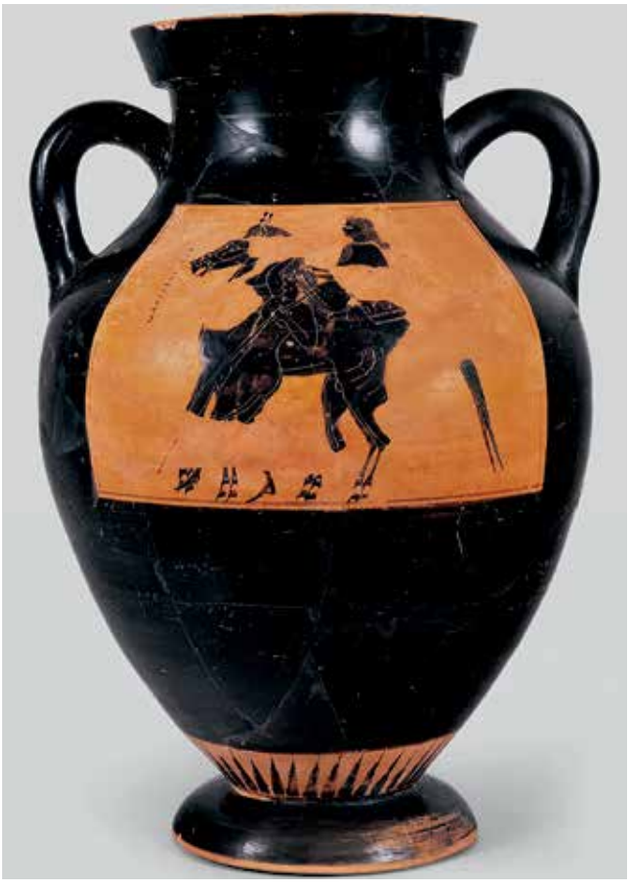
23. Amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540 B.C. Lost, attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta. Obverse showing Herakles and Kyknos, Athena, Zeus, and Ares. From Gerhard 1840–58, vol. 2, pl. 121

on something, as on the amphora in Geneva attributed to the Princeton Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer. There, a siren stands on the spiral to the right and left of each handle root.[66] There are two examples of flying sirens contemporary with MMA 2010.147, but they are very small compared with the human figures. One occurs on an amphora in Philadelphia by the Painter of Berlin 1686.[67] A siren flies in front of Athena, who stands on Zeus's lap just after her birth. The other appears on London, BM 1839.11-9.1, ex B 147, by a painter from Group E, where the siren flies alongside a chariot.[68]

Turning now to the *ependytes* worn by each aulos-player (Figures 15, 16), the best example in the work of the Princeton Painter is the aulos-player standing before Athena on MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 22).[69] He is larger and grander than the musicians on MMA 2010.147, but his *ependytes* is also red and worn over a long white chiton decorated with incised vertical lines.

THE PRINCETON PAINTER

When Beazley published *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* in 1956, fewer than thirty vases comprised the work of the Princeton Painter, and the list appeared in the chapter titled "Other Pot-Painters."[70] By now, there are at least forty vases, including fragments, attributed to this artist.[71] He decorated pots, especially one-piece amphorae, neck-amphorae, and non-prize Panathenaic amphorae, also hydriai and column-kraters as well as a few other shapes that provide ample space for his compositions. Bothmer noted that "no two of his vases look as if they had been made by the same potter."[72] This is an important observation because it attests to the Princeton Painter's versatility and resourcefulness to adapt his choice of ornaments and compositions to various shapes. The vases illustrated here (Figures 1–4, 8, 18–22), as well as others by him, depict the full range of decorative possibilities pertaining to shape, ornaments, and figures. The Princeton Painter's selection of ornamental patterns is often unusual and sometimes creatively combined to achieve an elegant floral effect, as on Princeton 169



24. Amphora (jar). Greek, Attic, black figure, ca. 540 B.C. Attributed to the Princeton Painter. Terracotta, H. 17⅜ in. (44 cm). Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum (365). Obverse showing a mounted rider leading another horse on his proper right. Photograph: Akademisches Museum Bonn–Jutta Schubert

(Figure 18); sometimes ornament is economically applied, as on MMA 2010.147 (Figures 1–4). Frequently, he added accessory red and white rather liberally to achieve a very colorful appearance (Figures 18–21). MMA 53.11.1 (Figure 22) is a little more restrained. The Princeton Painter depicted a wide variety of subjects, and there is considerable latitude in his manner of presenting the compositions and the figures. They may be placed in panels bordered at the top by ornament, framed by ornament on all four sides, or they may simply appear without frames or any restrictive patterns. The scenes are always clear and legible, even if they have many participants. Other vases, especially MMA 2010.147 (Figures 1–4) and Heidelberg 73/3 (Figure 19), have very limited figural decoration. The Bonn panel amphora, which depicts a rider leading an unmounted horse accompanied by a youth on foot on his left, has no ornament at all, except the rays above the foot (Figure 24).[73] The effect is a dark vase, just the opposite of the two light red-bodied vases (Figures 1–4, 8).[74]

The Princeton Painter was a contemporary of the most acclaimed Attic black-figured painters of his time, in particular Lydos, Exekias, the Amasis Painter, and the Affecter. The Princeton Painter may not be as highly regarded by modern scholars as these artists are, but he deserves much more favorable recognition than he has received. He possessed admirable skill with stylus, brush, and color, combined with the imagination to depict various mythological subjects that are often unusual or inventive and to represent scenes from daily life such as the sale of olive oil or a musical contest that reflect his awareness of the world around him, unusual at this time in Greek vase painting.[75] While it is important to remember that "our appraisal of an ancient artist is based on the fortuitous survival of some of his works that need not in every instance be representative of the best he ever did,"[76] it is even more important to keep in mind that an evaluation may change with new attributions, which offer unexpected information that adds to our knowledge and understanding of a painter. MMA 2010.147, with its odd shape, red-bodied presentation, and innovative application of figures, is one of these newcomers, and it makes an important contribution, not only to the known work of the Princeton Painter but also to Attic black-figured vase-painting in the middle decades of the sixth century B.C.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Carlos A. Picón, Curator in Charge, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for inviting me to publish this most unusual vase. It was a particular challenge that gave me great pleasure and was a very rewarding experience. Special thanks go to Joan R. Mertens, curator in the Metropolitan's Department of Greek and Roman Art, who kindly read the manuscript, made many helpful suggestions for its improvement, and discussed many details of the vase with me on numerous occasions. John F. Morariu Jr., Supervising Departmental Technician in the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, cheerfully made the vase available for examination and helped with the study photographs. Heide Mommsen generously shared her new attributions to the Princeton Painter, especially the amphora in Heidelberg. Veruschka Aízaga-Thomason printed pictures for me and assisted in various ways. As always, the staff of the Metropolitan's Thomas J. Watson Library was also helpful.

NOTES

1. MMA 2010.147, ex collection Rosemary and George Lois. It was on loan to the Museum from November 1, 1973, to October 3, 1974 (L. 1973.99), and from November 13, 1992, to April 11, 1995 (L. 1992.61). Dimensions: Height 13 in. (33 cm); max. diameter 8¾ in. (22.2 cm); diameter of mouth 4 in. (10.3 cm); width of top surface ⅜ in. (1 cm); diameter of base 2⅜ in. (6 cm). Neck glazed on inside to a depth of 1 in. (2.5 cm); height of the band above the base 1¼ in. (3.3 cm). Bibliography: Emmerich Gallery 1964, no. 13, ill.; Beazley 1971, p. 57, no. 58 ter; Mommsen 1975, pp. 19–20, pl. 133, lower left; Schefold 1978, pp. 116–17, figs. 144, 145; Brize 1980, p. 46 and p. 136, no. 33; Carpenter 1989, p. 37; Hofstetter 1990, p. 92, no. A 71; *LIMC,* vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles" (Philip Brize), p. 74, no. 2466; Clark 1992, p. 202n13; *LIMC,* vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Seirenes" (Eva Hofstetter), p. 1099, no. 76; Muth 2008, p. 72, figs. 36 A and B, p. 74; Mertens 2010, pp. 74–79, ills.; *MMAB,* Fall 2010, p. 7; *Wall Street Journal*, January 22–23, 2011, p. C 12.
2. Basic references for Attic black figure are: Beazley 1986; Boardman 1974; Boardman 1975; Moore and Philippides 1986; Boardman 2001; Mertens 2010, p. 173, for recent general bibliography.
3. Noble 1965, p. 12.
4. MMA 98.8.11 (Beazley 1956, p. 308, no. 65; *LIMC,* vol. 4 [1988], s.v. "Gigantes" [Francis Vian with the collaboration of Mary B. Moore], pp. 226–27, no. 269a; Carpenter 1989, p. 82). For the Swing Painter, see Beazley 1956, pp. 304–10; Beazley 1971, pp. 132–35; Carpenter 1989, pp. 79–84; and especially the monograph by Böhr 1982.
5. The closest parallels occur on three contemporary hydriai. The mouth of the first divides into two slightly flaring elements separated by a ring, but the parts are not as clearly defined as they are on MMA 2010.147. The other two have rilled mouths, and in one case, the rills alternate red and black: Florence 3808 by the Painter of Louvre F 6 (Beazley 1956, p. 124, no. 6; Carpenter 1989, p. 34), Cracow 1166 by the same artist (Beazley 1956, p. 123, no. 5), and Louvre E 869 by a painter from the Achippe Group (Beazley 1956, p. 106, no. 2; Beazley 1971, p. 43, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 29).
6. Some painters active in the middle decades of the sixth century B.C. occasionally glazed this part of the mouth. Several examples are in the Metropolitan Museum. I cite only the neck-amphorae, all dating between 570 and 540 B.C. (for the one-piece amphorae see Bothmer 1963, text to pls. 3, 4, 6–9, 11, 13, and 15). MMA 59.11.25, by the Prometheus Painter (Beazley 1971, p. 40; Carpenter 1989, p. 28). MMA 56.11.4 attributed to the Prometheus Painter by Bothmer (Moore and Bothmer 1976, p. 4). MMA 56.171.15 attributed to the Goltyr Painter by Bothmer (Beazley 1971, p. 41; Moore and Bothmer 1976, p. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 29). MMA 66.80 and L.1971.104 attributed to the Timiades Painter by Bothmer (Moore and Bothmer 1976, p. 6). MMA 56.171.17 by the Affecter (Beazley 1956, p. 239, no. 8; Beazley 1971, p. 110, no. 8; Carpenter 1989, p. 60). MMA 56.171.16 by the Painter of London B 76 (Beazley 1956, p. 87, no. 14; Beazley 1971, p. 32, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 24). MMA 06.1021.29, unattributed (Moore and Bothmer 1976, p. 11). For a neck-amphora with a glazed mouth *and* its lid, see Munich 1440 by the Affecter (Beazley 1956, p. 240, no. 19; Carpenter 1989, p. 61; good photograph: Mommsen 1975, pl. 11).
7. This is exactly the same arrangement used by the Affecter, a mannerist painter active from about 550 to 520 B.C. Good examples occur on his two neck-amphorae in the Metropolitan Museum. One is MMA 56.171.17 (see note 6 above). The other is MMA 07.286.75 (Beazley 1956, p. 244, no. 51; Beazley 1971, p. 110, no. 51; Carpenter 1989, p. 62). For the Affecter, see Beazley 1956, pp. 238–48; Beazley 1971, pp. 110–12; Carpenter 1989, pp. 60–64; and especially, the monograph by Mommsen 1975.
8. At the base of each is a small depression where the potter pushed his thumb into the wet clay to reinforce the join of the handle root to the shoulder; in the depression, the glaze is matte, not shiny, and there is no print (Figures 3, 4). Fingerprints and thumbprints probably occur more frequently than generally is realized, mainly because they are usually visible only when viewing the actual vase. See the brief discussion of them on Gnathian and Roman pottery by Sjöquist and Åstrom 1985, p. 94 to pl. 43, who note that fingerprints occur on Middle Minoan vases; also Dusenbery 1998, p. 551. On the Attic red-figured pelike attributed by Dusenbery to the Eucharides Painter (pp. 550–56, no. S57-1: Samothrace inv. 62. SN.433-2), fingerprints occur on one leg of a fluting satyr (p. 555, ill.). See most recently, the two smudged fingerprints on an unattributed white-ground lekythos, Munich 8937 (*CVA*, München 15 [Deutschland 87], pl. 15 [4595],2–4, and p. 36).
9. Florence 97779 (Beazley 1956, p. 110, no. 33; Carpenter 1989, p. 30; Bentz 1998, p. 124, no. 6.008, pls. 6, 7).
10. Berlin inv. 3151: Beazley 1956, p. 79; Beazley 1971, p. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 22; Schlesier and Schwarzmeier 2008, p. 45, fig. 3; Hirayama 2010, pl. 43 a–b; Moore 2010, p. 32, fig. 18 (detail). A later comparison is the red-figured stamnoid in Munich by the Berlin Painter (ca. 480–470 B.C.), but the bottom of this vase flares slightly, and there is a zone of rays above a base ring that acts as a visual anchor (Munich inv. 8738: Beazley 1963, p. 209, no. 161, p. 1633; Beazley 1971, p. 343, no. 161; Carpenter 1989, p. 195. For a good photograph, see *CVA,* München 5 [Deutschland 20], pl. 259 [974],1).
11. Beazley 1971, p. 57, no. 58 ter. See the discussion of the pointed amphora by Oakley 1997, pp. 85–86, particularly as it applies to the Achilles Painter; more generally and briefer, Bothmer 1990, pp. 170–71. All the pointed amphorae referenced by these authors date from the late sixth century B.C. until about 430 B.C.; thus, they are all considerably later than MMA 2010.147. One perhaps may compare our amphora with the transport amphora, which also requires a support. That shape, like the pointed amphora, has a foot, often called a toe because it is so small compared with the size of the vase, and it is not supportive. Examples of these useful vessels are found all over the ancient Mediterranean world, and many were excavated in the Athenian Agora. For a very good discussion, see Koehler 1986, pp. 49–67. She illustrates quite a few examples and discusses how they were stoppered and packed for shipping so that their contents would not spill. In vase painting, transport amphorae often appear in sympotic contexts, usually carried on the shoulder of a symposiast but sometimes positioned on the ground supported by a low stand. For a good example of a transport amphora being carried on the shoulder of a komast, see Agora P 25965 by Myson (Beazley 1963, p. 242, no. 79; Carpenter 1989, p. 202; Moore 1997, p. 230, no. 611, pl. 66; Moore 2011, p. 52, fig. 6). That image shows the full profile of the vase as well as the stopper to prevent spillage. None of the transport amphorae that I have seen lacks a foot, a defining feature of MMA 2010.147.
12. Beazley 1931, p. 272. Beazley was referring to a fragmentary oinochoe or olpe in Florence by the Amasis Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 153, no. 37; Clark 1992, p. 201, calls this an olpe). All that remains on these fragments is part of the handle ornament. For the red-bodied system of decoration, particularly as it applies to olpai and oinochoai, see Clark 1992, pp. 186–223, who suggests that the red-bodied olpe was invented by the potter Amasis (p. 198); on other shapes, Clark 2002, pp. 73–81.

13. Basel, Kä 411 (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 25; Beazley 1971, p. 130, no. 25; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; Clark 1992, p. 186, no. 358, and p. 198). The date of 550 B.C. given by Jean-Paul Descoeudres (1981, p. 83) seems too early; a date of about 540 B.C. seems preferable. One should add the odd unattributed red-bodied neck-amphora in Göttingen, K 230, dating about 530–520 B.C. (*CVA*, Göttingen 3 [Deutschland 83], pl. 27 [4326]). On one side, Apollo plays his kithara; on the other is a crouching hoplite, perhaps Achilles; below each handle, a tripod stands on the ground (for the subjects, see Eschbach 2007, p. 44). There is no ornament other than a band of double palmettes on the neck, a tongue pattern on the shoulder at the junction with the neck, and rays above the foot. A black band appears below the figures. The handles are unglazed but for a line on each rib.
14. Clark 1992, p. 199, referring to red-bodied vases in general.
15. Vermeule 1979, p. 141. See the specific remarks and descriptions by Clement 1955, p. 6, for some of Geryon's troublesome details that challenged artists, especially vase painters. More briefly, Brize 1980, p. 45: "Auch die komplizierte Anatomie der Geryoneus-Gestalt gab Anlaß zu zahlreichen Mißverständnissen." Muth 2008, p. 663n5 remarked: "Wie schwierig und ästhetisch riskant es letztlich für alle Künstler ist, das Unterliegen eines dreileibigen Kriegers (inklusive 6 Beinen und 6 Armen!) darzustellen, zeigen anschaulich die außerattischen Beispiele, die entsprechend einer generell dramatischeren Darstellungskonvention die Szene des Kampfes gegen Geryoneus wiedergeben" and cites Chalcidian and sculptural examples.
16. Geryon was the son of Chrysaor, who sprang from the severed neck of Medusa after Perseus decapitated her; his mother was Kallirrhoë, a daughter of Okeanos. There are many ancient literary sources for Geryon, but most important is the *Geryoneïs,* the extensive poem composed by Stesichoros, a lyric poet active in the first half of the sixth century B.C. or possibly a little later and who perhaps spent much of his life at Himera on the north coast of Sicily. For discussion of the papyrus fragments of the *Geryoneis* and the biographical evidence for Stesichoros from the ancient testimonia, as well as modern commentary, see West 1971; Page 1973; Brize 1980, pp. 11–14, 32–40; and Campbell 1991, pp. 2–5, 29–59, 64–89; more briefly, Burkert 1979, pp. 83–85, 179–80; *OCD* 2003, pp. 1442–43, s.v. "Stesichorus" (P. J. Parsons); Hesiod, *Theogony* 287–94 and 979–83 (Most 2006, pp. 27, 81). For representations and discussion of this Labor, see Robertson 1969; Vermeule 1979, pp. 141–43; Brize 1980, pp. 30–65; *LIMC,* vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Geryoneus" (Philip Brize), pp. 186–90; LIMC, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles and Geryon (Labour X)" (Philip Brize), pp. 73–84; Gantz 1993, pp. 402–9; Muth 2008, pp. 65–92. For Okeanos, see Gantz 1993, pp. 27–28; *LIMC,* vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Okeanos" (Herbert A. Cahn), pp. 31–33. For the island of Erytheia, see Campbell 1991, the commentary on p. 65; also Gantz 1993, pp. 404–5. For Eurytion, a son of Ares and Erytheia, one of the Hesperides, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Eurytion II" (Eos Zervoudaki), pp. 112–17. For Orthos, a son of Typhon and Echidna and the elder brother of Kerberos, the hound who guarded Hades, see *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Orthros I" (Susan Woodford), pp. 105–7. Orthos is the customary spelling of this dog's name; later authors prefer Orthros—see Frazer 1921, p. 211n4; *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Orthros I" (Susan Woodford), p. 105; West 1966, pp. 248–49.
17. See *Encyclopædia Britannica,* vol. 2 (1910), s.v. "archery" (William Justice Ford), p. 365: "To form the handle the wood of the bow is left thick in the centre, and braid, leather or india rubber is wound round it to give a better grip."
18. For hoplites and their armor, see Snodgrass 1967, pp. 48–88.
19. For Corinthian helmets, see Kunze et al. 1961, pp. 56–128, which focuses on helmets found at Olympia but also lists examples in European and American museums (pp. 77–85). Also, Pflug 1989, pp. 13–18. For a more general discussion beginning with Bronze Age antecedents, see Snodgrass 1964, pp. 3–35.
20. For a bronze greave with holes for the attachment of the lining, these two may stand for very many: MMA 06.1076 probably from the fifth century B.C. and thought to come from Elis (Richter 1915, p. 426, no. 1590; Kunze 1991, p. 77n160 and p. 117; Moore 2007, p. 47n13); Olympia B 2775, which also shows how the modeling of the bronze conforms to the shape of the calf as well as the holes for the attachment of the lining (Kunze 1991, p. 89, no. 2, pl. 11,1–2). For greaves, see the monograph by Kunze 1991, which also includes greaves in European and American collections (pp. 87, 97–99, 112–16, 120–24, and 129–30); see p. 2n5 for bibliography.
21. Olympia B 2610 (Kunze et al. 1961, p. 84, no. 39, pls. 51,1, 52, 53; for a good color photograph, see Kyrieleis 2007, p. 113, fig. 30). See also the left cheekpiece of a similar helmet, Olympia Inv. von 1884 Nr. 177, which has silver nails but is without the ivory discs (Kunze et al. 1961, pp. 60–61, no. 8, pl. 17,3). For two others, see Olympia Inv. B 2764 (ibid., p. 78, no. 6, pl. 24,1–2, with ivory) and Athens, NM 15.153, from Olympia (ibid., pp. 78–79, no. 8, pls. 24,3, 25, without ivory). For smaller holes that are not filled in, see MMA 1992.180.2, dating in the late sixth century B.C. For Corinthian helmets, see note 19 above.
22. For the round hoplite shield, the type carried by Geryon, see Snodgrass 1964, pp. 61–67, with mention of the devices, pp. 62–63, 65; Snodgrass 1967, pp. 53–55. For bronze shields and their devices found at Olympia, see Philipp 2004, passim, and especially the lengthy discussion in chapter 2: "Ausgeschnittene Bleche als Schildzeichen."
23. See especially Brize 1980, pp. 134–39, nos. 14–54 and *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Orthros I" (Susan Woodford) (see note 16 above).
24. Villa Giulia 50683, ex M. 430 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 30; *LIMC,* vol. 5 [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Philip Brize], p. 74, no. 2463; Muth 2008, p. 68, fig. 32). For this being the earliest example in Attic vase painting, see Beazley 1986, p. 44: "a hydria in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which has the earliest Attic picture of the conflict between Herakles and the three-bodied Geryon (pl. 40, 1)." Brize 1980, p. 44: "Die früheste attisch-schwarzfigurige Darstellung ist jedoch ein Fernkampf, die Hydria des Lydos in der Villa Giulia . . . , die noch vor Mitte des 6. Jhs. entstand." Muth 2008, p. 69: "vielleicht die früheste Fassung der Geryoneus-Erzählung überhaupt in der attischen Vasenmalerei."
25. Beazley 1986, p. 44, suggested that the cap is made of goatskin. Muth 2008, p. 80, wrote that this kind of cap indicates that Eurytion is a member of a lower social class ("oftmals urtümlicher Fellmütze, als Angehöriger einer unteren Gesellschaftsschicht").
26. Campbell 1991, p. 77: Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2617, Fragment S 15.
27. MMA 56.171.11: Beazley 1956, p. 133, no. 2; Beazley 1971, p. 54, no. 2; *LIMC,* vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles" (Philip Brize), p. 76, no. 2484; Muth 2008, p. 71, fig. 35. For Group E, see note 49 below.
28. This is not to be confused with a subject divided between Side A and Side B when there are multiple figures. Beazley 1956, p. x, and Beazley 1963, p. xlvi, wrote: "A semicolon between the subjects on a vase imples that they are connected in one way or another; otherwise I put a full stop." Beazley used a semicolon for both mythological and nonmythological subjects, whether they depict a single figure, a composition with many players interacting with

one another, or two different episodes in the life of a hero. A good example of the last is MMA 56.171.11 (see note 27 above and Figure 14): Beazley 1956, p. 133, no. 2: A, Herakles and Geryon; B, Herakles and the Lion.

29. As mentioned by Brize 1980, p. 46, but not discussed.
30. This figural arrangement became more common on Attic red-figured vases beginning with Euphronios and a painter working in his manner, and it continues down to the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. Examples by Euphronios or close to him: Louvre G 30: Symposion: A, youth playing kottabos; B, youth singing and playing the lyre (Beazley 1963, p. 15, no. 9; Beazley 1971, p. 322, no. 9; Carpenter 1989, p. 152; Goemann et al. 1991, pp. 154–56, no. 20); Louvre G 107: A, Herakles; B, Amazon shooting (Beazley 1963, p. 18, no. 1, and p. 1619; Carpenter 1989, p. 153; Goemann et al. 1991, pp. 151–53, no. 19); St. Petersburg B 2351, ex B 610, close to Euphronios: A, Herakles shooting; B, the Hydra (Beazley 1963, p. 18, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 153; Goemann et al. 1991, pp. 145–47, no. 17); Louvre G 106: A, Amazon; B, Amazon (Beazley 1963, p. 18, no. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 322, no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 153; Goemann et al. 1991, pp. 148–49, no. 18).
31. Cab. Méd. 223 (Beazley 1956, p. 308, no. 77; Brize 1980, p. 136, no. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 83; *LIMC,* vol. 5 [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Philip Brize], p. 74, no. 2467; *LIMC,* vol. 7 [1994], s.v. "Orthros" [Susan Woodford], p. 105, no. 12; Muth 2008, p. 665n15; brief discussion and good photographs: Böhr 1982, p. 38, pl. 103 A–B).
32. Böhr 1982, p. 38, suggested that the far Geryon is also wounded because he looks downward. Unexpectedly, Geryon's six feet are flat on the ground, as noticed by Böhr. For another similar example, see Tarquinia 639 attributed to the Swing Painter by Beazley (Beazley 1971, p. 134, 76 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 83), which Böhr gave to a painter near the Princeton Painter (Böhr 1982, p. 111, no. P 7, pls. 174–175a). I prefer to leave this vase with the Swing Painter; see also Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, p. 68, who did "not see why it [Tarquinia 639] cannot remain in the realm of the Swing Painter." See also Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ex Fleischman, attributed by Bothmer to the Painter of Berlin 1686 (*Passion for Antiquities,* pp. 81–83, no. 34. For this painter, see note 56 below).
33. Bologna, Mus. Civ. G.M. 3 (*CVA*, Bologna 2 [Italia 7], pl. 12 [311], 3–4; Brize 1980, p. 136, no. 31; *LIMC*, vol. 7 [1994], s.v. "Orthros" [Susan Woodford], p. 105, no. 9; Muth 2008, p. 655n15).
34. Villa Giulia inv. 1225 (*CVA,* Villa Giulia 3 [Italia 3], pl. 29 [113]; Brize 1980, p. 138, no. 45; *LIMC,* vol. 5 [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Philip Brize], p. 74, no. 2469; Muth 2008, p. 666n21).
35. For sirens, see Gropengiesser 1977, passim, but especially pp. 590–95; Hofstetter 1990, pp. 90–101, nos. A 58–A 154 and pp. 112–16, for the black-figured examples after 570 B.C. (for Odysseus and the Sirens, see note 37 below); *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Seirenes" (Eva Hofstetter), pp. 1093–1104, especially p. 1094, for bibliography and pp. 1103–4, for a general discussion of sirens and their different narrative contexts; Buschor 1944 passim, especially pp. 11–47, for the antecedents in Egypt, the Near East, and Greece during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Sirens should not be confused with Harpies, who are winged women. See the brief remarks about Harpies by Vermeule 1979, pp. 169–71; in more detail *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Harpyiai" (Lilly Kahil with the collaboration of Anne Jacquemin), pp. 445–50.
36. Vermeule 1979, p. 201.
37. See Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, pp. 63–64. More briefly, Hofstetter: "Fliegender oder soeben landende Sirenen, vor allem bei mythischen Kampfszenen und Darstellungen des Aufbruchs in den Kampf bedeuten wohl kommendes Unheil oder sind, bei Kämpfen des Herakles . . . und vielleicht auch des Theseus . . . , Begleiterinnen oder auch 'Beschreibungen' der Athena" (Hofstetter 1990, pp. 113–14). Earlier, Schefold remarked about our two sirens: "Zur Unheimlichkeit des Bildes tragen die fliegenden Sirenen, die Vögel mit Mädchengesichtern, unter den Henkeln bei; auch wenn Herakles den Todesdämon besiegt, bleibt doch die Todessphäre dieser 'Musen des Jenseits' erhalten. Sie erscheinen in der griechischen Kunst oft an der Grenze des menschlichen Lebens und verkörpern eine andere Welt" (Schefold 1978, pp. 116–17). In myth, the sirens' main association is with Odysseus, whom they try to seduce with tempting songs, an adventure the hero encounters on his way home to Ithaca, narrated by Homer in *The Odyssey* 12.37–.54 (Murray and Dimock 1995, pp. 451, 453); for a description of the whole adventure, see 12.155–.200 (pp. 459–63). For representations of Odysseus and the Sirens, see Gropengiesser 1977, pp. 599–602; *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. "Odysseus" (Odette Touchfeu-Meynier), pp. 962–64, nos. 150–89.
38. Louvre F 53 was signed by Exekias as potter (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 49; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 49; Pollard 1977, p. 188; Beazley 1986, p. 59; Carpenter 1989, pp. 36–37). I am not sure why Beazley did not call this figure a siren. Buschor (1944, p. 28) did not opt for a single interpretation: "Dieses könnte freilich auch wieder eine Sirene sein, ein freundlicher Bote des Himmels oder ein Jenseitsvogel, der den Ausgang der verhängnisvollen Fahrt ankündigt." For Group E, see note 49 below.
39. Hofstetter (1990, p. 114) lists three, but two are suspect. One is MMA 2010.147 (A 71), for these sirens may not be part of the narrative (see below). The second siren appears on a fragment of an unattributed votive plaque, Akropolis 2545 (A 146), which illustrates Herakles and Kyknos, the names partially preserved, but the fragment depicting the flying siren (c) has been dissociated from those with the heroes (a, b); see most recently Karoglou 2010, p. 70, no. 14, fig. 70, with bibliography. That siren flies very fast, because her long locks of hair stream out behind her. She looks about contemporary with our sirens. The third example may be valid. The subject is Herakles and the Boar; the siren perches on a vine, but turns her head away from the hero. It occurs on a late sixth-century B.C. neck-amphora in the Vatican by the Acheloos Painter (A 75), a member of the Leagros Group (Beazley 1956, p. 383, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 101; Beazley 1986, pl. 88,2).
40. For the *ependytes*, see Moore 2007, p. 30 and p. 51n50, with bibliography, especially Miller 1997, pp. 170–83; for the *ependytes* as an oriental import, pp. 170–75. Marx 2003, p. 18, especially note 29. Herodotos I.195 described it as Babylonian dress (Miller 1997, p. 172); "over this [a linen tunic] the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool " (Godley 1966, p. 247). See also note 41 below.
41. Miller 1997, p. 175. For the *ependytes*, see note 40 above. For casual dress of an aulos-player at a symposium, one by Douris may stand for very many: Munich 2646 (Beazley 1963, p. 437, no. 128; Beazley 1971, p. 375, no. 128; Carpenter 1989, p. 239; Vierneisel and Kaeser 1990, p. 240, fig. 39.3). For the subject, see Hamdorf, "Musik und Symposion," in Vierneisel and Kaeser 1990, pp. 238–46. One may also mention the line of dancers accompanying an aulos-player on MMA 1988.113, an unattributed hydria dating about 560–550 B.C. This musician wears an *ependytes* (but no chiton under it), and the dancers move in formation (see Moore 2006, p. 35, fig. 2). This is very different from the merry komast dancers one encounters on many cups, kraters, and vessels of other shape, who do not dance in formation; each differs from the other in posture and gesture. See most recently the monograph by

Smith 2010. For a nonmusician wearing an *ependytes*, but *without* a chiton, see the man selling olive oil on Side A of Brussels R 279 by the Princeton Painter dating about 540–530 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 20; Carpenter 1989, p. 78). He seems to be an exception to Miller's remark that aulos-players "are the only mortals to wear the *ependytes* on archaic Attic pottery" (Miller 1997, p. 175).

42. Mertens 2010, p. 78. She suggested that "while one might guess that it is meat for a sacrifice, what they carry has not been identified securely" (ibid.). I think identification of the objects as meat can be eliminated. First of all, they are depicted with precision; chunks or slabs of meat are not. They have irregular shapes and sometimes a few interior lines incised or drawn with a brush, perhaps to indicate folds or soft bulk. Secondly, the man and youths are well dressed; on Greek vases, figures who carry meat are either nude or seminude. See the examples catalogued and discussed by Gebauer 2002, pp. 341–50. All these depictions are later than MMA 2010.147. Mertens noted that "this exploit of Herakles has been associated with Greek colonization and trade in the western Mediterranean," then added: "Is it possible that the procession on the neck reflects some venture? Or might the vase be connected with the public recitation of a literary work concerning Herakles's pursuit of Geryon?" This might be a possibility if the painter had heard a recitation of the *Geryoneïs* by Stesichoros (see note 16 above), but there is no way to know if he did.
43. Louvre CA 2988: *CVA*, Louvre 12 [France 19], pl. 194 [867], 1, and p. 140.
44. Villard 1958, p. 140: "Seuls les hommes sont porteurs d'une offrande: c'est, tantôt une phiale accompagnée d'une étoffe blanche, tantôt une corne à boire bordée de blanc."
45. Heide Mommsen independently reached the same interpretation, communicated to me in an email of June 9, 2011, in which she forwarded the text of her forthcoming *CVA* entry for Berlin F 1690, an amphora by the Amasis Painter. Re: MMA 2010.147: "drei mit Efeu bekräntze Jünglinge (einmal ein Mann), alle mit Phiale und Tänie einem Flötenspieler folgen." For the phiale as an object used in cult practice, see *ThesCRA*, vol. 5 (2004), *Personnel of Cult and Cult Instruments*, s.v. Phiale (Ingrid Krauskopf), pp. 196–201. I thank Mommsen for reminding me of this reference.
46. See, especially, Beazley 1956, p. x for his "distinction between a vase by a painter and a vase in his manner; and that 'manner', 'imitation', 'following', 'school', 'circle', 'group', 'influence', 'kinship' are not, in my vocabulary, synonyms." He concluded: "I was brought up to think of 'style' as a sacred thing, the man himself."
47. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, p. 62.
48. Cahn in Emmerich Gallery 1964, no. 13. Beazley 1971, p. 57, no. 58 ter "[Cahn]"; if Beazley did not attribute a vase, he always named the person who did by putting the name in brackets at the end of the entry. I do not know if Beazley saw our vase or accepted Cahn's attribution from photographs.
49. For Group E, see Beazley 1956, pp. 133–38; Beazley 1971, pp. 54–57; Carpenter 1989, pp. 35–37. "'E' alludes to the connection with Exekias"; and the work of the Group E painters formed "the soil from which the art of Exekias springs, the tradition which, on his way from fine craftsman to true artist, he absorbs and transcends" (Beazley 1931–32, pp. 3–4).
50. There are some exceptions, however, one of them being the amphora mentioned above in connection with the sirens, Louvre F 53 (see note 38 above). Another is the grand one-piece amphora, London, BM 1839.11-9.1, ex B 147, which depicts the Birth of Athena on one side and a warrior with a chariot leaving home on the other (Beazley 1956, p. 135, no. 44; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 44; Carpenter 1989, p. 36). This amphora is special for having the figures separated obverse from reverse by ornament below the handles, instead of set in panels, and for having a frieze of animals below that continues around the vase without interruption. Two other unexpected details on this amphora are the chain of double lotuses and palmettes on the side of the mouth, instead of glaze, and the stacked rays above the foot, instead of a single row. A painter of Group E invented the convention for depicting a chariot wheeling around, which continued until the end of the sixth century B.C. or a little later (see Moore 1971, pp. 416–20).
51. Beazley's list of attributions to Group E and the scenes on their vases support these observations (see note 49 above). For the twelve illustrations of Geryon, see Beazley 1956, p. 133, nos. 1–10 and p. 136, nos. 49, 56.
52. In emails of March 2010. Mommsen was the first to question the attribution of MMA 2010.147 to a painter of Group E, and she also wondered if the "enlarged work [of the Princeton Painter, i.e., new attributions that are not in Beazley] is really by one painter" (an email of March 28, 2010), and she noted similarities of the sirens on MMA 2010.147 with the work of the Painter of Berlin 1686. For the Princeton Painter and his group, see Beazley 1956, pp. 297–303, 692; Beazley 1971, pp. 129–31; Moore 1975, pp. 246–50; Carpenter 1989, pp. 78–79; Moore 2007.
53. Princeton 169 (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 6; Moore 2007, p. 22, fig. 1). The body is Panathenaic in shape, but the handles are tripartite with a thick reserved central rib flanked on each side by a narrow glazed one, and the vase has a torus foot with a base-fillet. The handles of a true Panathenaic amphora are round in section, and the foot has no base-fillet; see Figure 6 by Lydos.
54. Heidelberg 73/3 (for Mommsen's attribution, see Moore 2007, p. 47n6). See Bentz and Eschbach 2001, p. 187, no. 212, with bibliography. Side B is completely different, and the drawing is not quite as careful. A chariot team gallops to right, accompanied by a flying eagle, taking up most of the panel. This is a non-prize Panathenaic amphora. For this variant, see the list by Bentz in Bentz and Eschbach 2001, "Appendix 1: Schwarzfigurige Pseudo-Preisamphoren (ca. 550–475 v. Chr.)," pp. 177–95.
55. See Moore 2007, pp. 21–28, and pp. 23–24, figs. 3–6.
56. Marburg A1009 (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 23). In their ferocity, these lion protomes recall the one by Lydos on Villa Giulia 50683, ex M. 430 (Figure 13). See also the lion protome on the shield held by Ares on Philadelphia MS 3441 by the Painter of Berlin 1686, a slightly older contemporary of the Princeton Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 296, no. 3; Beazley 1971, p. 128, no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 77: there, the reference to *MMJ* 22 should be 1983, not 1984). That protome is very stiffly drawn and not nearly as dangerous-looking as those by the Princeton Painter, and the background is completely red. For the Painter of Berlin 1686, see Beazley 1956, pp. 296–97; Beazley, 1971, pp. 128–29; Carpenter 1989, pp. 77–78. See also the lion protome incised against a red background on a shield held by a charging warrior on Berlin F 1797, a band cup by the BMN Painter dating about 540 B.C. (Beazley, 1956, p. 227, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 57; Heesen 2011, p. 290, no. 250, pl. 73b).
57. For an example of two scenes by the Princeton Painter in which one warrior wears a corselet decorated with a single spiral and another warrior's corselet has a double spiral, see MMA 56.171.9 (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 15; Beazley 1971, p. 129, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; Moore 2007, p. 40, fig. 30) and Rhodes

1346 (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 7; *CVA,* Rhodes 1 [Greece 10], pl. 13 [608],2). More often, the Princeton Painter chose to incise just one rather large spiral; see, for example: London, BM 1843.11-3.100, ex B 212 (Beazley 1956, p. 297, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 129, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 78); St. Petersburg, inv. 162 (St. 85) (Beazley 1971, p. 130, no. 1 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; Moore 2007, p. 25, fig. 7); Cambridge GR 1.1889, ex 59 (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 10; Carpenter 1989, p. 78); Basel, BS 427 (Beazley 1971, p. 130, no. 14 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 78).

58. See also the dots on some of the greaves of warriors on Rhodes 1346 (see note 57 above). Red greaves are quite common in Attic black figure, and the anatomical references may be included or omitted, but only occasionally do they have white dots. See for example MMA 56.171.11, by a painter from Group E (Figure 14), or two examples by the Swing Painter, Cab. Méd. 223 (see note 31 above), the figure of Geryon, or the greaves worn by both Ajax and Achilles on Naples 81305, ex 2460 (Beazley 1956, p. 307, no. 56; Carpenter 1989, p. 82).
59. These are just two more examples by the Princeton Painter: London, BM 1843.11-3.100, ex B 212 (see note 57 above), a warrior on the shoulder (for a detail, see *CVA,* London 4 [Great Britain 5], pl. 51 [196],1 d); or Rhodes 1346 (see note 57 above). For examples by the Swing Painter, see Cab. Méd, 223 (see note 31 above) and MMA 17.230.8, which may stand for all of them (Beazley 1956, p. 307, no. 55; Beazley 1971, p. 133, no. 55; Carpenter 1989, p. 82).
60. MMA 53.11.1 (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; Moore 2007, p. 29, fig. 14). For a few other examples of the scale pattern with dots, see St. Petersburg inv. 162 (St. 85), the overfold of Athena's peplos (see note 57 above), Madrid 10925, part of Athena's *ependytes* (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 11; Carpenter 1989, p. 78), and Bonn, inv. 45, the inside of a warrior's shield (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 16).
61. Princeton 169 (see note 53 above); MMA 1991.11.2 (Moore 2007, p. 23, fig. 4). This decoration also appears on the armband of Athena's shield on an amphora in a private collection in Japan attributed by Böhr to the Swing Painter (Böhr 1982, p. 85, no. 49, and p. 68n348, for the attribution, pl. 51).
62. London, BM 1843.11-3.100, ex B 212 (see note 57 above). More often a white shield has a black rim: see Cambridge GR 1.1889, ex 59 by the Princeton Painter (see note 57 above). On the name-piece of the Painter of Munich 1379, a member of the Princeton Group whose other two works are also in Munich, the artist used three criteria familiar in the work of the Princeton Painter. In this scene of Herakles and Kyknos, Ares holds out a white shield with a red rim, the helmet crest of Kyknos is edged with a white line, and his greaves and those of Ares have white dots for attaching a lining but no anatomical references (Beazley 1956, p. 303, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 131, no. 1; for a photograph, see *CVA,* München 1 [Deutschland 3], pl. 13 [107],2). The drawing by this artist is weaker than that of the Princeton Painter. One perhaps should cite three examples of a white shield with a red rim by painters of Group E. The first is held by a warrior on Tarquinia 617 (Beazley 1971, p. 56, 36 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 36); the second is carried by the middle Geryon on London B 194, which has a flying eagle as the device (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 56; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 56; Carpenter 1989, p. 37), and the third is a running warrior on Munich 1471 (Beazley 1956, p. 137, no. 60; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 60; Carpenter 1989, p. 37). See also the warriors on Louvre F 26 by the Amasis Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 150, no. 5; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 42), on Braunschweig AT 239 and AT 520 by the Swing Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 307, nos. 51, 52; Carpenter 1989, p. 82). Contemporary with these is the far Geryon on London B 157, an unattributed amphora (*CVA,* London 3 [Great Britain 4], pl. 26 [146],3 d), and a warrior on each side of a Siana cup that may be by a painter working in the Circle of Lydos, Athens, NM 444 (Evangelos Vivliodetis in Kaltsas 2006, p. 119, no. 43).
63. MMA 56.171.9 (Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 15; Beazley 1971, p. 129, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; Moore 2007, p. 40, fig. 30): the two warriors at the right. See also: London, BM 1843.11-3.11, ex B 212 (see note 57 above): the warrior standing before the chariot and the one behind it on Side A (*CVA,* London 4 [Great Britain 5], pl. 50 [75],1 b), also some of the attacking warriors on each shoulder (*CVA,* pl. 51 [76],1, a, c–f); Tarquinia inv. 624 (Beazley 1971, p. 130, no. 15 bis): the warrior in the chariot; Orvieto, no no. (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 4): the warrior on the left of each scene (I know this vase only from Bothmer's photographs); and Bochum S 1205 (Moore 2007, p. 42, fig. 34: Side A): the warrior at the right. The discussion of the attribution is on pp. 41–42.
64. Once Rome art market, Basseggio (Beazley 1956, p. 298, no. 14). In the scene of Herakles and Kyknos on Side A, there is also a single large spiral incised on the corselets of Kyknos and Ares. A tidier example of the knotted forelegs of a lionskin is worn by a woman who may be Artemis or Omphale and appears on a fragmentary neck-amphora in Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.45, attributed by Jǐrí Frel to Group E, by Bothmer to the Painter of London B 174, and by Mommsen to the Princeton Painter, whose attribution I believe is correct (*LIMC,* vol. 7 [1994], s.v. "Omphale" [John Boardman], p. 52, no. 82; good photograph: Brommer 1985, p. 212, fig. 34).
65. Beazley 1956, p. 299, no. 17; Carpenter 1989, p. 78; for a photograph, see *CVA,* München 1 [Deutschland 3], pl. 11 [105], 4. The knot formed by the forelegs of the lionskin is also similar, but not as neatly drawn as on MMA 2010.147.
66. Chamay in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, pp. 58–61; for a good detail of one siren, see pl. 7,4; for all four, see pl. 8,1–2.
67. See note 56 above.
68. See note 50 above.
69. See also the man selling olive oil on Brussels R 279, mentioned in connection with the discussion of the *ependytes* (see note 41 above).
70. That chapter compiled the work of many different artists active during the second half of the sixth century B.C., including the Painter of Berlin 1686, the Painter of Munich 1379, and the Swing Painter, the most prolific of the group. Beazley characterized the chapter "in the nature of an interlude" and suggested that "those who are reading the book through may be inclined to skip" it (Beazley 1956, pp. 296–346; the quotation is on p. 296). Since then, everything has changed. The Painter of Berlin 1686 was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Jody Maxmin, and the Swing Painter received a monograph by Elke Böhr published in the widely-admired *Kerameus* series. Maxmin's dissertation, "The Painter of Berlin 1686," sponsored by Sir John Boardman and defended in 1979, was written at Wolfson College, Oxford; for the Swing Painter, see Böhr 1982.
71. I have discussed some of them here, and in 2007, I published an article that concentrated on his five vases in the Metropolitan Museum, including two that were not known to Beazley: MMA 1991.11.2 and MMA 1989.281.89, a non-prize Panathenaic amphora attributed by Bothmer to the Princeton Painter (Moore

2007, pp. 34–37, figs. 23–24); the discussion of the latter included another non-prize Panathenaic amphora also attributed by Bothmer to the Princeton Painter, Basel art market, Cahn (Böhr 1982, p. 92, no. 91, and pl. 89: Böhr accepts Cahn's attribution to the Swing Painter). In the same article, I added an amphora in Bochum, S1205 (see note 63 above and p. 47n6 for other recent attributions by Mommsen). Bothmer also attributed an amphora in Liverpool to the Princeton Painter (Liverpool 56.19.18: Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer, 1987, p. 65; Shapiro 1993, pp. 100–101, fig. 26). Two column-kraters were attributed by the author. The first was once on the London art market (Moore 1971, p. 95, no. A 640, with comparanda); the second is Samothrace 65.1055, 65.1060, 71.1014, 71.1072, 71.1073, 71.1152 (Moore 1975, pp. 238–50, pls. 54–56, a–c).

72. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, p. 66.
73. Bonn 365 (Beazley 1956, p. 299, 21).
74. On a one-piece amphora in the Metropolitan Museum, dating about 540 B.C., a painter from Group E depicted a single figure in each panel, but the figures are not mythological, and they are not connected thematically: MMA 56.171.13 (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 50: A, warrior. B, victorious athlete carrying a tripod; the subjects are not separated by a semicolon [see note 28 above]; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 50; Carpenter 1989, p. 37). See also Altenburg 189 by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (Paralipomena 129, 17^4: A, uncertain subject: sale of something?; B, sale of wine). The only ornament on these vases is a zone of rays above the foot, and the general effect is similar to the amphora in Bonn.
75. For the sale of olive oil, see note 41 above. For a musical contest, see the reverse of MMA 1989.281.89 (Moore 2007, p. 36, fig. 24). There are two good scenes of daily life by the Amasis Painter contemporary with MMA 2010.147: MMA 31.11.10, showing women working wool (Beazley 1956, p. 154, no. 57; Beazley 1971, p. 64, no. 57; Carpenter 1989, p. 45) and MMA 56.11.1, depicting a wedding procession in the Attic countryside (Beazley 1971, p. 66; Carpenter 1989, p. 45).
76. Bothmer in Chamay and Bothmer 1987, p. 62.

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From Tarporley to Dolon: The Reattribution of the Early South Italian "New York Goose Vase"

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The red figure calyx-krater in The Metropolitan Museum of Art heretofore attributed to the Tarporley Painter and said to have been found in Ruvo has always been considered essential for studies of the spread of comic theater in Magna Graecia (Figures 1, 2, 7, 8, 10).[1] Generally dated about 400 B.C. or shortly after, it is the first extant South Italian vase to show a comic performance in an explicit theatrical context, indicated by the presence of the stage at the right of the image on the obverse. It has long been thought to be at the head of a figurative tradition recognized as peculiar to Apulian workshops and, to a lesser extent, to South Italian workshops generally. As summed up by Arthur Dale Trendall in his *Early South Italian Vase-Painting*, "The New York krater is of great importance as the first of what is destined to be a long series of Apulian phlyax vases."[2] The word "phlyax" traditionally designates a type of comic actor or play very popular in southern Italy that is depicted in vase painting from the end of the fifth century B.C. onward. The scene on the obverse of this calyx-krater, commonly interpreted as the punishment of a thief, illustrates one of these comic performances (Figure 1). On the right, an old woman on a stage, with a dead goose and a basket containing two kid goats at her feet, is vehemently addressing two figures in the orchestra. These are an old man standing on tiptoe, his arms stretched high over his head as if he were chained, and a policeman with long hair watching over him. At the far left, a nude youth, his mantle slung over his left shoulder, stands on a wavy line that indicates higher ground (Figure 7). A mask hangs in the background. Inscriptions that seem to issue from the figures' mouths transcribe the dialogues among the actors.

The vase is notable in many respects: the originality of the composition, the vivid realism of the drawing with the characters' lively gesticulation, the identity of the comic play performed, and, above all, the presence of the inscriptions.[3] All these elements have given it a fame reflected in such appellations as the "New York Phlyax Vase" or the "New York Goose Vase" (an allusion to the object of the conflict depicted).

Leaving aside the well-studied question regarding the interpretation of the play and its origins,[4] this article presents arguments for a reattribution of the krater from the Apulian Tarporley Painter to the Lucanian Dolon Painter. The point may initially appear a subsidiary one, but changing from an Apulian painter to a Lucanian one affects our views about the artistic identity of both schools and their roles in shaping the iconography of Greek comic theater.[5] This reattribution also sheds fresh light on the careers of both painters, which have not been reconsidered since Trendall's study of them, published forty years ago, although archaeology has provided new information especially on the find contexts of these artists' vases and those of their associates.

The Tarporley Painter, whose name piece is a fine bell-krater in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Figures 3, 4),[6] owes his name to the place of residence of the bell-krater's onetime owner, the Honorable Marshall Brooks, in Tarporley, Cheshire, England. The Tarporley Painter is the leading figure in the development of Apulian vase painting at the beginning of the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. A pupil of the Sisyphus Painter, whose influence is reflected in his early works, he pioneered the so-called Plain Style, dominated by Dionysiac and "genre" scenes, which prevailed in Apulian production for nearly half a century.[7] His taste for the Dionysiac world in all its aspects is clear from such serene scenes as the one on the obverse of the Los Angeles bell-krater (Figure 3), in which a maenad crowns Dionysos in the presence of a young Pan holding a bird. Other vases include satyrs and such theatrical

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1. Calyx-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter, here attributed to the Dolon Painter. South Italian, Lucanian, ca. 400–390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 12 in. (30.6 cm), Diam. 12½ in. (31.8 cm). Side A, a comic play. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.104). Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

2. Side B of Figure 1, draped youths

3. Bell-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter. South Italian, Apulian, ca. 400–390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm), Diam. 14⅝ in. (37.2 cm). Side A, Dionysos with a maenad and Pan. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection (50.8.29). Photograph: David Galley

4. Side B of Figure 3, draped youths. Photograph: David Galley

elements as masks and chorus men.[8] The Los Angeles bell-krater was placed by Trendall in the painter's early phase, characterized by the "Sisyphean," solemn attitudes of the figures and the drawing of the profiles with a wide-open eye;[9] the nude male bodies are slender and graceful. The youths on the reverse show some typical features, like the "inverted squiggly Y" in the lower part of the central youth's cloak—which occurs also on vases by some members of his close circle[10]—or the bare chest and right shoulder of the rightmost youth and the bare left shoulder of the youth on the left. Belonging to the same period, a bell-krater in Sydney with three actors who are probably preparing to perform in a satyr play has two figures standing with their masks in hand and one, on the right, already fully dressed as a satyr (Figure 5).[11] Here again, the compact but supple bodies of the youths are typical of the Tarporley Painter, as are the actors' profile heads, with the straight lines joining foreheads and noses and with somewhat heavy chins.

The New York calyx-krater, by contrast, having been placed by Trendall among the Tarporley Painter's "earliest work," would have been created and decorated before the Los Angeles and Sydney examples and under even stronger influence of the Sisyphus Painter.[12] In Trendall's characterization of this phase, typical features include nude youths standing and holding out a bird or an object, small heads on the figures with details accurately drawn, the "inverted squiggly Y" for the black borders of the draperies, which on the obverse are sometimes also decorated with dots. None of these features occurs on the calyx-krater, even though the stance and the draping of the youths on the reverse broadly recall the Tarporley Painter's manner. Nor is the Sisyphus Painter's influence obvious,[13] even in the figure of the bare-chested youth on the reverse, whose cloak is arranged differently from the representative examples of the same period.[14]

Several reasons may explain why the attribution of such a well-published masterpiece has never been scrutinized. First, as publications have always focused on the puzzling image on the main side of the vase, they consistently neglected—often even failed to reproduce—the decoration on the reverse. Second, stylistic analysis of a comic representation is difficult, since figures usually do not provide sufficient anatomical or physiognomic clues to characterize the style of a painter.

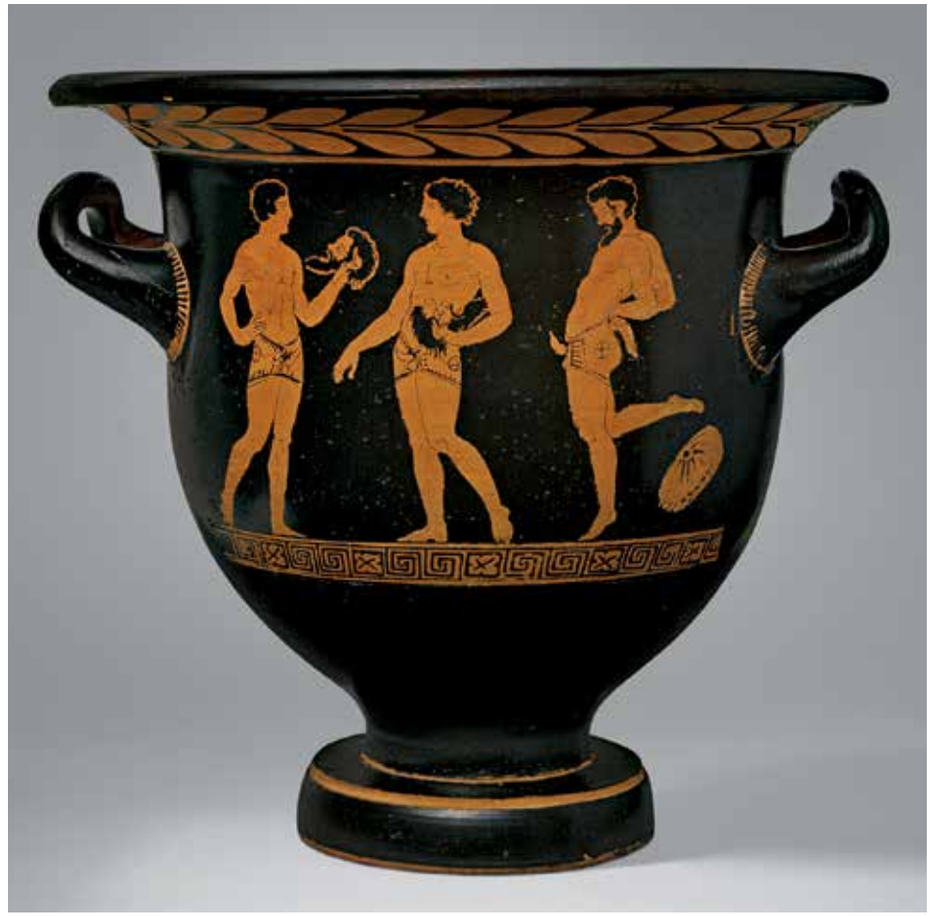
Instead, both sides of the New York vase offer convincing comparisons with features that occur frequently in the Dolon Painter's work. Along with a similar conception of the anatomy (for example, the drawing of the breasts, belly, and pubic hair), the costumes of the two male actors find close parallels with the one worn by the phlyax on the fragmentary skyphos from deposit 1 of the potters' quarter at Metaponto

(Figure 6).[15] Common to these figures is the absence of a short tunic, which becomes more usual in later Middle Comedy, and the way the frontal padding is rendered as an artificial element added to the costume; the New York krater also clearly shows the buckle used to fasten the frontal padding.[16]

At the far left of the obverse of the New York vase, the naked youth with a folded cloak over his left shoulder assumes a static pose that contrasts with the postures of the other characters (Figure 7). His identity remains under debate, and he is often described as a spectator.[17] Whatever his role, he is standing on a rocky prominence rendered by lightly incised lines, and he does not really seem to watch the performance. His presence may have a more allusive than realistic significance, possibly explained by the inscription at his midsection (rather than issuing from his mouth), ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΣ (tragic actor), which is meant to define his function in the image.

Even though it may not be evident at first glance, this figure finds parallels in works of the Dolon Painter, particularly in the youths on the reverse of vases of the so-called Tardol Period,[18] and in figures decorating small vessels, such as the woman at the louterion on a pelike in Taranto.[19] On the New York krater, the relative proportions of the youth's head to his body, the drawing of the head in profile with the pointed nose and small chin, and the lines that mark the transition from the torso to the legs are very characteristic of the Dolon Painter's work.

The youths on the reverse of the New York krater also provide sound clues for this reattribution (Figure 2). When comparing them to the pure Tarporley style, as illustrated on the Los Angeles name piece (Figure 4), one can note similarities in stance and drapery: the youth on the right of the New York piece, for instance, with his bare chest and raised right arm, is clearly inspired by a Tarporleyan type. But details such as folds and borders of the garments differ significantly; moreover, the hairstyles and physiognomies are different and are much closer to those of the Dolon Painter. The shape of the heads, the slightly curved pupils of the eyes, the pronounced chins, and the half-open mouths appear on the figures of such vases as the hydria from the Metaponto discard deposit no. 1.[20] The way the youth on the right holds his stick with his index finger raised as well as the drawing of his massive hand are paralleled on several vases by the Dolon Painter such as a stemmed dish in Saint Petersburg, a calyx-krater in

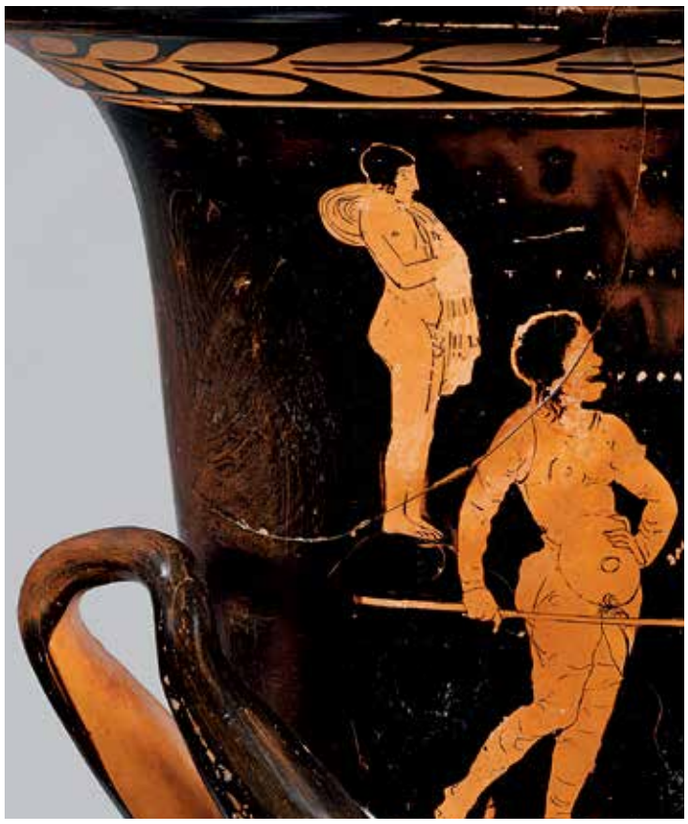


5. Bell-krater, attributed to the Tarporley Painter. South Italian, Apulian, ca. 400–390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 13 in. (33 cm), Diam. of mouth 14⅛ in. (36 cm). Side A, actors of a satyr play. The Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney (NM 47.5). Photograph: from Cambitoglou and Turner 2008, pl. 2

6. Fragmentary skyphos, attributed to the Dolon Painter. South Italian, Lucanian, from discard deposit no. 1 at Metaponto, ca. 400–390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 4⅞ in. (12.3 cm), Diam. of rim 5½ in. (14 cm), Diam. of base 4 in. (10.1 cm). Side A, a comic actor. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto (29062). Photograph: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Basilicata—Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata

7. Right: detail of side A of Figure 1, a youth with the inscription ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΣ

8. Far right: detail of side A of Figure 1, the old woman on the stage

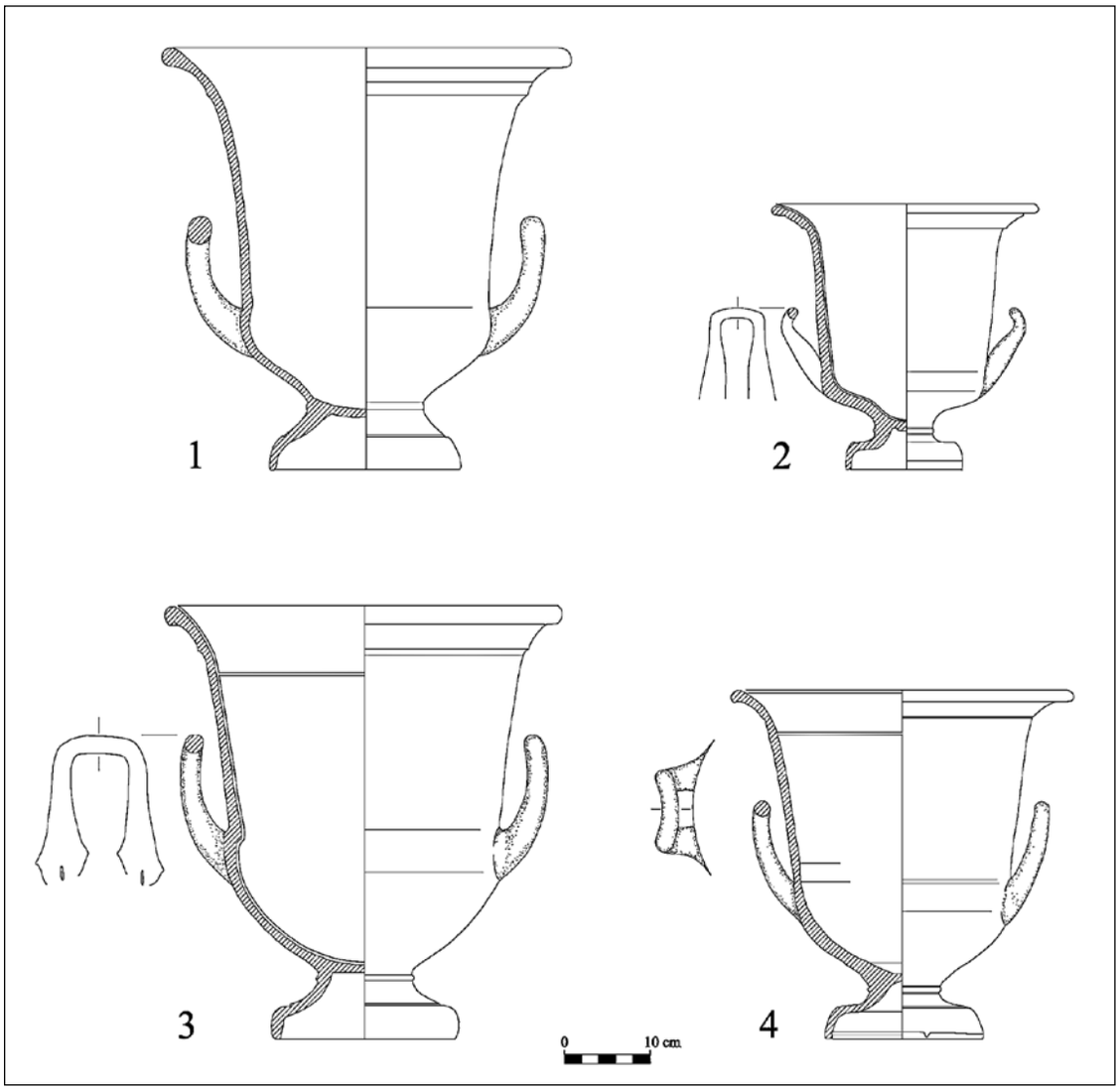


9. Calyx-krater, attributed to the Dolon Painter. South Italian, Lucanian, ca. 390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 19⅛ in. (48.5 cm), Diam. of rim 19⅛ in. (48.5 cm), Diam. of base 8⅞ in. (22.6 cm). Detail of side B, Athena at the fountain. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Monnaies, Médailles, et Antiques (422). Photograph: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Cambridge, and both sides of the Odysseus calyx-krater in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.[21]

Some secondary elements may also reinforce the connection between the New York calyx-krater and works by the Dolon Painter. Behind the old woman standing on the stage, the facade of a building is rendered with a roof and a pediment supported by two Ionic columns framing a closed door (Figure 8). The upper panels of the doors are decorated in black figure with a satyr and a woman apparently dancing. This piece of architecture may be compared with the fountain at which Athena washes her hands before the Judgment of Paris on the calyx-krater in the Cabinet des Médailles (Figure 9): that is a small, square structure seen in three-quarter view, with three ionic columns (the fourth is hidden) and, on the back wall, two plaques suspended beneath two lion's-head mascarons spitting water.

The spirit is the same as that of the New York krater, for not only do we find exactly the same columns, with a palmette ornament below the capital of each, but the volutes of each capital are centered with a small round dot of brown gloss. This tiny but important technical feature[22] is frequently used by the Dolon Painter to render details as various as the pupils of Dolon's own eyes on his name vase in the British Museum[23] and the left nipple of the thief on the New York krater (Figure 1). The brownish dilute gloss, visible on the borders of the draperies, for example, is extensively used by



10. Profile drawings of calyx-kraters attributed to the Dolon Painter. (1) Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Monnaies, Médailles, et Antiques (422), H. 19⅛ in. (48.5 cm); see Figure 9. (2) The Metropolitan Museum of Art (24.97.104), H. 12 in. (30.6 cm); see Figures 1, 2. (3) British Museum, London (F 157), H. 19¾ in. (50 cm). (4) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (GR 70/1970), H. 15¾ in. (40.1 cm). Drawings: Caroline Florimont (1), Elizabeth Wahle (2), Kate Morton (3), Aurelia Masson (4). Composite of drawings: Elizabeth Wahle

the painter, in contrast with the practice of the Tarporley Painter. Other technical features, such as the area above each handle of the New York krater that was hastily covered with a thin layer of reddish gloss, are also frequently found on vases of the Dolon Painter's workshop.

These elements are as significant for the attribution as the expressive, highly personal drawing, particularly in the Dolon Painter's Dionysiac scenes. The originality of his composition and his gestural language, already noted,[24] is typical of him and contrasts with the quiet and classical creations of the Tarporley Painter.

The shape of the New York vase is that of a calyx-krater, which, with its extensive and almost vertical walls, is particularly suitable for complex compositions. It has an almost squarish body, handles turned sharply inward at their tops, while at the base they join a low and slightly concave belly. It diverges substantially from the Dolon Painter's other known calyx-kraters (Figure 10). The vase in the Cabinet des Médailles, the largest and most impressive of his calyx-kraters, is noteworthy for its slender profile and low belly.[25] Other vases are characterized by the straight, vertical handles and a very rounded and high belly, a shape clearly exemplified by the vessels in Cambridge and London,[26] and also adopted for examples produced in the potter's quarter at Metaponto.[27] The New York calyx-krater bears some resemblance to vessels attributed to the Amykos Painter,[28] to the Schwerin Group,[29] and to the so-called Forerunners,[30] as well as to kraters by the Tarporley Painter.[31] Nonetheless, its proportions are unusual, making it rather inelegant and heavy-looking. The peculiarities in the krater's shape are not an obstacle in attributing the vessel to the Dolon Painter, however, for he decorated a large range of shapes, apparently made by different potters. But the New York krater's shape does not provide decisive clues for the identification of the workshop.

Although the change of attribution may seem unexpected owing to the fame of the New York vase, it originates in a stylistic ambiguity between the work of the two painters that has been pointed out repeatedly by Trendall and is

11. Bell-krater, attributed to the Tardol Group. South Italian, ca. 400–390 B.C. Terracotta, H. 15⅝ in. (39.7 cm), Diam. 15¾ in. (40 cm). Side A, warriors arming. Private collection, Germany. Photograph: from Schauenburg 2008, p. 190, fig. 159a

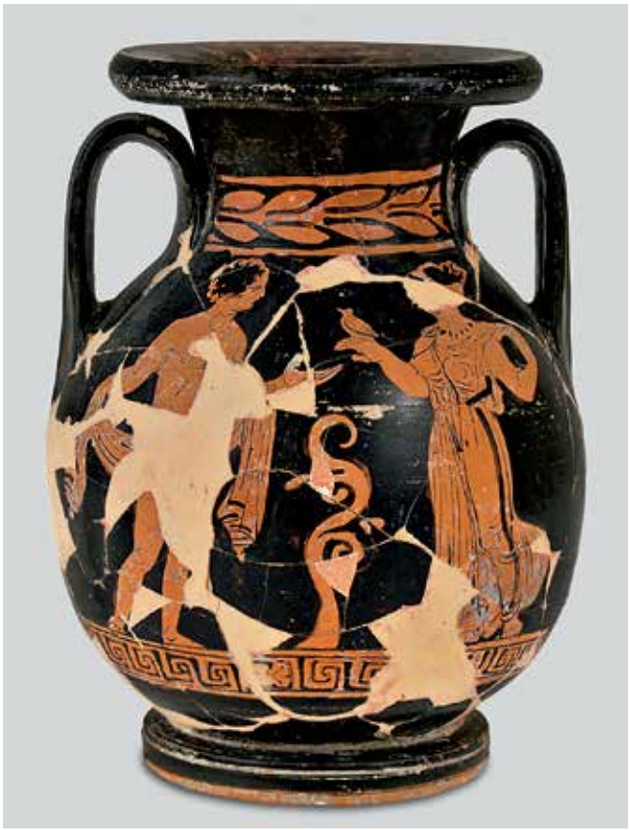
12. Side B of Figure 11, draped youths. Photograph: from Schauenburg 2008, p. 191, fig. 159b

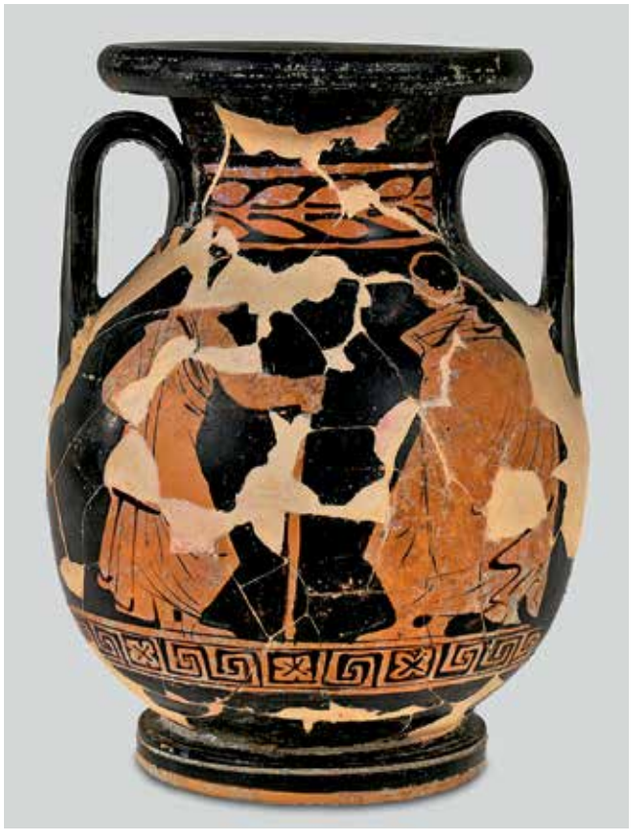
reflected in the so-called Tardol Group; this acronym, made up from the painters' names, represents the period when the Dolon Painter worked in a style that closely imitated that of the Tarporley Painter.[32] This phase occurred, in Trendall's opinion, at the end of the Tarporley Painter's activity and at the beginning of the Dolon Painter's career.[33]

What we know up to now about the location of the activity of these two vase painters rests, on the one hand, on Trendall's reconstruction and, on the other, on finds at Metaponto. On the basis of an already extant regional classification of South Italian red-figure schools, Trendall considered the Tarporley Painter to be Apulian, because he belongs stylistically to the tradition of the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl and the Sisyphus Painter. According to Trendall, the probability that this production originated in Taranto is very strong for several reasons.[34] As for the Lucanian school, in which he placed the Dolon Painter in his *Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (1967), he acknowledged its location at Metaponto in 1983 in the third supplement to that study, after publication of the discard deposits found in the potters' quarter of the Achaean colony.[35] Thereafter, the parallel productions of the two cities became the basis of Trendall's account of the early development of South Italian vase painting.[36] This framework would imply that the Metapontine Dolon Painter's apprenticeship would have taken place in Taranto.

Sound evidence for collaboration between the Tarporley Painter and the Dolon Painter can be detected on a bell-krater in a German collection recently published by Konrad Schauenburg and attributed by him to the Tardol Group (Figures 11, 12).[37] Here the styles of the two painters are found side by side; we are not dealing with stylistic adaptation or imitation, but with actual cooperation between the Dolon and the Tarporley Painters. The bell-krater is decorated on both sides with four figures, and on each side, two figures can be attributed to the Dolon Painter and the other two to the Tarporley Painter. The anatomy and the general conception of the two warriors on the left of the obverse (Figure 11), characterized by their massive bodies, find parallels in figures typical of the Dolon Painter,[38] while the two warriors on the right, with more fluidly drawn bodies, can be likened to some figures of the Tarporley Painter.[39]

On the reverse, the draped youths can be similarly grouped into two couples, each painted by a different hand (Figure 12). The two youths on the left are by the Tarporley Painter; typical of his work are the wavy border of the cloak worn by the right youth, as well as his half-bare chest (compare the rightmost youth in Figure 4). The head of the left youth and the proportions of his face are characteristic as well. The two on the right are draped youths who can be compared to types H and G of Trendall's typology. The type G youth, seen from the back and in foreshortening, although





13. Far left: pelike, attributed to the Tarporley Painter or to the Painter of Lecce 686. South Italian, from Metaponto, Saldone necropolis, a. 390–370 B.C. Terracotta, H. 8⅝ in. (21.8 cm), Diam. of rim 4⅞ in. (12.5 cm), Diam. of base 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm). Side A, a nude youth and a draped woman. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto (SS 76.58). Photograph: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Basilicata—Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata

14. Left: side B of Figure 13, two draped youths. Photograph: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Basilicata—Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata

also used by the Tarporley Painter,[40] occurs more frequently on vases by the Dolon Painter.[41] To Trendall's type H can be compared the second youth from the right, although his stance is more rigid.[42]

The subsidiary decoration with the palmettes below the handles, unusual in vases of this period, is employed on a few bell-kraters by both the Dolon Painter[43] and the Tarporley Painter.[44] The meander is surely by the Tarporley Painter.[45]

The shape of the bell-krater published by Schauenburg differs from those decorated by the Dolon Painter, which are characterized by an almost vertical rim and globular body and whose origin can be traced back to the shape adopted by the Pisticci and Amykos Painters. Our example, by contrast, presents an inclined rim and a straight body, which can also be found on other bell-kraters by the Tarporley Painter himself[46] and, previously, by the Sisyphus Painter.[47] Therefore the shape appears to be more consistent with the tradition of the Tarporley Painter workshop, and the painter himself seems responsible here for the subsidiary decoration of the vase.

Such collaboration cannot be considered exceptional in early South Italian red-figured pottery. Along with the well-known volute-krater recently reattributed to the Karneia Painter and to the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter,[48] evidence for concrete cooperation between painters in the same workshop is a bell-krater, now in Madrid, on which the reverse is painted by the Creusa Painter, while the obverse can be attributed to the Choephoroi Painter.[49] In all these cases, we are not just dealing with stylistic influence, we are also obtaining insight into the organization of work in the ateliers of this area.[50]

These two vases, the New York calyx-krater and the bell-krater in a German private collection, open new perspectives on the relative chronology of the two painters. As the bell-krater makes clear, the figures that can be attributed to the Tarporley Painter share the characteristics outlined by Trendall as typical of his earliest activity; the warrior holding a helmet in his left hand echoes one of the stock figures used regularly in vases of his early phase, a figure that is missing in the Dolon Painter's repertoire. However, even if each figure reflects the mannerism of the artist responsible, the two lateral warriors, each holding a round shield and wearing a pilos, are closer to types in the Dolon Painter's early maturity.[51]

As a consequence, in our opinion the Tardol phase, whose relative chronology still depends on stylistic analysis owing to the absence of find contexts for the vases of this group, should be seen not as testimony to the apprenticeship of one painter to the other, but rather to the close cooperation between two artisans at more or less the same stage of their careers. Nonetheless, while stylistic analysis hints at the relationships between painters and schools, it alone is

not sufficient to explain where such an association took place. Recent results from excavations open new possibilities. Some vases from burials of the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. found at Metaponto and its environs belong to the Tarporley workshop, defined by Trendall in the third chapter of his *Red-figured Vases of Apulia*.[52] Whether a modification in the distribution of the vases or a sign of changes in production, this is a new phenomenon at this time.

Two tombs in the recently excavated Metapontine necropoleis yielded a pelike by the Tarporley Painter (late phase)[53] and a pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, whose style finds close parallels with vases by the Painter of Lecce 686;[54] a pelike from the Saldone necropolis can be related to the same painters (Figures 13, 14).[55] A third tomb yielded a pelike with a youth holding out a phiale and a woman very close to work by the La Rosiaz Painter.[56] All are members of the Tarporley workshop.

Of note also are some vases from a tomb at Pisticci dating to the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. found in 1986 in which both Tarentine and Metapontine stylistic elements are present.[57] In addition to a hydria by the Parasol Painter[58] and a pelike by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter,[59] a bell-krater[60] can be related to the name vase of the R. S. Painter in Turin, with which it shares shape and subsidiary decoration and on which we find the same nude youth leaning on a stick.[61] Another bell-krater with a comic scene from the same tomb is probably by the McDaniel Painter,[62] while a calyx-krater still difficult to categorize recalls perhaps the Apulian Painter of the Birth of Dionysos.[63]

A further element is introduced by a pelike found in Tomb 100 at Torre di Mare (Metaponto), in association with a lekythos and a lebes gamikos (nuptial vase) by the Dolon Painter.[64] The difference between this vessel and the other vases of the tomb group is astonishing. While the shape and subsidiary decoration are consistent with pelikai of the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.,[65] elements such as the drapery of the woman seated on the diphros on the obverse of the vase[66] and especially the nude youth holding a strigil between two draped youths on the reverse find comparison with vases of the Dechter Painter,[67] to whom the pelike can be attributed.

These finds, which float between the schools of the Tarporley and the Dolon Painters, confirm the close link between them. The noticeable presence in Metaponto and its territory of vases that can be attributed to painters belonging to the Tarporley Group is consistent with the increasing Apulian influence on Metapontine production. That influence was present but not visible to such an extent in the earlier period, and it can probably be considered the result of the initial cooperation between the Dolon and Tarporley Painters. Although more study is needed to propose a specific theory, the convergence of the many types of evidence—changes in the distribution patterns, demonstrable collaboration between the two painters, stylistic interaction between their workshops—suggests the possibility that Taranto is not necessarily the only city where this cooperation occurred.

The change in attribution of the New York krater and the reorganization of the Tardol Group does not, in general terms, affect the chronology of the vase, which was probably decorated shortly after 400 B.C. More important are the consequences of reshaping our understanding of the Dolon Painter, who now receives the credit for one of the first representations of a comic play. This distinction is hardly unexpected in view of his huge output, the variety of shapes he decorated, and, above all, the originality of his most important vases, like the two calyx-kraters at the Cabinet des Médailles and the British Museum. Directly inspired by the texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the two calyx-kraters, together with the inscriptions on the New York krater, testify to the literate and literary aspects of the Dolon Painter's inspiration. The reattribution proposed here also confirms that in the creation of new iconographies, the Metapontine workshops did not lag behind the Tarentine ateliers from a chronological point of view and that representations of comic plays in the context of the stage seem to have appeared at roughly the same moment in both centers, with the Dolon Painter on one side and the Choregos Painter on the other.[68] While at Metaponto this subject seems to have had limited success, at Taranto the tradition established itself in a more substantial way, entering the repertoire of several vase painters.[69]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. MMA 24.97.104. Attributed by Noël Moon (1929, p. 41), who also named the painter. Selected bibliography: Richter 1927; *FI*, pp. 25–26, 41 no. B 75, pl. 28b; Bieber 1939, pp. 281–82, fig. 381; Beazley 1952; *ESIVP*, pp. 18–19, 51 B 122, pl. 28b; *RVAp I*, p. 46, 3/7; Mayo 1982, pp. 82–83, no. 13; Trendall 1989, fig. 105; Taplin 1993, pp. 20, 30–32, 62; Colvin 2000, pp. 294–95; Marshall 2001; Hall 2006, p. 227; Csapo 2010, pp. 45–52; Denoyelle 2010; J[asper M. P.] G[aunt] in Hart 2010, p. 112, no. 50 (with extensive bibliography); Green 2012, pp. 296–97 and 332, no. 20: Mayor,

Colarusso, and Saunders 2012. For the calyx-krater's provenance, see Montanaro 2007, p. 910, no. 324.5, p. 911, fig. 876.

2. *ESIVP*, p. 19.
3. For the inscriptions, see Beazley 1952.
4. See Taplin 1993, pp. 30–32; Csapo 2010, pp. 47–51. The scene is now thought to illustrate an episode of the same play as a bell-krater by the McDaniel Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (69.951); see J[asper M. P.] G[aunt] in Hart 2010, pp. 112–13, nos. 50, 51. As for the inscriptions, identified by Beazley (see note 3 above) as iambic, they give a strong sense of the conflict that is taking place among the thief, the old woman who has been robbed, and the Barbarian policeman. For the word *NOPAPETTEBAO* pronounced by the policeman, a transcription of a phrase in Circassian language, see Mayor, Colarusso, and Saunders 2012, pp. 13, 22.
5. See Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, p. 131, and Denoyelle 2010, pp. 106–7.
6. Moon 1929, p. 41; *RVAp I*, p. 47, 3/10. On the Tarporley Painter, see Moon 1929, p. 41; *ESIVP*, pp. 18–19; and *RVAp I*, pp. 44–55.
7. Trendall 1989, pp. 74–75; Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, pp. 130–31.
8. For example, formerly MMA L.63.21.5 (*RVAp I*, p. 46, 3/2, pl. 13, 1–2; the vase, on long-term loan to the Metropolitan Museum from Jan Mitchell, was sold at Sotheby's New York, June 7, 2012, lot 18); Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, NM 54.4 (*RVAp I*, p. 47, 3/13, pl. 14, 1–2; Cambitoglou and Turner 2008, pp. 19–20, pls. 4, 5).
9. *RVAp I*, pp. 47–49. And see Beazley 1928, p. 73, n. 4, on the krater, which he placed in a group "very near the Sisyphus Painter."
10. Schloss Erbach 3: *RVAp I*, p. 57, 3/69, pl. 17, 4; and Macinagrossa collection, Bari, 19: *RVAp I*, p. 58, 3/81, pl. 18, 4.
11. Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, NM 47.5: Cambitoglou and Turner 2008, pp. 17–19, pls. 2, 3; *RVAp I*, p. 48, 3/15.
12. *RVAp I*, pp. 45–47.
13. In illustrating the Sisyphus Painter's strong influence on the Tarporley Painter's earliest works (ibid., p. 45), it should be noted that Trendall cites all of the works except for the New York calyx-krater.
14. Ibid., p. 46, 3/2 (pl. 13.2), 3, 5, 6, 8, 9. This peculiar arrangement, in which one tail of the cloak is folded on the left shoulder and the other is draped below the waist, leaving the right shoulder bare, follows a tradition established by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (see, for example, ibid., p. 7, 1/7, pl. 2.6) and also adopted by the Sisyphus Painter (ibid., p. 17, 1/60).
15. D'Andria 1980, p. 402, no. 163, figs. 50, 52; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 64, D 63; Green 2012, pp. 292–93, 332 no. 16.
16. Csapo 2010, p. 47.
17. See the discussion in Taplin 1993, p. 62 (in his juvenile aspect, the youth is "in some sense a diminishment of tragedy," in order to promote comedy); Marshall 2001, p. 66 (his presence indicates that "the comic . . . scene is paratragic"); Csapo 2010, p. 52 (not a story, but "an attempt to capture the experience of theater in its fullness"); and Green 2012, pp. 296–98 (equivalence with the figure of the young man on the Chiron vase in the British Museum).
18. See Trendall 1987, figs. 5, 6. See also the text at note 32 below.
19. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto, 52528: *LCS*, p. 71, no. 360 (Intermediate Group). For the attribution of this pelike to the Dolon Painter, see Denoyelle 2002a, pp. 110–11; see also Amelia D'Amicis in Campanelli and Pennetta 2003, p. 36.
20. Metaponto 29057: *LCS Supp. III*, p. 60, D 26.
21. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 1628: *LCS Supp. I*, p. 19, no. 538a; Denoyelle 2002a, p. 111. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, GR 70/1970: *LCS Supp. III,* p. 58, D 20. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, Cabinet des Médailles 422: *LCS*, p. 102, no. 532; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 58, D 19.
22. The dots seem always to have been executed with the same type of tool. See also many details rendered this way on the calyx-krater Cabinet des Médailles 422; see note 21 above.
23. British Museum, London, F 157: *LCS*, p. 102, no. 533, pl. 52, 3–4; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 59, D 21.
24. See, for example, Csapo 2010, p. 47.
25. Cabinet des Médailles 422; see note 21 above.
26. For Cambridge GR 70/1970, see note 21 above. For London F 157, see note 23 above. A third calyx-krater, formerly in the Colombo Collection, Florence, and now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (Iozzo 2013, p. 64), was attributed to the Dolon Painter by A. D. Trendall in his unpublished fourth supplement to *LCS*, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Trendall Archive, Trendall Research Centre for Ancient Mediterranean Studies, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia.
27. D'Andria 1980, p. 397, nos. 138, 140, both fig. 46; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 63, D 54.
28. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, F 3043: *LCS*, p. 43, no. 212, pl. 16, 5–6.
29. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Bari, 8272: *LCS Supp. III*, p. 25, 338a.
30. *LCS Supp. I*, p. 15, pl. 4, 3–4; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 35, F 3 (Ragusa collection, Taranto, 165), and p. 36, F 9 ("Once London Market").
31. *RVAp I*, p. 48, 3/21 (Museo Nazionale, Naples, 1901 [81470]), p. 51, 3/39 (Gotha 72) and 3/40 (Museo Jatta, Ruvo, 1495).
32. Ibid., pp. 53–55; *LCS Supp. III*, pp. 56–57. See also Trendall 1987, pp. 5–7.
33. *RVAp I*, p. 55.
34. Ibid., pp. xlvii, 3.
35. D'Andria 1980, pp. 375–418, 447–52. In addition, finds from the necropoleis of Sant'Angelo Vecchio and Saldone excavated in 1979 and 1980 in the territory were also taken into account by Trendall to support the hypothesis that the beginning of the Lucanian school can also be traced back to Metaponto: *LCS Suppl. III*, pp. 3–4.
36. Trendall 1989, pp. 17 (Lucanian), 23 (Apulian).
37. Schauenburg 2008, "Addenda," pp. 64–67, 190–91 figs. 159a and 159b, 208 figs. XLVII–XLIX. Our conclusions match some of the observations made by Schauenburg, especially about the subsidiary decoration.
38. In addition, the same type of embattled border is on the cloak worn by Odysseus on the name vase, British Museum F 157; see note 23 above.
39. See, for example, the pose of the warrior holding the helmet in Figure 11, which is a variation of the schema of a male figure holding a mask, another object, or an animal (as in ex-MMA L.63.21.5; see note 8 above), and the stance of the warrior on the right, which can be compared to the young Pan on the Los Angeles bell-krater (Figure 3).
40. British Museum, London, F 163: *RVAp I*, p. 47, 3/12.
41. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, R 372: *LCS*, p. 100, no. 516, pls. 50, 2 and 51, 2; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 56, D 3.
42. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Bari, 6264: *LCS*, p. 102, no. 516, pls. 53, 1 and 51, 8; *LCS Supp. III,* p. 57, D 9.
43. See, nonetheless, the Musée du Louvre vase CA 2193: *LCS Supp. III*, p. 56, D 4, pl. IX, 3.
44. Museo Arqueológico, Madrid, 11079: *RVAp I*, p. 46, 3/6; Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, 824: ibid., p. 50, 3/35.
45. Very near to the skyphos in the British Museum F 126, ibid., p. 46, 3/1. For the meander, see Figures 3, 4.

46. See Sydney NM 47.5 (Figure 5 and note 11 above) and Sydney NM 54.4 (as in note 8 above). The drawings of the profiles are in Cambitoglou and Turner 2008, figs. 1, 1 and 1, 2.
47. Collezione Banca Intesa, Vicenza, 10: Marina Castoldi in Sena Chiesa and Slavazzi 2006, vol. 1, pp. 182–83, no. 68.
48. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto, 8263: D'Amicis 1991, pp. 130–137, n°14.1; Denoyelle 2002b, pp. 587–609.
49. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, 11091: *LCS*, p. 119, no. 598, pl. 60, 1–2.
50. The bell-krater in a German private collection (Figures 11, 12) is also notable in its division of the work because each painter did not paint a whole side, but instead painted half of both sides, as though each painter were standing facing one of the handles.
51. See the Odysseus krater in Paris (Cabinet de Médailles 422, as in note 21 above), the amphora in Bari (Museo Archaeologico 6254: *LCS*, p. 103, no. 536, pls. 53, 2 and 51, 9; *LCS Supp. III*, p. 58, D 17), and the recently discovered lekythos from Metaponto, Torre di Mare (see note 64 below).
52. *RVAp I*, pp. 44–62.
53. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, Tomb 301, Prop. Giasi: Silvestrelli n.d. (forthcoming), fig. 15.
54. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, Tomb 713, Prop. Tarulli: ibid., fig. 16. On the painter, see *RVAp I*, pp. 56–58.
55. *RVAp Supp. I*, p. 5, 3/32a (Tarporley Painter, late phase). See also Burn 1998, p. 639, SS 76.58, where the pelike is attributed to the Painter of Lecce 686 on the basis of a personal communication by A. D. Trendall. This pelike is not associated with a specific tomb, having been moved from its original position by modern farming operations. The artisan, considered a member of the Tarporley Painter's workshop, could perhaps be better understood within the Dolon Painter's atelier.
56. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, Tomb 308, Prop. Venezia: Silvestrelli n.d. (forthcoming).
57. Santa Maria del Casale, Pisticci, Tomb 2. The vases from the tomb will be published by A. Bottini, L. Lecce and F. Silvestrelli in a forthcoming paper in *Bollettino d'arte*.
58. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, inv. 297061. The Parasol Painter is an artist first considered to be Apulian (*RVAp I*, pp. 22–23) but who has, since Trendall been placed in the Metapontine context; see Denoyelle 1998), pp. 38–39. For the hydria, see ibid., p. 39, no. 4.
59. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, inv. 297056.
60. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, inv. 297052.
61. Private (R. S.) collection, Turin: *RVAp I*, p. 59, 3/93. See also *RVAp Supp. I*, p. 6, 3/93b ("Once Zurich Market, Galerie Koller").
62. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, 297053. The McDaniel Painter is considered Apulian by Trendall (ibid., pp. 99–100) and possibly Metapontine by Green (2012, pp. 304–5, fig. 14.7, pp. 334–35, no. 31 [with bibliography on the vase]).
63. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, 297057. For the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, see *RVAp I*, pp. 33–36. The vase is illustrated in Cracolici and De Siena 1999, p. 26, fig. 14 and p. 51, no. 36.
64. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Metaponto, 325773 (pelike), 325772 (lekythos), 325774 (lebes). For a preliminary discussion of some of the vases from Tomb 100 at Torre di Mare (Metaponto) see De Siena 2007, p. 442–44, pls. XIVc and XVa. The tomb group will be published by A. De Siena in the forthcoming conference proceedings *Ricerche sulla ceramica italiota: La mobilità dei pittori e il suo ruolo nella problematica dell'identità delle produzioni* (Centre Jean Bérard, Naples, December 10, 2012).
65. D'Andria 1980, p. 399, no. 150, fig. 50, by the Creusa Painter.
66. That drapery is similar to the drapery on a bell-krater in the Dechter collection, Los Angeles (*RVAp I*, p. 272, 10/79).
67. See especially the pelike in Turin (Museo di Antichità 4497; ibid., p. 271, 10/73) and the bell-krater (Museo Jatta, Ruvo, 1050; ibid., p. 272, 10/76, pl. 90, 3). On the Dechter Painter, connected by Trendall to the Bendis and the Judgment Painters, see ibid., pp. 270–73. He does not belong to the narrow circle of the Tarporley Painter, but his presence confirms the increasing interactions between the two styles.
68. Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009, p. 132, n. 58. Some earlier examples of comic vases are also known, such as the Berlin calyx-krater attributed by Trendall to the Amykos Painter (see note 28 above; Green 2012, pp. 292–93, fig. 14.1, p. 331, no. 15) and a bell-krater (ibid., p. 294, fig. 14.2, p. 332, no. 18) ascribed to the Amykos Painter or to his circle; see also a type A skyphos, *PhV*[2], p. 57, no. 93. These vases are still difficult to place convincingly within the stylistic sequence of the Metapontine painters.
69. See also Green 2012, pp. 292–96.

ABBREVIATIONS

CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
ESIVP	Trendall 1974
FI	Trendall 1938
LCS	Trendall 1967b
LCS Supp. I	Trendall 1970
LCS Supp. III	Trendall 1983
PhV[2]	Trendall 1967a
RVAp I	Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978
RVAp Supp. I	Trendall and Cambitoglou 1983

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The Coat of Arms in Fra Filippo Lippi's *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*

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A century ago Joseph Breck, then an assistant curator at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, proposed that the two sitters depicted in the Museum's landmark portrait by Filippo Lippi could be identified as the Florentine-born Agnola di Bernardo Sapiti and her husband, Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari (Figure 3). Breck's identification was based on his reading of the coat of arms under the male sitter's hands as that of the Scolari family.[1] Remarkably, aside from Dieter Jansen's counterproposal in 1987 that the coat of arms is that of the Ferrero family of Piedmont, the premise of Breck's hypothesis has never been put to the test.[2] The present article aims to do just that, reading details of the picture in light of emerging archival information about the Scolari family.

There is no record of the picture prior to about 1829, when it was purchased in Florence by the Reverend John Sanford as the work of Masaccio (1401–1428). Breck was the first to ascribe it to Filippo Lippi, and this attribution is universally accepted today. Scholars generally agree that the work was painted between about 1435 and the early 1440s.[3]

The coat of arms in the portrait consists of a gold field with three diagonal blue bands (*or, three bends azure*). The blue has darkened considerably, which is why Breck (and Jansen) erroneously described the color as black.[4] According to the Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, the bands of the Scolari arms were altered to black (*or, three bends sable*) from time to time during the Middle Ages; the earliest variation of the coat of arms corresponds to what is found in Lippi's painting.[5] The most famous of the Scolari, Filippo (Pippo) di Stefano Scolari, known as lo Spano (1368/69–1426), who was raised to baronial rank by Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1387–1437) in the Kingdom of Hungary, employed *or, four bends sable* (Figure 1).[6]

Extant monochrome examples of the family's coat of arms from the first half of the fifteenth century show both three and four bands. The coat of arms appearing on the facade of the Scolari Palace in the Borgo degli Albizi, Florence, for instance, which was inhabited by lo Spano's youngest brother, Matteo di Stefano Scolari (1370/71–1426), dates to about the 1410s or 1420s and shows a shield with three bands surmounted by a dragon and a helmet (Figure 2).[7] The other two surviving coats of arms—both with four bands—are connected to Pippo Scolari's second cousin Andrea di Filippo Scolari (d. 1426), who served King Sigismund in Hungary as the bishop of Várad (present-day Oradea, Romania).[8] One appears on the bishop's tomb in Oradea (Figure 4), while the other is displayed on the facade of the parish church of Santa Maria, founded by Andrea Scolari in Vicchiomaggio (Figure 5).[9]

On the basis of a number of factors—the placement of the coat of arms under the male sitter's hands, the portrait's probable date, and the Scolari genealogy as provided by Luigi Passerini (1816–1877)—Joseph Breck tentatively identified the couple as Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari and his wife, Agnola di Bernardo Sapiti.[10] He cautioned that "the identification cannot be considered complete," because "[d]uring the years within which the portrait must have been painted there were possibly in Florence besides Lorenzo several brothers and nephews, the facts of whose lives are too little known to allow us to discard them."[11] Today, one hundred years after Breck published his article, what is known about these other Scolari relations?

Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari (1398/1410–?)—who, according to Passerini, married in 1436—was one of the three brothers who became the heirs of Pippo, Matteo, and Andrea Scolari in 1426. Between 1427 and 1429 he lived in Treviso, in the territory of the Republic of Venice, and was not in Florence at the time of the tax declarations (*catasti*) of 1431, 1433, and 1442, probably commuting between the Republic of Venice, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the

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1. Right: Filippo di Stefano Scolari's coat of arms, ca. 1450s–60s. From Ulrich von Richental's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance*, Aulendorf Codex. From Jékely 2006, p. 298.

2. Far right: Filippo di Stefano Scolari's coat of arms, ca. 1410s–20s. Pietra serena sandstone. Scolari Palace, Florence. Photograph: Katalin Prajda

Republic of Florence.[12] During these years, Lorenzo managed the business affairs inherited from his uncles in the Kingdom of Hungary, while his elder brother Filippo (1385/95–1442/46) headed the family in Florence.[13] According to contemporary sources, Lorenzo married sometime between February 6, 1438, and October 7, 1439—not in 1436, as Passerini stated.[14] Lorenzo returned to Florence only after Filippo's death, in order to take over as head of the family.[15] Since he had no home of his own in the Republic of Florence, he moved into the house of his father-in-law, Bernardo di Francesco Sapiti.[16] Lorenzo's long absence from Florence contradicts Breck's identification of the sitters, as does the couple's youthful appearance in the portrait, given the considerable age difference between Lorenzo and Agnola, who was twelve to twenty-four years his junior.[17]

The Sapiti were a family of the Florentine *popolani* (people of non-noble origins). Agnola's father, Bernardo di Francesco Sapiti, was not active in politics. He reported no business transactions in the *catasti* of 1427 and 1433, and his name does not occur among the members of the five major guilds. He probably derived his income from rentals and investments in the local silk industry. In 1427 the thirty-two-year-old Bernardo owned a number of properties: two larger and several smaller houses near the parish church of San Jacopo Sopr'Arno and several plots of land in the countryside.[18] In addition to Agnola, he had three younger daughters and four sons.[19] Agnola's dowry, which was commensurate with those of other Florentine girls of the same social rank, comprised both cash and shares in the Monte Comune public funds. Lorenzo Scolari received 340 florins in 1438, and the interest from 715 florins' worth of shares in the Monte was to be deposited in Lorenzo's name for five years.[20] With three other daughters to marry off, Bernardo Sapiti may have faced difficulties in paying Agnola's dowry: the 340 florins is a smaller sum than one would expect for a girl of elevated social rank, and it might be doubted whether she could have afforded the elegant attire exhibited by Lippi's female sitter.[21]

Although unremarked by art historians, the position of the coat of arms in the overall composition also contradicts Breck's theory, since it appears in the same interior space as the female sitter. According to Jansen, the windows in the picture divide the image into two worlds—interior (occupied by the female sitter) and exterior. He noted that the female sitter is the central figure, and all other pictorial elements, including the male sitter, are subordinate to her.[22] It is worth asking, then, whether the coat of arms might belong to the female sitter, who is clearly the portrait's protagonist, rather than to the male figure, who appears as something of an observer and might be read as appropriating the arms of his wife-to-be.[23] If the coat of arms does indeed refer to the bride's family, then she can be identified as Francesca, Matteo di Stefano Scolari's daughter, the only girl of marrying age from the Scolari family in the late 1430s and early 1440s.[24]

Francesca, or Checca (ca. 1424–after 1481)—the niece of Lorenzo di Rinieri—was born about two years before her father's death. In 1426, at about the age of two, she was betrothed to Rinaldo di Maso degli Albizi's eldest son, Giovanni.[25] Although her uncle, lo Spano, and her future father-in-law had already set the terms of the marriage, the

3. Filippo Lippi (Italian, ca. 1406–1469). *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, ca. 1440. Tempera on wood, 25¼ × 16½ in. (64.1 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889 (89.15.19)

engagement was dissolved shortly after 1433, probably owing to the exile of the Albizi by the Medici. Francesca was then engaged to Amerigo di Giannozzo Pitti (ca. 1426/27–ca. 1439) about October 24, 1435, when the deposit for the dowry was made in the Monte Comune on behalf of Amerigo's father, Giannozzo di Francesco Pitti.[26] Amerigo died sometime between March 1436 and December 1438, and the marriage was never celebrated. Subsequently, Filippo di Rinieri Scolari, Francesca's distant cousin and her guardian upon the death of her uncle lo Spano, probably signed a new marriage contract with Neri di Gino Capponi.[27] Her future husband, Tommaso, was Neri Capponi's eldest son, who was emancipated from his father in 1437. Within a year, by December 2, 1438, they were married, and the funds of Francesca's dowry were transferred to Tommaso's family on July 7, 1439, shortly after the consummation of the marriage.[28] At the time of the wedding, Tommaso was about twenty-one, while Francesca was thirteen or fourteen.[29] The marriage did not last long, since Tommaso died sometime after July 1442, and the union was childless.[30]

By October 20, 1444, Francesca had already remarried, to Bonaccorso Pitti, the grandson and namesake of the famous chronicler.[31] At the time of their wedding, Francesca was about twenty and Bonaccorso di Luca about twenty-six.[32] After the consummation of the marriage, Neri Capponi—Tommaso's heir general—transferred the Monte shares in Francesca's dowry to Bonaccorso Pitti.[33] The marriage between Francesca Scolari and Bonaccorso Pitti lasted about forty years, until the early 1480s, and produced at least two male heirs and one female child.[34] The couple lived a long life in Florence in the palace purchased by Francesca's father-in-law, Luca Pitti.[35]

Before examining details of the Lippi portrait in relation to this alternate identification of the sitters, it is important to consider the social standing of the families involved. The Capponi, Pitti, and Scolari were well-established Florentine families from the upper rung of society. The Scolari were magnates with Ghibelline loyalties, and Francesca's father and uncle were former political allies of Rinaldo degli Albizi, while the Capponi and the Pitti had *popolani* origins and Guelf loyalties and supported the Medici even before 1434. After the ascendancy of the Medici that year, Francesca's cousins Filippo and Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari became *popolani* by giving up their noble status, suggesting that Francesca's marriages were designed as social alliances with the inner circles of the Medici party.

The Pitti were of an extended Florentine lineage that traced its ancestry back to at least the early thirteenth century.[36] Both Gino di Neri (1350–1421) and his son Neri (1388–1457), Francesca's first father-in-law, were prominent in the political life of Florence and important officeholders in the city. Tommaso's father, Neri, was an international merchant and the head of a wool company. The family's extensive properties in both the city and the countryside probably earned them wealth and prestige.[37] Moreover, Neri was among the most important politicians supporting the Medici in the 1440s and 1450s.[38]

The Pitti were even more preeminent than the Capponi. Bonaccorso's grandfather Bonaccorso di Neri was also a very influential politician and a famous international merchant. Until his death sometime after 1433, the three Pitti generations, including his brothers, sons, and grandsons, lived in the same household near the Church of San Felice in Piazza.[39] His eldest son, Luca (1394–1472), was the famous international merchant and art patron who became one of the most intimate and influential friends of the Medici until the 1460s. Among Luca's children, Bonaccorso was the eldest male.[40]

As far as can be ascertained, Francesca Scolari lived in better financial circumstances than her uncle Lorenzo. After her father's death in 1426, she retained the right to live in the elegant Scolari Palace on Borgo degli Albizi and remained there until 1433, when her uncles, Filippo and Lorenzo Scolari, put the palace up for sale. Matteo Scolari's testament guaranteed her an annuity of 50 florins, and she was allowed to retain the income from a few of her father's estates and workshops. Since her youngest sister had died early, Francesca received not only her own dowry of 3,000 florins but also half of the 3,000 florins in her sister's.[41] Prosperous merchants usually provided their daughters with a dowry of 500 to 1,500 florins; Francesca's was therefore extraordinarily high and possibly even unique in contemporary Florence. She also inherited from her mother the estate of Tizzano, which had an approximate value of 4,500 florins.[42] Further, her father had been ennobled by King Sigismund of Luxemburg, and her uncle had been one of the most influential barons of the Hungarian royal court.

The luxurious dress and the jewels in Filippo Lippi's portrait—a necklace of pearls, four rings with stones, a headdress decorated with pearls, and a shoulder brooch with a yellow-colored faceted stone or stones set within three pearls—would have been appropriate accoutrements for Francesca Scolari. According to Megan Holmes, pearls were conventional symbols of purity as well as typical wedding gifts.[43] Moreover, the shoulder brooch, the most detailed of the jewels, may be more closely connected to Francesca. A surviving inventory from 1424 listing the silverware and jewels found in the Scolari Palace describes a jewel composed of yellow-colored *balascio* (balas) rubies and three pearls valued at 300 florins that had belonged to Francesca's mother, Piera di Catellino Infangati.[44] As Matteo Scolari's widow, Piera retained the right after 1426 to live in the Scolari Palace and to use all its furnishings, probably including all the silverware and jewels.[45] If the shoulder

4. Far left: Andrea di Filippo Scolari's coat of arms, ca. 1426. Tomb of Andrea Scolari, Roman-Catholic Cathedral, Oradea, Romania. Photograph: Katalin Prajda

5. Left: Andrea di Filippo Scolari's coat of arms, ca. 1410–20s. Parish church of Santa Maria, Vicchiomaggio. Photograph: courtesy of the Castello Vicchiomaggio

brooch remained the widow's property, then it is highly likely that her unmarried daughter inherited it. Given the similarities between the depiction of the jewel in the painting and the description in the inventory, it is possible that they refer to one and the same object.

In addition to jewelry and dress, landed property was an index of the wealth of Florentine families. It has been suggested that the detailed view outside the window in the portrait may refer to one of the Scolari estates.[46] The landscape shows a plain or a plateau with fairly high hills. In front of the green hills are several attached buildings: a two-story rural structure, a palace-like edifice, a robust tower, and other less well defined buildings. In front of them stands a bigger residential house surrounded by high walls and a picket fence. Beyond the fence runs a road lined with bushes, which probably separate the road from a river. Along the river is another building surrounded by walls. Its color and the architectural elements, from the door opening to the configuration of the three upper windows, could well suggest that the structure represents a church or a small convent, as Megan Holmes has proposed.

As noted earlier, Francesca also inherited from her mother the estate of Tizzano, which was highly important to the Scolari family. Matteo and Pippo di Stefano Scolari were born there, and Matteo later purchased several more parcels of land where he intended to found a monastery. In 1426 ownership of the estate was transferred to Matteo's widow, Piera Infangati. In the 1430s, probably in payment of Piera's debts, ownership passed, successively, to Giannozzo Pitti, Tommaso Capponi, and Bonaccorso Pitti.[47] The small settlement of Tizzano with its own parish church, Santo Stefano, is situated in the Greve Valley. In 1426 the estate consisted of the palace with an early tower, a workers' house, a kiln, and several parcels of land. The landscape and buildings seen in the portrait show a typical Tuscan countryside and might represent any of the estates owned by the Scolari, including Tizzano or Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari's most important estate, Vicchiomaggio.

Aside from the pictorial elements mentioned above, there are no written or visual sources that might significantly help with the identification of the sitters. No contemporary works of art showing any of the proposed sitters are known. Two posthumous, sixteenth-century images of Bonaccorso Pitti's father, Luca, do survive, however. In one of these (Kursk State Art Gallery, Russia), Luca wears a long red robe with a *berretta* cap, the typical costume and headgear of Florentine merchants in the fifteenth century. His facial characteristics are generalized, though, with a triangular face, a long, thin nose, strong eyebrows, thin lips, and an underhung jaw. He appears much the same in Alessandro Allori's painting (Pitti Chapel, Santo Spirito, Florence), in which he stands in front of his new palace. With no contemporary images of Luca Pitti available, it can only be presumed that both of these later portraits were modeled after fifteenth-century originals, possibly preserving some of the facial characteristics of the merchant. Their subjects do indeed bear many resemblances to the young man in Lippi's painting.

If, in fact, Francesca and Bonaccorso Pitti are the subjects of Lippi's portrait, what might have been the circumstances surrounding the commission? The central position of the female sitter and her youthful age suggest that the work may have been ordered by one of Francesca's close relatives. Such a portrait might have given visual testimony to Francesca's beauty and social status, both of which made her highly desirable to suitors of the highest rank. No art objects are known to have been commissioned either by her mother, Piera Infangati, or by her uncles, Filippo and Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari.[48] According to Francis William Kent's description, Francesca's first father-in-law, Neri di Gino Capponi, and his family "chose not to become really conspicuous patrons at all, doing little more than improving their ancestral property and churches."[49] By contrast, however, Francesca Scolari's second father-in-law, Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti, commissioned several outstanding works of art, including the famous palace later purchased by the Medici.[50] Besides the palace, in the 1450s he ordered several paintings and other art objects from Florentine masters; among these were wedding gifts for his offspring.[51] As Cosimo de'Medici's intimate friend, moreover, Luca might have had occasion to hear Cosimo praise his favorite master, Fra Filippo, whose most important patrons in the 1440s were the Medici.[52]

Available art historical evidence remains insufficient for any firm judgments concerning the identity of the sitters in Filippo Lippi's portrait. Many links between the painting and the family histories—including the couple's youth, their residence in Florence, their social background, the artistic commissions of the Pitti family, the centrality of the female sitter, and the gem on her shoulder—support the hypothesis that the portrait represents Francesca di Matteo Scolari and her husband, Bonaccorso di Luca Pitti. Although the male sitter rests his hands on the coat of arms, his gesture may well symbolize that a Pitti has gained access to the Scolari family's noble lineage.

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NOTES

1. Breck 1913.
2. Jansen 1987–88, p. 117.
3. Ruda 1993, p. 85; Holmes 1999, p. 130.
4. Breck 1913, p. 49; Jansen 1987–88, p. 117. The difference was noticed by Megan Holmes (1999, p. 129).
5. Raccolta Ceramelli Papiani, Scolari family, fasc. 4314, www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/ceramellipapiani2, accessed January 9, 2008.
6. The baron's coat of arms appears in the so-called Aulendorf manuscript, a copy from the 1450s or 1460s of the *Chronicle* of Ulrich von Richental (the original of 1420 has not survived). Jékely 2006, p. 298.
7. The helmet refers to the nobility of the family in the Kingdom of Hungary, while the dragon is the symbol of the Dragon Order founded by Sigismund of Luxemburg. Matteo Scolari was most likely made a nobleman by King Sigismund. *Zsigmond-korioklevéltár* 2003, CD-ROM, vol. 3, doc. 2680 (14/09/1412).
8. For the history of the Scolari family in Hungary, see Prajda 2010a.
9. The tomb was published in Lővei 1987, pp. 592–93. There were at least two other families in Florence—the Infangati and the Schelmi—who used very similar coats of arms. See Borgia and Fumi Cambi Gado 1992, p. 216.
10. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence (hereafter BNCF), Fondo Passerini 156, tables 14, 15.
11. Breck 1913, p. 49. Although Passerini was clearly familiar with Florentine archival sources, his Scolari genealogy contains several points of information that contradict primary archival sources. See Passerini's manuscript, BNCF Fondo Passerini 156, tables 14, 15, and Litta 1819–83, vol. 2, *Buondelmonte di Firenze*, table III.
12. Among the five Scolari brothers, Giambonino had already been married by 1429 and settled in Treviso. See the letter mentioning Giambonino's wife: Corporazioni Religiose Soppressi 78.326, fol. 364r, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence (hereafter ASF). Filippo di Rinieri Scolari's tax declaration indicates that his brothers were living in Treviso (ASF Catasto 296, fol. 160v). Branca, the eldest of the brothers, and Donato, the youngest, had probably died before the 1430s, because they did not appear in the *catasto* records after 1427 (ASF Catasto 20, fol. 1113r). Filippo had already married the Florentine Luigi di Giovanni Aldobrandini's only daughter, Margherita, by 1431 (ASF Catasto 385, fol. 800v). For the Scolari genealogy, see Prajda 2012, fig. 7.3.
13. In an earlier article (Prajda 2010b) I analyzed the possible links between Filippo di Rinieri Scolari and Lippi's portrait. The present article reflects new lines of inquiry that have opened up since then as a result of much broader archival research I conducted in the Archivio di Stato, Florence.
14. The wedding can be dated on the basis of information on Agnola Sapiti's dowry provided by two documents, ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 7397, fol. 397r, and 7395, fol. 185v. The couple's first child was born about 1442; ASF Catasto 650, fol. 857v.
15. In a letter written in 1448, he mentions that he has recently returned to Florence after a long foreign sojourn; ASF Mediceo Avanti il Principato filza 16, no. 35.
16. See Lorenzo Scolari's tax returns: ASF Catasto 650, fols. 856r–857v (1446); and 785, fols. 379r–380v (1458).
17. At the time of their marriage Agnola might have been about sixteen or seventeen, while Lorenzo was twenty-eight to forty years old. For Agnola's age, see the tax declarations: ASF Catasto 335, fol. 95v (1431; 9 years old), and 650, fol. 457v (1446; 24 years old).

For Lorenzo's age, see his tax declarations: ASF Catasto 17, fol. 284r (1427; 29 years old), and 785, fol. 1183r (1458; 48 years old).

18. See his tax return in 1427: ASF Catasto 17, fols. 284r–286r.
19. See his tax declarations: ASF Catasto 17, fol. 286r (1427); 335, fol. 95v (1431); 433, fol. 217v (1433); and 609, fol. 177v (1442).
20. See the dowry contract in 1438: ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 7397, fol. 397r. See also Bernardo Sapiti's tax return in 1442: ASF Catasto 609, fol. 177r.
21. According to Lorenzo Scolari's tax declaration, Bernardo Sapiti still owned all the Monte shares in 1446; ASF Catasto 650, fol. 857v (April 28, 1447). Bernardo Sapiti's debt was also mentioned in a document datable to April 28, 1447; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 7397, fol. 205r.
22. Jansen 1987–88, p. 103. Technical examination has revealed that the male figure was added to the composition after the female figure. Holmes 1999, p. 134.
23. Dieter Jansen (1987–88, pp. 103–9) suspected that the physical distance between the sitters indicates the woman's higher social status.
24. Matteo Scolari's eldest daughter, Caterina, had already married in 1419/20 and the youngest, Mattea, died during infancy. For Caterina's marriage, see ASF Guadagni 14, doc. 19, fol. 4v. For the death of Mattea, see ASF Catasto 385, fol. 814v.
25. According to her father's testaments and her tax declarations, probably completed by her mother or uncles, she was born about 1422–25. ASF Catasto 59, fol. 876r; 385, fol. 814r; 478, fol. 725; and 793, fol. 442r. The dowry deposit was made before 1427 by lo Spano. See Rinaldo degli Albizzi's tax returns: ASF Catasto 386, fol. 687r, and 479, fol. 515.
26. Amerigo was emancipated from his father on March 17, 1436. ASF Notificazioni di atti di emancipazione 2, fol. 140r.
27. On June 1, 1437, she was still under the tutelage of the Magistrato dei Pupilli and Filippo di Rinieri Scolari. ASF Guadagni 14, doc. 13, fol. 1r.; ASF Magistrato dei Pupilli 57.
28. Tommaso was emancipated from his father in 1437. ASF Notificazioni di atti di emancipazione 3, fol. 29v. For the dowry deposit and the consummation of the marriage, see ASF Monte Comune o delle Graticole, Serie II, 2416, fol. 338r. According to a canceled paragraph of a contract, Francesca had already been married on December 2, 1438, to Tommaso Capponi; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 689, fol. 227r.
29. According to his father's tax return, Tommaso in 1427 was nine years old; ASF Catasto 18, fol. 1180r.
30. According to a contract, he was still alive in July 1442; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 689, fol. 228r. I am indebted to Brenda Preyer for bringing this document to my attention.
31. ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 15130, fol. 43r.
32. According to his father's tax returns, Bonaccorso was born about 1418; ASF Catasto 66, fol. 154v; 335, fol. 202r; and 440, fol. 172r. In his grandfather's chronicle, his birthday is mentioned as March 24, 1420; "Cronaca di Bonaccorso Pitti," in Branca 1986, p. 347.
33. There were also certain ownership transfers made between the Capponi and the Pitti regarding the late Matteo Scolari's most important property, Tizzano. ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 689.
34. In 1455 the couple made a dowry deposit for their daughter, Caterina; ASF Monte Commune o delle Graticole, Serie II, 1391, fols. 33v. and 56v. They had two sons, Giovanni and Lorenzo. See Bonaccorso di Luca Pitti's tax declaration in 1480: ASF Catasto 996, fol. 304r.
35. Their new home was located in the parish of San Felice in Piazza, close to the so-called Pitti Palace; ASF Catasto 650, fol. 999r.
36. For the history of the Capponi, see Kent 1977 and Goldthwaite 1968, pp. 187–233. Kent does not mention Tommaso di Neri in his book, and Goldthwaite (p. 188) refers to him only in the Capponi genealogical chart, as Tommaso (1417–1444). The Capponi lived in the parish of San Jacopo Sopr'Arno, where the Sapiti and, later, Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari lived.
37. See Neri di Gino Capponi's tax returns: ASF Catasto 17, fol. 1176r (1427); 335, fols. 549r–552v (1431); and 648, fols. 674r–675r (1446).
38. ASF Consulte e Pratiche 46–49, 52–54.
39. See Bonaccorso di Neri Pitti's tax returns: ASF Catasto 66, fols. 154v–156r (1427), and 339, fols. 296r–297r (1431).
40. See Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti's tax returns: ASF Catasto 440, fols. 171r–172r (1433), and 650, fol. 999r–v (1446).
41. See Francesca's tax returns: ASF Catasto 385, fol. 814r–v (1431); 650, fol. 100r (1446); and 783, fol. 442 (1458).
42. The ownership rights were transferred to Francesca's husbands, probably in payment of a debt; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 689, fols. 227r–238v.
43. Holmes 1999, p. 134.
44. See Matteo Scolari's testament: ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 5814, fol. 34v (the original) and ASF Corporazioni Religiose Soppressi 78.326, fol. 275v (the copy).
45. For the silverware, see Piera Infangati's tax return: ASF Catasto 386, fols. 859v–860r, and the tax return of Matteo Scolari's heirs: ibid., fol. 663v.
46. Ruda 1993, p. 88. According to Megan Holmes's theory (1999, p. 129), the buildings appearing in the picture—especially the convent or churchlike building—might have symbolic meaning.
47. ASF Notarile Antecosimiano 15130, fol. 43r.
48. Filippo and Lorenzo played only an intermediary role in the construction of the Scolari Oratory ordered by their uncles. See the sources published in Saalman 1993, pp. 380–410.
49. Kent 1995, p. 185.
50. Arrighi 2006; Cecchi 2006; Romby 2006.
51. See Luca Pitti's manuscript "Entrate e uscite," ASF Ginori Conti, Serie Pitti, 195, fols. 67r, 144v, 150r.
52. Ganz 2007.

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A Bruges Donor Identified: Canon Victor van Zwavenarde (ca. 1413–1481)

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In 1982 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired two fragments of a fifteenth-century painting with Saint Donatian depicted on one fragment, and a second holy figure, almost certainly Saint Victor, on the other (Figure 1).[1] A donor, a cleric who until now has remained unidentified, kneels before Saint Victor.

Didier Martens ascribed the painting from which the Metropolitan fragments derive to the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend (active 1475–1504), possibly identified as Pieter Casenbroot.[2] The work was previously dated to about 1490 and its place of origin understood to be Bruges. Martens also suggested that the donor must have been a priest of the Church of Saint Donatian, and indeed several arguments support this thesis. First and foremost, Saint Donatian was a holy figure who was rarely portrayed in early Netherlandish art—he is found in only four other paintings. In one case, the name of the saint was shared by the donor, but the other instances are paintings that were commissioned by distinguished clergymen of the Church of Saint Donatian for their grave monuments or to decorate a chapel. The best known of the group is *Madonna with Canon Joris van der Paele* by Jan van Eyck (1436), in which the canon is presented by his patron saint, Saint George (Joris), to Mary and the Infant Christ (Figure 2). Notable similarities in the placement of the figures strongly suggest that the Metropolitan fragments were cut out of a larger work that imitated the composition of Van Eyck's painting. Saint Donatian must have stood at the left with Mary and the Child in the middle, and the donor with his patron saint at the right. In this case, the saint was not Joris, but Victor. Comparison with the work commissioned by Joris van der Paele advances the supposition that here the donor's first name must have been Victor.

To discover the identity of the donor, we might sensibly search for a clergyman named Victor connected to the Church of Saint Donatian in the second half of the fifteenth century. Ultimately only one cleric emerges: Victor van Zwavenarde, canon from 1458 until his death in 1481. In 1477 he acquired a plot near the altar of Saints Victor and Livinus in Saint Donatian's in which he was ultimately buried. We may therefore reasonably conclude that the original painting of Saint Donatian, Saint Victor, and a canon was commissioned by Van Zwavenarde to decorate his funeral monument.

Victor van Zwavenarde was born about 1413, and although his surname refers to present-day Zwaanaarde (near Sint-Niklaas), his origins were in Ghent.[3] Zwavenarde was born out of wedlock and it is possible that he was the son of a member of the clergy.[4] He was ordained in the diocese of Tournai between 1438 and 1446 and must have been acquainted with several other fifteenth-century clerics from that diocese, and possibly the child of one.[5] The clerics include his uncle Antonius, pastor of the Church of Saint Jacob in Bruges; Piatus, chaplain of the Church of Saint Salvator in Bruges;[6] and Henricus, chaplain of the Church of Saint Salvator in Harelbeke.[7]

Van Zwavenarde is documented for the first time when he was enrolled in 1432 in the newly established University of Leuven. In 1434 and 1435 he earned diplomas of *baccalaureus* and *licentiatus in artibus*, respectively, and then remained connected to the university for several years afterward. He is recorded as the *judex apellationum* of the liberal arts faculty on the university council in 1436, and as examinator of the licenses of that faculty in 1440.[8]

In the same period, while living primarily in Leuven, Van Zwavenarde was also the pastor of Zwijnaarde (near Ghent), a position that he eventually must have passed on to a

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1. Master of the Saint Ursula Legend (Netherlandish, active 1475–1504). *Saint Donatian; Saint Victor Presenting a Donor*, ca. 1477–81. Oil on wood. [1982.60.18]: 9½ × 3⅞ in. (24.1 × 9.8 cm); [1982.60.19]: 9½ × 4 in. (24.1 × 10.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.18–.19)

replacement. He became pastor in Harelbeke in 1442, and until 1446 was chaplain of the Church of Saint Michael in Ghent. In that year he is recorded for the first time in Bruges, where he served as the chaplain of the Holy Blood Chapel (Chapel of Saint Basil). In 1448 he informed the chapter of Saint Donatian's of his plans to study abroad and to reside with the Roman Curia; it is uncertain, however, whether he actually left his native land.[9] Records show that in 1457 Van Zwavenarde was identified as a doctor of ecclesiastical law, indicating that at some point he must have pursued regimented studies. After 1458 he applied for a prebendary position as canon in the Church of Saint Donatian, but the post was disputed until 1460, following several years of competition with other candidates. He resided there as canon until his death.

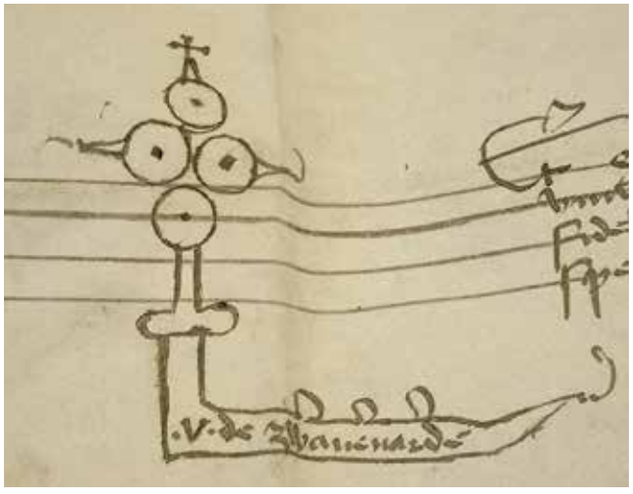
Like many clerics of his era, Van Zwavenarde did not strictly adhere to the rule of celibacy, and he had an illegitimate son, Johannes, who entered the Carmelite convent of Muilen-Liedekerke and served as heir after the death of his father.[10] The canon eschewed the ecclesiastical lifestyle

2. Jan van Eyck (Netherlandish, ca. 1395–1441). *Madonna with Canon Joris van der Paele*, 1436. Oil on wood, 48 × 61⅞ in. (122 × 157 cm). Groeninge Museum, Bruges (0.161.1). Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

in other respects too. For example, he was involved in gambling, hardly an acceptable activity for a clergyman, and thereby found himself in financial difficulty.[11]

Such problems were temporary, however, due to Van Zwavenarde's numerous and lucrative clerical positions. In addition to serving as chaplain of the Holy Blood Chapel and canon at Saint Donatian's, he was chaplain of the parish church of Westkapelle (1455), chaplain in the Hallehove chapel near Harelbeke (1455–61), chaplain in the Hospital of Saint Aubert in Bruges (1466), sexton of the parish church of Diksmuide (1467), and *scholaster* of the parish church of Herentals (1467).[12] Occasionally he also functioned as a public notary with imperial authorization (see Figure 3).[13]

All of these activities positioned Van Zwavenarde to give generously and to invest in a funerary monument at the Church of Saint Donatian. He took the first steps on February 17, 1477, when he acquired a burial plot near the altar of Saints Victor and Livinus; the precise location of the altar in the nave of the church is unknown. In exchange, he was required to contribute at least 40 shilling Parisis (or 40 groats) each year.[14] Van Zwavenarde must have amply exceeded this minimum, because when the chapter examined its oblations on July 26, 1481, they totaled 5 pounds Groats (or 1,200 groats) per year. Undoubtedly, the bestowal of a yearly mass on May 7 was included in the



3. Notary signature of Victor van Zwavenarde, dated August 22, 1460. Rijksarchief te Brugge, "Oorkonden met blauw nummer," no. 4977. Photograph: Hendrik Callewier

cost, as were his gifts for the feasts of Saint Anna and of the Blessed Sacrament.[15]

The charitable and burial arrangements made by Van Zwavenarde were possibly motivated by declining health. In 1474 he informed the chapter for the first time of his illness, and in 1480 and 1481 he was frequently absent from choir service due to sickness, at least once from gout.[16] On November 6, 1481, the suffering canon had his will drawn up by the chapter clerk and notary, Balduinus Mijs. He died at three o'clock in the morning on December 25. That same day he was buried in his plot by the altar of Saints Victor and Livinus, his will was read, and Mijs along with the executor, Canon Burchardus Keddekin, compiled an inventory of the deceased's home.

Unfortunately, neither the will nor the inventory of the home has survived.[17] Therefore, specific references to the painting from which the two Metropolitan fragments derive do not exist, disallowing attempts to date the work precisely. As mentioned, the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend was active between 1475 and 1504, and until now it was agreed that the painting must date to about 1490. The details of Van Zwavenarde's life, however, are a basis for changing the date to several years earlier. The commission must have occurred by 1481, the year of the canon's death, at the latest, and 1477, the year Van Zwavenarde acquired the burial plot, is a possible *datum ante quem*. We must also consider the possibility that the painting was finished only after the death of its patron. For instance, the donor's face is notably lacking specificity and demonstrates a strong resemblance to that of Saint Victor. The explanation for this effect must not be sought in the lesser talents of the painter, but rather in the contingency that the artist's model was already deceased.

The identification of the donor in the Metropolitan fragments expands our knowledge of secular clerics as patrons of early Netherlandish painting.[18] As demonstrated, it is now possible to speak of a significant tradition having developed in relation to the Church of Saint Donatian beginning with the aforementioned Joris van der Paele's patronage of Jan van Eyck in 1436. In addition to Victor van Zwavenarde's patronage of the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend, for the painting suggested here as dating from about 1477 to about 1481, followers of the precedent set by Van der Paele included Canon Gilles Joye (Hans Memling, *The Canon Gilles Joye*), Canon Bernardinus de Salviatis (Gerard David, *Canon Bernardijn Salviati and Three Saints*), and Richard de Visch, called van der Capelle (Gerard David, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor*).[19] These paintings were commissioned by canons of the Church of Saint Donatian, who were wealthy members of the high clergy. Strikingly, all of these patrons appear to have been of illegitimate birth.[20] Bastards among the canons may have been more motivated to set up opulent foundations before they died, to avoid having the chapter confiscate their possessions after death.[21] There were various ways in which these Bruges clerics may have come into contact with painters such as Van Eyck, Memling, and David. Gilles Joye and Richard van der Capelle, for instance, were for some time employed at the court of the Burgundian duke, where other patrons also could be found. Moreover, numerous canons of Saint Donatian's were also courtiers, and as such, their colleagues enjoyed indirect access to courtly circles. Membership in religious confraternities offered the clerics yet another opportunity to convene with artists. The commissioning of portraits, such as that by Victor van Zwavenarde, provided a way for the clerics to illustrate their piety and promote an elite identity, as compensation for the stigma of humble or illegitimate descent.[22]

NOTES

1. See Bauman 1984. See also Sander 1993, pp. 278–79, and Ainsworth and Christensen 1998, p. 405, ill.
2. D. Martens 1999, pp. 217–21; 2000a, pp. 48, 66; and 2000b, pp. 132–33. The Master of the Saint Ursula Legend possibly may be identified as Pieter Casenbroot, a painter born in 1436. He was an apprentice of the Bruges painter Arnoud de Mol between 1453 and 1456, and in 1459–60 he became a master painter. He died in 1504 or 1505. See Janssens 2004.
3. Rijksarchief te Brugge (hereafter RAB), "Découvertes," no. 10, fol. 19r.
4. Bisschoppelijk archief Brugge (hereafter BAB), A. 55, fol. 153v.
5. The date range of Van Zwavenarde's ordainment, between 1438 and 1446, is determined based on the following facts: he reached the minimum age of twenty-five about 1438, and he is mentioned as a priest in 1446. RAB "Découvertes," no. 10, fol. 19r; BAB A. 51, fol. 177r.
6. In 1446, Antonius and Victor "exchanged" their clerical positions in Bruges and Ghent. BAB, A. 51, fol. 177r.
7. RAB, "Oorkonden met blauw nummer," no. 4977; Reusens 1903b, p. 247.
8. Reusens 1865, p. 225; Reusens 1903a, p. 265.
9. "Ire ad studium ultra montes et ad curiam Romanam" (Going to study over the mountains [Italy] and to the Roman curia). BAB, A. 51, fol. 223v.
10. Chapter deed, January 14, 1482, BAB, A. 55, fols. 152v–153r. There is no further mention of Johannes in the capitular acts.
11. According to a chapter deed dated August 7, 1448, Van Zwavenarde played dice in the home of Jacobus Monachi, chaplain of the Church of Saint Donatian. BAB, A. 51, fol. 291v. The Saint Donatian's chapter frequently required him to pay his debts, including in 1455, 1467, and 1469. BAB, A. 53, fols. 222r, 251r, 318r.
12. Warichez 1912, pp. 39, 334; BAB, A. 52, fol. 91r; A. 53, fols. 220r, 224v; I. 10; Rijksarchief te Kortrijk, "Archief Sint-Salvatorkerk te Harelbeke," no. 1583.
13. The document shown in Figure 3 is the only one of its kind that is known. Dated August 22, 1460. RAB, "Oorkonden met blauw nummer," no. 4977.
14. BAB, A. 54, fol. 111v.
15. Dewitte 1999, p. 49.

16. Chapter deeds, February 3, 1474 (BAB, A. 54, fol. 28v); February 3 and July 10, 1480, and February 5, 1481 (BAB, A. 55, fols. 83r, 94v, 109v, 145r).
17. BAB, A. 55, fols. 150r, 155v.
18. See, for example, research on Memling's patrons: M. Martens 1997. In fact, no clerics can be found in the list of known Memling patrons. See Blockmans 1996, p. 24.
19. Hans Memling, *The Canon Gilles Joye*, ca. 1472, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1955.943. Gerard David, *Canon Bernardijn Salviati and Three Saints*, after 1501, The National Gallery, London, NG1045. Gerard David, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor* [showing Richard de Visch, called van der Capelle, probably 1510, The National Gallery, London, NG1432. Jacob Obrecht also might be placed in this group, although his identification and the attribution of a painting to Memling is not universally accepted (Hans Memling?, *Jacob Obrecht*?, 1496, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, AP 1993.02). Borchert 2005, p. 178. See Callewier 2009 and 2011, pp. 446–57.
20. Callewier 2011, pp. 446–59.
21. M. Martens 1995, p. 381.
22. Wilson 1998, pp. 13–84; Dumolyn and Moermans 2003, p. 333; De Clercq, Dumolyn, and Haemers 2007; Lane 2009, p. 118.

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Drawings of the Pantheon in the Metropolitan Museum's Goldschmidt Scrapbook

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In the group of sixteenth-century drawings of ancient architecture known as the Goldschmidt Scrapbook at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the ten sheets devoted to the Pantheon (catalogued in the Appendix) constitute one of the most thorough records of the building that were created during the Renaissance. Emilie d'Orgeix described the drawings as "the most accurate and complete study of the Pantheon to survive from the sixteenth century," and because of the drawings' comprehensiveness, scholars have used them to identify features of the ancient building that no longer exist today.[1] Yet the drawings in the Goldschmidt Pantheon series are significant not only for what they show but also for how they show it. A mix of sketched details and carefully constructed perspective views, the group resulted from a survey conducted by several draftsmen working in collaboration. As such, it offers an unparalleled body of evidence for considering how architects used drawings to study buildings in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Goldschmidt Pantheon series can be linked to earlier and later drawings in a chain of representations stretching from Raphael (1483–1520) to seventeenth-century France.

THE GOLDSCHMIDT PANTHEON SERIES: AN OVERVIEW

The Pantheon series is a distinct group of drawings within a much larger set of heterogeneous material. The Goldschmidt Scrapbook, to which it belongs, once formed a single collection together with the Scholz Scrapbook, another group of sixteenth-century architectural drawings also at the Metropolitan Museum. As established by Howard Burns and discussed by d'Orgeix, the original collection was probably assembled soon after the drawings were made, in either the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century.[2] Subsequently, probably about a century later, the collection was divided and bound into two volumes, now known as the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, made up of drawings of ancient architecture, and the Scholz Scrapbook, with the drawings of modern architecture.[3] At some point the volumes were separated from each other and then passed through a succession of different owners before being reunited at the Metropolitan in the twentieth century.[4]

Within the Goldschmidt Scrapbook are several groups of drawings that focus on particular buildings—the studies of the Forum of Nerva are especially detailed—but none is as exhaustive as those in the Pantheon series. This group is relatively uniform. All the drawings are on half or whole sheets of the same laid paper, and although at least thirteen hands can be identified in the two scrapbooks, nine of the ten Pantheon sheets were drawn by just one of them, named Hand F by Burns.[5] The following analysis focuses primarily on the nine sheets attributed to this draftsman; the tenth sheet (Figure 17) will be discussed later.

Made with black chalk and overlaid with brown ink, the Pantheon drawings vary in scale from a detail of a floral ornament measuring a few millimeters wide to a full-page perspective view of an interior alcove, complete with key marks, inscriptions, and dimensions. Within this range, the drawings can be divided into three categories: plans, details of elements such as cornices and moldings, and views. Although a rule was used on occasion, most of the drawings were made entirely freehand, a fact that heightens the sense that the draftsman spent time at the building studying and sketching. The views, in particular, have a personal quality: all are constructed from the perspective of someone standing on the floor, and the draftsman's position within the building can be determined for each one.

The drawings are arranged in groupings that chart a path through the Pantheon: a view up into the portico roof appears on the reverse of a portico plan, a plan of the cella is on the reverse of a view into one of the cella niches, and elevations of the attic story share a sheet with studies of the dome.

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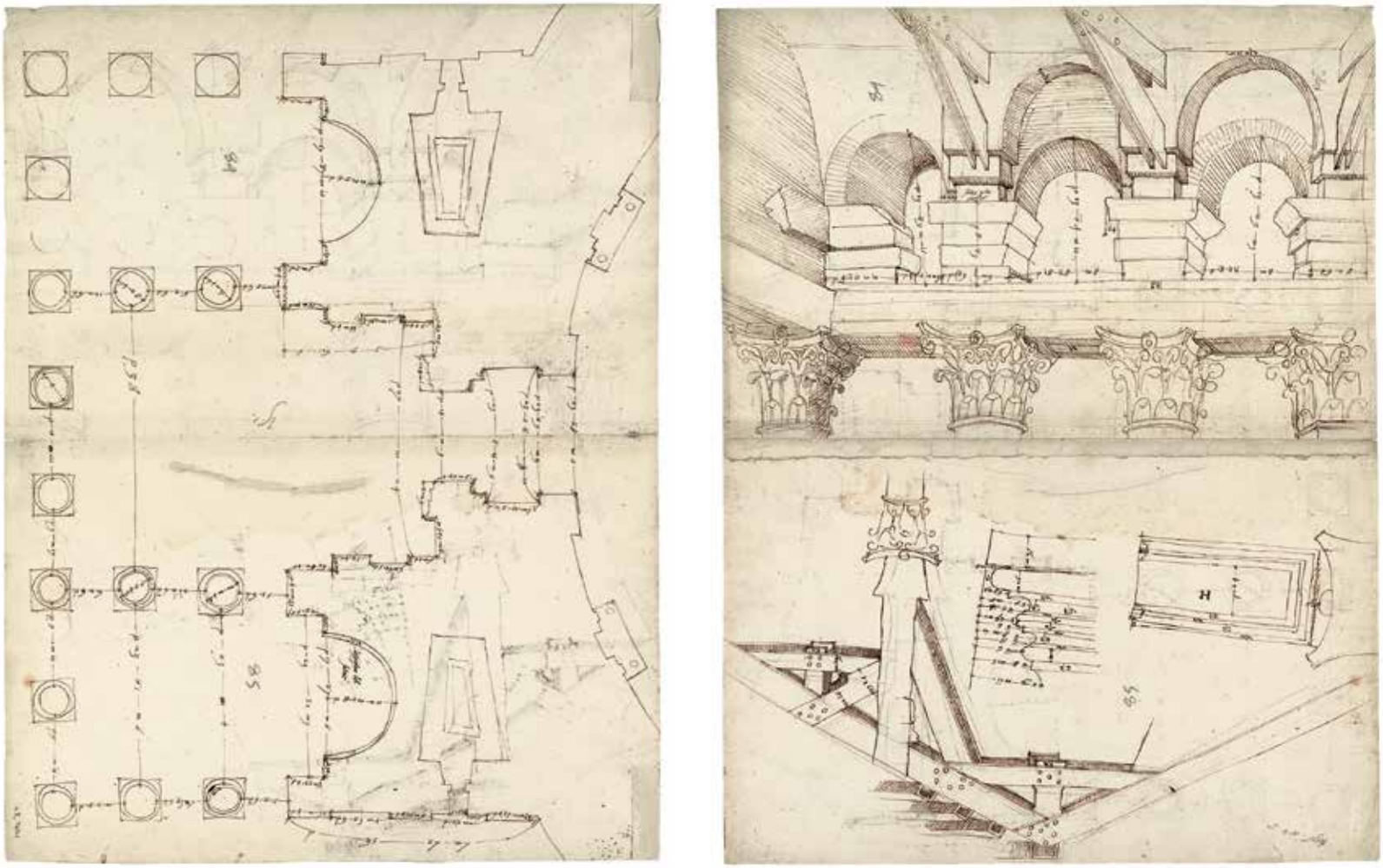


1 (cat. 1). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): plan of the Pantheon portico and intermediate block. Verso (right): elevations of the Pantheon portico roof structure and bronze truss; details of the portico column base and the portico architrave soffit. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.1). On the recto, the east side of the Pantheon portico is at the top of the sheet, and the row of columns at the front of the portico, the north side of the Pantheon, is at the left. Photographs of Figures 1, 3–8, 16, 17: Mark Morosse, The Photograph Studio, MMA

The dimensions inscribed on the plans also help to determine the draftsman's route. On the plan of the portico, for example, are detailed measurements of nearly every element except the easternmost bay (Figure 1r). In the sixteenth century this area was blocked off by a masonry wall, constructed after a fire damaged the three columns of the last row. This wall can be seen in several drawings, including a view under the portico by Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) now in Berlin (Figure 2).[6] Because the measurements on the portico plan stop at this point, one can see how the draftsman proceeded with his survey until the wall blocked his path.

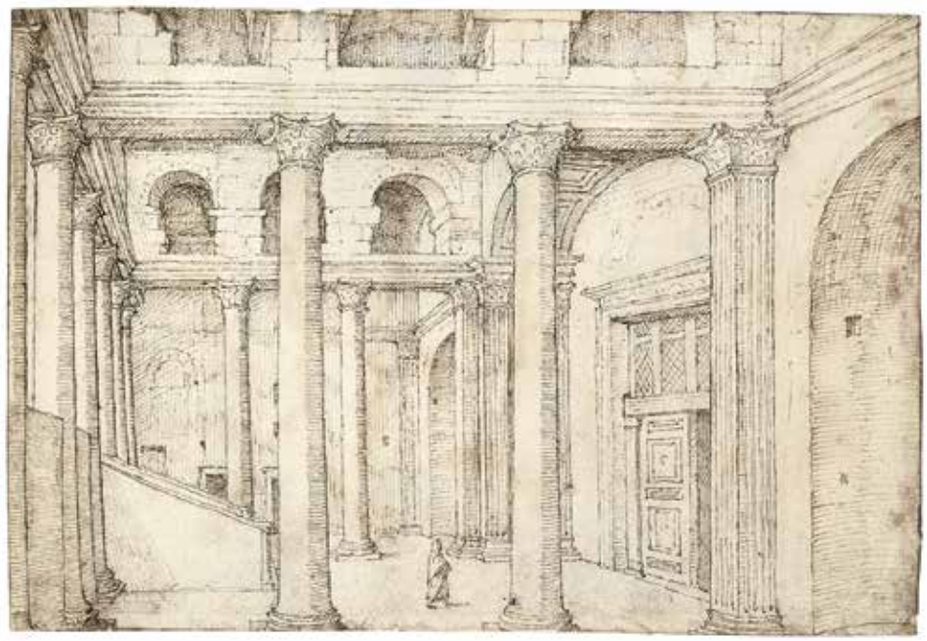
The portico plan exemplifies how details in the Goldschmidt drawings help locate the draftsman not only in space but in time. As d'Orgeix pointed out, these details often focus on the building's structure, in contrast to the focus on ornament that predominates in other sixteenth-century representations of the building.[7] As a result, there are elements that appear in the Goldschmidt series that can be found in few, if any, other representations of the Pantheon. Many of these elements are depicted in studies of how water drains and light moves through the building. The drawings of the roof (Figure 3r), for example, include details of the drainage system, such as the depressions that function as gutters to the pipes funneling water from the dome. On the verso of this sheet, the drawings of the intermediate block show the vaulting that spans the interior chambers and the openings in the ceiling of these rooms. Another drawing (Figure 4r) shows the rarely observed detail of the curvature of the floor near the partial plan of the cella.[8]

The Goldschmidt series also includes studies of circulation. The same sheet of roof studies (Figure 3r) shows not only the stairs that lead over the dome to the oculus but also the three sets of stairs at the dome's base. The plan of the

portico and intermediate block (Figure 1r) includes the two staircases on opposite sides of the main entrance (see Figure 1r). Renaissance architects rarely drew these staircases—the main routes of vertical access for the building—perhaps because they could not get inside them to take measurements or because they had no interest in them.[9] Although the Goldschmidt plan has no dimensions for the stairs, the draftsman evidently was at least able to look inside the wall cavities, because he approximated their shape as well as that of the opening between the stairs and the side of the building.[10]

As noted above, the drawings record a number of architectural elements that are no longer extant. In one of the earliest publications on the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, Henry de Geymüller cited a sheet of studies that includes detailed views of the Pantheon dome (Figure 3r).[11] That drawing includes the bronze bars—now gone—that once were mounted on the vertical face of the oculus, presumably to support a frieze.[12] More recently, Arnold Nesselrath discussed a Goldschmidt drawing of the bronze trusses that Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–44) infamously removed from the Pantheon portico roof in 1625 (see Figure 1v).[13] Other now-lost elements include the bronze letters of the pediment inscription, which the draftsman recorded precisely with measurements, going so far as to draw in the plumb bobs used to establish the vertical on either side of the letter *S* (Figure 5v). These bronze letters were replaced with modern copies in the nineteenth century, and the Goldschmidt drawings may be the only extant renderings that have details of the originals.[14] In addition, the view of the exterior vestibule shows the marble panels beside the main door as they were before plaques were later inserted between them (Figure 6r).[15] The frame of the ancient bronze door itself, shown in a measured elevation, appears as it did through the seventeenth century, with pilasters that extend over the entablature and a bronze lattice that is divided into seven sections rather than the current six (Figure 7v).[16] Inside the building, d'Orgeix observed that the view of the interior entrance vestibule shows the octagonal coffering, now gone, that once covered the barrel vault over the door (see Figure 16v).[17] The drawings of the marbles that formerly decorated the attic story also capture details of ornament that has since been removed (see Figure 3v), in this case during the renovations conducted under Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58). Finally, the view of the entablature at the central altar opposite the main entrance (Figure 8r) includes the acroterion, or decorative pedestal, with a cornice that no longer exists.[18]

These acutely observed details resulted from the Goldschmidt draftsman's effort to record what he saw in front of him: unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries, he did not offer speculations or critiques in his drawings.[19] Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) added statues to the portico pediment to re-create how he believed the building had appeared in antiquity, for example, but there are no such reconstructions in the Goldschmidt series.[20] Nor are there corrective adjustments such as the pilaster that Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) added to the interior vestibule wall in order to remedy its asymmetry or the realignment of the cella interior decoration that appears in drawings by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501) and others.[21]

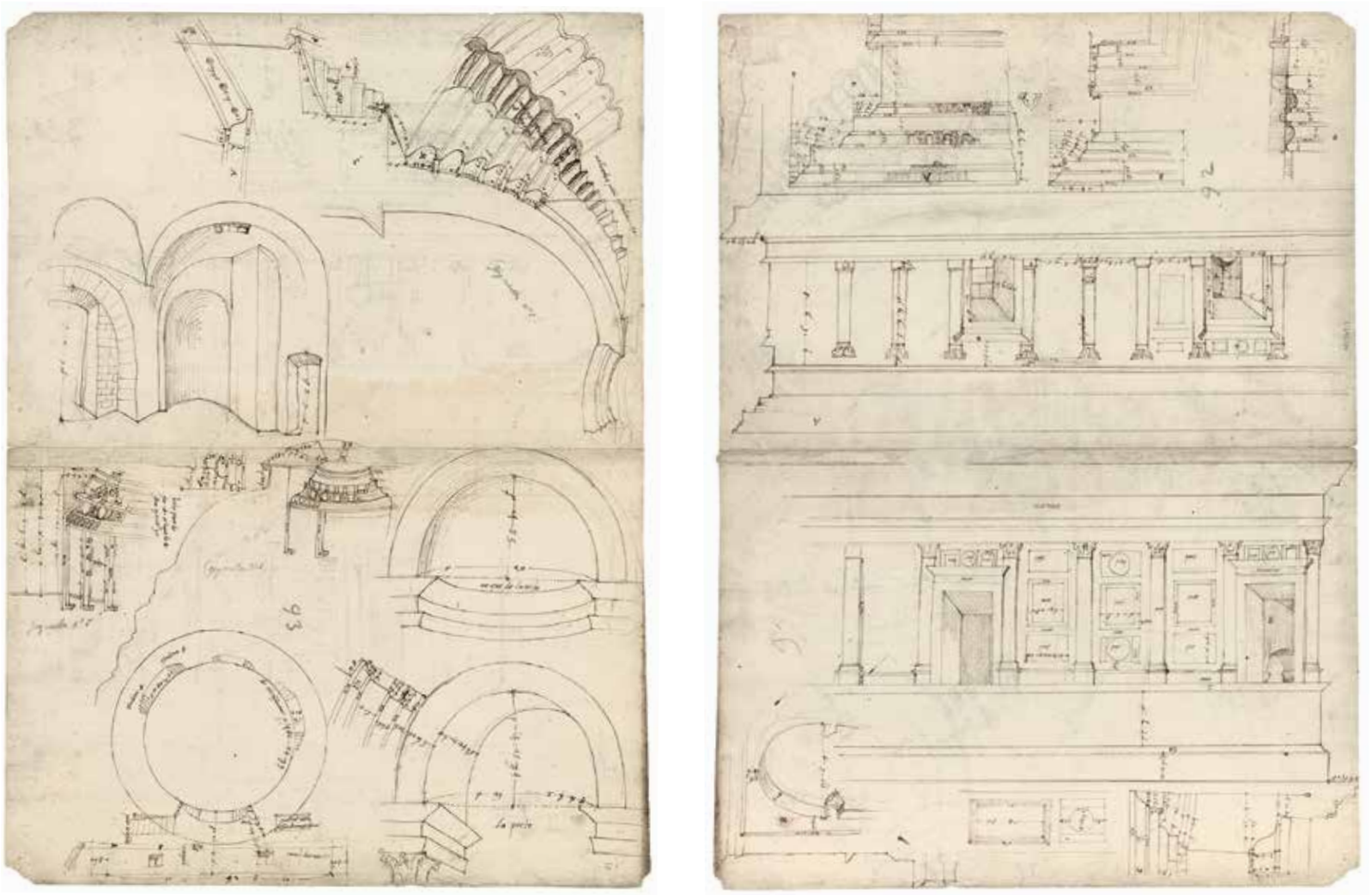


2. Maarten van Heemskerck (Netherlandish, 1498–1574). View of the Pantheon portico showing walls to the north (the row of columns at the left) and the east (the row of columns in the background), ca. 1532–36. Pen and brown ink, 5 3/16 x 7 11/16 in. (13.2 x 19.5 cm). Roman sketchbooks, vol. 2, fol. 2r. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Photograph: Volker–H. Schneider

DATING THE DRAWINGS

The evidence suggests that the Goldschmidt draftsman created his drawings sometime in the 1560s. Watermarks similar to the one found on the Pantheon sheets have been dated to both the 1540s and the 1560s, but the closest comparative examples are from the 1560s.[22] Furthermore, the same watermark appears on a Scholz Scrapbook plan of the staircase, attributed to Michelangelo, in the upper garden of the Cortile del Belvedere at the Vatican.[23] That staircase was designed and built in 1550–51, which rules out a date in the 1540s for this drawing and, therefore, for the Goldschmidt Pantheon series.[24]

Related drawings in other collections help to reinforce this conclusion. In his catalogue of the drawings of ancient Roman architecture from Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum, Ian Campbell identified a sheet of studies of the Pantheon as being closely connected to the Goldschmidt series.[25] This sheet is found in *Architectura civile*, one of the twenty-two albums from Cassiano's collection that are now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Figure 9). Like the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, *Architectura civile* contains

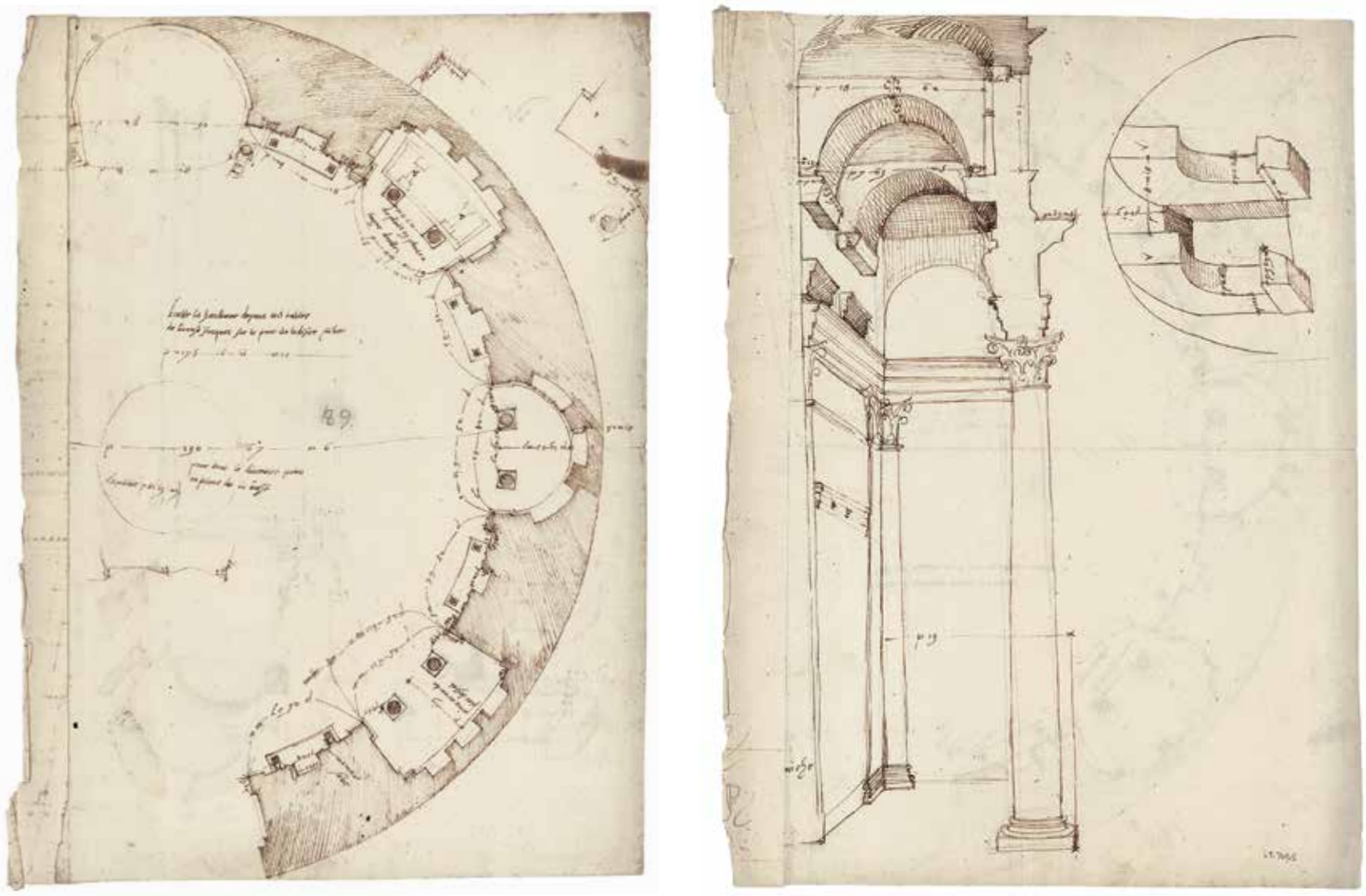


3 (cat. 8). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): detail views of the Pantheon dome, oculus, niches, door, and interior of the intermediate block. Verso (right): elevations of the Pantheon rotunda interior attic with partial section of the alcove ceiling and details. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.7)

drawings by many draftsmen, and the sheet with the Pantheon studies belongs to a discrete series within it. This series, attributed by Campbell to an anonymous Portuguese draftsman, has twenty-five sheets devoted mainly to ancient buildings in the Roman Campagna, to the east and southeast of Rome; only the Pantheon sheet and a sheet of drawings of antiquities from Tivoli depict other sites.[26] The thoroughness of these studies, combined with an apparent effort to order the buildings according to their topography, led Campbell to surmise that they had been made as part of a larger, systematic effort to record monuments and not simply for personal use.[27] Although the Pantheon sheet is undated, two other sheets in the same series have the dates June 9, 1570, and May 1568 in their inscriptions.[28]

The close correspondence between the *Architectura civile* drawings and the Goldschmidt Pantheon series suggests that they were all made at approximately the same time. Campbell noted the similarities in their renderings of the bronze portico roof trusses, observing that both drawings contain the same mistake of showing the lower diagonal web of the roof trusses resting directly on the architrave rather than on the stones above it.[29] This shared error, combined with the three identical measurements and matching perspectives of the two drawings, suggests that one is a copy of the other or that both are copies of a common source.

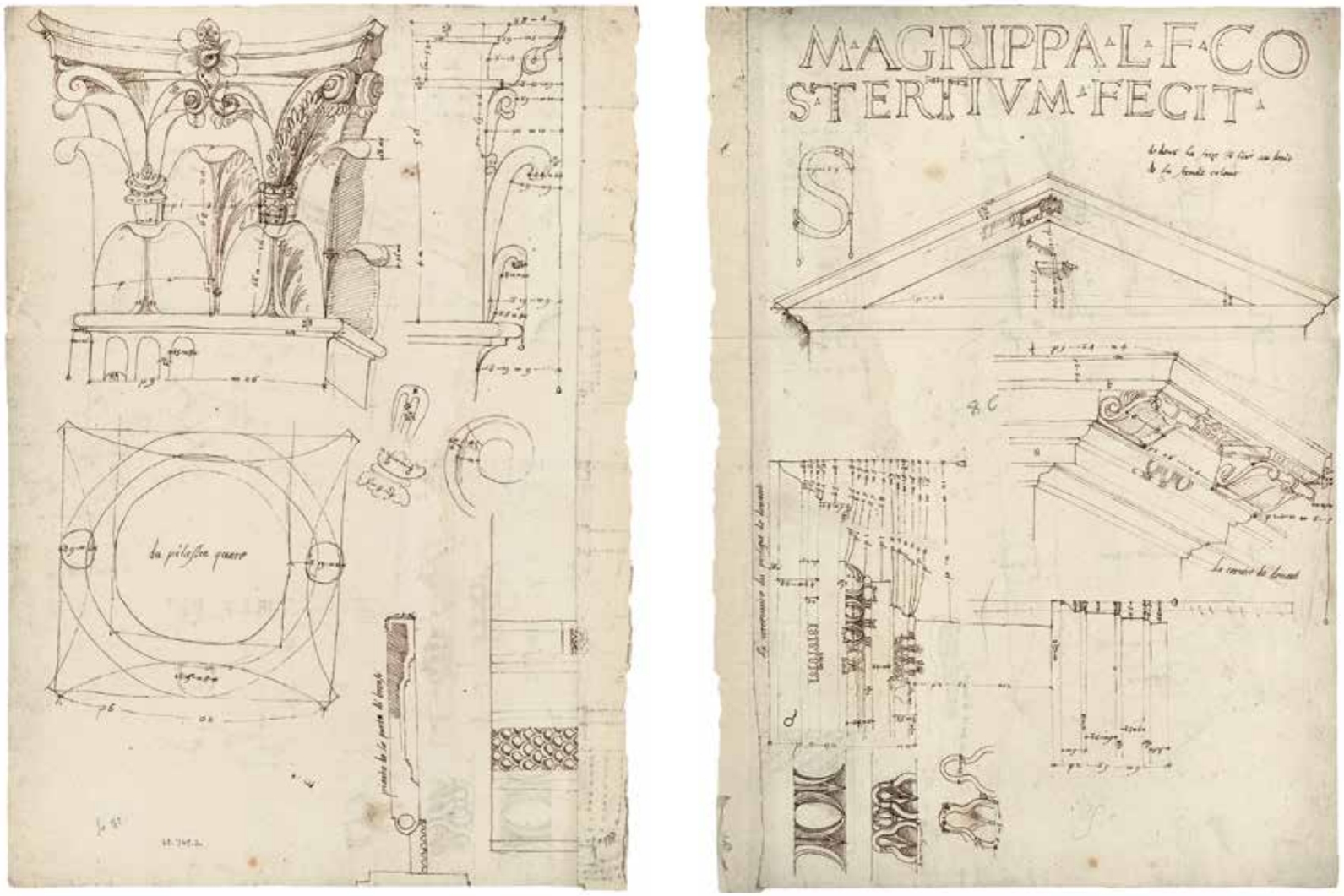
The latter possibility, that the drawings share a source, seems the more likely. In addition to the mistake that Campbell noted, the Goldschmidt series and the *Architectura civile* sheet have several elements in common, and comparison shows that the Goldschmidt versions are the more polished, drawn with a higher level of detail and finish. Although they include measurements, the *Architectura civile* drawings are sketches, usually encompassing less of each building element than their Goldschmidt counterparts.



4 (cat. 7). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): partial plan of the Pantheon with diagram of the floor curvature and detail of the alcove corner. Verso (right): view, partial section, and detail of the Pantheon interior rectangular alcove. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.5). The drawings on the verso are upside down relative to the drawings on the recto.

The Goldschmidt series also includes many drawings that do not appear on the *Architectura civile* sheet; these are predominantly full-page views or plans that show an area of the building larger than a single architectural element, such as the plans of the alcoves (see Figure 6v). Nevertheless, the correspondence between the two helps date the Goldschmidt series to the 1560s; it also suggests that the Goldschmidt draftsman worked collaboratively, sharing drawings and information with others. Such collaboration is not surprising, considering that it takes more than one pair of hands to survey a building, particularly when those hands are taking measurements of hard-to-reach areas such as pediment inscriptions and rooftop beams.

That the Goldschmidt series includes the dimensions of so many elements that are inaccessible without ladders or scaffolding—the pediment inscription, the portico roof, and the cella attic, for example—suggests that the draftsman studied the Pantheon when it was undergoing renovation. In 1565 Pope Pius IV (r. 1559–65) sponsored a project to refurbish the bronze doors at the main entrance; this project could have provided the necessary apparatus for the draftsman to survey the upper reaches of that area.[30] Several drawings in the series focus on the entrance, including multiple views of the vestibule and a partial elevation of the door and its frame (see Figures 16v, 5r, 7v). One intriguing aspect of the elevation is that it shows the bronze doors without any of the ornamental bolts that now adorn its leaves (see Figure 7v). In the seventeenth century, architects including Antoine Desgodetz (1653–1729) studied these bolts carefully, making detailed renderings of the three types of rosettes.[31] Yet, earlier drawings such as Raphael's famous view of the main entrance, drawn in the first decade of the sixteenth century, do not show them, and neither do the printed illustrations in the treatises of Sebastiano



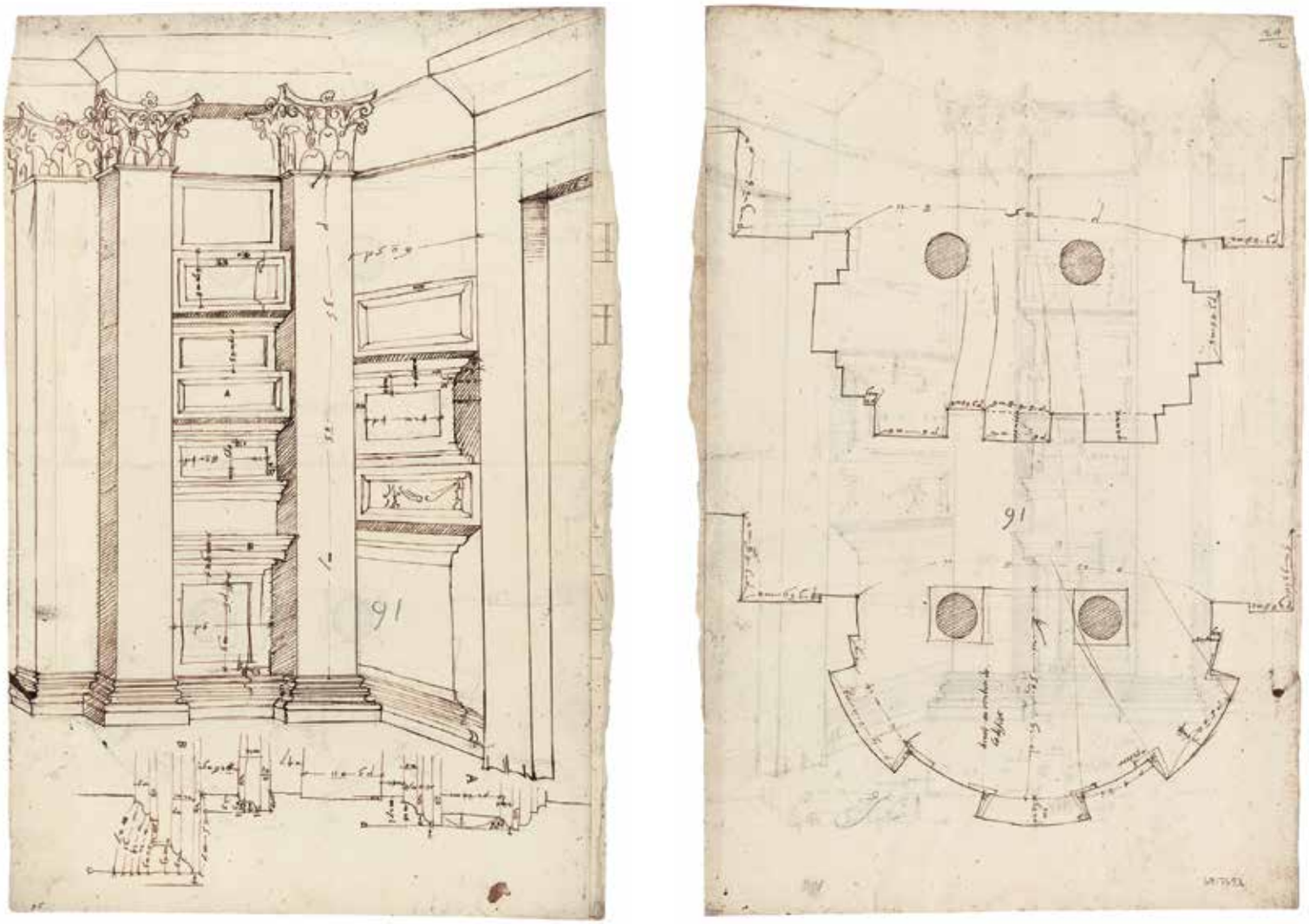
5 (cat. 3). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): elevation, profile, plan, and details of the Pantheon portico pilaster; plan and detail of the Pantheon door. Verso (right): elevation and details of the Pantheon portico pediment. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.2)

Serlio (1475–1554) and Palladio.[32] The 1565 door renovation included work on the bolts, so it seems likely that before this project, many of them were either missing or in such disrepair that architects simply ignored them; in fact, Francesco Cerasoli believed that the bolts were newly made during the 1565 renovation.[33] The absence of bolts in the Goldschmidt series can therefore be interpreted as additional evidence that the drawings date to the 1560s.

CONSIDERING THE DRAFTSMAN

Who could have surveyed the Pantheon in the 1560s and created these drawings? The Goldschmidt draftsman was French, as evinced by the language of the inscriptions and the unit of measurement, the *pied royal*.[34] Because the list of French architects known to have visited Rome in the 1560s is short, the roster of possible candidates can be narrowed considerably. Primarily because of the nationality of the draftsman, the Pantheon series has been attributed both to Philibert de l'Orme (1514–1570) and to the anonymous draftsman of the Codex Destailleur D in Berlin—a group of mid-sixteenth-century drawings that also have French inscriptions—while other drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks have been attributed to the circle of Etienne Dupérac (1520–1607). Although there is some evidence to support each of these attributions, all are subject to doubt.

The attribution of the Pantheon series to Philibert de l'Orme, proposed by Geymüller in 1883, has proved to be the most persistent. Geymüller published details of a sheet from the series, noting that the Pantheon group was then in the possession of Edmond Lechevallier-Chevignard (1825–1902).[35] He based his attribution on the evidence

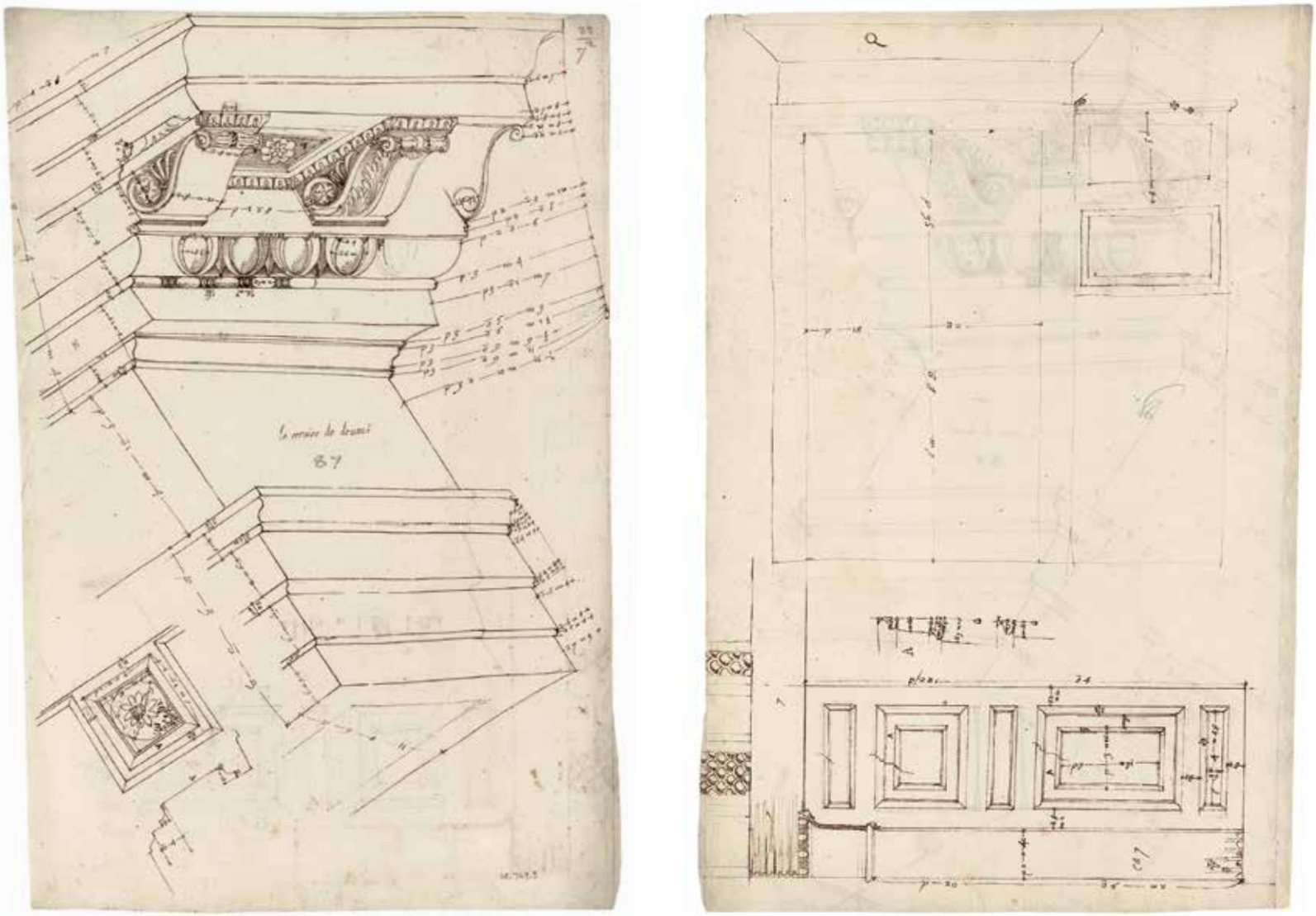


6 (cat. 6). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): view of the Pantheon exterior vestibule with detail. Verso (right): plans of the Pantheon interior rectangular and semicircular alcoves. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.6)

that de l'Orme had visited Rome in the 1530s and the 1560s and had described measuring the Pantheon in his *Premier tome de l'architecture*, published in 1567.[36] In 1902, when Lechevallier-Chevignard's effects were sold at the Hôtel Drouot, the auction catalogue listed a volume of seventy-three drawings of Roman monuments as the work of de l'Orme, with a special note citing the studies of the Pantheon.[37] Georges-Paul Chedanne (1861–1940), an architect who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, purchased the drawings at this sale,[38] and they continued to be associated with de l'Orme through subsequent changes of ownership until they reached the Metropolitan.[39]

The attribution to de l'Orme warrants consideration not only for the reasons that Geymüller named but also because the group clearly was made by someone with an architectural focus—a draftsman with an evident interest in structure and materials who made an effort to measure as many elements as possible. In contrast to more atmospheric sketches such as those made by Van Heemskerck in the 1540s, for example, the Goldschmidt drawings present technical aspects of the Pantheon.[40] Although de l'Orme is the most likely choice among the French architects who visited Rome in the 1560s, the drawings themselves do not support this attribution strongly. In his monograph on the architect, Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos dismissed the possibility that de l'Orme could have made the Goldschmidt series because the architect's handwriting does not match that of the inscriptions on the drawings.[41]

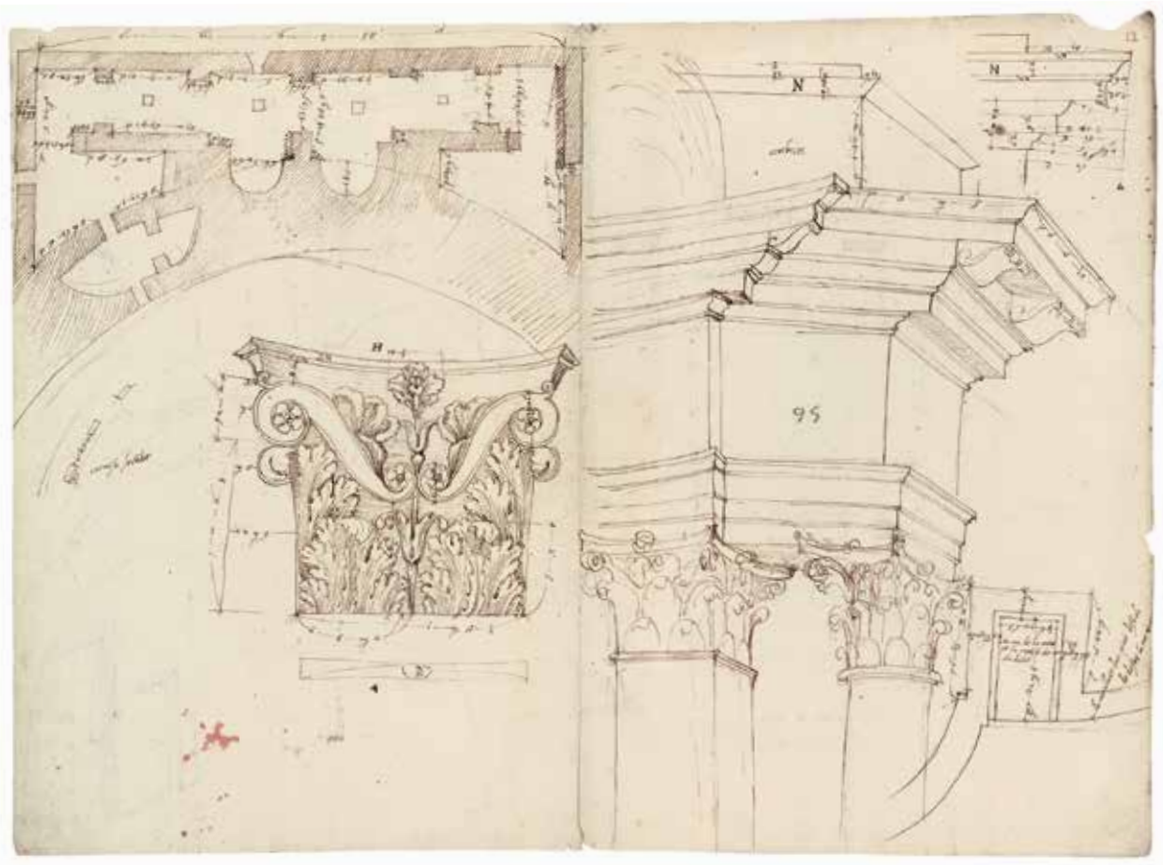
Although the Pantheon series itself was never attributed to Etienne Dupérac, drawings from the Scholz Scrapbook of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome have been assigned to his circle by Rudolph Wittkower and by Henry Millon and Craig Hugh Smyth.[42] Dupérac made two prints of Michelangelo's design for the basilica, and the Scholz drawings have been

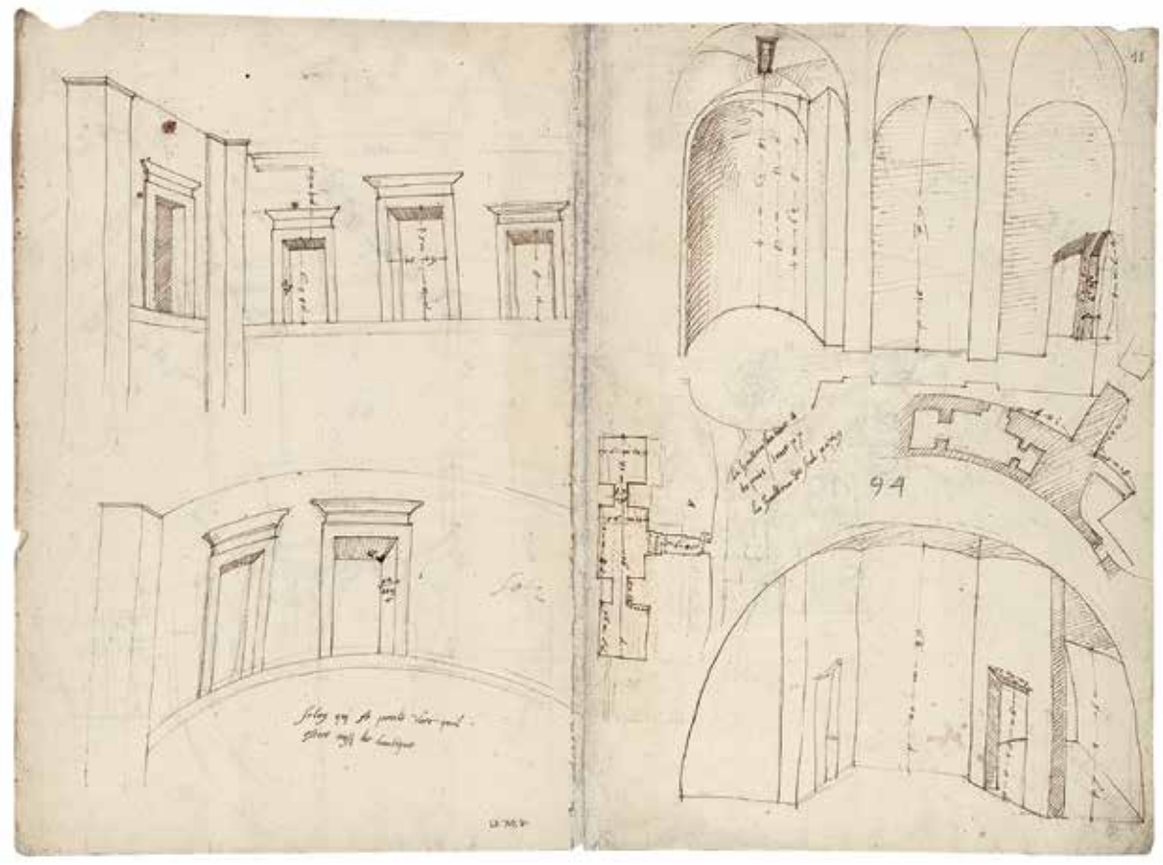


7 (cat. 2). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): perspective elevation of the Pantheon portico entablature with details of the coffering. Verso (right): elevation, schematic elevation, and detail of the Pantheon door. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.3)

interpreted as preparatory material for those prints; d'Orgeix hinted that Hand A, the draftsman responsible for the greatest number of drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks, may have been Dupérac himself.[43] Problems nevertheless remain in attributing the Goldschmidt Pantheon series to Dupérac's circle.

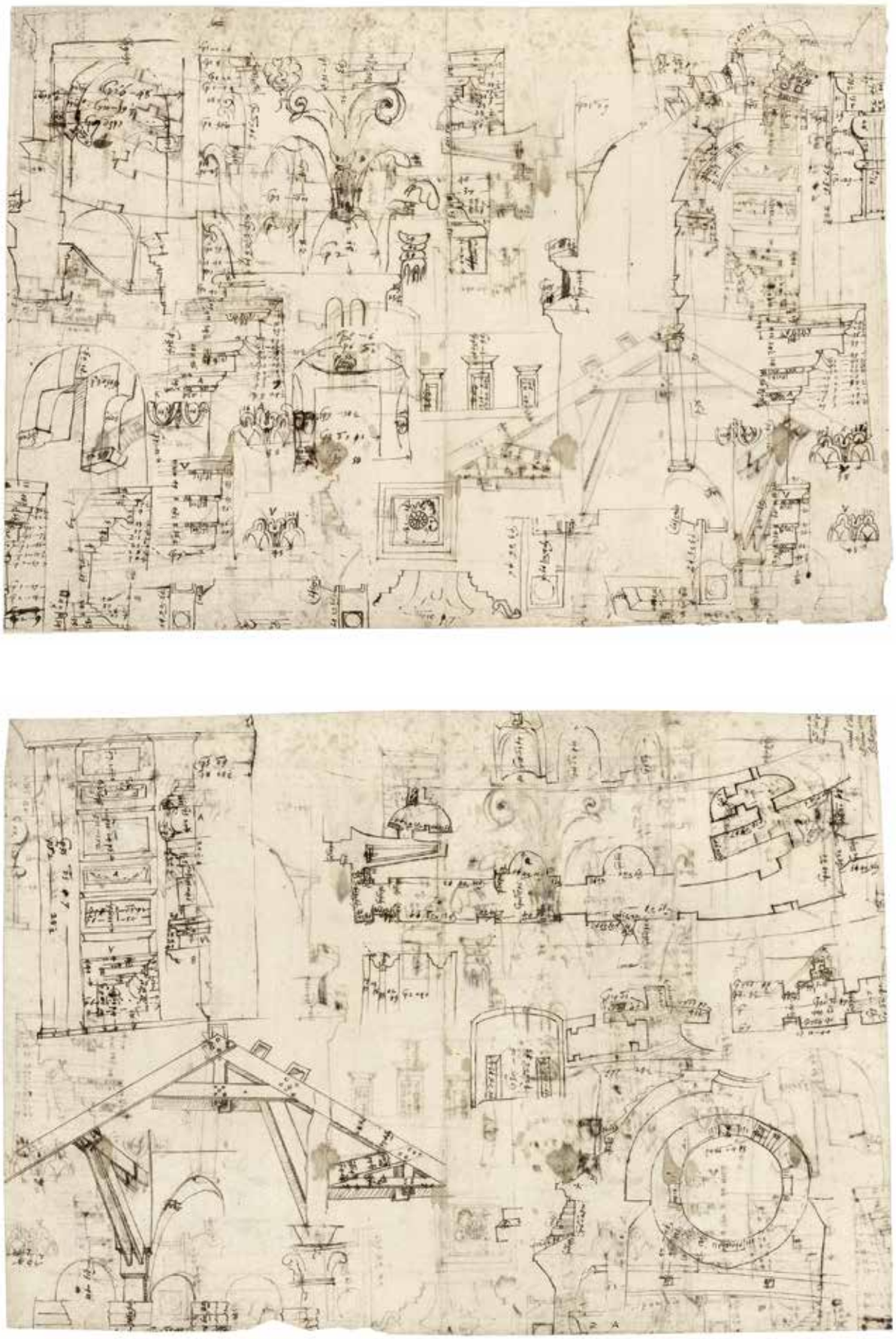
First, the question of whether this circle produced any of the drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks—including the Saint Peter's drawings—is not yet settled. Although the various Scholz drawings relating to Michelangelo's architecture do seem to derive from a publication project, there is no definitive evidence to suggest that Dupérac was the project's leader.[44] Dupérac's prints of Michelangelo's architecture do not resemble the Scholz drawings either in scale or in scope: his prints present sections, elevations, and views of entire buildings at once, while the drawings focus on single elements, generally eschewing full plans and sections in favor of details. Second, there were other French printmakers working in Rome in the 1560s who might have been responsible for such an effort. Previous efforts to attribute the Scholz Scrapbook drawings have generally focused on such printmakers, as Anna Bedon noted in her analysis of the Scholz drawings of Michelangelo's designs for the Campidoglio.[45] Besides Dupérac, the Francophone milieu in Rome included the print publisher and dealer Antonio Lafrery (1512–1577)—also known as Antoine Lafrère—who employed both Nicolas Béatrizet (1515–ca. 1566?), an engraver from Lorraine, and Jacob Bos (ca. 1520–?; active in Rome, ca. 1549–80), an engraver from the Low Countries. Since both Béatrizet and Bos made prints after Michelangelo's work, it is tempting to ascribe at least the Scholz Scrapbook drawings of his architectural projects to one of them.





8 (cat. 9). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): plan of the Pantheon intermediate block attic; elevation of an attic pilaster capital; partial perspective view and partial plan of the central niche with details. Verso (below): partial views of the Pantheon interior rectangular and semicircular alcoves; partial views and plans of the intermediate block interior attic. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.8)

9. Anonymous Portuguese draftsman of the Cassiano dal Pozzo Paper Museum. Studies of the Pantheon, in *Architectura civile*, fol. 23r and v. Pen and brown ink, 12⅜ x 17⅝ in. (31.5 x 44.8 cm). Royal Library, Windsor Castle (RL 10376). Photograph: Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2013

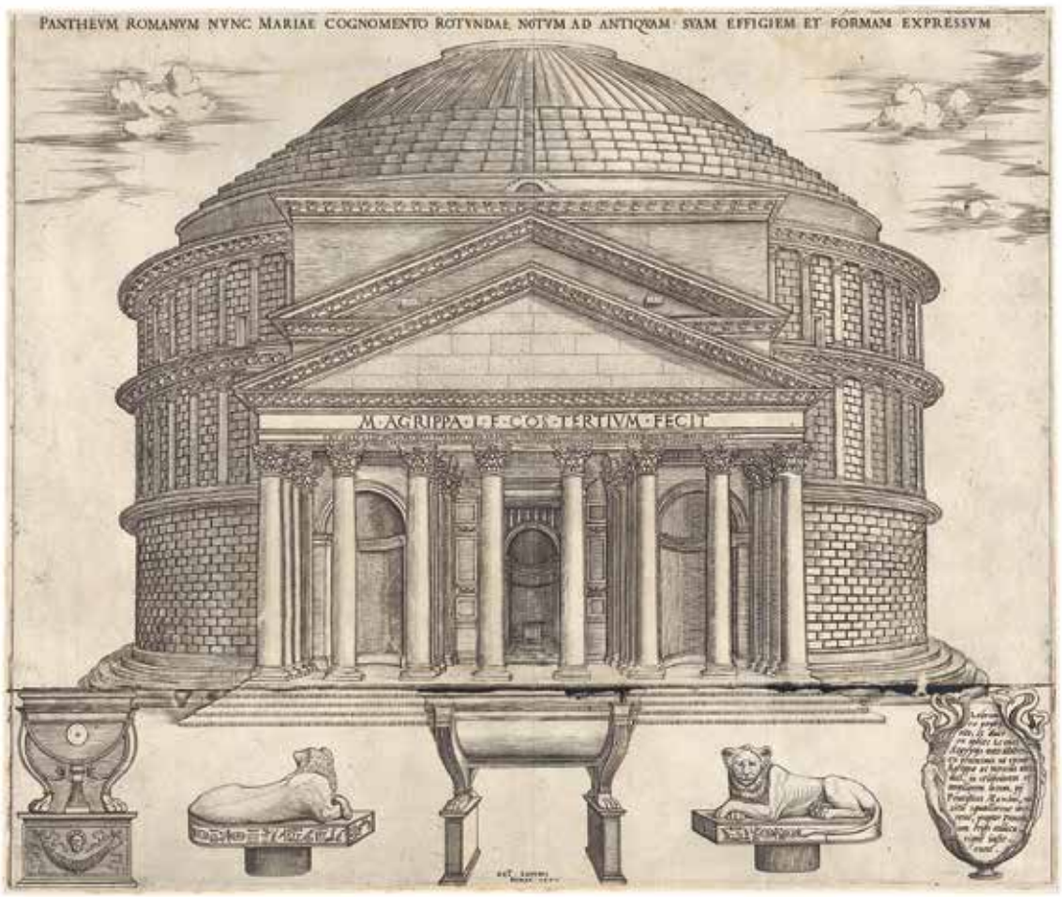


For the Goldschmidt Pantheon series, however, it is difficult to defend an attribution to Dupérac, Béatrizet, Bos, or any other printmaker. For one thing, the Pantheon drawings differ widely from the almost completely orthographic, scalar Scholz drawings of Michelangelo's architecture. For another, the Goldschmidt Pantheon series was made by someone who understood—or sought to understand—how the structure was put together, including its technical, spatial, and material aspects. The drawings present the Pantheon as a building, not as an image. The engraver who rendered the view of the Pantheon cella with pilasters on the exterior—as it appears in Béatrizet's print (Figure 10)—is unlikely to have conducted the Goldschmidt draftsman's detailed investigations of the same wall's inner structural arches and cavities.

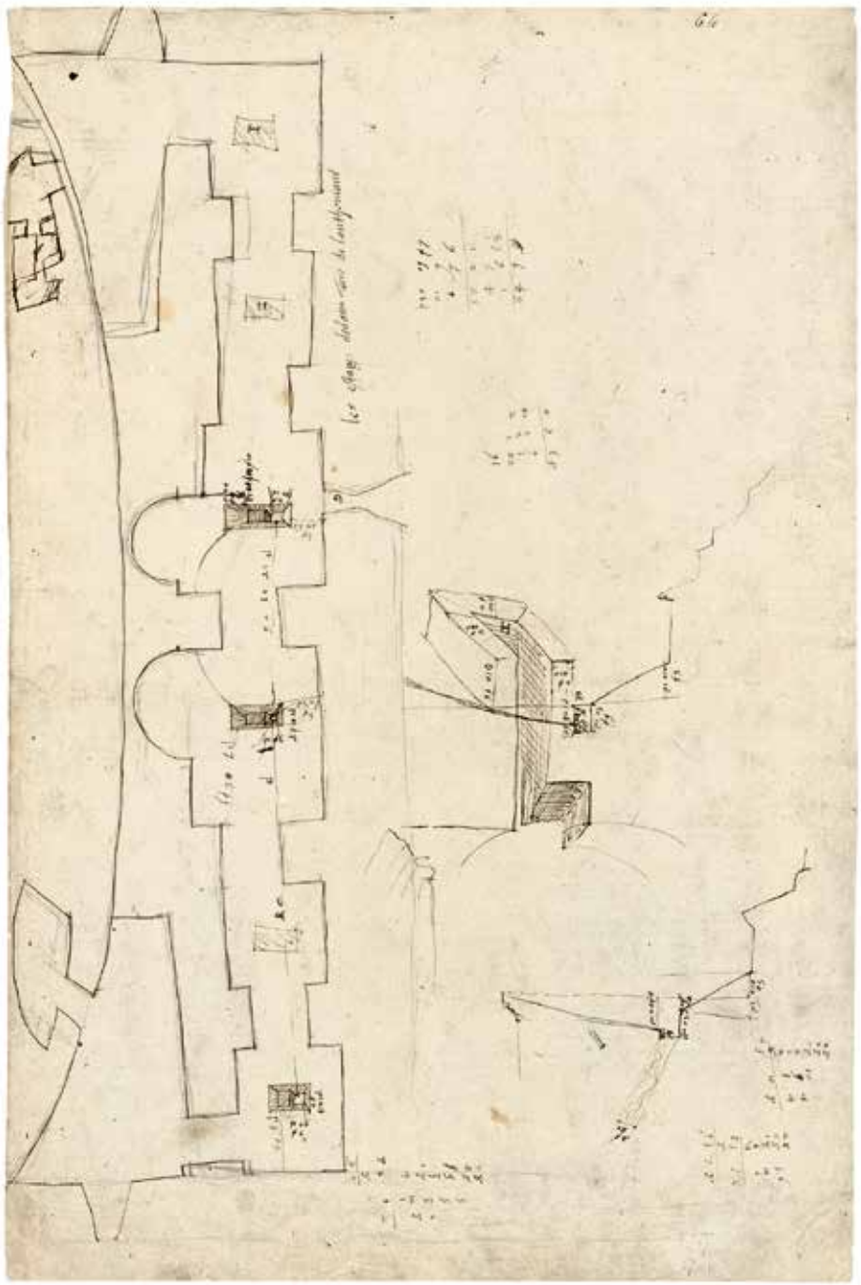
Bernd Kulawik's suggestion that the Goldschmidt Pantheon drawings constitute a missing part of the Codex Destailleur D in Berlin is a more logical theory.[46] Codex Destailleur D is a collection of sixteenth-century drawings that includes studies of both antiquities and modern subjects, most notably a series of studies of a wood model of Saint Peter's by Antonio da Sangallo (1484–1546).[47] Kulawik argued that the Destailleur D drawings were made in the 1540s as part of a concerted effort to record the entire ancient city on paper. He noted that the drawings of ancient architecture in the codex include studies of almost every significant monument in Rome except the Pantheon—a strange omission, considering the building's importance—and he posited that the drawings of the Pantheon in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook could be those missing drawings.

There is evidence both for and against Kulawik's suggestion. The presence of French inscriptions in Codex Destailleur D would support the hypothesis, as would the general character of its drawings, which, like many of the Goldschmidt images of the Pantheon, are sketchy, personal studies. Folio 38v in Codex Destailleur D, in particular—a plan of the interior spaces of the intermediate block with two sections of the connection between the intermediate block and the dome, taken at the roof level (Figure 11)—closely resembles the Goldschmidt plan of the same subject (see Figure 8r). The Destailleur D plan is messier, and the proportions are slightly different, as one might expect from a sketch, but all the essential details are there, including the openings through the walls of the building. Other highly specific details of the building, such as the openings in the ceiling of the intermediate block and the drainage system below the dome (see Figure 8r and v), appear in both versions.

Kulawik's own association of the codex with the survey project sponsored by the Accademia della Virtù, however, argues against a connection with the Goldschmidt Pantheon series. In the early 1540s, this group of humanists met at the



10. Nicolas Béatrizet (1515–ca. 1566?), published by Nicolaus van Aelst (1526–1613). *Pantheum Romanum nunc Mariae cognomento Rotundae notum ad antiquam suam effigiem et formam expressum*, after 1549. Engraving, 18⅛ x 18¼ in. (46.2 x 46.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941 (41.72 [1.18]). Photograph: Katherine Dahab, The Photograph Studio, MMA



11. Anonymous 16th-century French draftsman. Plan of the upper level of the Pantheon intermediate block and details of the connection between the intermediate block and the dome. Pen and brown ink, 17⅛ x 11⅜ in. (43.5 x 28.8 cm). Codex Destailleur D, fol. 38v. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek (Hdz. 4151). Photograph: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek

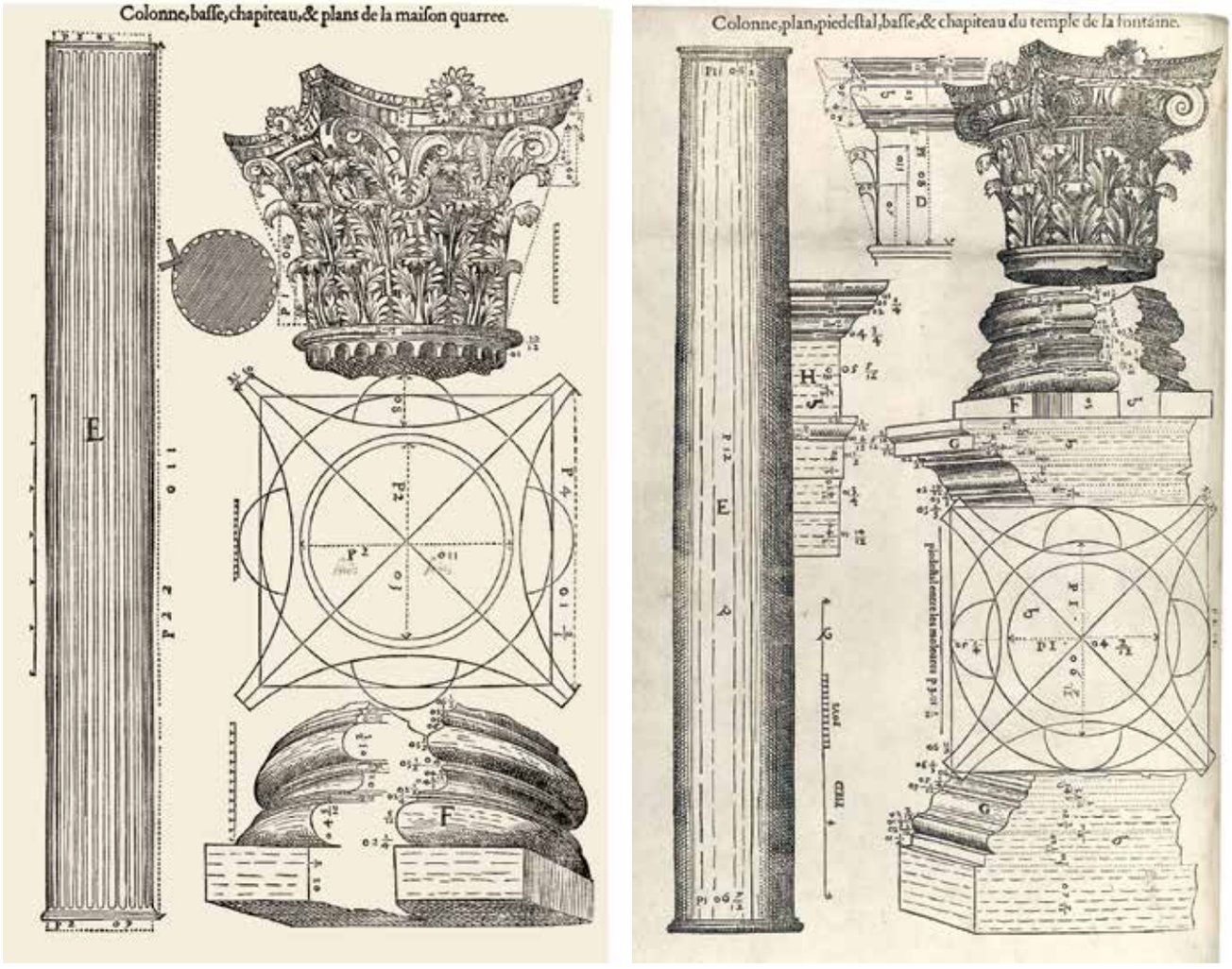
house of Claudio Tolomei (1492–1555) to discuss the work of Vitruvius.[48] In a letter of 1542, Tolomei outlined a proposal to publish the results of these discussions in a series of twenty volumes, the tenth of which would contain reconstructions of ancient Roman buildings.[49] Since this series never appeared, it is difficult to associate any drawings with the project, and in any case, the drawings of the Goldschmidt series date to the 1560s, too late for such a connection.

One architect whose name has been connected to other drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks—though not to the Pantheon series—is Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1611). Charles de Tolnay, in one of the earliest articles on the Scholz Scrapbook, in 1967, noted that seventeen of its drawings of Michelangelo's architectural projects in Florence are copies after Dosio's drawings now in the Uffizi, Florence.[50] These are mainly drawings of the San Lorenzo complex, but they also include an elevation of the portal of the monastery of Sant'Apollonia, which Carlo Bertocci and Charles Davis identified as another copy after Dosio. Bertocci and Davis characterized the Scholz Scrapbook as "a body of drawings often based on prior graphic representations" and noted that many of those earlier models are by Dosio.[51]

Given that the Scholz Scrapbook contains so many copies after Dosio, the Goldschmidt Pantheon series may well derive from his drawings. Dosio measured the Pantheon when studying the building for his own never-published architectural treatise. The resulting drawings cover many of the same areas of the building and elements that appear in the Goldschmidt series, including highly specific details such as the curvature in the cella floor, the marble panels in the entrance vestibule, and the openings in the ceiling of the intermediate block's upper chambers. Moreover, Dosio's Pantheon drawings were copied at least once: another set is in the Albertina, Vienna.[52] Despite the overall similarities in subject, however, there are no identifiable copies after Dosio in the Goldschmidt series, and the perspective views and details in the group do not resemble Dosio's completely orthogonal treatise drawings.

A final candidate to consider as the author of the Goldschmidt series is Jean Poldo d'Albenas (1512–1563), a Frenchman whose name has not been proposed before. Because the case for Poldo d'Albenas must be made entirely on the basis of biographical details and printed images—there are no extant drawings to compare—the attribution must remain only an intriguing hypothesis. In 1559 and 1560, Poldo d'Albenas published the *Discours historial de l'antique et illustre cité de Nismes*, in which he displayed an architectural erudition far beyond that evinced in other contemporary topographical studies.[53] After measuring the ancient Roman architectural remains of Nîmes himself, he included among his plates depictions of the Maison Carrée, the Temple de la Fontaine, the Pont du Gard, and the amphitheater. The plates of the first two buildings in particular had an impressive afterlife; no less an architect than Palladio used them as the basis for his own representations of the Maison Carrée and the Temple de la Fontaine in the *Quattro libri* of 1570.[54] As Frédérique Lemerle has noted, these representations of ancient buildings are exceptional for both their precision and their attention to the details of the architectural orders, qualities that distinguish them from earlier French architectural books.[55] These traits are part of the reason Poldo d'Albenas's illustrations of ancient Nîmes are so reminiscent of the Goldschmidt Pantheon series.

The similarity is immediately apparent when two plates in the *Discours historial* (Figure 12) are compared to two of

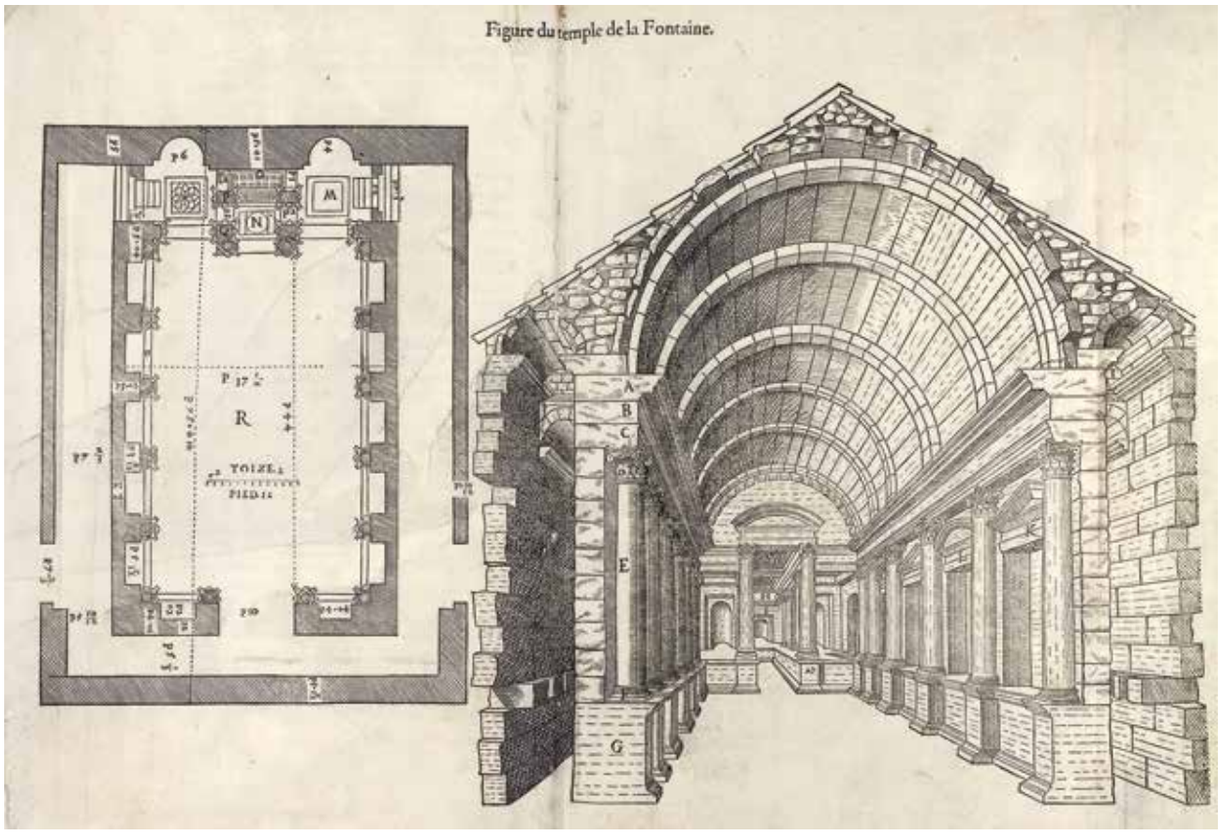


12. Jean Poldo d'Albenas (French, 1512–1563). *Colonne, basse, chapiteau, & plans de la maison quarree* and *Colonne, plan, piedestal, basse, & chapiteau du temple de la fontaine*, in Poldo d'Albenas 1559–60. Woodcut, each 12 7/16 x 8 1/16 in. (31.6 x 20.5 cm). Photographs: Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University

the Goldschmidt drawings. In these illustrations of elements from the Maison Carrée and the Temple de la Fontaine, each component of the architectural order is isolated on the page, so that the column shaft is shown separately from its capital and base. The same is done in the Goldschmidt drawings of elements from the portico, which are dissembled and rearranged in a similar way (see Figures 5r, 16r). In both the Poldo d'Albenas plates and the Goldschmidt drawings, the capitals are shown from an oblique angle, a view that emphasizes both their three-dimensionality and the modeling of the corners. This perspectival rendering of capitals is uncommon in mid-sixteenth-century architectural renderings, where orthogonal elevations that emphasize the ornamental surface predominate.[56]

The use of perspective to represent interiors is also characteristic of both the *Discours historial* plates and the Goldschmidt drawings. Poldo d'Albenas's view into the Temple de la Fontaine (Figure 13), for example, offers a look inside the structure seen slightly from the side; the same skewed stance is used to show a side alcove, the interior vestibule, and the portico in the Goldschmidt series (see Figures 14v, 16v, 1r). Although not exactly idiosyncratic, this mode of representation is nonetheless unconventional. The plates of the *Discours historial* occasionally appear clumsy, as Pierre Gros has observed, but they still contain an impressive amount of information.[57] As in the Goldschmidt drawings, the architectural elements are covered in dimensions, with a measurement given for nearly every component of the order (see also Figures 7r, 14r). In both sets of images, key letters are used to identify elements that are represented more than once.

In addition to the visual similarities, some external evidence indicates that Poldo d'Albenas could have been responsible for both the *Discours historial* plates and the Goldschmidt Pantheon drawings. Beyond his own forays with a measuring tape, the writer was also a reader—Vitruvius and Alberti appear among his citations—and he might have amplified his textual studies of ancient architecture with his own investigations.[58] He mentioned the Pantheon as a comparative example in his discussion of the Temple de la



13. Jean Poldo d'Albenas. *Figure du temple de la fontaine*, in Poldo d'Albenas 1559–60. Woodcut, 12 7/16 x 14 in. (31.6 x 35.6 cm). Photograph: Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University

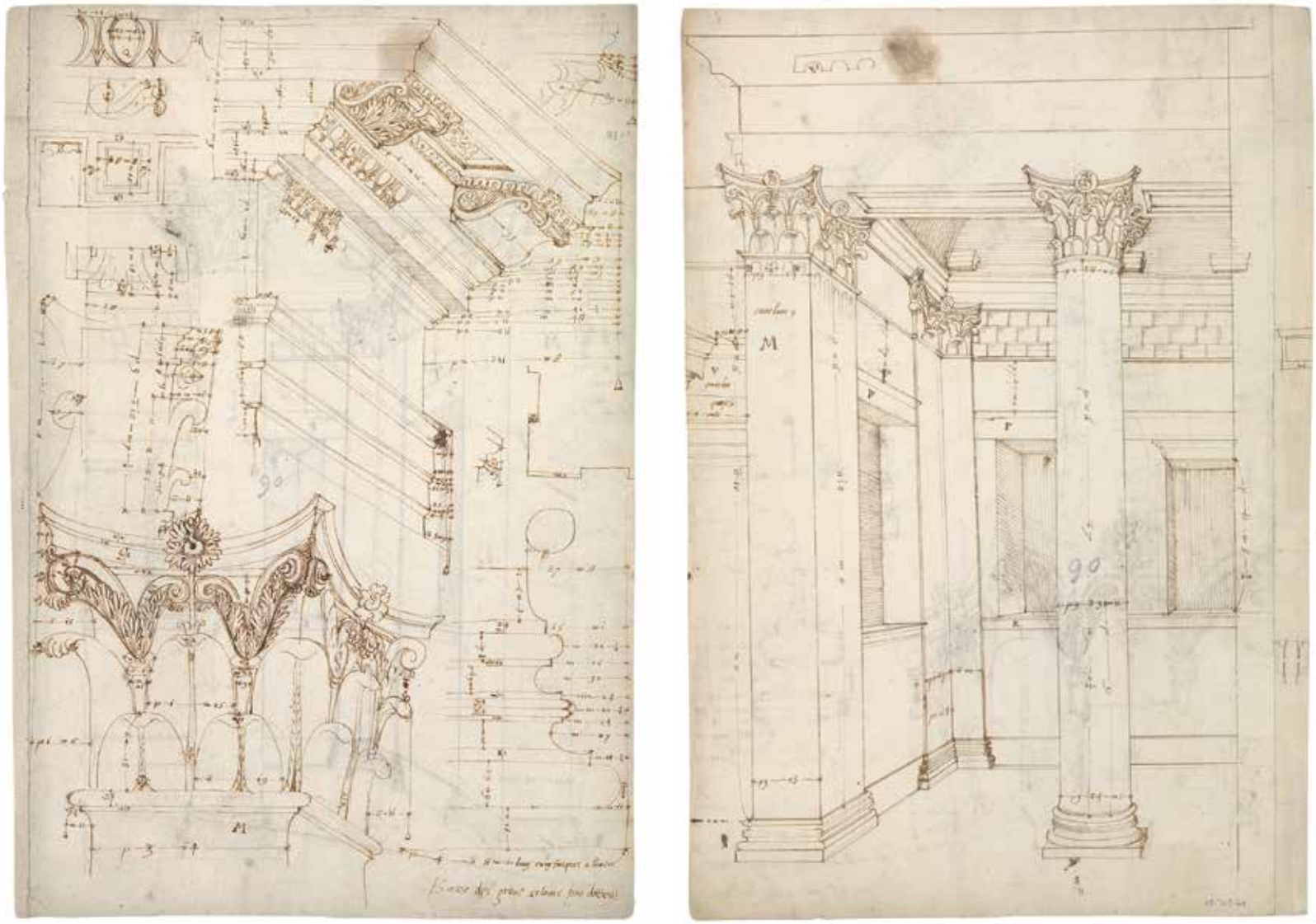
Fontaine, and it is possible that his curiosity took him to Rome.[59] Moreover, the proposed date for the Goldschmidt series, the 1560s, would place it just after the publication of the *Discours historial*. As discussed earlier, the draftsman of the Goldschmidt series appears to have worked with, or at least shared drawings with, other draftsmen, as evinced by the anonymous Portuguese sheet at Windsor. It is entirely plausible that Poldo d'Albenas visited Rome and teamed up with others to explore the city and measure its buildings, just as he had collaborated in Nîmes with Jacques Pineton, the author of the opening ode of the *Discours historial*.

RAPHAEL'S DOOR AND THE GOLDSCHMIDT DRAWINGS

The question of who made the Goldschmidt Pantheon series remains unresolved, and it ultimately leads to new questions about whose drawings served as the anonymous draftsman's models. One drawing in the series (Figure 16v) suggests that the Goldschmidt draftsman may have studied Raphael's drawings of the Pantheon, which are among the best-known drawings of ancient architecture from the Renaissance.

These works by Raphael are of particular importance, given that the master also penned one of the canonical documents about architectural drawing. In a letter written to Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21) in the second decade of the sixteenth century, Raphael proposed a graphic survey of ancient Roman buildings and addressed issues ranging from appropriate architectural subjects to measuring techniques to projection methods. No drawings in Raphael's hand can be associated with this proposed survey project, however, and the number of drawings of ancient architecture attributed to him is surprisingly small.[60] These include three drawings of the Pantheon: a view of the cella interior and a view of the main entrance exterior, now in the Uffizi (Figure 15r–v), and a sheet of studies of the interior, now at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London.[61] Although these Pantheon drawings were produced before Raphael proposed the Roman survey, they do provide some evidence of how he approached the problem of architectural documentation, and they form a visual counterpart, and counterpoint, to the ideas that he laid out in writing.

In the Goldschmidt series, the view of the interior vestibule of the Pantheon (Figure 16v) appears to have been based on Raphael's similar drawing of the exterior vestibule

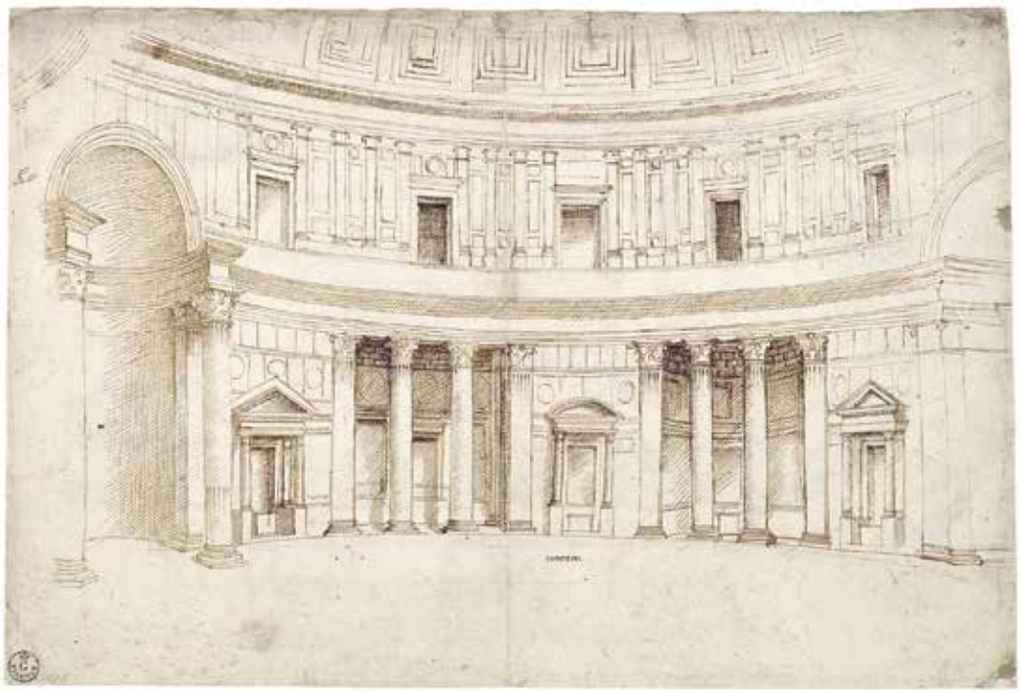


(Figure 15v), which shows the opposite side of the same door. Raphael's drawing, as well as his perspective view of the cella interior, were apparently as famous in their own time as they are today, and they were copied frequently by Renaissance architects.[62] Four other versions exist of the view of the cella, all most likely derived from Raphael's, and five other copies, made directly from Raphael's drawing or from other versions of it, exist of the entrance vestibule view.[63] Together, these eleven views of the Pantheon vestibule and cella have intrigued scholars, not only because determining the relationships among the drawings poses a particularly vexing problem of connoisseurship, but also because the group sheds light on the circulation and representational techniques of architectural drawing books.[64]

A similarity between a Goldschmidt sheet and Raphael's view of the vestibule was first suggested by one of the Goldschmidt group's previous owners, Lechevallier-Chevignard. In his notes, Lechevallier-Chevignard commented that one of the drawings bore comparison with Raphael's view of the Pantheon's main entrance, which had recently been published in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.[65] Curiously, the Goldschmidt drawing that Lechevallier-Chevignard compared to Raphael's view of the Pantheon door is not, as one might expect, the drawing of the interior vestibule (Figure 16v). Rather, the drawing he cited is a view into a rectangular alcove inside the cella (Figure 14v). Like the drawing of the interior vestibule, it is a carefully crafted perspective view, and this must be the reason why Lechevallier-Chevignard compared it to Raphael's drawing.[66]

Parallels between the Goldschmidt view of the interior vestibule (Figure 16v) and Raphael's of the exterior vestibule (Figure 15v) go beyond the purely stylistic to include technical similarities. First, they share a common vantage point. As John Shearman noted, Raphael positioned himself as far from the door as was possible at the time; a wall that then stood at the outermost, or northernmost, row of portico

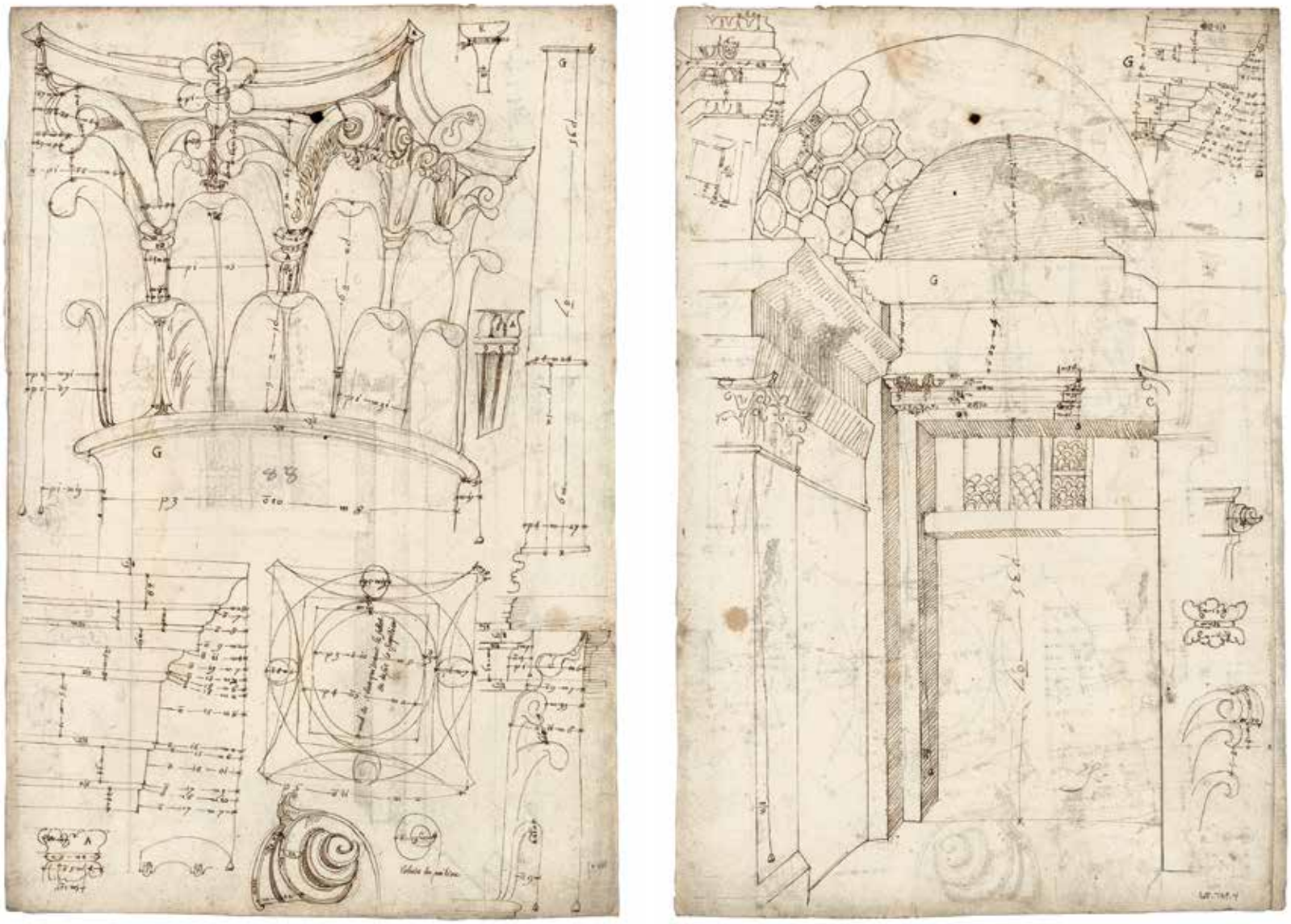
14 (cat. 4). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): perspective elevations of a Pantheon interior pilaster capital and entablature with profile of the base and details. Verso (right): view of a Pantheon interior rectangular alcove. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.68). Photographs: Katherine Dahab, The Photograph Studio, MMA



15. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio or Santi; Italian, 1483–1520), first decade of the 16th century. Recto (left): view of the Pantheon cella. Verso (below: view of the Pantheon entrance from the portico. Pen and brown ink, $10^{15}/_{16}$ x $15^{7}/_{8}$ in. (27.8 x 40.4 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (164Ar–v). Photographs: (Recto) Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Art Resource, NY; (Verso) All Rights Reserved Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities

columns effectively determined the maximum scope of his vertical range.[67] This wall can be seen in several sixteenth-century drawings of the Pantheon, including Van Heemskerck's view of the portico (Figure 2).[68] The Goldschmidt draftsman, on the other hand, would have encountered no such barrier. Standing on the other side of the door, he could have drawn the vestibule from any point on the cella floor and consequently could have included much more of the cella wall in his drawing. Instead, he drew the door from the same distance that Raphael did, and in so doing he limited his own view to the doorway, the vestibule, and a slight indication of the structure on either side. The horizontal range of Raphael's exterior view was set by another architectural feature of the portico: the row of columns immediately to the right of the entrance, which would have obscured his sight line had he moved any farther to the west. From his vantage point inside the cella, however, the Goldschmidt draftsman would have had an unobstructed sight line, yet he chose to stand in the same spot relative to the door.

The construction method of the Goldschmidt drawing is another indication that the choice of vantage point was intentional. It has been said that Raphael's view appears to be a fair-copy drawing made at a desk rather than in the field because it was drawn with a stylus, compass, and rule.[69] Raphael needed these tools to work through the difficulties of representing a complex space—the vestibule area is both narrow and high—in a deeply foreshortened view. In the final drawing, aptly described by Lynda Fairbairn as "an almost bifocal perspective," the mechanical nature of the drafting process is evident not only in the stylus marks



16 (cat. 5). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): perspective elevation of the Pantheon portico column capital with column details. Verso (right): interior view of the Pantheon door with details. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.4)

and ruled lines but also in the cleverness of the visual effects, such as the way that the steep recession allows one to see both the underside of the coffered vault and the tops of the column bases in the same view.[70]

The Goldschmidt draftsman, by comparison, worked freehand, but he nevertheless managed to produce the same effect in his depiction of the west wall and barrel vault of the interior vestibule. The representation of these two elements in particular suggests that the draftsman used Raphael's drawing (or a version of it) as a model for his own perspective view. The cornice and baselines of the west wall recede, as they do in Raphael's drawing, to a vanishing point near the middle of the page, slightly to the right of the center. As is also the case in Raphael's drawing, radii from this point provide the alignment for the coffers along the curve of the barrel vault. It is not completely implausible that the Goldschmidt draftsman could have set up this scheme correctly without the aid of a compass or rule, but the awkwardness of another perspective view—an elevation of the pilasters and paneling to the right of the main door (Figure 6r)—throws doubt on his ability to do so. Instead, it seems more likely that in order to work out the general shape of the barrel vault for the interior view, the draftsman modeled the two arcs that delineate it in Raphael's drawing and then dropped two vertical lines from the bottom points of the outer arc to determine the edges of the vestibule walls.

Two clues support this reconstruction of the Goldschmidt draftsman's process. First, the left endpoint of the inside arc of the barrel vault aligns with the outer frame of the doorway rather than with the edge of the vestibule wall. This error suggests that the draftsman did not understand that the barrel vault and the vestibule wall form a continuous plane, a fact that he could not have ignored had he constructed the

perspective himself. Second, the Goldschmidt draftsman laid out his drawing on the page so that the apex of the barrel vault falls just shy of the top of the sheet and the base of the vestibule pilaster extends to the bottom edge. Unlike most of the other drawings in the Pantheon series, this view fills the paper and is roughly centered on the half sheet, implying a degree of forethought not evident on the sheets that have three, four, or five details oriented in different directions. The thoughtful layout indicates that the draftsman had a vision of the finished drawing in mind before he began to draw.

Working in Rome, the Goldschmidt draftsman could have known Raphael's drawing either from the original or else from one of its copies. Not only were Raphael's views of the vestibule and the cella redrawn many times in the sixteenth century, but his elevation of an interior cornice was also copied in the Fossombrone Sketchbook.[71] If the Goldschmidt draftsman did know one of these versions of the exterior vestibule drawing, then the corollary question is whether he might also have known another Raphael drawing, now lost, of the interior vestibule.

Other scholars have conjectured that Raphael executed additional drawings of the Pantheon besides the three that are extant. In his analysis of Raphael's view of the cella (see Figure 15r), Shearman claimed that a later draftsman added the right side of the interior wall, including the door, using a now-lost pendant view by Raphael.[72] Shearman thereby used the stitched-together appearance of one Raphael drawing to posit the former existence of another. Arnold Nesselrath, on the other hand, surmised that an orthogonal elevation of the Pantheon interior that appears on the same sheet as two known copies after Raphael showing the cella and vestibule interiors (Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg H193/2, H193/1) was a copy of a lost Raphael original.[73]

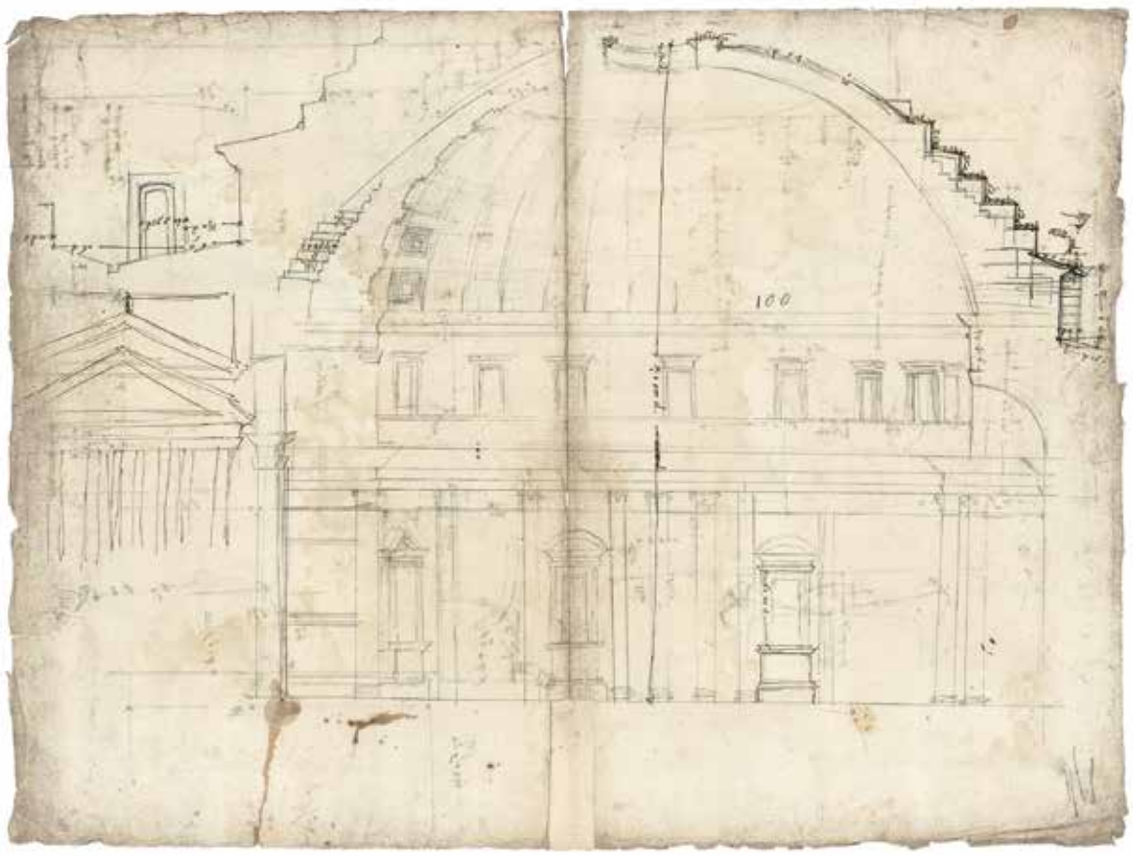
The interior vestibule drawing is not the only perspective view in the Goldschmidt series that is closer in its general character to Raphael's Pantheon studies than to other proposed models (such as Dosio's treatise drawings of the 1570s). As Lechevallier-Chevignard noted, views such as the one into a rectangular niche (see Figure 14v) are out of step with contemporary practice in the third quarter of the sixteenth century but of a piece with drawings made a half century earlier. Because of their technical ambition and their spatial qualities, moreover, it is tempting to read all the Goldschmidt views, including those of the interior vestibule, the bronze beams of the portico, the walls near the main entrance, and the rectangular niche, this way—as echoes of lost Raphael drawings. Though Walter Benjamin would have it that copies destroy the aura of an original work, in this case the copies themselves are the aura.

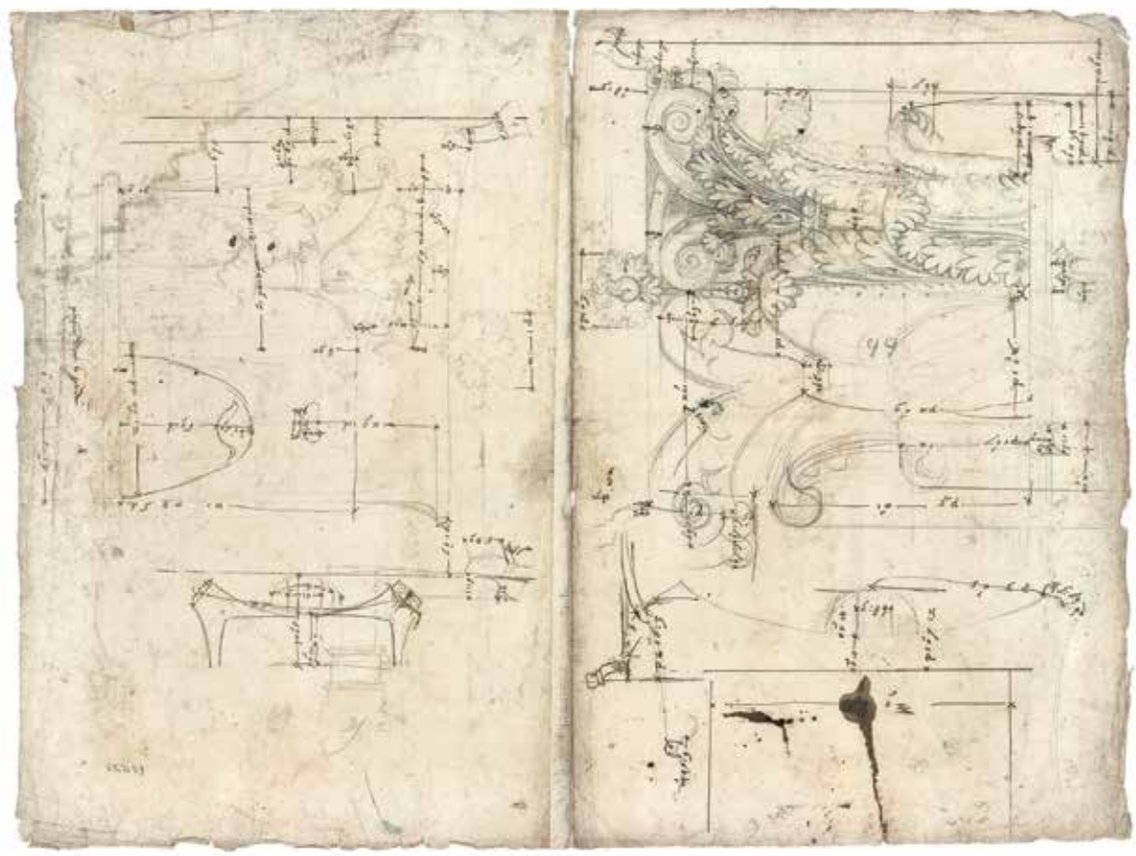
COLLABORATION AND ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING

Shearman described the need for a technique that allows us to trace relationships among drawings that are more complicated than simply that of an original and its copies. The Goldschmidt Pantheon series exemplifies such complexities.[74] The connection between Raphael's drawing of the Pantheon cella and that in the Codex Escurialensis—the subject of Shearman's case study—is not unlike the relationship between the Goldschmidt series and the Windsor sheet. In both instances, the related drawings obviously derive from a common source, but the copying process may not have been straightforward. This is because the process of copying a drawing can involve not only recycling information from other drawings but also interpolating new information—whether from the site or from the imagination, whether accurate or erroneous. Thus the ancestors and the descendants within a family of drawings are not necessarily clear. The Goldschmidt view of the Pantheon vestibule, for example, might be appropriately described as a niece or nephew of Raphael's view: the views are separated by a generation and they share some DNA, but the line between them is not direct.

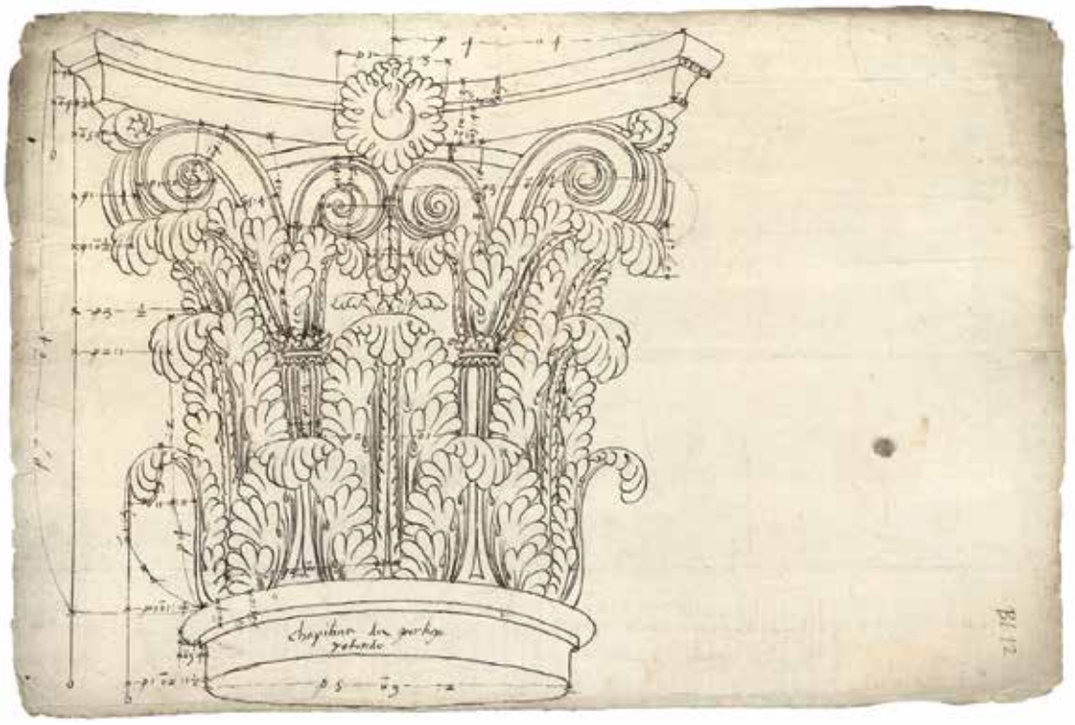
In addition to the sheet at Windsor Castle, the Goldschmidt series has other close cousins. The tenth sheet in the series (Figure 17)—set aside in our discussion until this point—was made by a different draftsman, and it relates to drawings now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and in the Cronstedt Collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. That this sheet was not made by the same draftsman as the other nine is readily apparent from a comparison of handwriting and style. On the recto of the tenth sheet is an orthogonal section through the Pantheon with sketched details of the facade and roof, and on the verso are orthogonal elevations and plans of capitals. The capital drawings, in particular, are close to others in Codex 209e in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Figure 18), which contains sixteenth-century drawings and prints from various sources; in both cases, the drawings are orthogonal, unlike most of the Goldschmidt drawings. In turn, both the tenth Goldschmidt sheet and the related drawings in Codex 209e relate to another series of drawings in the Cronstedt Collection (Figure 19).[75]

Within the several thousand sheets of the Cronstedt Collection is a group of about seventy drawings of ancient and modern Roman architecture that date to the second half of the sixteenth century. That group includes drawings of the Pantheon and of the Arch of Septimius Severus that relate closely to drawings in Codex 209e—so closely, in fact, that it is difficult to tell if one set was copied from the other, or if both sets are copies of a common source. Although the

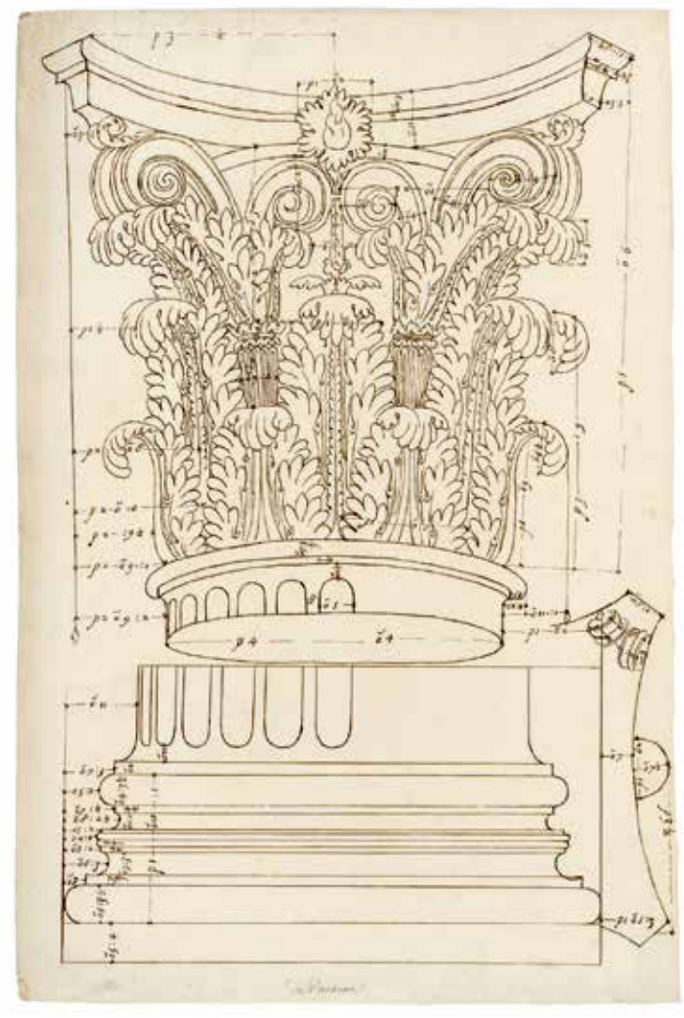




17 (cat. 10). Anonymous French draftsman, mid-16th century. Recto (left): longitudinal section through the Pantheon with elevation sketch of the portico and detail. Verso (below): elevations and partial plans of the Pantheon pilaster capitals. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.9)



18. Anonymous 16th-century draftsman. Elevation of a column in the Pantheon portico, in Codex 209e, fol. 12r. Pen and brown ink, 16 15/16 x 11 3/8 in. (43 x 29 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich



19. Anonymous 16th-century draftsman. Elevation of a capital with an elevation and partial plan of the base of a column in the Pantheon cella. Pen and brown ink, 16 7/16 x 23 1/16 in. (41.8 x 58.6 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Cronstedt Collection (1416). Photograph: National-museum, Stockholm

Pantheon drawings in the Cronstedt Collection are unlike the other nine sheets in the Goldschmidt series, the two groups are nonetheless related: they once belonged to the same collection, which was formed sometime after the 1560s and remained unified until at least the mid-seventeenth century, as documented by a seventeenth-century French manuscript that contains copies made from drawings in both groups.

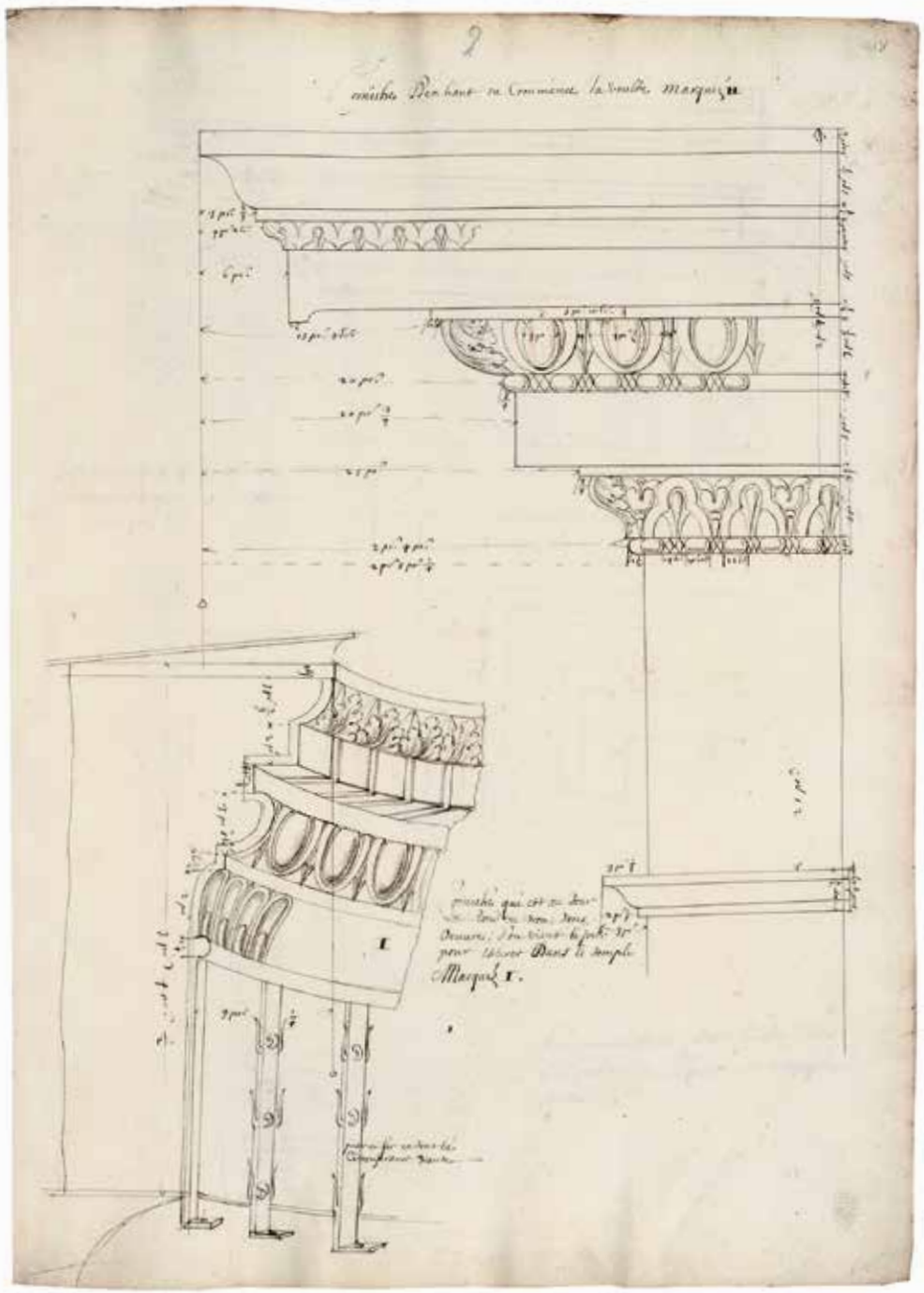
To summarize this web of copies: the Goldschmidt Pantheon series includes nine sheets that form a distinct group that links to the Windsor Castle sheet in one direction, as well as a tenth sheet by a different hand that links in another direction. That tenth sheet links to Codex 209e in Munich, which has a series of drawings of the Pantheon that includes similar drawings of capitals. The Codex 209e series then links to the Cronstedt Collection Pantheon drawings through a set of nearly identical copies. Finally, the Cronstedt series links back to the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, because both were once in the same collection and copied by the same draftsman. Although many of the links in this chain may lead back to Dosio's workshop, which is known to have produced multiple sets of drawings, the existence of the web itself indicates that the copying of architectural drawings was a widespread practice and that draftsmen routinely shared information. Differences among the copies in the chain reveals that this collaborative practice served various functions, as did the drawings themselves.

What makes the Goldschmidt Pantheon series such a rich historical document is the draftsman's interest in the

contemporary functioning of the ancient building. This historical dimension was unintentional: when the draftsman drew the bronze beams of the portico, he did not know that they would be removed, and when he measured the portico plan, he did not know that the eastern bay would be restored as part of the renovation project sponsored by Urban VIII. Likewise, when the draftsman drew the metal sheeting on the roof of the dome or the bronze bars on the vertical face of the oculus, he was simply recording what was there at the time, not consciously creating graphic documentation of elements that one day would be lost. Nevertheless, it is the draftsman's focus on the present, emphasized in the format, subject, and technique of his drawings, that locates the Goldschmidt Pantheon series in time.

Derived from the same source material, the Windsor Castle Pantheon drawings have a different focus. The studies do not offer any evidence that the draftsman worked on-site, and certain mistakes—his collapsing of two views of the portico roof structure into one, for example—suggest that, for this sheet at least, he depended solely on other drawings. Proportionally wrong more often than they are right, the sketches appear to have been made as vehicles to record measurements, possibly for other, more finished representations. As Campbell noted, the dimensions are given in Portuguese feet in several instances and in Roman feet in others, so the sketches may have been used to transpose measurements as well. Thus the primary intention for the sheet was probably not to make a visual representation of the building's components but, rather, to have a key—a base drawing—to record the size of each component. Copying measurements from another source would have spared the draftsman the task of taking his own. Many of the areas of the building that are depicted in the Goldschmidt series are difficult to access, including the interior staircases of the intermediate block and the route up to the oculus; borrowing another draftsman's analyses of the building would have circumvented the problem.

Copying could also be the solution to geographical distance, as in the case of a mid-seventeenth-century draftsman who made drawings after the Goldschmidt Pantheon series (Figure 20). A manuscript at Worcester College Library, Oxford (MS B 2. 3), made by a Frenchman in the late 1630s and the 1640s, opens with a set of measured drawings of the Pantheon, followed by other drawings of Saint Peter's, the Colosseum, the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and the Palazzo Barberini; the manuscript closes with a comparative study of the five architectural orders according to Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573), Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616), and Serlio.[76] The author probably began his work in France, studying the orders from books and relying on other drawings to represent the buildings before finishing the drawings on-site in Rome. For his drawings of the Pantheon, Saint Peter's, and the Campidoglio, he relied heavily on the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks and the Cronstedt Collection drawings, presumably because he was working so far away from his subjects.[77]



As a result, copies of the Goldschmidt Pantheon series in the Oxford manuscript show elements that no longer existed at the time. For example, the section of the oculus through the edge of the dome and the bronze apparatus on its vertical face (Figure 20) captures this element in detail, with measurements of the individual components and a note about the number of bars around the circle. These details give the impression that the draftsman had exhaustive knowledge of a building that he probably had not yet seen,

20. Anonymous French draftsman. Profile of the attic cornice and perspective section through the oculus of the Pantheon, ca. 1637–44. Pen and black ink with graphite and red chalk, 17 7/16 x 12 7/8 in. (44.3 x 32.7 cm). Worcester College Library, Oxford (MS B 2. 3, fol. 18r). Photograph: courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford

21. Anonymous 17th-century French draftsman. View of the roof structure of the Pantheon portico, ca. 1637–44. Pen and black ink with gray wash and graphite, 12⅞ x 17⅞₁₆ in. (32.7 x 44.3 cm). Worcester College Library, Oxford (MS B 2. 3, fol. 11v). Photograph: courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford

since the drawing is simply an enlarged version of one in the Goldschmidt series (see Figure 3r).

Of all the Goldschmidt Pantheon drawings, the view of the bronze beams that formerly supported the portico roof is by far the most frequently cited. It has drawn attention partly because the beams themselves are a famous subject—their destruction inspired the pasquinade *Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini* (What the barbarians did not do, the Barberini did)—and also because contemporary renderings of them are rare. At the time that the draftsman of the Oxford manuscript made his copy, the bronze had already been removed, and he was the first to use the Goldschmidt view to graphically reconstruct the lost beams (Figure 21). The fact that the draftsman referred to the episode of the beams' removal in a note on folios 6v–7r suggests that he used the earlier drawings as a way of knowing the ancient structure and recovering information that had otherwise been lost to time. In contrast to the Goldschmidt draftsman, who focused on how the building functioned in the present, the French draftsman was interested in the drawing as a historical record.

Ironically, it is the individuality of the Goldschmidt Pantheon drawings that gives them their place in a long chain of copies, because their keen spatial sense and acute observation of detail made them attractive to draftsmen who sought to understand the antique structure. Raphael's proposal, in the second decade of the sixteenth century, of a project to use drawings, in a sense, as an excavation tool was meant to recover and record information about antique architecture before this information was lost. The afterlife of the Goldschmidt series shows that a century after Raphael's letter, these survey drawings were themselves excavated and served this very purpose.

GEORGES CHEDANNE AND THE GOLDSCHMIDT PANTHEON SERIES

In contrast to the veracity of the Goldschmidt series, related drawings made by draftsmen who were removed from the subject in space or time often did not keep pace with changes in the architecture. The practice of copying could not replicate the experience of standing in front of a monument and drawing it in person: not only did the draftsman learn valuable information on-site, but the process of drawing could expose relationships that were otherwise invisible.

A striking episode in the history of the Goldschmidt Pantheon drawings continues this theme of discovery through the drawing process. In the late nineteenth century, the Goldschmidt Scrapbook came into the possession of Georges Chedanne, winner of the Prix de Rome of 1887.

22. Georges Chedanne (French, 1861–1940). Cutaway view of the Pantheon, 1892. Pencil, brown ink and wash, and white highlights on fine canvas mounted on cardstock, 39 3/16 x 51 in. (99.5 x 129.5 cm). Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Env 82-05). Photograph: © RMN Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

The drawings could not have had a more appropriate owner. For the subject of his fourth envoi, or portfolio of presentation drawings to be sent back to the French government, Chedanne chose the Pantheon, and in 1892 he was able to mount the scaffolding that had been erected at the ancient building by the Ministry of Public Instruction.[78] The research that he was able to undertake from this vantage point calls to mind how the Goldschmidt draftsman may have used the occasion of an earlier renovation project to make drawings of the entrance. In addition to uncovering brick stamps that changed the accepted date of the building from Agrippa's (63?–12 B.C.) era to Hadrian's (r. A.D. 117–38), Chedanne produced a set of intricate and detailed drawings that overturned previous hypotheses about the Pantheon's structure.[79]

Prior to Chedanne, as William Loerke has made clear, architects and archaeologists had struggled to produce a convincing explanation either for the structure that supports the dome or for the function of the Corinthian order that encircles the second story of the interior cella.[80] Chedanne's drawings explained both. The system of conoid vaults and radial arches that he uncovered behind the second-story wall not only carries the weight of the dome but also determines the size and rhythm of the pilaster order that had confounded visitors to the Pantheon for centuries. Chedanne's intricate and detailed graphic excavation—which includes a cutaway view through the Pantheon cella that exposes this relationship between structure and ornament—showed what so many before had failed to see: that "the size, scale, and position of its elements (pedestal, windows, pilasters, entablature) were largely controlled by the arcuate system in this level" (Figure 22).[81]

Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Antonio da Sangallo, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Giorgio Vasari, Gianlorenzo Bernini, Antoine Desgodetz, and Eugène Emmanuele Viollet-le-Duc did not see this relationship, but the Goldschmidt draftsman did. Two drawings from the Pantheon series prove that he understood the connection between the interior arches and the surface order. The section through a rectangular alcove (Figure 4v) shows the relationship between the footing of the radial arches and the base underneath the pilaster order, and one can see in the drawing how the location of the arch footing determines the placement and height of the second-story openings. In the two elevations on the sheet of attic studies (Figure 3v), these radial arches are visible through the openings in the wall, so one can see how the spacing of the arches determines the width of the openings. The section and elevations demonstrate how the interior structure governs the exterior ornament: it is as though the Goldschmidt draftsman tried to see through the wall with these drawings. This understanding of the relationship

between structure and ornament at the Pantheon escaped many who preceded him and many who followed—but not Chedanne, who also knew it because he drew it.

The survey drawing has an afterlife of its own, separate from the life of the structure it depicts. Tilmann Buddensieg has interpreted early modern drawings of the Pantheon as a case study in reception theory, reading architectural drawings to consider how architects understood the ancient building before their eyes.[82] He examined work by architects who purposely did not draw what they saw but, rather, criticized or analyzed it in some way in their drawings; Francesco di Giorgio Martini's correcting of the vertical rhythms of the ornamentation is an example.[83] In Buddensieg's project, the less antiquarian the drawing, the more it reveals. The Goldschmidt drawings, on the other hand, invite an antiquarian approach at first, because their draftsman did draw what he saw—and he saw so much. From the sixteenth century to the present, the Goldschmidt Pantheon series has been mined for the information it contains, as both copyists and scholars have considered the drawings as evidence about the ancient building. In the end, this antiquarian approach has produced a second case study in reception theory of the Pantheon, one that explores how the drawing, rather than the building, was understood.

NOTES

1. D'Orgeix 2001, p. 177.
2. D'Orgeix's 2001 article is based in part on an unpublished catalogue of the Goldschmidt Scrapbooks written by Howard Burns in the 1960s. Titled "Research for Architectural Drawings," this catalogue is now kept in the Department of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum (see Burns [1968]). Burns and d'Orgeix link the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks to each other on the basis of watermarks, sequential graphite and red chalk numbering systems, and similar handwriting that they share.
3. D'Orgeix (2001, p. 169) suggests that this occurred in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The Goldschmidt Scrapbook now has 68 drawings and the Scholz Scrapbook has 135, but the original collection was certainly much larger than this, because the sequential numbering system on the sheets is missing many numbers.
4. Both the scrapbooks—now unbound—were named after the dealers who sold them to the Metropolitan. Lucien Goldschmidt (1912–1992) sold the drawings of ancient architecture to the Museum in 1968, and an announcement of the purchase was published in MMA 1975, p. 201. The Museum's online catalogue (www.metmuseum.org/collections) lists the provenance of these drawings before 1968 as "Bloudelet," from whom Goldschmidt presumably acquired them. This must have occurred in France, because in 1966 two of the drawings were given to the French government in exchange for permission to export the rest; these two drawings, of measured capitals, are now in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where they are listed as anonymous donations. Their provenance is confirmed by the graphite numbers in the center of the sheets (71 and 75), which are similar to the numbers on the Goldschmidt Scrapbook drawings. See d'Orgeix 2001, pp. 174–75, figs. 11, 13, 14. The drawings of modern architecture were acquired from János Scholz (1904–1993) in 1948 and 1949; see Tolnay 1967. For a more detailed discussion of how the Scholz drawings came to the Metropolitan, see Taylor 2004, pp. 2–5.
5. Burns [1968], pp. 20–32, assigned the entire Goldschmidt Pantheon series to Hand F, except one folio (Figure 17), which he gave to Hand A, one of the primary draftsmen responsible for most of the other drawings in the Scrapbooks. D'Orgeix (2001, p. 198) then reassigned the drawings on two other folios (Figures 3, 8v) from Hand F to Hand M. Yet Burns's assessment seems correct: these two sheets are so similar to the others in the series that there is no reason that they should be attributed to another draftsman.
6. Hülsen and Egger 1913–16, vol. 2, fig. 3.
7. D'Orgeix 2001, p. 177.
8. Burns discussed other observations of this detail. In a section drawing through the Pantheon now in Ferrara, Baldassare Peruzzi described the curvature in an inscription but did not draw it (Burns 1966, p. 250n18). Burns also cited a drawing of the curvature in the Codex Coner, folio 33v, as well as a written description of it in Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma* (1565, p. 162). In addition to the examples cited by Burns, a drawing in the Albertina made by the anonymous Italian "G"—a copyist of Giovanni Antonio Dosio or possibly Dosio himself—includes a diagram of the curvature similar to the one in the Goldschmidt folio (Campbell 2004a, pp. 405, 410, comp. fig. 139ii). For the drawing by the anonymous Italian "G," see also Valori 1985, pp. 163–64, 185–87.
9. Wilson Jones 2009, pp. 75–77.
10. Ibid., p. 77, for a recent survey of the stairs.
11. Geymüller 1883, pp. 28–29, figs. 5, 6, 8.
12. For another representation of the lost bronze bars of the oculus, see Desgodetz 1682, pl. XIX. The removal of the bronze is discussed in de Fine Licht 1968, pp. 144–45.
13. Nesselrath 2008, p. 62, fig. 23. For the removal of the bronze trusses, see Rice 2006 and 2008.
14. De Fine Licht 1968, p. 41.
15. For the Pantheon vestibule marbles, see Nesselrath 2003.
16. The alterations to the door framing were made during the renovations that took place under Pope Benedict XIV; see de Fine Licht 1968, p. 271n9. For another representation of the older framing, see Desgodetz 1682, pl. XIII.
17. D'Orgeix 2001, p. 178; Burns also mentioned this coffering ([1968] pp. 20, 24).
18. Burns ([1968], p. 31) discussed this element.
19. The one exception to this focus on the present-day Pantheon is Figure 8v. Next to a drawing of three niches in the rear wall of a semicircular cella alcove, there is the inscription *selon qui se peult voir quil estoit ainsi de lantique* (based on this, one can see that it was such in antiquity).
20. Palladio 1570, bk. 4, chap. 20, p. 78.
21. For the Peruzzi drawing, see Burns 1966, p. 245. For Renaissance criticism of the Pantheon including the cella decoration, see Buddensieg 1964, 1971, and 1976; Marder 1989, 2000, and 2009; and Nesselrath 2008.
22. The watermark on the Goldschmidt sheets has a ladder inside a shield; for a discussion of its dating, see Taylor 2004, p. 15. Woodward (1996, p. 153, no. 257) has written that he found a similar watermark on a print signed by Enea Vico and published by Antonio Salamanca about 1540. However, the ladder in the watermark that he illustrates is slightly narrower than the one of the Goldschmidt sheets. The Zonghi index of the Fabriano paper

watermarks includes three that are similar to the Goldschmidt watermark: number 1561, which is dated to 1548, and numbers 1562 and 1563, which are both dated to 1565 (Zonghi and Zonghi 1953, pl. 112). Briquet (1923, p. 345) compared his number 5930 with Zonghi's number 1561, but he identified this watermark as "Lucques" (Lucca), 1560.

23. MMA 49.92.72.
24. Ackerman 1964, pp. 118–19.
25. See Campbell 2004a, pp. 405–16, nos. 139, 140, where the author refers to the Goldschmidt drawing as "a lost sketch of the roof trusses ascribed to Philibert de l'Orme" (p. 405). Based on a tip from Geoffrey Taylor, Campbell later clarified the connection between the two drawings, established the location of the Goldschmidt drawing at the Metropolitan, and dismissed its attribution to de l'Orme (Campbell 2004b, pp. 39–42). Burns was also aware of the Windsor Castle drawing and its relationship to the Goldschmidt series; see Burns [1968], p. 20.
26. Campbell 2004a, p. 312.
27. Ibid., p. 313.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 405.
30. For the renovation of the Pantheon doors under Pius IV, see Ugonio 1588, p. 312; Lanciani 1881, p. 286; Lanciani 1907, p. 238; Cerasoli 1909, p. 284; Coffin 1964, p. 193n10; and Burns 1966, p. 265n47.
31. Desgodetz 1682, pl. XIII. A mid-seventeenth-century French manuscript in the collection of the Institut de France includes an elevation and partial section of one of the Pantheon door leaves, as well as detailed studies of the bolts (MS 1029, "Recueil de desseins de statues, bas-reliefs et autres ornemens de sculpture antiques, et des portes et autres ouvrages de menuiserie du Palais du Vatican, enrichis d'ornemens . . . ," fol. 15). For this manuscript, which is sometimes attributed to the circle of Charles Errard, see Lemonnier 1916. For another detailed study of the Pantheon door rosettes, see Piranesi 1780–90, pl. XX, "Dimostrazione della Porta del Panteon."
32. There are no drawings of the door leaves among the studies of the Pantheon in the Uffizi by Giovanni Antonio Dosio or among the similar series of studies by an anonymous draftsman in the Albertina; see Borsi et al. 1976, pp. 109–15, and Valori 1985, pp. 177–96. For the treatises, see Serlio 1540 and Palladio 1570, for example.
33. Cerasoli 1909, p. 284; see also Gruben and Gruben 1997.
34. See Burns [1968], pp. 7, 20.
35. Geymüller 1883, pp. 28–29.
36. De l'Orme 1567, pp. 180–90. For the timing of de l'Orme's visits to Rome, see Pérouse de Montclos 1987 and 2000.
37. The sale took place at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, from April 30 to May 2, 1902; lot 50, which contained the volume attributed to de l'Orme, was sold on May 1. A copy of the catalogue, entitled *Dessins anciens et modernes; Tableaux; Objects d'art et d'ameublement*, is available at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York. See d'Orgeix 2001, pp. 169, 194n5.
38. Nizet 1902, p. 268. In his article, Nizet maintained the attribution of the drawings to de l'Orme, as did Richard Phené Spiers in a review of Thomas Ashby's publication (1904) of the Codex Coner (Spiers 1905, p. 232). Ashby himself later revived the de l'Orme attribution (Ashby 1913, p. 202).
39. For thirty years after Chedanne's death, the drawings remained in relative obscurity, and during that time, scholars who knew of them from previous publications presumed they were missing. In 1958 Anthony Blunt wrote (p. 15), "the most important group of these drawings [attributed to de l'Orme], formerly in the Lechevallier-Chevignard and Chedanne Collections, has disappeared within the last few years." Ten years later, in his monograph on the Pantheon, Kjeld de Fine Licht reproduced one of the Goldschmidt drawings as attributed to de l'Orme, but he gave no indication of the drawing's current location (de Fine Licht 1968, p. 52, fig. 53, p. 277n4). In his monograph on Philibert de l'Orme, Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos (2000, pp. 358–59) cited the photocopies of drawings from the Lechevallier-Chevignard collection that are kept with the two drawings at the Bibliothèque Nationale, seemingly unaware that the originals were by then at the Metropolitan Museum.
40. For Van Heemskerck's Pantheon drawings, see Hülsen and Egger 1913–16, vol. 1, fol. 10r; vol. 2, fols. 2r, 39r.
41. Pérouse de Montclos 2000, pp. 358–59; see also Pérouse de Montclos 1987, pp. 289–90.
42. Wittkower 1978, pp. 78–86; Millon and Smyth 1988, pp. 103–18; Millon and Magnago Lampugnani 1994, pp. 570, 654, 658–65.
43. D'Orgeix 2001, p. 193.
44. Indeed there is strong evidence against it, particularly the fact that Dupérac's handwriting cannot be identified on any of the drawings; see Lurin 2006, pp. 352–55.
45. Bedon 2008, pp. 191, 202n96.
46. Kulawik 2002, pp. 104–5; Kulawik 2006, pp. 410–12. The connection between the codex in Berlin and the drawings in New York has been proposed before. James Ackerman (1962, pp. 243) hypothesized a Destailleur provenance for the Scholz Scrapbook and thus a tangential connection between the Goldschmidt Scrapbook (the location of which was then unknown) and the Berlin codex. According to Christof Thoenes (in Millon and Magnago Lampugnani 1994, p. 646, no. 372), Christoph Luitpold Frommel suggested that the draftsman of the Codex Destailleur D, who he considered might have been Jacob Bos, also made drawings in the Scholz Scrapbook.
47. Millon and Magnago Lampugnani 1994, pp. 646–48.
48. For the activities of the Accademia della Virtù, see Campbell 2004b, pp. 25–26, and Pagliara 1986, pp. 67–74.
49. Tolomei 1547, fols. 81–85, reprinted in Barocchi 1977, pp. 3037–46.
50. Tolnay 1967, pp. 64–68; see Borsi et al. 1976, pp. 158–72, 181–91, 301–17, 386–88, for the Dosio drawings from which the Scholz drawings are copied.
51. Bertocci and Davis 1977, p. 94.
52. In addition to the drawings in Vienna, an album relating to Dosio's unpublished architectural treatise has recently been discovered in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart; see Fitzner 2012.
53. Lemerle 2002, p. 163. On Poldo d'Albenas and his milieu, see Sauzet 2008.
54. Gros 1983, pp. 181–82; Spielmann 1966, p. 48; Forssman 1973, pp. 22–23.
55. Lemerle 2005, pp. 61–63.
56. Ibid., p. 64.
57. Gros 1983, p. 181.
58. Lemerle 2002, p. 168; see Poldo d'Albenas 1559–60, pp. 85 (Alberti), 126 (Vitruvius).
59. Poldo d'Albenas 1559–60, p. 81.
60. However, various drawing books from the second and third decades of the sixteenth century that have drawings of ancient monuments have been associated with the project; see Buddensieg 2006, p. 19.
61. Nesselrath 1986b, p. 358. The studies of the Pantheon interior at the RIBA have the inventory number XIII/1r and v; for these, see Burns, Fairbairn, and Boucher 1975, p. 263n489.

62. For a concise introduction to Raphael's drawings of the Pantheon and the drawings related to them, see John Shearman in Ray, Tafuri, and Frommel 1984, p. 418, no. 3.2.4; and Shearman 1977, pp. 107–46, 189–96.
63. The cella drawings are Codex Escurialensis, fol. 30r; Uffizi 1950A; Uffizi 4333A; and Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg H193/2. The vestibule drawings are Codex Escurialensis, fol. 30r; Uffizi 1949A; Uffizi 1948A; Margaret Chinnery Album (Sir John Soane Museum), fol. 6r; and Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg H193/1.
64. See, especially, Nesselrath 1986b. Scaglia 1995 offers an opposing view of these drawings.
65. Lechevallier-Chevignard's notes on the Goldschmidt group are kept in a curatorial file in the Metropolitan Museum Department of Drawings and Prints. The article he cited is Geymüller 1870.
66. When the Goldschmidt Scrapbook came into Lechevallier-Chevignard's possession, the drawings had been numbered sequentially in graphite, as described in the catalogue (see Appendix), and several numbers are now missing from that sequence. Numbers 96, 97, and 98 were missing from the Pantheon series, which raises the question, did one of these missing drawings show the exterior vestibule?
67. Shearman 1977, p. 141.
68. For another view of this wall, cited by Shearman, see Codex Escurialensis, fol. 43v (Egger 1905–6).
69. Shearman 1977, pp. 117–20; Fairbairn 1998, p. 224.
70. See Fairbairn 1998, p. 224. Fairbairn, *pace* Lotz, suggests that this drawing may have been copied so many times because it was used to teach perspective drawing; on this point, see Lotz 1977, pp. 24–26, and Egger 1905–6, p. 37.
71. Nesselrath 1986b, pp. 358–59; on the Fossombrone Sketchbook more generally, see Nesselrath 1993.
72. Shearman 1977, p. 116.
73. Nesselrath 1986b, p. 360.
74. Shearman 1977, p. 116.
75. On the Cronstedt Collection, see Langenskiöld and Moselius 1942; Moselius 1942–43; Langenskiöld 1946 and 1950; and Strandberg 1962.
76. Yerkes 2011.
77. The Colosseum drawings were based on the representations of this building that appear in Sebastiano Serlio's third book on antiquities (1540).
78. Loerke 1982, p. 41.
79. For a list of Chedanne's drawings, most of which have since been lost except the six that are now at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see Spiers 1895, pp. 175–82.
80. Loerke 1982, pp. 41–42; Loerke 1990, pp. 22–28.
81. Loerke 1990, p. 30.
82. Buddensieg 1971 and 1976.
83. Buddensieg 1971, pp. 263–65.

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APPENDIX: CATALOGUE OF THE DRAWINGS OF THE PANTHEON IN THE GOLDSCHMIDT SCRAPBOOK

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Mark J. Millard Gift, 1968 (68.769.1–9, 68)

All the drawings in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook are reproduced by individual accession number in the online collection database of The Metropolitan Museum of Art at www.metmuseum.org/collections. Because the drawings are no longer bound, recto and verso assignments for the sheets vary across publications. This catalogue uses the assignments given by Emilie d'Orgeix, whose publication is the only one that includes all the drawings. Of the ten sheets in the Pantheon series catalogued here, recto and verso assignments of three—68.769.1, 68.769.2, and 68.769.3 (cats. 1, 3, 2; Figures 1, 5, 7)—as listed by d'Orgeix are the reverse of the designations given in the Metropolitan's database. The database assignment is used here for one of them (68.769.1; cat. 1), but for the other two, halves of the same sheet, the d'Orgeix recto-verso assignment is maintained because of continuity of the drawing and each folio's relationship to its other half. The rest of the seven assignments listed by d'Orgeix match those in the database.

Each of the drawings in the Pantheon series has been numbered three times over the past three centuries. The drawings in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, of which this series is a part, were once in the same collection as the drawings in the Scholz Scrapbook, also at the Metropolitan Museum. Sometime before the drawings passed into separate hands in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century—divided according to subject, either ancient architecture (Goldschmidt) or modern (Scholz)—each of them was assigned a number, written in graphite near the center of the sheet. In the nineteenth century, the drawings of ancient subjects came into the possession of Edmond Lechevallier-Chevignard, by which time some in the original group were already missing. The drawings in the Pantheon series, for example, have sequential graphite numbers from 84 to 100, but there are no sheets numbered 96, 97, or 98. These sheets must have gone missing before Lechevallier-Chevignard acquired the group because during the time they were in his possession either he or Henry de Geymüller renumbered the Pantheon drawings in an unbroken series from 1 to 14, written in red in a corner of each sheet.

The Metropolitan Museum numbered only ten sheets of the Pantheon series, not because any were missing but, rather, to distinguish full sheets from half sheets. The drawings were originally made on full sheets that were later folded in half and bound. When they were subsequently unbound, some of the sheets were divided in half and others remained intact. Whereas Lechevallier-Chevignard numbered each half of all seven full sheets, the Metropolitan gave individual numbers to six half sheets and four full sheets. Of the six half sheets with their own Metropolitan accession numbers, 68.769.2 and 68.769.3 (cats. 3, 2; Figures 5, 7) clearly formed a full sheet (in this case depicting the Pantheon door), as did 68.769.5 and 68.769.6 (cats. 7, 6; Figures 4, 6), as evidenced by the alignment of the tear marks on their edges, and 68.769.68 and 68.769.4 (cats. 4, 5; Figures 14, 16).

CONCORDANCE OF NUMBERING SYSTEMS

Cat. no.	MMA acc. no.	Red (corner)	Graphite (center)
1	68.769.1	5–6	84–85
2	68.769.3	7	87
3	68.769.2	1	86
4	68.769.68	3	90
5	68.769.4	8	88
6	68.769.6	4	91
7	68.769.5	2	89
8	68.769.7	9–10	92–93
9	68.769.8	11–12	94–95
10	68.769.9	13–14	99–100

1

Recto: plan of the Pantheon portico and intermediate block. Verso: elevations of the Pantheon portico roof structure and bronze truss; details of the portico column base and the portico architrave soffit

Full sheet with center crease and guard strip remnant on verso
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 23¼ x 17⁵⁄₁₆ in. (59 x 44 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *lespeseur del setail* (recto, center right, in niche); *sallie p*[*our*] *la voute* (verso, top center, over second pier from left); various dimensions

Nizet 1902, figs. 4, 5; Anonymous 1905; Durm 1905, p. 567; Spiers 1905, p. 232; de Fine Licht 1968, fig. 53; MMA 1975, p. 201; d'Orgeix 2001, fig. 16; Campbell 2004b, fig. 11; Taylor 2004, pp. 112–13; Nesselrath 2008, fig. 23

68.769.1 (red 5–6; graphite 84–85)
Figure 1

On the recto, the plan of the portico was drawn freehand, and as a result its general proportions are inaccurate. Nevertheless, the plan includes detailed dimensions for nearly every element of the portico except the four easternmost columns (at the top of the sheet) and the eastern exterior building wall. Damaged by fire, this area of the portico was blocked off by a masonry wall until Pope Urban VIII had it dismantled during the renovation program of the 1620s. By then the eastern end of the porch had fallen into such a dilapidated state that the last row of columns was missing completely, which explains why the Goldschmidt drawing does not include its measurements. At the bottom of the Goldschmidt plan, the inscription *lespeseur del setail* [*sic*], though difficult to make out, refers to the small measurement (*o5*) of the distance between the wall at the back of the niche and the line just inside it. Thus the inscription probably describes the thickness, or *l'épaisseur*, of a stone veneer or base—a *détail*—that is no longer visible. Other sixteenth-century plans of the portico, such as the one on folios 33v–34r of the Mellon Codex at the Morgan Library, New York, indicate the niche wall with a similar double line.

The top of the verso drawing shows the structure supporting the Pantheon portico roof as this structure appeared before 1625, when its bronze trusses were removed by order of Pope Urban VIII. The perspective is that of someone standing in the center of the portico, close to the door and facing east, so that only one row of column capitals is visible. As Howard Burns observed, the inscription *sallie p*[*our*] *la voute*, which could mean "covered by the vault" or perhaps "extending from the vault," over the second pier from the left may refer to the barrel vault that many sixteenth-century architects believed once covered this space (Burns [1968], p. 21). In his book on antiquities published in 1540, Sebastiano Serlio (p. 10) wrote that this barrel vault had probably been made of bronze, or perhaps silver, and he included an illustration of it even though the vault was not present in his own time.

As in the Royal Library drawing at Windsor Castle discussed by Ian Campbell (Figure 9; 2004a, pp. 405–16), the detail of the bronze truss at the bottom of the verso represents this element incorrectly, because it has the lower diagonal web resting directly on the architrave instead of on the stone piers that are stacked above each column. That both the Windsor Castle and the Goldschmidt drawings contain the same obvious error adds to the considerable evidence that they are copies of the same source. Kjeld de Fine Licht reproduced the entire verso of the Windsor Castle drawing as well as a detail of the truss, which he mistook to be a separate drawing (1968, pp. 52–53). In this error de Fine Licht was following Rodolfo Lanciani (1897, p. 483), who had reproduced the same detail, misidentifying it as a drawing in the Uffizi that he attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio. In addition to the truss detail, the bottom of the Goldschmidt verso drawing also includes a profile of a portico column base and a plan of an architrave soffit, identified by the key letter *H*, which is keyed to the drawing of the roof structure above.

2

Recto: perspective elevation of the Pantheon portico entablature with details of the coffering. Verso: elevation, schematic elevation, and detail of the Pantheon door

Half sheet cut or torn on left side of verso with guard strip remnant on right side
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16⅝ x 11¹³⁄₁₆ in. (42.3 x 30 cm)
Watermark: none
Inscriptions: *la cornice de devant* (recto, center); various dimensions

Taylor 2004, p. 117

68.769.3 (red 7; graphite 87)
Figure 7

On the recto, the perspective elevation of the portico entablature has the key mark *N*, which refers to another drawing of this element on catalogue number 3v (Figure 5v). The key mark *A* identifies the rosette coffer. On the verso, the key mark *Q* establishes the location of the entablature over the main door, drawn in profile on catalogue number 3v. The elevation of this door at the bottom of the sheet joins with the fragment on catalogue number 3r to form a single drawing. It shows the door without the bolts that now adorn its surface and with one of the side pilasters that were later replaced. In the drawing, the fluted pilaster appears without a base, as it does in Raphael's view (Figure 15v) but not Van Heemskerck's (Figure 2), in which the base was probably added by the artist (Gruben and Gruben 1997, pp. 11, 26).

Because the elevation on the verso is incomplete, the number of sections in the metal grate above the doorframe is ambiguous. The three panels above the left door leaf align at the center of the door

opening, so if the grate were symmetrical it would have had six panels, as it does now. Both Raphael and Antoine Desgodetz (1682, p. 19) show the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century version of the grate with seven panels, however, so logically that is how one would expect it to appear in the Goldschmidt drawing (Gruben and Gruben 1997, pp. 26, 36). In catalogue number 5v (Figure 16v), the spacing of the panels is shown haphazardly, suggesting that the draftsman may not have faithfully recorded their number or arrangement in either drawing.

3

Recto: elevation, profile, plan, and details of the Pantheon portico pilaster; plan and detail of the Pantheon door. Verso: elevation and details of the Pantheon portico pediment

Half sheet cut or torn on left side of verso with guard strip remnant on right side of recto
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16⅝ x 11 13/16 in. (42.3 x 30 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *du pilastre quare* (recto, center left, over pilaster plan); *pianta de la porta di bronze* (recto, bottom center); *dedans la frize Il fini au droit de la seconde colone* (verso, top right, below portico inscription); *la cornice de devant* (verso, center right); *la corronnice du portique de devant* (verso, bottom left); various dimensions

Taylor 2004, pp. 114–16

68.769.2 (red 1; graphite 86)
Figure 5

This drawing and catalogue number 2 (Figures 5, 7) are two halves of the same sheet. This is confirmed by the partial elevation of the grate over the Pantheon main door at the bottom right corner of catalogue number 3r, a fragment that joins with the rest of the door elevation on catalogue number 2v. The other drawings on catalogue number 3r include an elevation, profile, and plan of a pilaster from the portico, labeled *du pilastre quare*; three details from this pilaster; and a plan of one of the bronze door leaves, labeled *pianta de la porta di bronze*. This plan shows both the door's recessed exterior surface as well as its flat interior surface, features that were noted by Giovanni Battista Montano (1534–1621) in his own studies of the Pantheon door (Gruben and Gruben 1997, p. 15; Fairbairn 1998, pp. 618–19). The door elevation includes another carefully observed detail, the crossbar visible in the fourth panel of the metal grate that sits over the doorframe, allowing light to penetrate to the interior. Few draftsmen besides Maarten van Heemskerck recorded this element (see Figure 2), which is shown again on catalogue number 5v (Figure 16v). The verso of the Windsor Castle sheet has similar drawings of the pilaster (Figure 9).

On the verso, the inscription from the Pantheon pediment—M$^{\Delta}$AGRIPPA$^{\Delta}$L$^{\Delta}$ F$^{\Delta}$ CO/S$^{\Delta}$ TERTIVM$^{\Delta}$ FECIT$^{\Delta}$—is drawn at the top of the sheet near the words *dedans la frize Il fini au droit de la seconde colone*, which explain that the pediment inscription, located on the entablature frieze, ends to the right of the second column; the two *T*s in "Tertivm" have dimensions. The letter *S*, drawn a second time at an enlarged scale, also has dimensions, as well as two plumb bobs. These are the only known drawings that show the ancient bronze lettering of the pediment in such detail; the letters on the building today are modern replacements. Below the drawings of the letters, an elevation of the portico pediment includes details and dimensions for one of the protruding stones that Palladio included in his own facade elevation (1570, bk. 4, chap. 20, pp. 76–77), accompanied by an explanatory note indicating that he had no idea why these stones were there. At the center of the page, the inscription *la cornice de devant* (the front cornice) identifies the perspective elevation of the pediment cornice. In the bottom left corner of the verso, a profile of the entablature above the main door is oriented sideways, as are three of its ornamental details and the inscription *la corronnice du portique de devant* (the front cornice of the portal). The key mark *Q* identifies this element on the schematic elevation of the door on catalogue number 2v (Figure 7v). The Windsor Castle sheet's recto has two similar drawings of this entablature profile and its ornamental details, with dimensions in Portuguese feet.

4

Recto: perspective elevations of a Pantheon interior pilaster capital and entablature with profile of the base and details. Verso: view of a Pantheon interior rectangular alcove

Half sheet cut or torn on left side of recto with guard strip remnant on right side of verso
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16¼ x 11 7/16 in. (41.3 x 29 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *p–4–ō8m–i–dun coin jusques a lautre* (recto, bottom right); *Basse des grand colones par dedans* (recto, bottom right); *marbe* (verso, center left); *porfilo* (verso, center left); *canelure 9* (verso, center left, on the pilaster); various dimensions

Waters and Brothers 2011, p. 62, no. 5.3

68.769.68 (red 3; graphite 90)
Figure 14

The recto of this sheet has twelve drawings of elements from the lower order of the interior of the Pantheon rotunda. The two largest and most detailed drawings are the perspective elevation of the entablature at the top right and the perspective elevation of a pilaster capital at the bottom left; around them are sketches of smaller elements, all with dimensions. At the left, these include, from top to bottom, a detail of an ovolo molding with the key mark *Q*, a detail of a modillion, a plan of the cornice, a profile of a coffer with a rosette, and a partial plan and a profile of a pilaster capital. At the right, from top to bottom, are a detail of a modillion, a plan of a pilaster at an alcove corner with the adjacent column, a detail of a molding, and a profile of a base.

On the verso, the view of an alcove incorporates several finely rendered details of the interior, such as the small raised molding band that continues the line of the pilaster collarino around the alcove and cella, the three rows of stone facing on the alcove's rear wall, and the stones that project out from that wall below the vault. The key mark *F* identifies the architrave over the openings in the side and rear walls of the alcove on the view of the alcove seen on catalogue number 7v (Figure 4v). The key mark *M* refers to the bronze pilaster at the left of the alcove, detailed on the recto. The key marks *R* and *V* refer to elements in this drawing—the pilaster at the left of the alcove and the molding or tabernacle to its left, respectively—for which there are no detail drawings elsewhere in the Goldschmidt series. Thus these key marks probably refer to drawings that originally belonged to the series but are now lost. At the top left corner of the sheet is a sketched plan detail of the pilaster fluting, with a dimension for one of the grooves.

5

Recto: perspective elevation of the Pantheon portico column capital with column details. Verso: interior view of the Pantheon door with details

Half sheet cut or torn on left side of recto
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16 15/16 x 12 5/8 in. (43 x 32 cm)
Watermark: none
Inscriptions: *nud de larquitrave le fillet de desus le chapitèau* (recto, center, on plan of capital); *volute du milieu* (recto, bottom center near volute); various dimensions

D'Orgeix 2001, figs. 17, 18

68.769.4 (red 8; graphite 88)
Figure 16

On the recto are eleven drawings of elements from the Pantheon portico. Most prominent among these, at the top of the sheet, is the elevation of a Corinthian column, which has three key marks identifying the additional details of the column on the right: *A* for the stalk, *R* for the corner of the abacus, and *G* for the column shaft and base. On the bottom half of the sheet are a profile of the portico interior architrave, another detail of the stalk (also marked with an *A*), a plan and elevation of a side volute, a perspective sketch of a central volute, a plan of a column, and a profile of the capital. Many of these portico details appear on the Windsor Castle sheet (Figure 9).

The verso of this sheet has a perspective view of the interior of the Pantheon's main entrance. Burns ([1968], p. 24) and d'Orgeix (2001, p. 178) noted the exceedingly rare detail of the octagonal coffering covering the barrel vault over the door, which is not present in the building today. The view also records the leaflike lattice pattern of the metal grate over the door—a detail that was represented only schematically by Desgodetz (1682, p. 40), for example—and the awkward juncture where the cella cornice collides with the entrance wall entablature. At the edges of the sheet are six details of elements depicted in the view. Starting at the top left and working clockwise around the sheet, these are a plan of a square coffer from the barrel vault over the entrance, a profile of two adjoining octagonal coffers from the same vault, a profile of the cornice over the door (key mark *G*), a profile of the volute from the entrance pilaster capital, a detail of the crest of the stalk of the same capital, and a detail of the same crest with two leaves.

6

Recto: view of the Pantheon exterior vestibule with detail. Verso: plans of the Pantheon interior rectangular and semicircular alcoves

Half sheet with guard strip remnant on right side of recto
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16 15/16 x 12 5/8 in. (43 x 32 cm)
Watermark: none
Inscriptions: *droit au centre de ledifice* (verso, bottom center); *eqitere* [?] (verso, bottom right); various dimensions

68.769.6 (red 4; graphite 91)
Figure 6

On the recto, a perspective view of the panels and pilasters to the left of the Pantheon main door is remarkably similar to a drawing in the Codex Coner in Sir John Soane's Museum, London, that shows the pilasters from exactly the same angle (fol. 51r; see Ashby 1904, p. 37, no. 62). Unlike the draftsman of the Codex Coner drawing, Bernardo della Volpaia (1475–ca. 1521), the Goldschmidt draftsman did not comment on the material of the stone panels between the pilasters, but he did exaggerate their depths in order to emphasize small changes in their surfaces. Although his proportions of the panels are off, this draftsman used shading to create a drawing that is more robustly modeled than any other depiction of this element, including those by Peruzzi and the Dosio copyist in the Albertina (Nesselrath 2003, pp. 25–27; Valori 1985, p. 181). His drawing corroborates that the panels were framed by strips of stone veneer, perhaps in contrasting colors, as seen in both the Codex Coner view and an elevation by Antonio da Sangallo (Frommel and Adams 2000, pp. 212–13). At the bottom of the drawing, a profile of these panels records their dimensions, with the lowest cornice identified by the key mark *B*, and the second relief panel from the top by the key mark *A*. The profile is similar to a sketch in the upper left corner of the Windsor Castle sheet verso (Figure 9), where it appears next to an elevation of the panels and the adjacent pilasters. On the right side of the Goldschmidt drawing, the panels and reliefs near the entrance are shown misaligned with their counterparts on the adjacent wall, an error probably caused by the draftsman's difficulty in handling the perspective.

The drawing on the verso has the inscription *droit au centre de ledifice* (to the right of the center of the building) on the plan of a semicircular alcove, which also appears on catalogue number 7r (Figure 4r). Another inscription on the plan of the semicircular alcove—*eqitere* [?]—is illegible, but it apparently refers to a pilaster on the rear wall of the alcove.

7

Recto: partial plan of the Pantheon with diagram of the floor curvature and detail of the alcove corner. Verso: view, partial section, and detail of the Pantheon interior rectangular alcove

Half sheet cut or torn on left side of recto with guard strip remnant on left side of verso (the verso drawings are upside down relative to the recto drawings); horizontal crease at center
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16 15/16 x 12 5/8 in. (43 x 32 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *de plinte en plinte a lingne droitte* (recto, top right, next to rectangular alcove); *toutte la haulteur depuis les tables de bronse jusques sus le pave de ledifice nōbre p–175–ō–ii–m 10* (recto, center); *p–130–ō7–m6 pour tout le diameter prins au plinte de la basse* (recto, center); *la moitie /p80/ō9/m9/* (recto, center); *memoire salir* (recto, bottom right); *prins au nu du pietdestal* (recto, bottom right); *niche* (verso, bottom left); various dimensions

Taylor 2004, pp. 118–19

68.769.5 (red 2; graphite 89)
Figure 4

On the recto, the plan of the western half of the Pantheon rotunda does not include the internal wall cavities between the alternating semicircular and rectangular niches. The key mark *V* in the top rectangular alcove refers to the perspective view of the alcove's ceiling arches on the verso of this sheet. In the top right corner of the recto, two plans detail the alcove's inner and outer corners. At the center of the plan, a diagram records the curvature of the rotunda floor between the bases

of opposite columns. Next to the diagram is a series of numbers, faintly written, presumably made by the draftsman to add up dimensions.

On the verso, the perspective view into the rectangular alcove to the west of the central apse has the key mark *F* to identify the location of the rear wall architrave on catalogue number 4v (Figure 14v). The view of the alcove arches at the upper right is similar to that on the Windsor Castle sheet (Figure 9r); both drawings probably derive from the same source. The drawings share three identical dimensions given in the same units, but each has additional dimensions not given on the other.

8

Recto: detail views of the Pantheon dome, oculus, niches, door, and interior of the intermediate block. Verso: elevations of the Pantheon rotunda interior attic with partial section of the alcove ceiling and details

Full sheet with center crease and guard strip remnant on verso
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 22 15/16 x 16 3/4 in. (58.3 x 42.6 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *nōbre des petit escaliers •40•* (recto, top right, on dome steps); *trois* [?] *petit escaliers pō su* [?] *grand* (recto, top right, on dome steps); *escaliers 8* (recto, top center, on intermediate block steps); *arque de la niche* (recto, center right); *la porte* (recto, bottom right); *deulx* [?] *piece de fer •A• et vingt de •B• sōnt en tout 30•* (recto, center); *escaliers •8•* (recto, bottom left, on dome plan); *la porte de lescale* (recto, dome plan); *porte po*[*ur*] *mōter desus la couverture* [?] (recto, dome plan); *de circōference p/486–ō4–m3* (recto, dome plan); *canal* (recto, dome plan); *canal des eaues* (recto, dome plan); *serpentine* (verso, top); *serpentine*, *serp.*, etc. (verso, bottom); *marmo*, *mar*, etc. (verso, bottom); *profi*, *porf*, etc. (verso, bottom); various dimensions

Geymüller 1883, figs. 5–7; Cozza 1983, figs. 1, 2; d'Orgeix 2001, fig. 19; Taylor 2004, p. 120

68.769.7 (red 9–10; graphite 92–93)
Figure 3

The recto has nine drawings of the interior and exterior of the Pantheon rotunda. Six of these drawings give details of the roof and the oculus. At the top right a perspective view of the rooftop stairs indicates the number of steps with three inscriptions: *nōbre des petit escaliers •40•* (number of small steps •40•), written above the dome steps; *trois* [?] *petit escaliers pō su* [?] *grand* (three small steps . . . [?]), written on top of the dome steps; and *escaliers 8* (8 steps), written near the steps on the intermediate block. The drawing also has three key marks. The letter *M*, written on the lead sheets covering the dome roof, has no known referent drawing. The letter *A*, written on the lip of the base of the dome, refers to the perspective elevation next to it on the left. Both these drawings illustrate the drainage system of the cella roof, where marble tiles with holes drilled into them allow water to drip off the edge (Cozza 1983, p. 110). The letter *P*, written on the lip of the dome base, refers to the plan of the dome and intermediate block at the bottom left of the sheet. Like the perspective view, this plan focuses on access routes to the roof and water drainage from it. The inscription *escaliers •8•*, written twice around the perimeter, refers to the staircases at the base of the dome, while the access doors from the intermediate block are identified with the inscriptions *la porte de lescale* (the door to the stairs) and *porte po*[*ur*] *mōter desus la couverture* (door for entering under the cover). The plan also has a reference to the circumference of the dome, *de circōference p/486–ō4–m3*, and two inscriptions—*canal* and *canal des eaues*—on the drainage channel in the roof of the intermediate block. This channel can be seen in the schematic section on catalogue number 10r (Figure 17r).

The two drawings in the bottom right corner of the recto show the arches above the central apse (above, with the inscription *arque de la niche*) and the main entrance (below). In the middle of the sheet are three drawings that give details of the oculus. At the left edge of the drawing, the section through the oculus has a note concerning the vertical supports that once held a frieze, now missing: *deulx* [?] *piece de fer •A• et vingt de •B• sōnt en tout 30•* (ten pieces of iron A and twenty of B are 30 in all). To the right of that section, there is a small drawing of a cornice in profile. To its right, in the center of the sheet, another section through the oculus includes the metal sheets that cover the exterior rim, the cornice on the vertical face, and two of the vertical supports. Finally, above these two details, a perspective view into one of the interior rooms of the attic indicates the opening in the ceiling (see also cat. 9v [Figure 8v]).

On the verso, two partial elevations of the rotunda attic have perspective views into the openings above the alcoves. The elevation at the bottom has several inscriptions, such as *serpentine* and *marmo* (marble), indicating the materials of the wall surface, as well as the key letters *R* and *C*. The letter *R* identifies the section through the upper level of the alcove in the bottom left corner of the sheet, and *C* identifies the profile of the attic-level base in the bottom right corner. At the bottom center of the sheet is a detail of two stone panels from the attic wall.

On the top half of the sheet, drawn with the paper turned 180 degrees, the other elevation of the attic has the key letters *A*, *B*, and *E*. These refer, respectively, to the profiles of the entablature below the coffers (top left corner of the sheet, with a small molding detail), the entablature over one of the attic openings (top center), and the pilaster base (top right). The Windsor Castle sheet (Figure 9r and v) has similar versions of most of these drawings, including the views of the rotunda dome, a plan of the rotunda roof, and details of the oculus from the recto, as well as the section through the upper chamber of the alcove and the details of the attic on the verso.

9

Recto: plan of the Pantheon intermediate block attic; elevation of an attic pilaster capital; partial perspective view and partial plan of the central niche with details. Verso: partial views of the Pantheon interior rectangular and semicircular alcoves; partial views and plans of the intermediate block interior attic

Full sheet with center crease and guard strip remnant on verso
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 17 1/16 x 22 13/16 in. (43.4 x 58 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *cornise secōde* (recto, center left); *acrotoire* (recto, top right); *le nu de la crotoire la cornise de la dicte* (recto, bottom right); *la moulure du piet destal de desus la cornice* (recto, bottom right); *selon qui se peult voir quil estoit ainsi de lantique* (verso, bottom left); *la haulteur du* [?] *G de puis terre p7 la haulteur de seul p2/m9* (verso, center right); various dimensions

68.769.8 (red 11–12; graphite 94–95)
Figure 8

The recto has six drawings of the interior of the Pantheon. At the top left corner, a plan of the intermediate block includes the openings in the ceiling of the rooms, a detail that is rarely included in drawings of this area of the building. Below the intermediate block plan is an elevation of a pilaster capital in the rotunda attic, accompanied by its plan and identified with the key mark *H*. The attic pilasters were removed from the building during the eighteenth-century renovations of the interior, though several examples of them survive in museums. The left side of the recto of this sheet also has a small drawing, with the inscription *cornise secōde* (second cornice?), whose subject cannot be identified.

A perspective elevation of the central apse is on the right side of the recto. This drawing shows the top of the right side of the chapel, including the entablature and the capitals of the pilaster and column. The acroterion above the entablature, identified by the inscription *acrotoire*, has the key mark *N* to identify the profile of its cornice immediately to the right. The acroterion today lacks this cornice. In the bottom right corner, a plan of the section of the apse chapel that is shown above bears two inscriptions: *le nu de la crotoire la cornise de la dicte*, referring to the base of the acroterion over the cornice shown in the drawing, and *la moulure du piet destal de desus la cornice* (the molding of the pedestal on top of the cornice).

On the left side of the verso are two perspective elevations of the rotunda alcoves. The inscription next to the partial view of the semicircular alcove at the bottom of the sheet reads: *selon qui se peult voir quil estoit ainsi de lantique* (based on this, one can see that it was such in antiquity). At the top of the sheet, the partial view of a rectangular alcove includes its rear wall and left side wall. The depiction of the three openings in the rear wall is similar to that on the recto of the Windsor Castle sheet (see Figure 9).

At the top of the right side of the verso, a perspective view shows the interior of the three adjoining rooms inside the attic of the intermediate block, with an outline of its plan. This drawing is a more detailed version of a sketch on the verso of the Windsor Castle sheet. At the center of the verso here are two plans of the rotunda wall at the attic level—specifically the area above the western rectangular alcove next to the intermediate block. The plan on the right depicts this space schematically; the plan on the left is more carefully drawn and dimensioned. The Windsor Castle sheet verso has versions of both of these plans. The view at the bottom of the Goldschmidt verso shows this space in perspective.

10

Recto: longitudinal section through the Pantheon with elevation sketch of the portico and detail. Verso: elevations and partial plans of the Pantheon pilaster capitals

Full sheet with center crease and guard strip remnant on verso
Pen and dark brown ink with black chalk, 16 15/16 x 22 13/16 in. (43 x 58 cm)
Watermark: A
Inscriptions: *pilastre dedans la rotonde* (verso, center of left edge); various dimensions

D'Orgeix 2001, fig. 20

68.769.9 (red 13–14; graphite 99–100)
Figure 17

The last sheet in the Pantheon series differs from the rest. Although the paper has the same watermark as the other sheets in the series, the handwriting, ink, and representational techniques of the drawings suggest that they were made by a unique hand; they also lack key marks referring to other drawings. Despite having been made by a different draftsman, however, the drawings on this sheet share more than a watermark and provenance with the others: the drawings of capitals on the verso relate directly to drawings in the Cronstedt Collection, Stockholm (see Figure 19), and in Codex 209e at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (see Figure 18), that have been linked to the Goldschmidt Pantheon series. Indeed, the Stockholm and Munich groups derive from the same source as the Goldschmidt series because in several instances exact copies of the same drawing can be found within each group.

On the recto, a lateral section through the Pantheon rotunda is in an unfinished, sketchy state. Several of the lines are ruled, and the drawing is primarily orthogonal; in this respect the drawing differs from the other drawings in the Goldschmidt Pantheon series, which are almost entirely perspectival. Details of the dome are traced in ink with dimensions given in *palmi*, in a spikier hand and a darker color than the writing in the rest of the series. On the left side of the sheet, a sketched elevation of the Pantheon facade shows the relationship between the two pediments. In the top corner a schematic section through the roof of the intermediate block at the base of the dome includes the drainage canal and the door to the stairs, two details that are also recorded in catalogue number 8r (Figure 3r).

On the verso, the left side of the sheet has an orthogonal elevation and a plan of the pilaster capital of the lower order of the rotunda interior, identified by the inscription *pilastre dedans la rotonde*. This drawing is primarily a light underdrawing with dimensions and a few lines added in ink. The right side of the sheet has an orthogonal elevation of the column capital from the same order. Although also an underdrawing, this capital includes more detail than the other one. While these two capital elevations are closely related to the drawings of the Pantheon that are in the Cronstedt Collection and Codex 209e, they do not appear among the drawings in those groups, although their style of execution is unmistakably similar.

Sin and Redemption in the *Hours of François I* (1539–40) by the Master of François de Rohan

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In 2011, the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts acquired a lavish book of hours made for the use of Rome for King François I (1494–1547). Of the manuscript's ninety-three leaves, eighteen feature full-page miniatures by the Master of François de Rohan, who was active mainly in Paris between about 1525 and 1546. The humanistic script (an imitation of Roman script) is likely the work of Jean Mallard, a calligrapher and illuminator from Rouen who enjoyed royal patronage first in France, then in England.[1] In light of the fact that virtually nothing remains of François I's collection of personal prayer books, the *Hours of François I* constitutes a key addition to the Museum's collection of works from the French Renaissance.[2] The manuscript itself is remarkable for its sumptuous decoration and the unusual imagery of two illuminations, folios 67r and 89r (Figures 1, 2), which together raise important questions about François I's attitude toward kingship and the struggles he faced in the tumultuous period during which the book was made.

THE HISTORY OF THE *HOURS OF FRANÇOIS I*

As part of his mission to enhance his kingdom's cultural prestige and to satisfy his own intellectual curiosity, François I sought to establish new libraries as well as to expand the existing Royal Library.[3] He also acquired manuscripts and printed books for his personal collection.[4] Treasured as devotional aids and luxurious objects, illuminated books of hours had been avidly collected by the nobility since the mid-thirteenth century and remained an important component of any princely library. Little is known of François I's personal devotional books, and the circumstances surrounding the creation of the *Hours of François I* remain unclear. Since it did not include François I's personal books, the inventory of the Royal Library taken at the time of its transfer from Blois to Fontainebleau in 1544 is of little help in determining whether the manuscript was ever in the king's possession.

The fact that it depicts François and contains intercessory prayers found only in French royal manuscripts leaves no doubt as to the identity of the manuscript's intended recipient. Moreover, the highly personal nature of some of the book's imagery strongly suggests that it was commissioned by the king himself. The *Hours of François I* has recently been linked to a 1538 payment record that would confirm the theory of a royal commission and the attribution of the script to Jean Mallard.[5] The document states that forty-five livres were paid from the king's account to Mallard for copying a book of hours that was presented to François I so that he could have it illuminated.[6] The king would then have entrusted this task to the Master of François de Rohan no later than 1539, the year appearing in four of the miniatures' frames (a fifth bears a date of 1540).[7] The historical record, while slim, suggests an alternate theory for the manuscript's early history. Two later inscriptions, one pasted on the interior of the eighteenth-century leather binding and the other on the first back flyleaf, indicate that the book—mistakenly identified as a missal—belonged to Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre (r. 1518–55), François I's brother-in-law.[8] The first pastedown may once have been present on the original binding, while the second may record an earlier inscription.[9] These notations raise the possibility that François gave the book to his sister, Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), so that she could have it illuminated and that it subsequently remained in her possession or was reacquired by her at a later date.[10] Marguerite herself is known to have employed the Master of François de Rohan, who illuminated a manuscript of her poem *La Coche* (1542).[11]

The book's later history is far more secure. In the eighteenth century, it entered the collection of the antiquarian John Ives Jr. (1751–1776). The manuscript was

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1. Master of François de Rohan (Paris, active ca. 1525–46). Bathsheba at Her Bath and King David in Penitence (fol. 67r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40. Illuminated manuscript on parchment, eighteenth-century leather binding with gilt, overall bound dimensions: 8⅛ × 5¾ × 1½ in. (20.8 × 14.6 × 3.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, several members of The Chairman's Council Gifts and 2011 Benefit Fund, 2011 (2011.353). Photograph: Katherine Dehab, The Photograph Studio, MMA

subsequently acquired by the great-grandson of King Charles II (r. 1660–85) and his mistress Nell Gwyn, Topham Beauclerk (1739–1780), who purchased it at the sale of Ives's library by Baker and Leigh, at Covent Garden, on March 3–6, 1777.[12] On Beauclerk's death, the book was sold at auction on June 6, 1781, and is next recorded in the nineteenth century as being in the possession of the great-great-grandfather of Colonel C. C. C. Farran, who placed it on deposit at the British Library in 1966.[13] The manuscript remained there as Loan MS 58 until it was sold to H. P. Kraus through Christie's, London, on June 24, 1987.[14] After spending twenty-three years in a private American collection, the book once again appeared on the market, where it was acquired by Les Enluminures and later purchased by the Museum.[15]

A BOOK OF HOURS FIT FOR A KING

The manuscript was first published in 1967 by Janet Backhouse, who referred to the anonymous artist as

2. Master of François de Rohan. Portrait of François I with Saint Marcouf (fol. 89r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

the Master of François I.[16] François Avril, Conservateur général honoraire of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, later renamed him after miniatures from the *Fleur de Vertu* (Figure 3), which was translated by the archbishop of Lyons, François de Rohan.[17] In her definitive 1998 study on the artist, Myra Orth attributed eighteen manuscripts and four printed books to the master as well as his sizable workshop and speculated that many more works had yet to be identified.[18] In the artist's preference for sturdy figures, outlandish costumes, and cramped, crowded spaces, Orth recognized the influence of printed books from Germany and especially Basel, which led her to suggest that the master may have originated in those parts.

The boisterous energy and rusticity that define the Master of François de Rohan's style are indeed atypical of contemporary Parisian manuscripts, in which a more subdued elegance tends to prevail. The master was especially fond of weighty, highly ornamented architectural frames—another characteristic that points to a possible Germanic origin.[19]

3. Master of François de Rohan. Title page with a portrait of François de Rohan (fol. 1). *Fleur de Vertu*, 1530. Illuminated manuscript on parchment, 8½ × 6 in. (21.7 × 15.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 1877.

4. Master of François de Rohan. Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 42r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

The Museum's manuscript contains ten opulent examples with lively Renaissance details and copious use of shell gold. Swirling forms of dolphins and arabesques abound, as do playful putti with buoyant bodies and architectural components painted to imitate stones such as colored marble and lapis lazuli.

In addition to delighting the eye, the frames include details that enrich the significance of the scenes they border. References to the Passion appear in the fanciful architecture surrounding the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Figure 4), so that the reader's contemplation of this joyous event would have been tempered by the remembrance of Christ's future suffering. With its shaft in the form of twisting branches, the column on the left calls to mind the Crown of Thorns, while the colorful one on the right, adorned with the head of a ram (a pagan image and symbol of sacrifice), evokes the column used in Christ's flagellation. The theme of sacrifice extends to the frieze of golden sheep resting on the cornice at the top. The relationship between border and central scene reaches a new level of interactivity in folio 55r (Figure 5), which depicts the Flight into Egypt and related apocryphal stories, such as that of the pagan statue toppling from its base in response to the Christ Child's appearance. A detail in the frame's right pier further underscores the power of Jesus's presence: a gilded putto responds to him by kneeling and clasping his hands in prayer.

Instead of an architectural frame, folio 5r, which shows Saint John the Evangelist writing his Gospel on Patmos (Figure 6), features a candelabra border populated with fantastic half-horse figures, putti supporting platters of fruit, and other playful grotesques.[20] The remainder of the book contains floral borders, a convention of Flemish origin favored by Jean Bourdichon (1457–1521) and his French followers but rarely used by the master. The scatter border of folio 7r (Figure 7) contains the manuscript's greatest variety and concentration of vegetation. The flowers and plants depicted serve both decorative and symbolic functions, such as the roses and columbines that represent the Virgin's flawlessness and sorrow, respectively, along with the strawberry plant that refers to her perfection and purity.[21] These floral elements relate closely to the manuscript's only historiated initial: an Annunciation scene in which the Virgin is separated from Gabriel by an "I" that has been transformed into a decorated column.[22]

5. Master of François de Rohan. Flight into Egypt (fol. 55r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

6. Master of François de Rohan. Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos (fol. 5r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

The *Hours of François I* reveal the Master of François de Rohan's penchant for stout figures with gentle expressions and almond-shaped eyes that droop slightly. They inhabit either verdant landscapes in which atmospheric perspective is used heavily or stylish interiors with luxurious trappings, such as Saint Luke's elaborately carved chair (Figure 7) or the Annunciation scene's checkered marble floor (Figure 8). For the master, conveying a sense of intimacy and comfort clearly took precedence over achieving spatial clarity. This propensity is especially apparent in the marvelously claustrophobic interior depicted in folio 11r (Figure 9), where the window is tilted at an odd angle and objects have an uneasy relationship to one another. More dramatic scenes, like the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Figure 4), showcase the master's preference for communicating excitement by using figures that perform jerky, almost puppetlike movements—a tendency that also surfaces in his woodcuts (Figure 10).[23] Color, too, imparts tension. Instead of the cool palette favored by Parisian illuminators, the Master of François de Rohan relied on warm earth tones, often juxtaposing discordant shades to convey an emotionally charged atmosphere.[24] Such is the case in the Crucifixion scene, where the sky ranges disconcertingly from pale ocher to ink blue, or in the Coronation of the Virgin (Figure 11), in which the heavens glow with rainbow colors in celebration of her triumph. Throughout the manuscript, highlights are achieved by means of thin, agitated lines that trace contours or are arranged in weblike patterns with varying degrees of concentration (Figure 12).

As was typical for private devotional books, the *Hours of François I* was customized to reflect the identity of its prestigious owner.[25] The Annunciation's border comprises a shield with the French royal arms (three gold fleurs-de-lis before an azure background) (Figure 8).[26] Another fleur-de-lis appears in the frame surrounding the Adoration of the Magi (Figure 13), as does a salamander, François's emblem. The caryatids are faintly evocative of the stucco nudes from the Galerie François I at the king's favorite château, Fontainebleau.[27] The manuscript also contains two highly personal illuminations, which respectively show François in the guise of David (Figure 1) and as himself kneeling before Saint Marcouf (Figure 2).

7. Master of François de Rohan. Saint Luke Writing His Gospel (fol. 7r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

8. Master of François de Rohan. Annunciation (fol. 21r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

DAVID SPYING AND DAVID REPENTING: AN UNUSUAL PAIRING IN FOLIO 67R

Folio 67r (Figure 1) introduces the Seven Penitential Psalms, which are recited for repentance and to help one avoid committing a deadly sin.[28] Their author, King David, is depicted in two distinct episodes viewed through a golden arch supported by a fanciful arrangement of colorful columns and piers. In the foreground, David adopts a penitent pose as he is visited by an angel in the sky. Beneath him appears a trompe l'oeil cartouche inscribed with the opening verses of Psalm 6. In the distance, at the window of his classically inspired palace, David spies on Bathsheba as she bathes in a fountain. Despite her slight size, she conforms to contemporary ideals of beauty through her long, golden hair and slender body with small, perfectly spherical breasts.[29] Bathsheba is approached by her attendant, whose height can hardly be accommodated by the portico through which she must pass to deliver a bowl of sweetmeats to her mistress.[30] The courtyard is also occupied by a messenger, whom David will soon send to fetch Bathsheba, thereby initiating their adulterous relationship. It will lead to her pregnancy and the death of her husband, Uriah, whom the king murders in an attempt to cover up his sin (2 Samuel 11).

By the early sixteenth century, David spying on Bathsheba had become a popular image for introducing the Penitential Psalms in books of hours.[31] As such, the scene was frequently depicted by the Master of François de Rohan and his workshop. In the *Hours of Saulx-Tavannes* miniature (Figure 14), Bathsheba occupies a fountain set at an angle in the foreground, while David, mirroring the viewer, watches her from his window.[32] A similar arrangement occurs in folio 77r of a tiny book of hours for the use of Sarum illuminated by the master in 1532 (Figure 15), slightly earlier than the Saulx-Tavannes hours.[33] In each case, Bathsheba is turned so that David can see her but it is the reader who is rewarded with an unobstructed view of her body and a privileged proximity to her nudity. Variations on this formula frequently appear in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French books of hours, such as the *Hours of Louis XII* (Figure 16), where Bathsheba's marmoreal flesh is displayed in a manner that primarily satisfies the reader's gaze. As Thomas Kren

9. Master of François de Rohan. Saint Mark Reading His Gospel (fol. 11r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

10. Master of François de Rohan. Adoration of the Magi (fol. AIV). *Biblia picturis illustrata*, 1540. Woodcut, 2½ × 1¾ in. (6.5 × 4.5 cm). Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and Humanities, Los Angeles (86-B26751)

has argued, while Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) was likely aware of the different spiritual and moral significances attached to Bathsheba, Jean Bourdichon's eroticizing depiction of her can also be interpreted as an attempt to appeal to the king's libidinous side.[34] Intimate and portable, the book of hours provided the ideal context for Bourdichon's tantalizing Bathsheba, who could be held close and carefully studied.

Folio 79r (Figure 16) from the *Hours of Louis XII* constitutes a particularly successful—and audacious—example of the type of sensual imagery commissioned by Valois rulers. The trend culminated during the rule of Louis XII's son-in-law, François I, who avidly collected and commissioned representations of female nudes and other erotically charged works. Those wishing to enter into his good graces or repay a kindness often relied on gifts of this nature, such as the Marquis of Mantua, Francesco II Gonzaga (1466–1519), who sent him a painting by Lorenzo Costa (ca. 1537–1583) of a nude Venus holding a cornucopia and unabashedly gazing at the viewer.[35] On January 4, 1519, Federico de' Preti presented the panel to François on the marquis's behalf, together with a letter in which Francesco addressed the king as a "great and good judge of bodily beauty." The Mantuan ambassador recorded the king's reaction in a letter:

> He liked it very much and never tired of looking at it, and told me that he thanks your lordship a thousand times. He had it taken immediately to the Queen [Claude de France] and the Queen-Mother [Louise de Savoie] and had them see it, and they praised it highly. His majesty the king asked me if it was one of Madame's [Isabella d'Este's] women, drawn from life, and I said I did not know. The king showed it to all these lords and gentleman.[36]

The knowledge that this alluring Venus's face was drawn from life would have opened the possibility, however remote, that her nude body also reflected a specific reality; the king could thus have the thrill of owning a representation of a Mantuan court lady he might never meet yet had the impression of knowing intimately. Diplomatic correspondence further reveals that the king did not limit himself to enjoying the sight of painted nudes. In a letter dated June 18, 1540,

11. Master of François de Rohan. Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 61r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

12. Detail of Figure 7

the Ferrarese ambassador Carlo Sacrati reported to Ercole II d'Este the following encounter, which took place in Fontainebleau's Roman-style baths and cast François and his companions in the role of the spying David:

> I have learned from M. Tommaso del Vecchio that the day when His Majesty arrived at Fontainebleau in the evening, Madame Marguerite and Madame d'Etampes with Madame de Rothelin and two other ladies were in the baths and His Majesty, accompanied by his lordship the constable [Anne de Montmorency], his lordship the Cardinal of Lorraine [Jean de Lorraine] and our lordship the Cardinal [Ippolito d'Este] went there and found them naked, and stayed there to jest for a long while.[37]

Among the ladies in attendance was the king's official mistress, the duchesse d'Etampes (1508–1576), whose body François once compared to that of the Cnidian Aphrodite after seeing a bronze copy of the sculpture.[38]

In light of the king's appreciation of nude female bodies, both real and artistically fashioned, it is surprising that the *Hours of François I* does not introduce the Psalms with a composition featuring a large figure of Bathsheba bathing in the foreground, given the numerous royal precedents for this iconographic formula and its employment in other books of hours attributed to the Master of François de Rohan. The relegation of David spying on Bathsheba to the background is unusual, as is the juxtaposition with the foreground David in penitence, one of the scenes most frequently used to introduce the Penitential Psalms in books of hours.[39]

Combining the two subjects on the same page creates a tension that the artist enhanced by placing both figures at either end of the same diagonal axis and having them face each other. The Old Testament king's double incarnations seem aware of each other, even as they focus on different subjects, the nude (carnal) Bathsheba and the (spiritual) angel. Mirroring one another, both Davids perform a similar gesture but with a divergent meaning, underscoring the temporal and psychological divide that separates them. The spying king raises his hand in excitement, while

13. Master of François de Rohan. Adoration of the Magi (fol. 47r). *Hours of François I*, 1539–40

14. Master of François de Rohan. Bathsheba at Her Bath, Receiving the Message of King David (fol. 67v). *Hours of Saulx-Tavannes*, 1533. Illuminated manuscript, 8¾ × 6 in. (22.2 × 15.3 cm). Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 640

his future self does so in humble supplication. Symbol of earthly power, the scepter brandished by David at his balcony lies discarded in the foreground next to a harp with ten strings propped against the forecourt's wall.[40] The penitent king's hand hovers near the golden instrument, thus alluding to his spiritual role as composer of the Psalms—a role overtly celebrated in the border's jewel-like medallion.[41]

Possessing thick lips, a large, slightly sagging eye, and a long, hooked nose with a prominent bump, the penitent David in profile bears a strong resemblance to portraits of François I (Figure 17a–d).[42] That François would recognize himself in David is confirmed by his French royal garb: a blue ermine robe with a fleur-de-lis pattern. François wears the same attire in a portrait of him as David in a miniature from the *Hours of Catherine de Medici* (Figure 18).[43] While the latter corresponds to a formal exaltation of François's royal qualities, his representation as David in Figure 1 serves a more complex function—one predicated on the importance and nature of vision in religious devotion.

The composition establishes different "hierarchies of vision," to borrow Patricia Rubin's term, which are central to both the image's organization and its interpretation.[44] The background of Figure 1 focuses on the subject of corporeal sight, illustrated by means of David's looking at a tangible object—the bathing Bathsheba. Spiritual perception, which requires using the eyes of the soul rather than those of the body, is evoked in the foreground through the representation of David gazing at the angel of the Lord. The transition from background to foreground thus reflects David's progression from using a form of vision that stems from earthly desire and remains on the surface of concrete things to employing one that transcends the physical realm and leads to salvation. The move from lowest to highest level of sight evoked in the image would have paralleled François I's own viewing experience of the illumination. Beholding the picture as an object using physical sight would have triggered the king's memory and imagination, opening the path for him to see beyond the representational world.[45] Looking at the image of himself as David, as opposed to a generic

15. Master of François de Rohan. Bathsheba at Her Bath, Receiving the Message of King David (fol. 77r). *Book of Hours* (use of Sarum), 1532. Illuminated manuscript on vellum, 4⅜ × 3 in. (11 × 7.5 cm). Private collection, United States. Photograph: © Christie's Images 2006

16. Jean Bourdichon. Bathsheba Bathing (fol. 79r). *Hours of Louis XII*, 1498–99. Illuminated manuscript on parchment, 9⅝ × 6¾ in. (24.3 × 17 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 79r

portrayal of the Old Testament king, would have facilitated this cognitive process as it would have encouraged François to entertain a closer connection to David and his actions.

Regarded as an exemplary ruler and an admirable composer, David had long occupied a prominent position in French ceremonial life, from triumphal entries to masquerades, and François was frequently associated with the Old Testament king throughout his reign.[46] As early as 1515, Louise de Savoie (1476–1531) commissioned a paraphrased version in French of Psalm 26 for her son's use following his victory at Marignano.[47] The manuscript features twenty images in roundels, each with an interpretation of the verse below—a scheme prefiguring the emblem book. In folio 1v, the young king kneels humbly as an angel carrying a sword visits him—an iconographic formula that recalls images of David in penance (Figure 19). In this case, however, the angel brings protection, a fact emphasized by the interpretative line, which states that the king recited the verse after recognizing that the sword of God was approaching to defend him on September 14 (the second day of the battle). The manuscript's opening lines reveal the book's purpose, to teach the king about Psalm 26—as well as Louise de Savoie's continued hands-on approach to her son's education:

> The xii[th] day of February one thousand five hundred and sixteen at Horiol [Loriol] on the river Drome, Madame was spiritually compelled to make her humility speak to the obedience of the King her son, and to beg him that for devout Oration he should take Psalm XXVI, which is suitable to him. . . . And it would be most profitable to him, if at the request of the Lady he loves so, he were to sing and to say like David: *Dominus Illuminatio mea, et salus mea, quem timebo?* [The Lord is my light and my savior, whom could I fear?][48]

Louise thus encouraged her son to emulate David by commissioning a text that linked the Psalms to the battle of Marignano, François's greatest military triumph. A few years later, Guillaume Michel published *Le Penser de royal mémoire* (1518), an entreaty to the king to embark on a crusade against the Turks.[49] The text contains four epistles addressed to François I by David, who offers him his harp (to heal and bring harmony to his kingdom) and sling (to defeat the infidels), and instructs him on how to become the Tenth Worthy—a goal, the reader is told, the French ruler is very close to achieving thanks to the many qualities he shares with the Old Testament king.[50] Even after François's death, the link between him and David persisted, as attested by a carved image of François in the guise of the Old Testament king on the choir stall of Auch Cathedral.[51]

While in the carving and the illumination from the *Hours of Catherine de Medici*, François is depicted as David in an upright pose holding the Old Testament king's attributes, in

a.

b.

d.

c.

17. a. Matteo del Nassaro (active 1515–47). *Medal of François I Celebrating the Battle of Marignano*, 1515. Bronze, Diam. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, SR 82. b. Detail of Figure 1 showing François I as King David. c. Jean Clouet (1475/85–1540). Detail of *Portrait of François I, King of France*, ca. 1530. Oil on panel, 37¾ × 29⅛ in. (96 × 74 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 3256). Photograph: Hervé Lewandowski © RMN-Grand Palais/ Art Resource, NY. d. Detail of Figure 2 showing a portrait of François I

the Museum's book of hours he kneels with his gaze lifted toward the sky (Figure 1). Close inspection reveals that the angel who appears to him carries a skull, a sword, and a scourge, all conventions derived from the story of David's other major transgression: committing the sin of pride, recounted in 2 Samuel 24 and 1 Chronicles 21.[52] The objects represent divine punishments for the Israelites (famine, war, and plague) from which David must choose one for angering God by taking a census of his army without the Lord's permission. The king settled on pestilence, but on seeing his people die, begged God to spare them and punish him instead.

At least as early as the eleventh century, the angel bearing God's trio of retributions was incorporated into imagery pertaining to the story of David and Bathsheba, specifically the moment when the repentant David kneels before the prophet Nathan, who rebukes him for committing adultery and murder (2 Samuel 12).[53] Rather than a deliberate link between the two events, this conflation was likely a case of artistic misappropriation. The *Hours of François I*'s representation of David kneeling before the angel holding the three symbols of divine justice may therefore have been intended simply as an image of David repenting for the sin of adultery, thereby connecting the folio's background and foreground scenes.

A learned sixteenth-century audience, however, would have been familiar with the original meaning of the angel's attributes and their association with the census story. David as portrayed in the foreground of folio 67r (Figure 1) was thus likely meant to be understood as repenting for both his pride and his adultery. That the initial significance of the angel bearing three choices was still resonant in sixteenth-century France is evidenced by the subject's treatment in a

18. François I as King David (fol. 152r). *Hours of Catherine de Medici*, ca. 1544?. Illuminated card stuck on vellum leaf, 3½ × 2⅜ in. (9 × 6.2 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS NAL 82

19. Godefroy le Batave (active ca. 1515–26) and François de Moulins (died 1526). The Angel Bearing the Divine Sword Appearing to François I (fol. 1v). *Paraphrase du psaume XXVI, "Dominus Illuminatio mea,"* 1516. Pen and ink on paper, 7⅞ × 5⅜ in. (20 × 13.8 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 2088

book of hours (the so-called *Heures de 1525*) (Figure 20), published by Geoffroy Tory (ca. 1480–1533) with a royal privilege granted by François I.[54] This widely circulated and highly influential book played a key role in introducing Renaissance aesthetics to France's nascent printing industry. Replete with classicizing details, folio N4r shows David in a hair shirt and toga kneeling before an angel, who takes the form of a nude putto holding a scourge, a sword, and an arrow (here replacing the skull).[55] Lingering near the fountain is a devil, a likely reference to the story of David taking the census as recounted in 1 Chronicles 21, in which Satan incites the king to commit the sin.[56]

It is also worth noting that folio N4R of the *Heures de 1525* was a source for an illumination by the Master of François de Rohan and his assistants for a manuscript probably made for Jacques Aubry, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Pierre de Lagny (Figure 21).[57] The miniature owes much to the illustration from Tory's book, including a now barely detectable devil. The master's style is evident in several details, such as the wiry hairs of the Old Testament king's beard and the fact that the angel—here given a more traditional appearance—holds a skull rather than an arrow.[58] The folio also repeats the cartouche inscribed with the word "Peccavi" (I have sinned), which hangs above David. In the *Hours of François I*, the same vertical alignment is used to express the relationship between (past) transgression and (present) atonement, but with a sophisticated twist. Bathsheba has taken the place of the inscription, her nude body functioning as a metonym for sin. It is in this capacity that the figure should be read rather than as an invitation to the king to indulge in the role of voyeur, as would have been a large, seductive nude in the manner of Bourdichon's Bathsheba. Instead, in Figure 1, the main body on which François was meant to cast a lingering look is the one prominently displayed in the foreground: his own in the guise of the remorseful David, cloaked in a heavy royal mantle and all the responsibilities it carries. In this figure, François was to find an exemplar on which to model his own devotional behavior, while in the spying David, he was to find an acknowledgment of the Old Testament king's—and by extension his own—flawed nature. The relationship between both incarnations is worth considering in connection to François's words penned in response to his sister's comparison of him to David as a prefiguration of Christ in an epistle dated 1543:[59]

Not am I to the good David similar
Of whom the heart to God was agreeable
I am a sinner, and this I confess
To recognize it is my only redemption.[60]

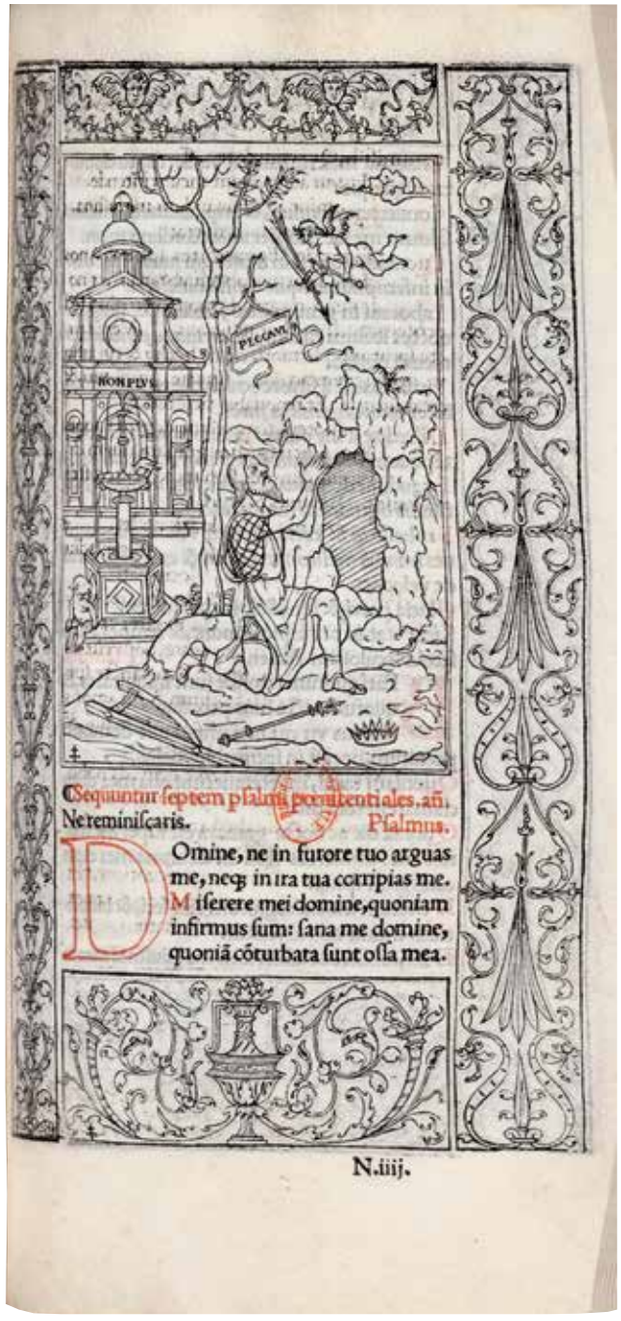
Rather than merely alluding to David/François as sinner, Figure 1 explicitly depicts him in this capacity; the background can thus be understood as the confession that is necessary to the success of the act of penance in the foreground. By offering an overt admission of David/François's imperfection, the illumination would have become all the more effective as a tool for helping the king overcome his weakness through prayer. Such a personal image is unlikely to have been commissioned by anyone other than François himself.

FOLIO 89R: THE KING'S POWER TO HEAL

The iconographic origin of the angel bearing God's punishments is worth considering more closely in relation to the *Hours of François I*. Pestilence plays a key role in the story of David's taking the census of his army. In both versions of the episode, David, on seeing his people die, implored God to save them and strike him and his kin instead, to which the Lord responded by ending the plague. The repentant David thus saved the Israelites from illness by interceding with God on their behalf. The story offers an interesting parallel to the royal practice of touching for scrofula (a form of tuberculosis affecting the lymph nodes, then known as "the king's evil"), which is the focus of folio 89r of the *Hours of François I*.

By the fourteenth century, it had become customary for newly anointed French kings to make a pilgrimage to Corbeny to venerate the relics of Saint Marcouf and, through this act, to obtain the ability to heal scrofula with their touch.[61] Curing this illness constituted a particularly important aspect of royal ceremony during François I's reign. To underscore the ritual's sacred dimension, the king would take communion, after which he would touch a patient's sore and then cross himself.[62] Partial records reveal that in 1528, François touched at least 1,326 people; the following year, more than 988 and the year after that, at least 1,731.[63] In addition to the traditional pilgrimage following his coronation, the king is also known to have made other trips to Corbeny to venerate Marcouf's relics. Eager to disseminate his almighty image abroad, François even demonstrated his special powers when traveling to Bologna as a guest of Pope Leo X in December 1515.[64]

Folio 89r (Figure 2) shows François I in a fur-lined gown and slashed doublet kneeling before the saint, a sixth-century abbot of Nantus.[65] Marcouf's thaumaturgic powers are brought to life in the background, where he is shown preparing to rid a man of his affliction while another patient awaits his turn. The scene unfolds above François I, thereby evoking the miraculous powers of his royal touch, which stem from his veneration of Marcouf and, by extension, of God.[66] The connection between Marcouf and François is further reinforced through the words inscribed on the scroll supported by the herculean putto at the bottom of the frame: "Morbus · Permanere · Non · Potuit · Talis · Medicus · Manum · Misit" (illness cannot endure where, like a doctor, he places his hand), a statement that applies to both saint and king. The theme of salvation extends to the frame where gourds and a cucumber, symbols of the Resurrection, hang from vines on a column.[67] Folio 89r thus evokes the positive



20. David in Penitence (fol. N4r). Book of Hours (so-called *Heures de 1525*) (use of Rome). Printed on parchment, 8¼ × 4½ in. (20.8 × 11.3 cm). Published by Geoffroy Tory, Paris, 1525. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Réserves de livres rare, Velins 1529

21. Master of François de Rohan and assistants. David in Penitence (fol. 76v). *Book of Hours* (use of Saint-Pierre de Lagny), ca. 1525–30. Illuminated manuscript on parchment, 16th-century binding, 5¾ × 4⅛ in. (14.5 × 10.5 cm). Austrian National Library, Vienna, Codex 1961

consequences resulting from this devotion to Marcouf. Contemplating the illumination as François prayed to the saint would have reinforced the meaningfulness and efficacy of his devotional act, which would have been central to helping him maintain his curative powers. The series of prayers devoted to Saint Marcouf that is introduced by folio 89r occurs in only one known earlier manuscript: a book of hours also made for François I, which has led to the plausible suggestion that the texts were originally written for him.[68]

The *Hours of François I*'s two most personal illuminations thus deal with the subject of illness. As Christine Boeckl remarks in her study on the iconography and iconology of pestilence, David "was the most important biblical figure associated with pestilence," an idea central to understanding the significance of folio 67r (Figure 1) and its relationship to folio 89r (Figure 2).[69] The presence of the angel bearing God's three choices evokes the king's willingness to atone for his transgressions and his desire to save his people from pestilence by sacrificing himself—a prefiguration of Christ's own sacrifice. A counterpart to François-as-David kneeling humbly before the angel is thus provided in the figure of François-as-himself kneeling humbly before Saint Marcouf in folio 89r. Both images evoke the theme of a king acting as a mediator between the earthly and the spiritual realms to ensure his people's salvation from illness. The contemplation of one illumination was surely intended to bring the other to mind, thereby heightening the experience of spiritual meditation.

1539–40: A TUMULTUOUS PERIOD

The iconography of both folios bears further significance considering the period in which the *Hours of François I* was made. As its diminutive scale suggests, the scene of David spying on Bathsheba was not used as an excuse to offer an alluring image of female sexuality, as it had been in other manuscripts. Rather, the vignette insists on adultery as David's crucial sin and balances the depiction of that offense with scenes emphasizing his positive qualities: David repenting and playing the harp, the music of which was understood to bring harmony and healing.[70] The message of folio 67r would surely have struck a chord in François, about whom the Marshal of France, Gaspard de Saulx-Tavannes, once said: "Alexander [the Great] sees women when he has no business, François tends to business when he has no women to see."[71]

Although François evidently had several affairs, Anne de Pisseleu (1508–1576) entertained a privileged relationship with the king from the time she met him in 1526 as an eighteen-year-old lady-in-waiting to the duchesse de Vendôme, Marie de Luxembourg.[72] A few years later, François made Anne a duchess by awarding her and her

22. Jean Mallard. Henry VIII as David Praying with an Angel Appearing in the Sky (fol. 79r). *Psalter of Henry VIII*, ca. 1540–41. Illuminated manuscript on parchment, 8⅛ × 5½ in. (20.5 × 14 cm). British Library, London, MS Royal 2 A XVI. Photograph: © The British Library Board

new husband, Jean de Brosse, the county of Etampes and elevating it to ducal status. As she was trusted and deeply admired by the king, Anne's power grew steadily, reaching its apogee during the final years of François's rule. The start of this phase of heightened political visibility coincided with the years in which the *Hours of François I* was created (1539–40). The period was also one of great uneasiness as François sought to expand his hegemony by attempting to improve relations with his enemy and former captor Charles V (1500–1558)—a mission doomed to failure.[73] Contemporary correspondence reveals that Anne was often singled out as the greatest influence on François I in matters of state. Writing in August 1540, the imperial ambassador François Bonvalot, abbot of Saint-Vincent, described the duchess as the "head" of the king's private council, while a few months later the papal nuncio reported her power was "omni exceptione major."[74] Even Marguerite de Navarre, who was very close to her brother, approached the duchess to appeal to François when the Constable Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567) attempted to discredit her, as she informed the Duke of Norfolk.[75] The duchess's outspoken attitude and clout raised eyebrows—if not virulent

criticism—and fueled the rancor of her detractors. Chief among them was the constable, whose fall from grace she precipitated by fanning the flames of discontent over his strategy of rapprochement with Charles V, a tactic that failed miserably and was quickly labeled as self-motivated. According to Sir John Wallop, the English ambassador, in December 1540, François declared to the constable: "I can fynd but one fault in you: wiche is that you do not love those that I do"—a reference to the Duchesse d'Etampes, or so the English ambassador inferred.[76] The statement suggests that for all the accusations of treason leveled against Anne de Montmorency in this period, it was the constable's inability to maintain good relations with the duchess that disappointed François the most. Folio 67r, with its tiny nude Bathsheba serving as a metonym for sin, was thus produced at a time when the duchess's status as official mistress grew in importance, a phenomenon frequently disparaged by observers. While François I was clearly committed to her, it is difficult to imagine that he was indifferent to the criticism and burgeoning conflicts provoked by their relationship, as suggested by his response to Anne de Montmorency.

The Psalms preoccupied the king at the time his book of hours was created. With the hope of cementing their new—and still very tentative—friendship, François I invited Charles V to travel through France in 1539–40 in order to reach the Low Countries more speedily to quash a tax revolt.[77] In honor of this momentous occasion, François asked the court poet Clément Marot (1496–1544) to present the emperor with a copy of his translations of the Psalms in January 1540.[78] Marot dedicated his text to François in an epistle that compared his king's virtues and achievements to those of David. Recovering from a grave illness, François was unable to meet Charles on his arrival at Bayonne but more than made up for this misfortune by organizing a series of dazzling festivities in Paris and Fontainebleau.[79] On Christmas Day, Charles had the opportunity to witness François in his capacity as royal healer, as the king touched for scrofula near the pond at Fontainebleau.[80] Besides being a royal duty that François took very seriously, this act must have been intended to impress Charles, who lacked similar powers. In fact, Charles's own people routinely crossed into France to be healed by François, and after the latter was taken captive following the battle of Pavia in 1525 and brought to Madrid, crowds of ailing Spaniards flocked to him to be cured—a sight that must have been difficult for the emperor to stomach.[81]

The period in which the *Hours of François I* was made was thus marked by two significant and linked events: the growing political visibility of Anne de Pisseleu and the king's attempt to establish an alliance with his long-standing enemy, Charles V. One can understand why François, caught in delicate political maneuvers and deeply involved with his mistress, might have wished to see himself portrayed as he is in folio 67r (Figure 1).[82] At the same time that it would have encouraged him to confront David's—and by extension his own—shortcomings, the image would have reminded him of the proper path to take to atone for his transgressions: repentance, self-sacrifice, and exercise of his powers to heal. The experience of contemplating the illumination would have been amplified by simultaneously pondering the verses introduced by the image. In Psalm 6, David implores God to cure his own ailing body and bring down his enemies, words that surely would have resonated with François at a point when he had suffered numerous near-fatal maladies and political tensions were running high. From there, a short mental leap would have been required to reach folio 89r (Figure 2) and its prayers, which focus on the very powers that separated François from other rulers—most notably Charles V. Folios 67r and 89r allude to the fact that like David and Marcouf, François had the ability to heal others, but this gift, as well as the soundness of his own health, was predicated on his devotion. Studying the *Hours of François I* would have helped to nurture the king's faith and, by extension, his ability to sustain his kingdom.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE *HOURS OF FRANÇOIS I* TO THE *PSALTER OF HENRY VIII*

A final word must be said on the relationship of the *Hours of François I* to a small psalter made for and annotated by his longtime rival and occasional ally, Henry VIII (r. 1509–47).[83] The psalter was copied and in all likelihood also illuminated by Mallard, whom English royal accounts from 1539 to 1541 describe as an "orator in the French tongue."[84] Henry is heralded as "another king David" in Mallard's dedicatory letter and portrayed as the Old Testament ruler in several illuminations.[85] Of particular interest is folio 79r (Figure 22), which introduces Psalm 68—David's plea to God to save him from his enemies. Although sparser, the miniature shares much with folio 67r (Figure 1). Henry VIII in the guise of David occupies a similarly conceived space, but the portico in the background of folio 67r has been replaced by the remains of a basilica, and the palace wall on the right by classicizing ruins. Once again, an angel bathed in golden light appears carrying the three divine retributions, but nowhere is the king portrayed spying on Bathsheba. The omission is noteworthy given that, like François, Henry was a womanizer, and one whose multiple marriages had profound consequences for his kingdom. Thus, even in a book intended for his private devotional use—a context in which one might expect Henry to have been willing to confront his vulnerability—a conscious

decision was made not to portray David committing the sin of adultery. Instead, the folio focuses on the Old Testament king's anguish as a prefiguration of Christ's torment in the Garden of Gethsemane, a fact that is confirmed by the marginal annotation in Mallard's hand that reads: "Christus in Angustia mortis invocat Deum" (in his distress Christ invokes God).[86] Associating himself with David in this manner was consistent with Henry VIII's broader mission to define himself as a Christic king in the period following his break with the Catholic Church.[87] In such an image, there was no room for a blatant reference to David lusting after Bathsheba, especially considering the fact that Henry entered into his fourth and fifth marriages in the year the psalter was likely made.[88]

Within a very short period, François I and Henry VIII each had himself portrayed as David in a private devotional book. Both men were by then mature monarchs who had experienced their fair share of failure and illness. They were clearly conscious of their mortality and weary of their enemies (including each other). Recognized as a precursor of Christ and praised for his military excellence and artistic merit, David provided both rulers with a comforting and powerful model on which to rely as each sought, in his own way, to reshape the institution of kingship. The absence of overt references to Bathsheba in folio 79r of Henry's psalter not only made it possible for the monarch to avoid dwelling on a painful subject but also directed his focus toward a more immediate relationship with God. Stripped of superfluous details and moving away from a strong emphasis on sin, folio 79r corresponded to new Reformation ideals championed by Henry following his break with Rome. Meanwhile, by contemplating himself in the role of David in folio 67r, François, who still embraced the Catholic faith, could have safely reflected on his own imperfections, most notably his predilection for adultery, reassured that even the most righteous of kings could sin before God and still find redemption. This glimpse into his vulnerable side is only one of many aspects that make the *Hours of François I* such an important addition to the Museum's collection of works pertaining to this great French Renaissance patron.

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NOTES

1. Sandra Hindman and Ariane Bergeron-Foote were the first to advance this attribution, partly because of the manuscript's similarity to the Psalter of Henry VIII, which was copied and illuminated by Jean Mallard (British Library, London [hereafter BL], Royal 2 A XVI; Figure 22 in the present essay). By 1538, Mallard was serving as "escripvain" to François I, for whom he executed two codices of the *Premier livre de la Description de tous les portz de mer de l'univers* (Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, [hereafter BNF], MS fr. 1382 and 25375). From 1539 to 1541, Mallard was recorded as "orator in the French tongue" in the royal accounts of Henry VIII. For more on Mallard's life and career in both France and England, see Cooper 2003, pp. 197–212; Carley 2009, vol. 1, pp. 44–58; and Carley n.d. (forthcoming).
2. An unfinished book of hours for François I is preserved in the British Library (Add. MS 18853); see Backhouse 1967, pp. 91–93. The only other extant *Horae* that has been linked to François I is the *Hours of Catherine de Medici* (BNF, MS NAL 82), which is believed to have been begun for the king, but its history remains fraught with uncertainty.
3. By the time François I ascended to the throne in 1515, Louis XII had reunited at Blois the Orléans family collection, Charles VIII's library (formerly located at Amboise), and the books seized from the Visconti-Sforza library during the Italian campaigns of 1499 and 1500. The first inventory of the Royal Library at Blois dates to 1518 and lists 1,626 manuscripts and printed books, of which the vast majority was in Latin. In addition to the works of classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, the library contained scientific and religious texts, hunting manuals, and medieval romances. During his reign, François I increased its holdings in a variety of languages, including Greek and Hebrew and especially Italian. An ordinance dated 1537 made it mandatory for printers to send a copy of every new text to Blois, although the mandate was not strictly followed. François also sent literary agents to Italy and the Near East to find manuscripts, particularly in Greek. An inventory of the Royal Library at the time that it was transferred to Fontainebleau in 1544 lists 1,893 volumes, a number that does not reflect the king's personal collection. In addition to expanding the library, the king planned to found another one in Paris (for the Collège des Lecteurs Royaux)—although this was never realized—and had a portable library that traveled with him. For more on François I's contribution to the Royal Library and book collecting, see Knecht 1994, pp. 471–77; Coron 1995; Knecht 2008, pp. 206–10; for the 1518 inventory, see Omont 1908–21 vol. 1, pp. 3–56.
4. Unfortunately, no inventory survives of François I's personal library, which would have contained—among other texts—the manuscripts and books he inherited from his parents, Charles d'Angoulême and Louise de Savoie. See Baurmeister 1988, pp. 375–77.
5. Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b, n.p.
6. The document, which was first published in Laborde 1855, p. 924, reads: "A Jehan Mallart, escripvain, pour avoir escript unes heures en parchemin, présentées au Roy pour les faire enlumyner, en don, à prendre sur les deniers de l'espargne à l'entour du roi, xlv liv[res]" (To Jehan Mallart, scribe, for having copied the hours on parchment, presented to the king to have them illuminated, as payment, to be taken from the *deniers* of the accounts of the king, *xlv livres*). See also Cooper 2003, p. 199.
7. The year 1539 appears in the frames of folios 13r, 21r, 36r, and 47r; 1540, in folio 51r.

8. The supralibros on the front marbled pastedown reads: "Missal de Henry de Albret Roy de Navarre." The inscription on the label affixed to the first back flyleaf states: "This missal was Henry of Albrets [*sic*] King of Navarre [afterwards Henry IV of France] who married Margaret of Valois in 1527." The incorrect information contained within the brackets was written in a different and presumably later hand; see Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b, n.p.
9. Ibid., n.p.
10. Ibid. The manuscript lacks a calendar, a standard feature of books of hours. While this omission may have been intentional, it might also point to a more complex history surrounding the book's illumination.
11. Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 522 (XIV B 31). Narrated by Marguerite de Navarre, *La Coche* is devoted to the subject of female friendship and solidarity. Inspired by Alain Chartier's *Livre des quatres dames* (ca. 1514), the poem relates how three women hurt by love approach Marguerite, who agrees to hear their plights and comforts them. A storm forces them to take cover in Marguerite's coach, which brings them back to court, where she presents the poem to François I's official mistress—and her ally—the duchesse d'Etampes, Anne de Pisseleu (fol. 43v). Several copies of the Chantilly manuscript survive, including one in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS Douce 91), which is the work of one of the master's assistants. On the Master of François de Rohan's illuminations for *La Coche*, see Thierry Crépin-Leblond in Auclair et al. 2001, pp. 50–55; see also Lindquist 2004; Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b.
12. Lot 650 (£10 15s.). The auction catalogue mistakenly identified François I in folio 89r as King Henry IV. See Backhouse 1967, p. 96, nos. 22, 23.
13. Backhouse 1967, p. 96, no. 23. Beauclerk's library, the Bibliotheca Beauclerkiana, was sold by Samuel Paterson, London, April 9–June 6, 1781. The *Hours of François I* was lot 3296. Colonel Farran related to Backhouse that his grandfather brought the manuscript to Australia, where it remained until 1965.
14. Lot 265.
15. Sale, Christie's, London, July 7, 2010, lot 47.
16. Backhouse 1967, pp. 93–95.
17. See Orth 1998, p. 86, no. 2.
18. Orth 1998. The *Hours of François I* is discussed on pp. 80–81; the author also provides an annotated chronological list of the illuminations and prints attributed to the master in the appendix, pp. 84–85. In a later publication, Orth (2006) also attributed to the Master of François de Rohan the title page of the English Great Bible of 1539 and certain parts of the illumination in the vellum copy kept at St. John's College, University of Cambridge. Her long-anticipated survey of sixteenth-century French illumination is forthcoming from Harvey Miller Publishers. To date, the *Hours of François I* has been most extensively studied in an unpublished essay: Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b; see also Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010a, pp. 60–63. The Master of François de Rohan's miniatures for the *Sarum Hours* (private collection) have also been the subject of recent analysis; see Sutton 2007.
19. See Orth 1998, p. 81. On architectural borders in French manuscripts of this period, see also Orth 1996, pp. 194–95.
20. Featuring salamanders, the royal arms, and a portrait of François I in a wreath, a border of this type appears in an earlier folio attributed to the Master of François de Rohan: the frontispiece of the royal presentation copy of Guillaume Budé's *De transitu hellenismi* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1535) (BNF, rés. vél. 1147). The miniature is mentioned in Orth 1998, p. 82.
21. Fisher 2007, p. 114. The author also notes that the tripartite leaves were understood as representative of the Holy Trinity. For the symbolism of the columbine, see ibid., p. 40, and for the rose, p. 106.
22. The remaining floral borders feature only one or two plant species, which are executed on a larger scale than the blooms framing Saint Luke in his study (Figure 7). In these examples, insects, whose coloration often owes more to the imagination than to nature, buzz about or crawl on trailing stems, adding vivid touches to the compositions.
23. As Orth observed (1998, p. 80), the woodcut in Figure 10 is based on folio 47r (Figure 13) of the *Hours of François I*.
24. Examination of the manuscript conducted by Metropolitan associate conservator Yana van Dyke indicated that the master's palette consisted mainly of inorganic pigments, with the possible exception of the pink tonalities.
25. On the personalization of books of hours, see Reinburg 2012, pp. 54–63. The author aptly describes them as "portraits" of their owners.
26. The royal arms may have also been intended to adorn the blank shields of folios 42r (Figure 4) and 83r.
27. Orth (1998, p. 81) describes the caryatids as the only instance in which the master "hint[s] at his awareness of the decisive change of style which Fontainebleau mannerism was effecting in decorative motifs."
28. Recitation of the Seven Penitential Psalms was also used to obtain forgiveness for the dead and reduce their time in purgatory. For more on the Psalms in books of hours, see Wieck 1988, pp. 97–102, and Wieck 1997, pp. 91–98.
29. On feminine ideals of beauty during the reign of François I, see Croizat-Glazer 2008, especially pp. 25–98.
30. Early sixteenth-century French illuminations and prints typically show attendants delivering food to Bathsheba, reflecting that eating while bathing was a common practice. At the same time, this iconographic conceit also draws attention to bathing as a sensual experience. For more on this subject, see Bardiès-Fronty 2009.
31. See Costley 2004. In her extensive study of this subject, the author argues that representations of Bathsheba bathing "by focusing on adultery rather than murder, make illicit sex representative of all sin" at the same time that they link the Penitential Psalms to a particular moment in King David's life; see ibid., p. 1247.
32. Here Bathsheba is approached by David's messenger as well as attendants proffering food. The device of setting the fountain at an angle and portraying David in the background also occurs in fol. 78v of the Master of François de Rohan's *Hours of Perrenot de Granvelle* (1531–32; BL, Western Manuscripts, Add. MS 21235, illustrated in Kren 1983, p. 149, fig. 19), although in this instance Bathsheba faces in the opposite direction.
33. In this instance, the messenger hands a note to Bathsheba, who seems to hover above the fountain. The composition is closely related to folio 66v in a luxurious book of hours made for François I's close friend and adviser, Anne de Montmorency (1539; Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books, Basel), although the messenger figure is replaced by an attendant who presents Bathsheba with a dish. The *Hours of Anne de Montmorency* is described in Orth's appendix (1998, p. 85) as "location unknown"; their relationship to the *Hours of François I* is discussed in Hindman and Bergeron-Foote (2010b), who hypothesize that the *Hours of Anne de Montmorency* is by a workshop member.
34. Kren and Evans 2005, pp. 57–58.
35. Now lost, the painting was confused until the 1970s with another standing Venus by Costa commissioned in 1515 by Francesco II Gonzaga. This panel, now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum,

Budapest, displeased the marquis because he found the figure too plump; Costa responded to his patron's criticism by producing a slimmer version of the figure, which is the one Francesco presented to François I. For more on these paintings and illustrations, see Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 200–201.

36. Translated and cited by Cox-Rearick (1995, p. 201). "Ge piaque asai e non poteva saciar di guardarlo, e me disse che l' rengratiava V.s. per mille volte. Subito e' lo fece portar da la regina e da sua madre e ge lo fece vedere, e lo laudorno assai. La M^ta del re mi dimandò se l'era retrata dal natural de qualche una donna di M^ma e ge dissi che non sapea. El re la mostra a tutti questi signori e gentiluomini."
37. Cited in Occhipinti 2001, p. 47. "Io ho inteso da M. Thomaso del Vecchio che il giorno che S. M^tà arrivò a Fontanableo la sera, M^ma Malgerita et M^ma d'Étampes con M^ma di Rotolino et due altre dame erano nel bagno, et S. M^tà con Mons^r contestabile [Anne de Montmorency] et Mons^r R^mo di Loreno et Mons^r R^mo nostro [Ippolito d'Este] vi androno et le trovarono ignude, et lì stettero gran pezzo et scherzare."
38. Made after a plaster cast by Francesco Primaticcio (1504/5–1570) of the original statue, the bronze was displayed for a time in the Galerie François I at Fontainebleau. See Freedberg 1989, p. 328, and Knecht 1994, p. 448. For a transcription of Teofilo Calcagnino's report of the event, see Cox-Rearick 1995, pp. 464–65n38.
39. The subject of David in prayer had become especially popular in books of hours by the fifteenth century. Attention was often drawn to his sin and repentance through the introduction of various details, such as the prophet Nathan standing before him or the angel of the Lord appearing in the sky. See Owens 1989 and Costley 2004, pp. 1253–61. In earlier centuries, the image of Christ as judge or King of Heaven was preferred for introducing the Penitential Psalms. See Wieck 1997, p. 97. David praying to the angel and David spying on the bathing Bathsheba are also juxtaposed in folio 18v from the later Psalter of Claude Gouffier (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 5095). In this instance, however, the subjects are combined with two others traditionally used to introduce the Seven Penitential Psalms: the Death of Uriah in Battle and Nathan Reproaching David. Moreover, the nude Bathsheba is once again awarded a prominent place in the foreground, while the praying David is portrayed in the distance. For more on this illumination and an illustration, see Orth 2004, pp. 401–2, fig. 405.
40. David was frequently portrayed, as here, playing a harp with ten strings, symbolizing the Ten Commandments. See Vinay-Gilbert 2002, p. 386.
41. On the ledge behind the harp is a sculpted lion, a royal emblem referring to the throne of Solomon.
42. Backhouse (1967, p. 93) has indicated that the figure of David was "perhaps intended to suggest Francis." Other authors have recognized the image of David in penance as a disguised portrait of the French king; see Tudor-Craig 1989, p. 197; King 1994, p. 91, no. 18; Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b. Comparison of the figure with other representations of François, including the portrait in folio 89r (Figure 2) of the *Hours of François I*, leaves little doubt that David is a likeness of François. This identification is supported in particular by the figure's distinctive nose, a feature very much a part of François I's Valois identity, as Lisa Mansfield has shown in her study of the king's portraiture, which devotes an entire chapter to the royal nose; see Mansfield 2004, pp. 100–112.
43. On the portrait, see Mansfield 2004, p. 43, and Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007, pp. 611–12. The manuscript contains a second portrait of the king as David on the verso of the same leaf, in which the harp is less visible. In both miniatures, François's face is based on a drawing by François Clouet (ca. 1516–1572). The complex and uncertain history of the *Book of Hours of Catherine de Medici*, which contains portraits of fifty-eight members of the House of Valois, makes it difficult to assess whether they were made during François I's lifetime.
44. See Rubin 2004, especially pp. 145–46. In developing her discussion of hierarchies of vision in relation to Fra Angelico's *Coronation of the Virgin* (ca. 1427), Rubin draws on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, particularly his response to the question of whether the image of Christ should be accorded the highest level of worship (*latria*) [III, Q. 25, Art. 3]. Citing Aristotle's writings on memory, Aquinas reminds his readers that the image itself is not the object of veneration but rather, through its activation of memory, serves as a springboard for the worship of the divine.
45. On the function of the contemplation of images in meditation, see also Freedberg 1989, pp. 161–91.
46. See Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007.
47. Lecoq 1987, pp. 315–23. See also Orth 2004, pp. 398–99. A draft of the text, which links each verse to one of the king's actions, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS fr. 2088).
48. Cited in Lecoq 1987, pp. 315–16. "Le xii^e jour de février mil cinq cens et sèze à Horiol [Loriol] sur la ryvière de Drome, Madame fut spirituellement admounestée de faire parler son humilité à l'obéissance du Roy son filz, et le supplier que pour Oraison dévote il prinst [prît] le pseaulme XXVI^e, lequel est convenable pour luy. . . . Et moult luy profitera si à la requeste del Dame qu'il ayme tant il chanter et dire comme David: *Dominus Illuminatio mea, et salus mea, quem timebo*?"
49. Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007, p. 616. For the political significance of Guillaume Michel's treatment of the relationship between David and François I, see Vinay-Gilbert 2002, pp. 349–95.
50. Embodying the ideals of medieval chivalry, the Nine Worthies were first described by Jacques de Longuyon in his *Voeux du Paon* (1312). The Worthies consisted of three pagan (Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar), three Hebrew (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus), and three Christian heroes (Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godefroy de Bouillon).
51. Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007, pp. 608, 613–16, 622–24. The authors recognize in the choir stall's figure of Bathsheba a disguised portrait of the king's mistress, the duchesse d'Etampes.
52. See Huttar 1980, pp. 46–47; Owens 1989, p. 27; Boeckl 2000, pp. 54–55; and Costley 2004, pp. 1257–61.
53. Huttar 1980, pp. 46–47.
54. On the *Heures de 1525*, see Deprouw, Halévy, and Vène 2011. As the authors argue, Tory served as "artistic director" for the project, determining the overall content and design of the book. The illustrations were likely commissioned from a Parisian illuminator and then translated into woodcuts by a separate workshop. Deprouw, Halévy, and Vène have advanced the name of Étienne Colaud, who enjoyed the patronage of François I and his court, as the possible author of the images. The book was printed by Simon de Colines, as Tory did not yet possess a press of his own.
55. François I is evoked in the border of the opposite folio (99v), which contains the king's emblems, a flaming salamander and an "F" surmounted by a crown. Tory's motto "Non Plus" appears on the facade of the classicizing building in the background of folio 100r.
56. The fountain in the background may be an allusion to Bathsheba and therefore to David's sin of adultery.
57. Orth (1998, p. 78) noted that the manuscript was closely based on the so-called *Heures de 1525*. See also Deprouw, Halévy, and Vène 2011, p. 46.
58. On the different attributes carried by the angel in this type of imagery, see Costley 2004, p. 1257n57, and Boeckl 2000, p. 54.

59. The epistle was accompanied by a New Year's gift of "un David," possibly a medal or hat badge. See Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007, pp. 619–20.
60. Ibid., pp. 620–21. "Poinct je ne suis au bon David semblable/De qui le cueur à Dieu fut agreable/Je suis pescheur, et cella je confesse,/Dont le congnoistre est ma seure radresse."
61. The definitive study remains Bloch 1961; see also Knecht 2008, pp. 98–99, and Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010b.
62. A miniature from the *Hours of Henri II* (fol. 107v, BNF, MS lat. 1429) shows François's son in royal regalia using his left thumb and middle finger to touch an afflicted man as others await their turn.
63. Bloch 1961, p. 310.
64. Ibid., pp. 312–13.
65. The banner streaming from the king's lips reads: "Sancte Marculfe Ora Pro Nobis Dominium" (Saint Marcoulf pray for us).
66. This idea is evoked through the words pronounced by the king during the ceremony of healing: "Le roi te touche mais Dieu te guérit" (The king touches you but God heals you), a statement first recorded by the Venetian Jérôme Lippomano in 1577, although it was likely used earlier. See Bloch 1961, p. 315, no. 5.
67. On the meaning of the gourd, see Lightbown 2004, p. 149.
68. The suffrages occur in the earlier unfinished book of hours for François I now in London (BL, Western Manuscripts, Add. MS 18853) and in the *Hours of Henri II* (BNF, MS lat. 1429) as noted in Backhouse 1967, pp. 90–91. Orth (1998, p. 90, no. 33) has identified two additional manuscripts featuring the prayers: *Hours of Henri II* (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lescalopier MS 22) and the now lost *Hours of François II*, which was in fact probably made for Henri II. The latter is recorded in the Bancel sale catalogue (Adolphe Labitte, Paris, 1887, p. 33).
69. Boeckl 2000, p. 54.
70. I Samuel 16:23 describes how David played the harp to relieve Saul, who was tormented by an evil spirit. The concept of music affecting the listener's mind, body, and soul was of great interest to the Neoplatonists and became an important point of discussion as the French Academies took form in the sixteenth century (see Yates 1947, especially pp. 38–39, 40–44). In both the period's visual arts and literature, the image of David playing the harp was frequently used to evoke his capacity to heal and restore harmony to the world. It was particularly well suited to royalty, as demonstrated by Guillaume Michel's *Le Penser de royal mémoire* (Paris, 1518), in which the poet has François metaphorically borrow David's harp to help govern his kingdom and resolve its conflicts (see Vinay-Gilbert 2002, pp. 366–67). For more on David playing the harp, see Schaik 1992, pp. 38–58, 91–114.
71. Cited in Heim 1956, p. 10. "Alexandre voit les femmes quand il n'a point d'affaires, François voit les affaires quand il n'a point de femmes."
72. On the duchess's first encounter with François, see Knecht 1994, pp. 249–50.
73. For more on the causes and consequences of François I and Charles V's rapprochement in this period, see ibid., pp. 385–97.
74. Potter 2007, p. 133.
75. Ibid., p. 136.
76. Ibid., p. 137.
77. On Charles V's visit to France, see Knecht 2002a and Knecht 2002b.
78. An official edition of Marot's *Trente Psaumes de David* dedicated to François I was published in 1541. The draft presented to Charles V has traditionally been identified as a manuscript in Vienna (Staatsbliothek, Cod. Vindob. 2644), a view challenged by Dick Wursten (2008), who questions whether the presentation to Charles V ever took place. See Orth 2004, pp. 400–401. On Marot's translation, see Reuben 2000. The draft has traditionally been recognized as the manuscript in Vienna.
79. In a letter dated October 20, 1539, to his ambassador Marillac, François wrote that he had been "greatly tormented by a cold that has befallen my genitals" (fort tourmenté d' un rume qui m'est tumbe sur les génitoires). Cited in Knecht 2002a, p. 86. The king appears to have regularly suffered from abscesses of his bladder and genitals, possibly as a result of syphilis. He paid a hefty physical price for his infidelities, making the imagery of folio 67r all the more resonant. On the king's health, see Knecht 1994, pp. 495–97.
80. Knecht 2002b, p. 162.
81. Bloch 1961, p. 313. The event was celebrated by the poet Iani Lascaris Rhyndaceni in a Latin distich: "Here it is thus that the king with one gesture cures scrofula;/As a captor he has not lost the favor of [God] Above/Through this evidence, oh the most saved of kings./I believe I can recognize that your persecutors are hated by the Gods" (Ergo manu admota sanat rex choeradas, etque/Captivus, superis gratus, ut ante fuit./Iudicio tali, regum sanctissime, qui te/Arcent inuisos suspicor esse deis).
82. On David's significance as a repentant adulterer in relation to François I's affair with the duchesse d'Etampes, see also Smith and Bentley-Cranch 2007, pp. 621–22, addressing the subject in relation to the couple's representation as David and Bathsheba at Auch Cathedral.
83. The manuscript has recently been digitized by the British Library as part of its eBook Treasures series. A printed facsimile with an accompanying commentary volume by James Carley has also been made available. On the psalter, see Carley 2009, vol. 1, pp. 59–86, and McKendrick, Lowden, and Doyle 2012, p. 188, no. 45.
84. Cooper 2003, p. 202.
85. See Tudor-Craig 1989, pp. 194–98; King 1994, pp. 83–86; Carley 2009, vol. 1, pp. 67–73; and McKendrick, Lowden, and Doyle 2012, p. 188.
86. See Carley 2009, vol. 1, p. 66, and Tudor-Craig 1989, p. 198.
87. In the words of Kevin Sharpe, "beyond the Solomonic and Davidic, Henry was presented as Christic, as a Caesaro-papist with spiritual powers." Sharpe 2009, p. 73; see also ibid., pp. 140–41, and Carley 2009, vol. 1, pp. 20–36, on Henry's divorce and break with Rome.
88. See Tudor-Craig 1989, p. 198, and King 1994, pp. 85–86. Several years earlier, in the much more public medium of tapestries, Henry VIII used the story of David and Bathsheba for positive propagandistic purposes; see Campbell 2007, pp. 177–87.

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Silenced Mbembe Muses

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With its penetrating rawness and poetic lyricism, a recent acquisition by The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a striking centerpiece for the African collection (Figure 1a). Carved from a dense wood, this sculpture—addressing a subject of universal relevance, the relationship of mother and child—has endured some three hundred years since its creation by an artist active in what is today southeastern Nigeria, near the Cameroonian frontier (Figure 2).[1] The integration of this work into the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing's survey of sub-Saharan art introduces a seminal yet relatively unfamiliar sculptural tradition that is known through fewer than twenty works now preserved in the West. This essay examines the Metropolitan Museum's *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child* in relation to that body of work. It further addresses what is known about their collective history and seeks to integrate these fragmentary artifacts into a fuller picture of the role they may have played in their original communities.

THE METROPOLITAN MBEMBE MATERNITY FIGURE

In the Metropolitan work, a seated woman gazes forward with her hands placed on either knee. The rounded volume of her head contrasts sharply with the rectilinear outline of her shoulders. Below the point of intersection of the limbs, the calves extend down vertically. At the compositional midpoint, the horizontal form of a child sweeps across the vertical axis of the female torso. That element extends with its head at the mother's proper left hip and its legs wrapped around her right side. At the base and back of the female figure are signs that it was originally part of a larger entity. On the reverse side the exposed wood surface is raw from the neck down. Across the rest of what remains of the finished surface, the pronounced vertical grain is in vivid evidence throughout. Erosion has resulted in deeply grooved channels that powerfully define the overall aesthetic, and this weathering has instilled the subject with a heightened quality of endurance and fortitude. Despite this process of wear, a great deal of surface detail has survived. Crisp outlines of the ovoid ears project from the sides of the head, deep eye cavities command attention, and the face retains an expression of contemplative introspection. Paradoxically, exposure to the elements appears to have somehow distilled the work, so that its essence is revealed.

This object was acquired in 2010 from Hiroshi Ogawa through Christie's. Ogawa had purchased it in 1974 from Hélène Kamer's gallery in Paris shortly after its arrival from western Central Africa.[2]

A PIONEERING EXHIBITION

Kamer presented Mbembe sculpture in the landmark exhibition "Ancêtres M'Bembé," which introduced the international art world to what remains to this day essentially the Mbembe corpus (Figures 3–5).[3] The eleven full-bodied, rugged, and rustic figures of monumental stature featured in that inaugural show presented a completely unknown sculptural tradition to connoisseurs of African art. That sensibility constituted a major departure from the established tastes for traditions like those of the Dogon of Mali and the Fang of Gabon that gallerists had emphasized since the early twentieth century. In the introduction to her catalogue, the sole monograph devoted to this tradition, Kamer (now Leloup) reflected on the new direction epitomized by this discovery: "For the last twenty years that I have devoted to 'l'art nègre,' I've seen the interest and taste of collectors evolve. In this art that was called 'savage,' a preference for forms already defined by a classic perfection developed: Fang statues, Baule masks, Benin bronzes. The criteria of quality were the fineness of the sculpture, harmony of the volumes, brilliance of the patinas, in short, the same as those used since the Renaissance to judge works of art."[4] For Kamer, the forms embraced up until then were assimilated

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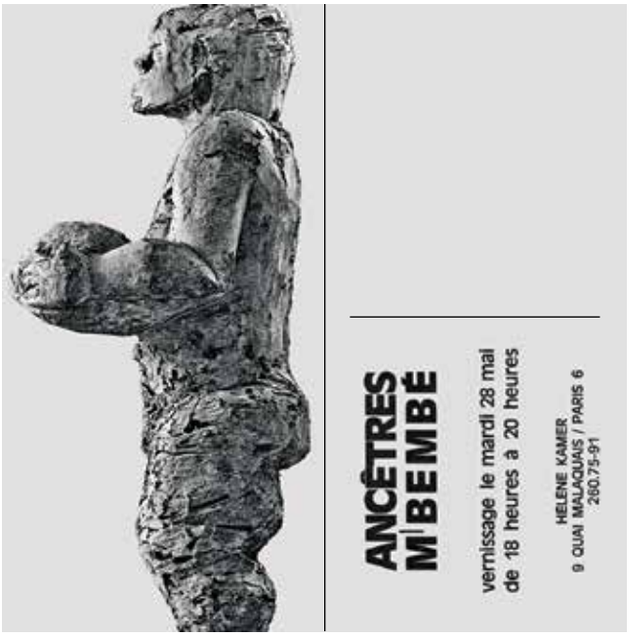
1a. *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 15th–17th century. Wood, pigment, resin, nails, H. 42½ in. (108 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 2010 and 2008 Benefit Funds, Laura G. and James J. Ross, David and Holly Ross, Noah-Sadie K. Wachtel Foundation Inc. and Mrs. Howard J. Barnet Gifts, 2010 (2010.256). Photograph: The Photograph Studio, MMA

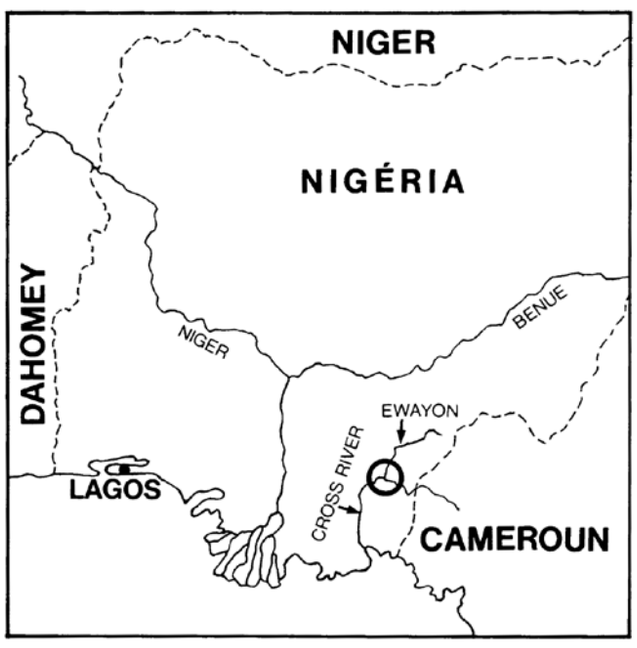
1b. Detail of Figure 1a

relatively easily into Western tastes, but the tough boldness of this artistic vision represented a challenging departure.

The unveiling of the Mbembe works made manifest a tradition unlike any that had defined African art until then and epitomized the potential for new revelations that remained possible in the field. In February 1974, shortly before the exhibition, one major work was acquired from Kamer by the curator Pierre Meauzé for the Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens (now part of the Musée du Quai Branly), Paris (Figure 6). It was also published by the authority on Nigerian art, Ekpo Eyo, in the survey *Two Thousand Years, Nigerian Art*, issued to mark the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, which was held in Lagos, Nigeria, from January 12 to February 15, 1977. That seated figure, with its long attenuated limbs, arms extended forward and cupped hands resting on either knee, is now among the highlights of non-Western art featured in the Pavillon des Sessions at the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The work's human form is pared down to its underlying structure, so that its gender is difficult to determine. Surface erosion to the face has swept away most of its original features. All that survives are traces of horizontal depressions for the eyes and mouth as well as the slight vertical ridge of the nose and oval ears that project at either side of the head. Throughout, the exposed grain of the wood is emphatically horizontal, and successive parallel strata visually evoke layer upon layer of geological sedimentary deposits. In its report for the minister of cultural affairs at the time of acquisition, the Louvre's laboratory analyzed the wood and identified it as *Afzelia africana*, otherwise known as "doucier" (a variety of oak), or "apia." Several varieties of this tree are known to attain a maximum height of 65½ feet and a diameter of 6½ feet. X-rays revealed that the work is composed of a single piece of wood but that the nose had been reattached and partially restored. The author of the conservation report concluded, "The X-ray study of the entirety of the sculpture underscores the beauty of the work."[5] Despite the extent to which the representation has been distilled, the suggestion of an expression of intense reflection lingers.



3. Invitation to "Ancêtres M'Bembé," Galerie Kamer, Paris, May 28, 1974. © Hélène Kamer



2. Map showing the Mbembe region. From Kamer 1974. © Hélène Kamer

THE DISCOVERY: FROM THE CROSS RIVER TO THE LEFT BANK

The international recognition of Mbembe sculpture resulted from field collecting by the African dealer named O. Traoré in dialogue with the eye and instincts of Hélène Kamer. Already established internationally as a leading dealer in African art, Kamer had undertaken extensive collecting on the ground in Mali, Guinea, and Ivory Coast earlier in her career. She recalls that during the 1970s West Africans regularly traveled to Paris with works that they had imported into France, and active collectors and dealers perused them in the hotel rooms of the sixth arrondissement that the Africans used as their base of operation.[6] Through these channels, an influx of artifacts from the Nigerian-Cameroonian border region commenced, as a result of two phenomena: European art dealers were not traveling to this area because of the

4. Installation view, "Ancêtres M'Bembé," Galerie Kamer, Paris, 1974. © Hélène Kamer

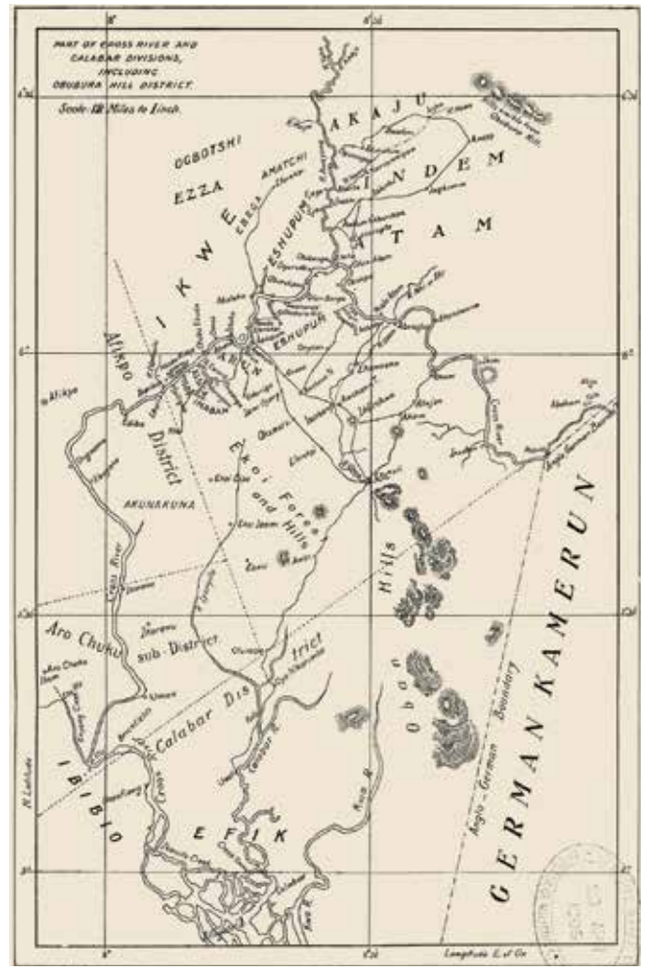
5. Installation view, "Ancêtres M'Bembé," Galerie Kamer, Paris, 1974. Figure 21 in this article (Figure 1 on the gallery exhibition checklist) is not shown in this image, as that work was displayed in the gallery window (see Figure 4). © Hélène Kamer

Biafran War, and Malians engaged in the art trade during the 1950s and 1960s, having exhausted sources for material closer to home, had continued to seek out artifacts farther and farther east.[7] Kamer first became aware of Mbembe sculpture on September 29, 1972, when she encountered Traoré, a dealer from an established Malian family, at the hotel where he was staying on the rue de l'Ancienne Comédie. Among the works she saw that afternoon, a massive statue from Nigeria with broken arms immediately caught her attention. In acquiring that work, Kamer inquired about its origins. In order to protect his source, Traoré declined to discuss specifics of where it had been collected but promised to return with other examples as well as information on their use, significance, and subject matter, which he would gather from an elder on his next visit to the region.

From his base in Lomé, Togo, close to the Nigerian border, Traoré made two further forays to obtain additional works for Kamer. He returned to Paris from the first trip on February 6, 1973.[8] At that time he provided the provenance of the works he brought with him, relating them to a small group known as the Mbembe, located east of the town of Abakaliki in the former Anambra State in the Cross River region (Figure 7). He further reported that an Igbo elder had informed him that Mbembe chiefs oversaw annual tributes to the founder of their village's lineage. Such celebrations took place in a large structure where all men who had proven themselves as warriors gathered. A monumental sacred drum, ten to thirteen feet long and adorned with representations of the founding couple, was the principal feature of this setting. The female subject depicted was the spouse who had given birth to the lineage's first male descendant. Young men demonstrated their worthiness by placing before the drum, which served as a shrine, the severed head of an enemy they had slain.[9] British colonial interdictions of such devotional practices contributed to the decline and gradual abandonment of these village sanctuaries. Traoré indicated that it was nonetheless necessary for him to obtain the consent of the community to acquire the damaged works that survived. On July 13, 1973, he returned to Paris from his final reconnaissance journey in search of Mbembe works. He had alerted Kamer in advance that nothing further remained in situ. In addition to transferring the last remaining sculptures for what was then a considerable price of 55,000 francs, he relayed information obtained from an elder concerning their association with historical figures. After that exchange, Kamer never heard from Traoré again. The content he provided was published with the launch of the gallery exhibition on May 28, 1974.[10] In her commentary Kamer situates the provenance of all twelve works acquired over the course of her exchanges with Traoré in relation to the town of Obubura.[11]

Beyond those twelve Mbembe works, only about five others are identified in Western collections, including two intact drums in Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum (formerly Museum für Völkerkunde), both collected in 1907 (Figures 8, 9); a seated female figure in the National Museum

6. *Seated Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood (*Afzelia*), H. 25⅜ in. (64.5 cm). Musée du Quai Branly, Paris (inv. MNAAN 74.1.1). Photograph: Hughes Dubois; Musée du Quai Branly/Scala/Art Resource, NY



7. Map of the Cross River region. From Partridge 1905

of African Art, Washington, D.C. (Figure 10); a seated male figure now in a private collection (Figures 11a, 11b); and a seated male figure formerly owned by the French-born artist Arman.[12] Within this context, the monumentality and full-bodied treatment of the examples first presented by Kamer are distinguished by an overarching stylistic consistency that suggests the work of three distinct hands.

A HISTORY OF THE MBEMBE

The attribution of these works to a Mbembe cultural tradition identifies them with a term that was not in use prior to the nineteenth century. The communities to which these works have been credited were small, highly decentralized ones on the banks of the middle Cross River and its northern tributary, the Ewayoň, or Aweyoň. Historically, raids by coastal peoples who supplied the Atlantic slave trade heavily affected the larger Cross River region. The port of Calabar was the seat of that market and of the European presence from the sixteenth century onward. Until the late nineteenth century, however, European trade goods and Christian beliefs made their way inland indirectly through middlemen-merchants such as the people of Arochukwu, who fiercely prevented coastal traders from passing through their villages.[13] The nineteenth-century colonial occupation of the region by Britain marked an end to the slave trade as well as to certain indigenous religious practices. A British government station for the Cross River region was established at Ikom in 1884, and by 1900 its district commissioner Sir Ralph Moor had led a punitive expedition to Arochukwu. That campaign opened the way for British firms to develop trading posts upriver.[14]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, migrations of peoples from the north and south toward the left banks of the Cross River led to the convergence of many rival groups. The term "Mbembe" came to be associated with a number of

villages concentrated on the east side of the middle Cross River and Awayong Creek, east of the eastern and northeastern Igbo peoples and west of the Ejagham, in the area around the town of Obubura in the former Ogoja Province. Anthropologist Rosemary Harris, who undertook field research in the region during the 1950s, has noted that in 1965 the designation "Mbembe" covered the compact settlements of a semi-Bantu population of less than 40,000 in villages of 100 to 3,000 inhabitants.[15] The Mbembe observed a double unilineal kinship system in which rights to land and houses were inherited through the father and other movable property and jural rights over individuals through the mother.[16] Ekamanei, or "born of the same mother," denoted the latter and was conceived as a group among whom wealth was shared.[17]

8. *Slit Drum: Seated Figures*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, ca. 1520–1620. Wood, L. 130 in. (330 cm). Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, acquired from M. von Stefenelli (III C 21947). Photograph: © bpk, Berlin/Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen/Art Resource, NY

9. *Slit Drum: Seated Male Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 19th century. Wood, L. 86⅝ in. (220 cm). Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, acquired from M. von Stefenelli (III C 21948). Photograph: © Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz

10. *Maternity Figure: Mother and Child*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 19th–early 20th century. Wood, pigment, seeds; 26¾ x 19⅛ x 19¾ in. (68 x 48.6 x 50 cm). National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Museum Purchase (85-1-12). Photograph: © Photograph by Franko Khoury, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, each independent Mbembe settlement was led by a head chief appointed by his peers. In this capacity he served as the principal medium through which the community communicated with the spiritual realm, linking the living to the departed. Leaders who performed this priestly function were referred to as Okpobam.[18] Sir Charles Partridge (1872–1955), a British colonial official who served as assistant district commissioner in the Obubura Hill District, recounted a 1903 interview with one such head chief in the palace of Etatin. Enthroned on an elevated clay couch, the leader provided the following account of his duties: "I am the oldest man of

11a. *Seated Male Figure with Rifle and Bowler Hat.* Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 20th century. Wood, H. 39¾ in. (101 cm). Private collection. Photograph: © Pauline Shapiro/ Sotheby's

11b. Back of Figure 11a

the town, and they keep me here to look after the jujus, and to conduct the rites celebrated when women are about to give birth to children, and other ceremonies of the same kind. By the observance and performance of these ceremonies, I bring game to the hunter, cause the yam crop to be good, bring fish to the fisherman, and make rain to fall."[19]

In Mbembe society, all men and women identified with age-set groupings, and men also belonged to multiple structured associations. Such organizations crossed kinship lines and played a role in governance. They constituted an executive branch within the village and maintained a shrine outside its confines in the bush.[20] Among their responsibilities were the selection and installation of chiefs and the funeral rites of association members.[21] They had the authority to redress the infractions of individuals in a given community by exacting fines on their matrilineage. In response to such penalties, the family exerted its influence to reform the offender's behavior.[22] The popularity of such groups constantly shifted to allow for the adoption of new ones.[23] By the 1950s, however, the associations' power had diminished to such an extent that men were reluctant to pay the entrance fees.[24] Those cited as most influential were Eberambit, the preeminent warriors' association; Ocheika, whose focus was ritual; and Okwa, devoted to secular concerns. Harris notes that entry into Eberambit required not only the payment of a fee but also evidence of martial prowess demonstrated by the presentation of an enemy's head.[25]

The Ekpe, or Leopard Society, was active throughout the Cross River region during the nineteenth century.[26] It had originated among the Ejagham peoples by the 1600s as a secret association known as Ngbe in the forested regions of southeastern Nigeria and southwestern Cameroon. From there it was disseminated along trade routes to neighboring groups including the Efik, Ibibio, Anang, and Igbo, all members of the semi-Bantu language family; the Bantu-speaking Kpe and Balundu; and some of the Kwa-speaking Igbo.[27] On a local level, membership in a specific chapter of Ekpe/ Ngbe brought together a community's men whatever their kinship ties. Its hierarchical grades allowed individuals to

attain mastery of increasingly esoteric degrees of knowledge. Advancement was self-determined based on ambition and financial means.[28] Every chapter owned a shrine, drums, and costumes that were housed in a lodge prominently situated within the village. On a regional level Ekpe/Ngbe afforded its diverse and highly decentralized membership a shared ritual affiliation and a network of interactions that contributed to their peaceful coexistence.[29]

THE *IKORO* AS A COMMUNAL MBEMBE MOUTHPIECE

Prior to the twentieth century, a focal point of each autonomous Mbembe community, as well as those of the closely related Ibibio, was a monumental ceremonial drum, a slit gong with two apertures at the top, known as an *ikoro*.[30] Housed in a dedicated sanctuary, the *ikoro* served as an altar. It was also the means by which community members were apprised of important developments and through which they collectively communicated with their neighbors. The *ikoro* was played with two sticks of hard wood exclusively by the individual assigned that role. Its sound, or communal voice, could carry announcements over a distance of ten kilometers. News ranged from emergency warnings of fire or enemy attack to announcements of the deaths of important elders or the launch of a festival. Most important, the beating of the *ikoro* was used to summon the community's men to demonstrate valor in warfare, and warriors responded by presenting the *ikoro* with a trophy head on their return from battle. According to Traoré, semiannual celebrations before the sanctuary featured dancing to songs of martial prowess.[31]

A site of its constituents' spiritual force, an emblem of their unity, and the centerpiece of civic life, each instrument was given a specific name and closely identified with a particular village. Accordingly, its creation was a significant undertaking and necessitated lavish ornamentation. By the time Harris did her research, she found no signs of wood carving in Mbembe communities and learned that carved artifacts were generally purchased from neighboring peoples.[32] Given the *ikoro*'s importance and scale, the creative process was especially demanding. An elaborate ritual celebration preceded the selection and cutting of the tree from which the log for the drum was hewn.[33] Hollowing and carving took weeks or months, over the course of which the artist's tools required daily refortification by the associated deity.[34] Each work was customized to feature a sculptural program of figurative or animal imagery at one or both ends of the slit gong's cylindrical body. The human subjects were typically a nurturing maternity figure or a fierce male warrior brandishing weaponry and a trophy head. While the two subjects might be placed at opposite ends of a single instrument, some drums were ornamented with a single figure at one end or the same figure at both ends. Percy Amaury Talbot (1877–1945), who served as a district officer, described one classic example documented in an Ekoi village: "At Nchofan . . . the drum . . . was a wonderful example of its kind. It was cut from a solid piece of wood, trough-shaped. . . . At either end sat a carved figure, male to the right, female to the left, and to the right hand of the latter, raised on a post, was Tortoise."[35] While the depiction of the aggressive male figure alludes to the heroism of the community's defenders, that of the life-sustaining mother addressed the essential role of its women in ensuring prosperity through numerous offspring.[36] Upon the instrument's completion, rituals of consecration served to "open the heart" of the drum.[37] Harris provides an account of funerary rites that she witnessed in the Adun village of Ofada in 1957 in which a slit gong was a central element. The instrument was the property of the Ekagu association, whose members had gathered to mark the passing of one of their group. While she does not comment on any sculptural elaboration of the instrument, she relates that each member danced before the corpse and concluded his tribute by throwing an egg at the slit gong. The egg was thought of as a receptacle for life and symbol of divinity. That ritual gesture served to protect the dancer and elicit a blessing.[38]

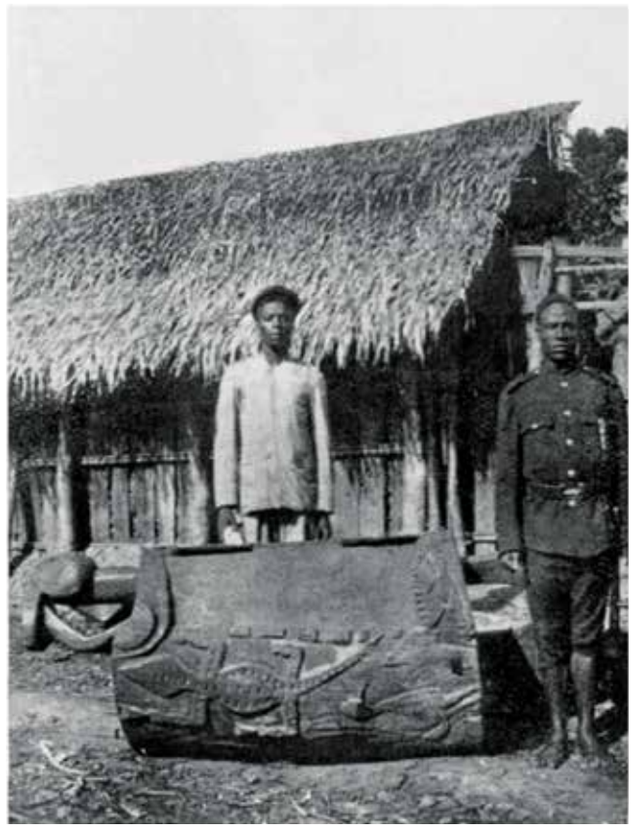
Devotion to the Afranong, or distinguished ancestors, was a focal point of Mbembe spiritual life and the likely subject of its artistic representations.[39] Two complete examples of Mbembe *ikoro* now preserved in Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum were collected in 1907 in the Cross River region by the German ethnologist Max von Stefenelli.[40] Radiocarbon dating of one of those *ikoro*, originally from the Abiakuri settlement, indicates that it is between four and five hundred years old (Figure 8). This massive piece, which weighs about a ton and measures nearly eleven feet in length, is highly weathered, so that the iconographic details of the figurative elements have been significantly obscured. The exposed grain of the log from which it was carved is horizontally oriented as in the case of the *Seated Figure* on view at the Louvre (Figure 6). Continuous with the cylindrical drum vessel are platform extensions at either end. At one extreme they support a seated figure holding his arms to his sides and facing the drum body, and at the other a figure is seated with his back flush with the drum chamber. That slightly less eroded figure holds a drinking vessel in his right hand and an unidentifiable object in the other, his knees bent with feet firmly planted. The other Berlin *ikoro* is a nineteenth-century example from a settlement downstream from Abiakuri (Figure 9). One end of that work features a single seated male figure wielding in his right hand a bifurcated knife once used in warfare and in the left a trophy head. At the time of its collection, it was said to have been carved between sixty and eighty years earlier. This more recent work retains on its surface a great deal of black and white pigments as well as carved details such as bracelets

and a distinctive hat.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, when those works left the region, it appears that their use had largely been abandoned. A transitional state in which such artifacts remained physically present but were viewed as anachronisms is reflected in Partridge's 1905 account: "The next morning we called at Ikorana, a place on the left bank, twenty-six miles above Itu, which has also long been under missionary influence. . . . The local jujus are quite neglected, and my attempts to gain information about them met with a 'we have advanced beyond all that' sort of reply. A huge wooden dug-out drum lay decaying in the bushes, and the highly-cultured children from the school watched with contemptuous interest in my examination of it."[41] Partridge photographed the drums he saw outside association houses in the villages of Ogada (Figure 12) and Avonum (Figure 13).

Most of the now-independent seated figures attributed to Mbembe artists that are preserved in Western collections appear to be fragments originally part of monumental ceremonial drums (Figures 1a, 6, 10, 11a, 14–20). This is evident in traces of the platforms, part of the *ikoro* structure, that remain at the base of these figures. The weathering of the contours of those breaks suggests that the separation occurred some time ago and that the figures remained in their communities long after they became detached. These regal figures are physically powerful yet serene in a posture of straight back, bent elbows and knees, arms extended so that each hand rests on its corresponding knee. Four of them hold children. Given the scale of the figures, the original instruments must have been especially impressive. It is possible that the solid figures were preserved as precious creations in their own right once the hollowed instrument, which was the structurally most vulnerable section, rotted away.

12. "Totem-pole" and drum, Ogada. From Partridge 1905, p. 220, fig. 52



13. Drum at Avonum; interpreter Jumbo and Constable Chuku. From Partridge 1905, p. 216, fig. 51

MBEMBE PORTRAITS IN COURAGE

In contrast to the tranquil demeanor of these works, several other figures burst with vitality and may constitute another genre within the Mbembe corpus. In her final exchange with Traoré, Kamer received information concerning oral traditions relating to three of the male figures (two free-standing and one seated), which suggested that those works commemorate specific leaders and may be independent sculptures (Figures 21–23). Following successful wars and the founding of new villages, leaders were said to have had themselves depicted in a sculpture. Reportedly carved seventeen years before its subject's death, the massive standing male figure holding in his left hand a trophy head that is larger than his own was identified as Appia (ca. 1529–1596), a great chief and founder of the village named after him (Appia Koum) (Figure 21). According to that tradition, Appia's sculptural tribute was positioned at his burial site in the center of the community adjacent to the chief's residence and was the focus of annual celebrations that kept his memory alive. The figure's clenched, bared teeth, broad squared torso, and muscular rounded buttocks combined with the fractured surface of the wood's grain define a formidable and brutal character.

Closely related in form, a commanding seated figure with

14. *Seated Female Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 32⅜ in. (82.1 cm). Private collection, courtesy of Entwistle, London. Photo by Roger Asselberghs (Studio Dehaen), courtesy Bernard de Grunne Archive

15. *Seated Female Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, 32¼ x 21¼ in. (82 x 54 cm). Fondation Beyeler, Riehen/Basel, Beyeler collection. Photograph: Robert Bayer, Basel

knees bent supports an even larger trophy head on his left side and gazes up and beyond the viewer (Figure 22). His torso is narrow at the summit and expands to a rounded volume in the area of the stomach. The work's subject was identified as the sixteenth-century founder of the village of Mabana remembered for the exemplary bravery he instilled in his warriors. Given that the work in question has been carbon-14 dated to 1785 +/- 35 years, this information is approximate at best. According to oral legend, Mabana requested that his renown be expanded by having his effigy brought to Obubura, the main town of his people.[42] There sacrifices were made to give thanks following victorious battles.

The slender, tensed torso of a standing figure with arms at its sides, now missing forearms, hands, and head, has been associated with Chief N'Ko (Figure 23). The absence of the head is accounted for in that leader's statement to the notables of N'Koum before his death: "I know that after our death, our great grandsons will know more comfortable centuries than our own; but to remind them that this ease comes from us, who have fought for their freedom, I ask that the head of my sculpture be cut off and buried with the rest of my body. This will remind them that numerous heads were severed for their liberty but if our faces have disappeared, our powers will lead them nonetheless."[43] In her

16. *Seated Female Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 28 in. (71 cm). Private collection, Paris. Photograph: © Chantal Casanova

17. *Seated Female Figure* (formerly *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child*). Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 29½ in. (75 cm). Private collection, Paris. Photograph: © Dominique Cohas

1984 survey of African art, Marie-Louise Bastin represents Mbembe sculpture with a freestanding male figure that may have served in a similar capacity. That work is unprovenanced, but she relates the oral traditions provided by Kamer concerning the three works discussed above.[44]

A contemporaneous desire to create enduring markers to such courageous figures appears to have given shape to another regional commemorative tradition to the north (Figures 24, 25). A cluster of eight lifesize male figures that share characteristics of the Mbembe portraits has been attributed to the Yungur/Mboi/'Bəna peoples from the Eastern Gongola Valley of the Upper Benue River region. Vaguely associated with northeastern Nigeria at the time of their arrival in the West in 1969, those minimally documented works entered collections about the same time as the Mbembe figures. In each, a relatively small head crowns a massive body in which the definition of chest, waist, and lower body is pronounced despite the extensive erosion. Component elements are the broad shoulders and chest, extended volumetric torsos, and trunklike thighs. Compared to the Mbembe male figures, the anatomical transitions appear more modulated and their overall tapered forms more elongated. Over the course of her research in the Benue River region from 1980 to 1981, art historian Marla

18. *Seated Female Figure*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 30⅜ in. (77 cm). Collection Liliane and Michel Durand-Dessert, Paris. Photograph: © Hughes Dubois

19. *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 34⅞ in. (88.5 cm). Private collection. Photograph: © BAMW Photography

Berns recorded schematic figures carved from a single log that remained in situ. The *kwanda*, or those carved figures found in ʻBəna communities north of Dirma in the Gaʼanda Hills, were commissioned in pairs by extended families. The works were carried during ritual dances as the actual body of the subject. In nearby steep-sided massifs, the Mboi commemorated all male and female elders with effigies known as *kpaniya* conserved in a remote sacred site.[45] On the basis of those findings, Berns proposes that the Mboi, Yungur, and ʻBəna incorporated carved tributes to the dead in post-burial rites held to honor and secure the blessings of departed ancestors.

VARIATIONS ON A THEME: MBEMBE MOTHER-AND-CHILD FIGURES

As noted earlier, the depiction of mother and child across the region reflects the essential role of women in contributing to the growth, expansion, and prosperity of their families and communities. At the same time it pays tribute to that profound biological connection as a metaphor for future vitality. The four (and possibly five) known Mbembe mother-and-child figures afford an array of interpretations of that formal dynamic. Of these, the example in the National Museum of African Art retains the greatest amount of detail and appears to be the most recent (Figure 10). In that composition, the mother leans forward over the child, whom she supports across her bent knees. She cradles the infant's head with her left hand and protectively places her right hand on its thighs. This work is formally closely related to a male figure, which appears to be by the same hand (Figures 11a, 11b). It is likely

that the figures were originally elements of a single drum.[46] Their scale, details of their facial features, and patterns of erosion are very similar. The iconography of the male figure crowned by a bowler hat and grasping a rifle clearly dates it to the twentieth century. The rifle, positioned at a diagonal, is nestled under his right arm, with its muzzle grasped in both hands. This European weapon contrasts with the more traditional knives brandished by other warriors depicted in the corpus and extends out from the figure's torso so that its barrel rests on his knee and left hand. At the back is a rectangular slab where the figure was once attached to the drum.

The face, coiffure, and adornment of the female figure are especially well preserved. The delicate oval face has a narrow nose, thin pointed lips, and scarification in the form of raised lines and dots on the cheeks, temples, forehead, and chin. Black seeds are embedded in the cavities of her eyes, and the coiffure bears touches of red and dark pigment. Similarly, the eyes of the male figure have been accentuated with surface additions including a metal patch. A prominent accent is the necklace of leopard teeth, carved from wood, that adorns the figure's neck. Although the child's features can no longer be discerned, there are traces of an elaborate painted coiffure. The navels of both parent and offspring are prominently emphasized. The degree of surface detail that survives gives a sense of all that is missing from the related works. Partridge found additions in the areas of the eyes designed to imbue them with an especially remarkable lifelike presence: "The finest specimen in the district is at Nyima, a small village of the Igbo Imaban tribe on the left bank of the Ewara Creek. [The drum] occupies a hut surrounded by a high stockade of pales. On it are carved a snake swallowing a fish, a lizard, a bird, an iguana, etc. Attached to the drum at each end is a female figure in wood, almost life-size, naked and painted. . . . These figures had eyes of looking-glass, which gave them a rather weird effect."[47]

Another mother-and-child pairing provides a nuanced comparison (Figure 19). The commanding mother gazes upward. The detachment of her upright presence is softened at the point of intersection with the horizontal extension of the child across her lap. The base of the child's head rests on the mother's left forearm. Its legs, bent at the knees, hang over the side of the mother's right thigh. The mother's breasts are defined in relief as pendant ovals. The child grasps and draws sustenance from the left breast.

The Metropolitan's mother and child is an especially arresting variation on the integration of the two figures as vertical and horizontal elements, in that the child is mini-

20. *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 37 in. (94 cm). Leloup Collection, Paris. Photograph: © Hughes Dubois

21. *Standing Figure with Trophy Head Identified as Chief Appia.* Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 35 in. (89 cm). Private collection, Paris. This work was included in the 1974 Galerie Kamer exhibition and was shown alone in the gallery window. Photograph: © Raymond de Seyne

mally supported and appears to float across the center of the composition (Figure 1b). By contrast, another arrangement positions the child vertically, so that it is integrated into the negative contours of the mother's body while echoing her overall form and posture (Figure 20). Both the Metropolitan work and this example feature a pronounced vertical orientation of the wood grain. Some specialists have wondered whether this indicates that these two works were created as independent objects rather than as elements of a slit gong. However, both figures are elevated so that they are seated on the vestiges of some larger structure. It is possible that each was originally the sole figurative element of a drum far more intimate in scale than the Berlin example (Figure 8). The formal features articulated across these two works closely parallel one another and suggest the hand of a single sculptor. These characteristics include the shape of the head that narrows at the chin, the raised form of the ears, the broad cylindrical neck that intersects abruptly with the sharp horizontal of the shoulders, and the merging of the hands with the knees so that the arms and legs form continuous undulating lines. In addition to these signature details, the artist responsible for these two works favored a concentrated compression of the figures, a marked departure from the hieratic approach for the nursing mother and child (Figure 19).

The gesture and attitude of one seated figure suggests that a now-missing child originally may have been at the center of the composition (Figure 17). That robust woman wears a sagittal crested coiffure, and her expression is especially animated with mouth open. She leans back with her right arm extended and bent at the elbow. The left forearm rests on its corresponding thigh and is broken off at the wrist. Her gesture appears to have been designed to allow her to cradle something that once filled the void delimited by her torso, thighs, and arms. Ultimately the sculptural corpus of heroic male warriors and nurturing mother-and-child figures appears to complement the Mbembe system of unilineal kinship. Such representations may have been intended to reflect on and celebrate the distinct but complementary powers attributed to an individual's male and female lines of descent.

MASTER HANDS IN MBEMBE SCULPTURE

While the entire Mbembe corpus is distinguished by a rusticity that has been compounded by the works' exposure to the elements, the degree to which this quality has been exploited by different artists varies. The relative refinement of the heroic nursing mother and child is shared by a series of other works that appear to represent the vision of an individual master (Figures 6, 14, 15, 18). All those representations closely parallel bodily arrangements of long limbs and compact heads that feature similarly pronounced

22. *Seated Male Figure with Trophy Head Identified as Chief Mabana*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 25⅜ in. (64.5 cm). Horstmann Collection, Zug, Switzerland. Photograph: © Hughes Dubois

23. *Standing Male Figure Identified as Chief N'Ko*. Mbembe peoples; Ewayoň River region, Cross River Province, Nigeria, 17th–18th century. Wood, H. 42½ in. (108 cm). Private collection. Photograph: © Jon Lam/Sotheby's

noses and circular ears. The serene composure of these works contrasts dramatically with the intense creations of yet another hand evident in the figures of Chiefs Appia and Mabana as well as in one seated female figure (Figures 21, 22, 16). In those creations sheer power is embodied in muscular physiques whose especially rough surfaces of exposed wood whorls present a wild quality. This artist shocks the viewer through both the heft of his figures and the degree to which he exaggerates the scale of the severed heads wielded by the male leaders. The two works by the master of the Metropolitan mother and child do not present the arresting theatricality of those approaches that instill awe in larger-than-life ancestral personages. Rather, they explore a highly intimate relationship, and in so doing inject a dimension of experimentation into a quintessential subject. The originality of each of those mother-and-child compositions suggests a highly imaginative creativity. This artist's idiosyncratic reinterpretation of classic subjects for distinct patrons also

24. *Male Figure*. Yungur/Mboi/'Bəna peoples; Eastern Gongola Valley, Upper Benue River region, Nigeria, 19th century or before. Wood, H. 43¼ in. (110 cm). Private collection, Paris. Photograph: © Brigitte Cavanagh

25. *Male Figure*. Yungur/Mboi/'Bəna peoples; Eastern Gongola Valley, Upper Benue River region, Nigeria, 19th century or before. Wood, H. 35⅜ in. (90 cm). Itzikovitz Collection, Paris. Photograph: © Brigitte Cavanagh

appears consistent with the independent character of each Mbembe community.

It is interesting to consider how deeply the sensibility of individual Mbembe masters penetrated the wood core of these creations that have been so ravaged. It is as if the aging, which erased the finishing touches applied at completion, exposed their artistic essence as they were originally conceived.

CONCLUSIONS

The manner in which material culture from Africa was gathered in the field as recently as the 1970s has made it challenging to fully reconstruct the significance of a work such as the *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child* now in the Metropolitan's collection. An awareness of the process whereby the piece arrived in the West is a critical dimension of its history. By the time this work was collected by Traoré in the Cross River region in 1972, it had long become a relic of past practices in the community that commissioned it several centuries earlier. At that time the sculpture was part of a larger structure that may have been a collectively owned slit gong. Long after that larger creation decayed, the solid figurative element remained in situ as an independent sculpture. Given the corpus of related works that survive and commentaries about the ceremonial life of Mbembe communities, it is likely that essential references for the artist of the Metropolitan Museum's *Maternity Figure: Seated Mother and Child* were representations of mother-and-child figures integrated into carved slit gongs. The idiosyncratic treatment of the physical union of mother and infant would have contributed a fresh definition to a ubiquitous image. A review of the Mbembe corpus further suggests that such powerful mother-and-child representations were on occasion foils to the fiercely aggressive warrior figures whose presence called on men to emulate the bravery of exceptional male leaders. In contradistinction, the presence of this allegorical maternity figure would have led the Ekamanei, those born of the same mother, to reflect on their collective bond as a unique and self-defining source of strength and prosperity. Once the original role of this work in an Mbembe community became an anachronism, its arrival in Paris expanded definitions of a canon of African art. The rawness of this tradition and the originality of the artist's interpretation of a universal theme make the work a creation that invites comparison across the Metropolitan's encyclopedic collections.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Hélène Leloup for sharing her discoveries and bringing to life the history of the arrival of these extraordinary creations into Western collections from her firsthand accounts and archives. I am also most appreciative of the wise and thoughtful comments that Herbert M. (Skip) Cole provided on an early draft of this article. Finally, I express my appreciation to James Green for his tireless and enthusiastic assistance in assembling the materials that I have drawn upon for this piece.

NOTES

1. Testing of this work by the National Science Foundation Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometry laboratory, using the radiocarbon calibration program, CALIB, in September 2010 has yielded a date of A.D. 1482–1636 (BP 348 +/- 34 years). Several other works in the corpus have been tested with comparable results. Figure 14 was tested by Alliance Science Art on December 10, 1994, by Mebus A. Geyh and given a date of ca. A.D. 1660–1790 (225 +/-65 years before 1950).
2. Hélène Copin first traveled to Africa in 1952. Shortly after her marriage to Henri Kamer, they opened a gallery devoted to non-Western art at 90, boulevard Raspail in Paris and later one on Madison Avenue in New York. In 1966 she started a gallery on the quai Malaquais. Following her divorce from Kamer, she married the architect Philippe Leloup, and the name of the gallery was changed to Galerie Leloup in 1979.
3. The exhibition was on view from May 28 to June 22, 1974. See Kamer 1974.
4. "Depuis vingt ans que je me consacre à l'art nègre j'ai vu évoluer le goût et l'intérêt des collectionneurs. Dans cet art que l'on appelait 'sauvage' ils s'attachaient avec prédilection à des formes déjà parvenues à une perfection classique: statues Fang, masques Baoulé, bronzes royaux du Bénin. Les critères de qualité étaient finesse de la sculpture, harmonie des volumes, brillance des patines, en somme, les mêmes que ceux utilisés dès la Renaissance pour juger des oeuvres d'art." Kamer 1974, p. 1.
5. "L'étude radiographique de l'ensemble de la statue souligne encore la beauté de l'objet." See the "Rapport sommaire pour une sculpture en bois (extremité de tambour?) provenant du Nigeria proposée à l'achat par le Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens," illegible signature, Laboratoire, Palais du Louvre, December 3, 1973.
6. Hélène Kamer, in conversation with the author, August 12, 2012.
7. The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War (July 1967–January 15, 1970), was a conflict over the attempted secession of Nigeria's southeastern provinces, which aspired to become the Republic of Biafra.
8. Hélène Leloup shared with me the gallery's log books from this period. The entries for these works include Traoré's passport number and address as well as the price of each transaction, as required by French law.
9. Cole and Aniakor 1984, p. 87.
10. Kamer 1974, p. 2, and in conversation with the author.
11. In Kamer's catalogue (1974) the town is spelled Obubra or Abubra (see note 42 below).
12. See Nicolas and Sourrieu 1996, p. 138, fig. 111. Additional works that may be related include a crested kneeling male figure published by Ezio Bassani (2005, p. 215, fig. 88a) and a standing male figure published by Marie-Louise Bastin (1984, no. 223). Several other highly eroded works in French and German private collections have been labeled as Mbembe, most notably a seated male figure once owned by Jacques Kerchache and two in the

collection of the artist Georg Baselitz. The ex-Kerchache work retains signs indicating that the figure was once part of a ceremonial drum. Stylistically, the works appear to relate to a distinct regional center, rather than to this corpus.

13. Hackett 1988, pp. 59, 69.
14. Afigbo 2005, pp. 172, 175.
15. Harris 1965, p. 3.
16. Ibid., p. 8.
17. Ibid., p. 25.
18. Harris 1984, p. 61.
19. Partridge 1905, p. 202.
20. Harris 1984, p. 61.
21. Ibid., pp. 61–62.
22. Ibid., p. 62.
23. Harris 1965, p. 12.
24. Harris 1984, p. 62.
25. Ibid.
26. Ottenberg and Knudsen 1985, p. 43.
27. Ibid., p. 38.
28. Ibid., p. 37.
29. Ibid., p. 40.
30. Cole and Aniakor 1984, p. 87.
31. Kamer 1974, p. 1.
32. Harris 1984, p. 61.
33. Herbert Cole explains that these rites doubtless involved multiple offerings of animal sacrifices. In conversations and email exchanges with author, May 25, 2013.
34. Cole and Aniakor 1984, p. 87.
35. Talbot 1912, pp. 217–18.
36. Cole and Aniakor 1984, p. 88.
37. Ibid., p. 87.
38. Harris 1984, p. 63.
39. Eyo 1977, p. 204.
40. Krieger 1969, pp. 235–36, 237; Koloss 2002, pp. 90, 208, no. 63.
41. Partridge 1905, p. 77.
42. The town's name is spelled Abubra in Kamer's transcription of this account in her 1974 catalogue (p. 2).
43. "Je sais qu'après notre mort nos arrières petit-fils connaîtont des siècles plus aisés que le nôtre; mais pour leur rappeler que cette aisance vient de nous, qui avons combattu pour leur liberté, je vous demande que la tête de ma statue soit coupée et enterrée avec les restes de mon corps; cela leur rappelera que de nombreuses têtes furent coupées pour leur liberté mais que si nos faces ont disparus, nos forces, elles, les guideront désormais." Kamer 1974, p. 2. Radiocarbon testing of one of these torsos in the Menil Collection, Houston, provided a date of A.D. 1470 +/- 90, and another formerly in the collection of Bernard de Grunne, Brussels, has been dated A.D. 1440 +/- 55.
44. Bastin 1984, no. 223.
45. Berns in Berns, Fardon, and Kasfir 2011, pp. 550–55.
46. Heinrich Schweitzer brought this work in a private collection to my attention in June 2013 and made the work accessible for viewing.
47. Partridge 1905, pp. 223–24.

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Houdon's *Bather* in a Drawing by Pierre Antoine Mongin

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In 2011 the Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, was given a modest graphite drawing by the relatively little-known artist Pierre Antoine Mongin (1761/62–1827). It was purchased by the donor, former Philbrook curator Richard P. Townsend, about 1987 from the Chicago dealer William Schab.[1] The drawing came with the spurious title *Fountain of Diana at the Bath* and with no additional information (Figure 1). Its sketchy handling and small size, and the relative obscurity of the artist, might suggest—erroneously as it turns out—that the drawing has little to reveal. In fact, what this unassuming drawing actually depicts is crucial for our understanding of Jean Antoine Houdon's exquisite marble *Bather* (Figure 3), bequeathed to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1913.

This simply executed sketch depicts a fountain with two nude female figures, one sitting, one standing. The seated figure is shown in profile, with her left leg elegantly extended. Behind her, the standing figure bends slightly over her, appearing to pour water on her neck and back. The group is at the center of a wide basin supported by an architectural foot, and the fountain is pictured in a vaguely defined outdoor setting, with a canopy of leaves and branches framing the scene. This is apparently a study of a motif rather than a finished compositional drawing. Similar studies by Mongin survive in the collections of the Louvre and the Art Institute of Chicago.[2] Thus, this drawing is wholly in keeping with Mongin's oeuvre and his preferred subject matter.

Pierre Antoine Mongin studied at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris and exhibited at the Salon from 1791 to 1824. He was a painter, a watercolorist, and an engraver, and later in life he became known for the decorative wallpapers of exotic scenes that he designed for the French manufacturer Zuber et Cie.[3] Landscape was his primary subject. In particular, he favored landscapes with gardens carefully manicured and ornamented with sculpture, fountains, follies, and other garden architecture. He depicted many of the great French châteaus with their lavish and extensive parks, including Versailles, Saint-Cloud, and the Château d'Anet in Dreux (see Figure 2).[4] Mongin's work is similar in tone to that of more celebrated contemporaries like Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806). In fact, his wallpaper designs, when installed, would have functioned as murals portraying gardens or exotic locales, complete with amorous, elegantly attired couples strolling, chatting, and sometimes cavorting.[5] In some senses they simulated commissioned suites of paintings such as Fragonard's Progress of Love.[6]

Mongin also proved exceptionally pragmatic and willing to embrace technological innovation, as his work for the wallpaper manufacturer Zuber suggests. In 1816 Godefroy Engelmann (1788–1839) moved to Paris from Munich, where he had been studying the new technology of lithography. In Paris he opened a small press in the rue Cassette and in the same year, 1816, submitted his first lithograph to the *dépôt légal*. That print was a landscape by Mongin entitled *Le Chien de l'aveugle*.[7] More lithographs after his designs quickly followed. Engelmann, aided in no small part by Mongin, is generally credited with France's supremacy in lithography. In many ways, Mongin's work with both Engelmann and Zuber reflects the degree to which his career straddled the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and took cues from earlier traditions as well as the emerging industrial age.

The drawing given to the Philbrook Museum is distinctly eighteenth-century in character. Though it came with the title *Fountain of Diana at the Bath*, and though the fountain shows a woman being bathed, the drawing includes none of the attributes traditionally associated with Diana. However, those familiar with the Metropolitan Museum's collection of French sculpture will recognize the familiar form of Jean Antoine Houdon's *Bather* (Figure 3). That only this marble fragment of the fountain that Mongin sketched survives owes in large part to the circumstances of the fountain's history.

Houdon (1741–1828) proposed his fountain with a bather and an attendant to Jean Baptiste Marie Pierre (1714–1789), director of the Académie Royale and *premier*

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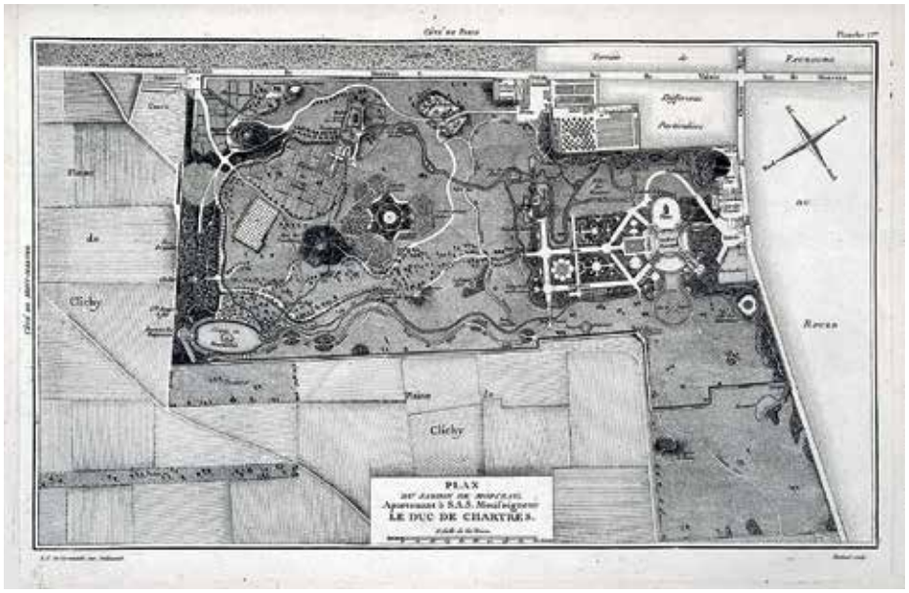
1. Pierre Antoine Mongin (French, 1761/62–1827). *Study of a Fountain with Bather and Attendant*, 1782–95. Graphite on cream laid paper, 5¾ × 4⅜ in. (14.6 × 11.1 cm). Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Gift of Richard P. Townsend in memory of his grandparents Harry and Joan R. Renek (2011.2). Photograph: Shane Culpepper

peintre du roi, as a suitable royal commission by early 1779.[8] In a letter of January 10, 1779, to the comte d'Angiviller, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, Pierre described the group as a "marble figure of a *Bather*, life-size, and another figure in lead, of the same size. The latter would represent an *Attendant*."[9] Probably because of Houdon's high estimate of the cost of the fountain group, the project never became a royal commission. Nonetheless, Houdon managed to obtain a prestigious patron—his proposed fountain group would be acquired by the king's cousin Louis-Philippe-Joseph d'Orléans, duc de Chartres, who intended the fountain for the large pleasure garden he was having built at Monceau.[10] This garden, designed by Louis Carrogis, known as Louis de Carmontelle (1717–1806), was located on twenty-eight acres northwest of Paris and southwest of the village of Monceau. The design was exceptionally ambitious, sprawling across the landscape and containing sculptures, fountains, follies, countless meandering paths, and a number of exotic touches such as a minaret and a Dutch windmill. It was a garden designed to amuse, entertain, and even entrance its well-heeled visitors.[11] The garden was commemorated by a 1779 publication created by Carmontelle himself, in which text and seventeen engraved views as well as a ground plan guide the reader on a tour along the paths and past the many sights to be found there (Figures 4–6). Interestingly, the garden vistas with which Carmontelle highlighted his text are very much in keeping with the oeuvre of Mongin, including elegantly dressed visitors enjoying the garden's various aspects. In the body of this text we encounter the first substantial description of Houdon's fountain group.

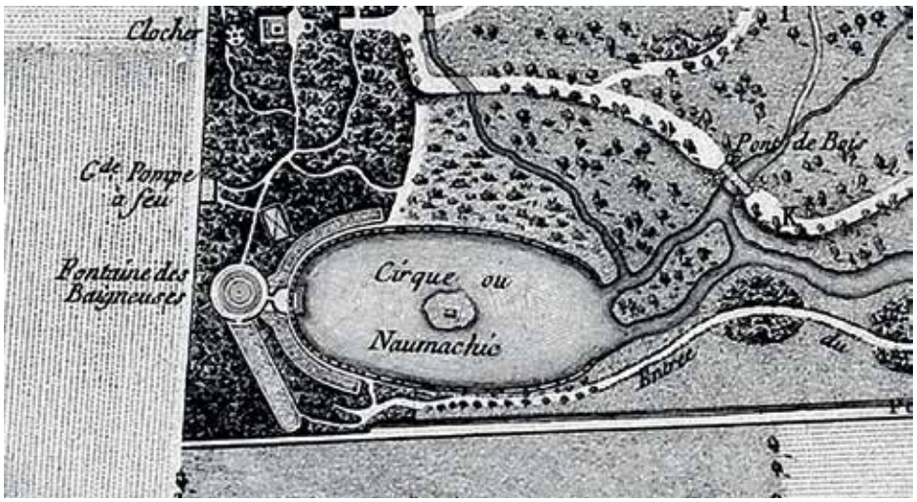
2. Pierre Antoine Mongin. *View of the Park at Versailles: Landscape with Memorial Column and Grove of Trees*, n.d. Black chalk, heightened with white chalk, on blue laid paper, 17½ × 24¼ in. (44.5 × 61.4 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of William H. and Frederick G. Schab in honor of Harold Joachim (1968.684.12)

3. Jean Antoine Houdon (French, 1741–1828). *Bather*, 1782. Marble, 47 × 43 × 28 in. (119.4 × 109.2 × 71.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.673). Photograph: Paul Lachenauer, The Photograph Studio, MMA

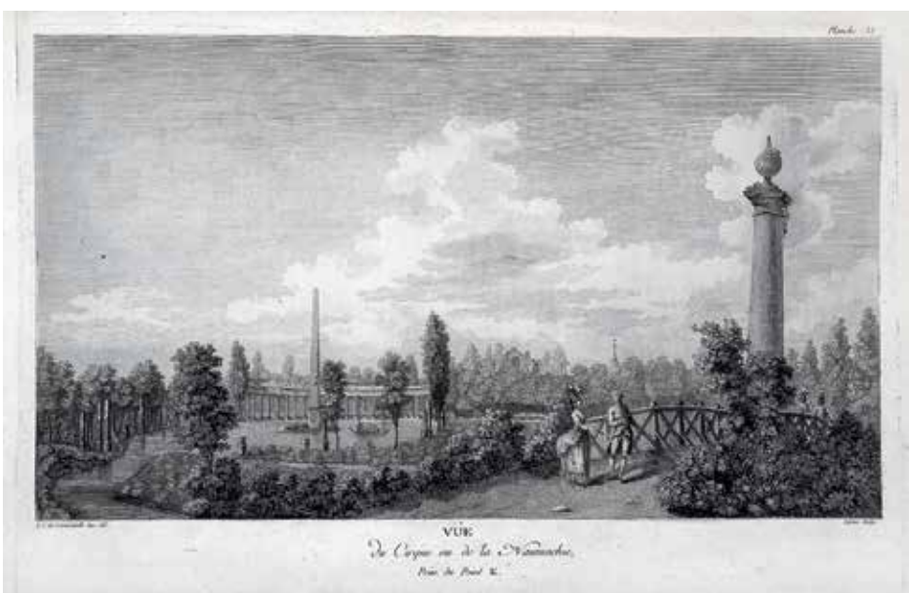
4. Louis de Carmontelle (French, 1717–1806). *Plan du Jardin de Monceau, Appartenant à S.A.S. Monseigneur le duc de Chartres*. Carmontelle 1779, pl. 1. Engraving, sheet 16¼ × 22½ in. (41.3 × 57.2 cm). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (Typ 715.79.260)



5. Detail of Figure 4



6. Louis de Carmontelle. *Vüe du Cirque ou de la Naumachie, Prise du Point K*. Carmontelle 1779, pl. 11. Engraving, sheet 16¼ × 22½ in. (41.3 × 57.2 cm). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (Typ 715.79.260)



Carmontelle described the visitor's journey through a part of the garden he called the *Bois irrégulier* (Irregular Wood), past an antique statue of Mercury and two ruined monuments. The visitor would then arrive in a small clearing, where "there is a basin encircled by three steps, where one sees a figure of a woman in white marble, who is bathing, and a Negress in bronze [*sic*], who is pouring water over her body. These two figures are by M. Houdon."[12]

Since Pierre wrote that the attendant figure would be cast in lead, it is odd that Carmontelle described the figure as made of bronze. And though the fountain's location is indicated on the plan of the garden (at lower left), to the immediate left of the narrow end of the large oval pool that Carmontelle called the "Circus" or the "Naumachia" (Figure 5), the fountain group appears in none of the broad views of the garden. It should be visible in the view of the Naumachia, and yet it is not there (Figure 6). As we know from the map, the fountain would have been located behind the columns seen in this illustration, and the water from it would have fed the large oval pool. To explain these seeming anomalies, it is important to recall that Carmontelle's guidebook came out in 1779, yet as of January 10 of that year Houdon's fountain was still in the design stage. The fountain had been commissioned and the location chosen for it in the park, but at the time of the guidebook's publication it had been neither completed nor installed.[13]

In a list Houdon himself compiled of his work, he put the fountain group under the year 1781,[14] and the marble *Bather* at the Metropolitan Museum is inscribed with the date 1782. A description of the fountain and its installation in the Jardin de Monceau was included in the catalogue to the Salon of 1783, indicating that the fountain was still considered new and was already installed at Monceau.[15]

The first substantial description of the fountain that was written once the piece was in situ appears in a 1787 guidebook to Paris by Luc-Vincent Thiéry, which contains an account of the Jardin de Monceau. Like Carmontelle's description, Thiéry's discussion is structured like a guided stroll through the garden. Once again, the reader is taken through the Irregular Wood to a clearing where could be seen "a basin of white marble, in the middle of which is a charming group by M. Houdon, Sculptor to the King, representing a superb figure in white marble, taking a bath; behind her is another woman, executed in lead and painted black, a negress holding in one hand a white marble drapery, and in the other a gold ewer, from which she spills water over the body of her mistress, whence it falls in sheets into the basin."[16] That Thiéry's account of the fountain was not illustrated is regrettable, since the fountain remained in the grove for only a brief period. The duc d'Orléans (which title the duc de Chartres inherited on the death of his father in 1785) was guillotined in 1793, and his pleasure park fell into disrepair. In October 1794, Houdon described the

7. Jean Antoine Houdon. *Head of a Negress*, probably 1781. Painted plaster, 12⅝ × 8¼ in. (32 × 21 cm) with base. Musée Municipale Ancienne Abbaye Saint-Léger, Soissons (93.7.2766). Photograph: M. Minetto © Musée de Soissons

fountain: "A group: a *Bather* in marble on whom a *Negress* in lead pours water, for the garden of Monceau. The *Negress* is in bad shape and needs to be restored."[17] A year later, when the Commission Temporaire des Arts appropriated the fountain figures, the head of the attendant was missing.[18] At some point after the fountain group's confiscation, the now-headless attendant figure disappeared, probably to be melted down. The sole contemporary trace of the lead figure that survives is a plaster version of the head, which is in the collection of the Musée Municipale Ancienne Abbaye Saint-Léger, Soissons (Figure 7).[19] Houdon's innovative fountain group was dismembered and largely destroyed just thirteen or fourteen years after its installation.

Houdon's maquette for the fountain—presumably the model shown to the duc d'Orléans in 1779—appeared in a sale in France on July 30, 1786,[20] and can then be traced down through a series of collections until the early twentieth century, when it was with Duveen Brothers in London. A version of the maquette is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8)[21] and serves to convey Houdon's original plan for the disposition of the figures in the fountain. It differs somewhat from Mongin's sketch, particularly

8. Attributed to Jean Antoine Houdon. *The Bather*, ca. 1780 or 19th–early 20th century. Terracotta, H. 8⅛ in. (20.6 cm), Diam. 6¼ in. (15.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.159). Photograph: Katya Shaposhnik

in the orientation of the attendant, in the shape of the vessel she holds, and in the design of the basin itself, and it is precisely these incongruities that make Mongin's drawing so significant, documenting as it does changes and adjustments that were made to the fountain during the fabrication process. Indeed, Mongin's sketch is now the sole visual record of Houdon's exquisite and unusual fountain as it was actually—and all too briefly—installed in the Jardin de Monceau.

NOTES

1. William Schab gave drawings by Mongin to the Art Institute of Chicago (1968.684.1–12) and the Musée du Louvre, Paris (donated in 1973, RF 35723). He may have had a collection of Mongin's drawings. Indeed, the drawings given to Chicago are mounted in an album and appear to be a thematically linked group; email correspondence with Suzanne Karr Schmidt, curator at the Art Institute of Chicago, September 18–21, 2012.
2. For some studies by Mongin at the Louvre and the Art Institute of Chicago, see also notes 1 and 4.
3. Argencourt et al. 1999, pp. 463–65.
4. Among the works by Mongin that William Schab gave the Art Institute of Chicago are scenes of Versailles, including *View of the Park at Versailles: Women Bathing Beneath a Bridge* (1968.684.10bR). The drawing he gave the Louvre depicts the Château d'Anet (*Vue du jardin du château d'Anet*, RF 35723r).
5. Two relevant sources on Mongin's wallpaper designs are Jacqué 1980 and Ravanel 1999.
6. Fragonard's Progress of Love, originally painted for Madame du Barry, is in the Frick Collection, New York, 1915.1.45–55A–D.
7. Gilmour 1996, p. 483.
8. Poulet 2003, pp. 241, 245n2.
9. Furcy-Raynaud 1906, p. 238: "en marbre une figure de *Baigneuse*, grande comme nature, et une autre figure en plomb, de même proportion. Cette dernière représentera une *Suivante*." Translation from Poulet 2003, p. 241.
10. Poulet 2003, p. 241.
11. Carmontelle was also employed to provide entertainment in the household of the duc de Chartres, where he wrote skits, sketched portraits of visitors, and arranged similar charming diversions; Hays 2001, pp. 295–96. Much has been written on the Jardin de Monceau, today's Parc Monceau; see, especially, Andia 1978, pp. 25–35; Hays 1990; Hays 1999; and Disponzio 2006.
12. Carmontelle 1779, p. 9: "il y a un bassin entouré de trois marches, où l'on voit une figure de femme du marbre blanc, qui se bagne, & une Négresse de bronze, qui lui répand de l'eau sur le corps. Ces deux figures sont de M. Houdon." Translation from Poulet 2003, p. 241.
13. This conclusion is shared by Hays (2001, pp. 309–10, 414n82).
14. This list was published in Vitry 1907. It was reprinted in Arnason 1975, pp. 127–29; the fountain group is no. 81 on p. 128.
15. Salon 1783, p. 49, no. 251: "Une Fontaine composée de deux figures de grandeur naturelle, l'une en marbre blanc, & l'autre imitant une Négresse, exécutées & placées dans le Jardin de Monseigneur le Duc de Chartres, à Mouceaux [*sic*], près de Paris."
16. Thiéry 1787, vol. 1, pp. 69–70: "un bassin de marbre blanc, au milieu duquel est un charmant groupe de M. Houdon, Sculpteur du Roi, représentant une superbe figure de marbre blanc, prenant un bain; derrière elle, une autre femme, exécutée en plomb & peinte en noir, figure une négresse tenant d'une main une draperie de marbre blanc, & de l'autre une aiguière d'or, dont elle répand l'eau sur le corps de sa maîtresse, d'où elle retombe en nappe dans le bassin."
17. Réau 1964, vol. 1, p. 99: "Un groupe: une *Baigneuse* en marbre sur laquelle une négresse en plomb verse de l'eau, pour le jardin de Monceau. La négresse est en mauvais état et a besoin d'être restaurée." Translation from Poulet 2003, p. 243.
18. Poulet 2003, pp. 243, 245n9.
19. See ibid., pp. 241–45, no. 42. Two bronze bust-length versions of the attendant also exist, both late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century casts. A full-size cast is in the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris (CAM 259), and a reduced cast is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (D 37621).
20. Ibid., p. 245n6.
21. Another version of the maquette was in the auction of the estate of Mrs. Evelyn St. George, *Catalogue of the Important Contents of Cam House, Campden Hill* (Sotheby & Co., London, July 24–25, 1939, lot 84). In 1940, Preston Remington, curator at the Metropolitan Museum, visited Duveen Brothers in London. While there, he was shown Mrs. St. George's maquette and told by Edward Fowles of Duveen the following things about it: that he had purchased it at her estate sale; that it was the original, bought for her by J. Pierpont Morgan; and that the Museum's maquette was a cast

made by Duveen for Benjamin Altman soon after he had acquired the marble *Bather* from Duveen in 1910–11. According to notes in the Metropolitan's Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, the formerly Mrs. St. George maquette was still at Duveen in New York in 1961; its present location is unknown. Altman's version came into the Museum with the bequest of Michael Friedsam in 1931.

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Two "Etruscan" Vases and Edgar Allan Poe

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"Come!" he said at length, turning towards a table of richly enamelled and massive silver, upon which were a few goblets fantastically stained, together with two large Etruscan vases.

Edgar Allan Poe, "The Visionary," 1834[1]

The volute-krater, a vase of imposing shape made from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period in mainland Greece, also found favor in the rich Greek colonies of South Italy in the fourth century B.C. Numerous pieces discovered there were avidly collected by European cognoscenti in the late eighteenth century. These large vases, with prominent handles curling into volutes at the top, are covered with mythological images painted in the red-figure technique and are often further decorated by molded faces on the handles and by the heads and necks of swans projecting where the handles join the body. Two vases of this type hold a prominent position at the entrance to The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Roman Court (Figures 1, 2).

The first, excavated in Apulia in 1786, was bought by Ferdinand IV, king of Naples, soon after its discovery, when such enormous vases were prestigious collectors' items (Figure 1).[2] Perhaps an incentive for the king's purchase was the fact that two other volute-kraters, said to have been dug up in Bari, had been acquired by his competitor, the great vase collector Sir William Hamilton (see Figure 3).[3] Depicted on the front of King Ferdinand's former volute-krater is an assembly of the deities Athena, Apollo, Artemis, and Herakles, and below them, an Amazonomachy—a battle between Greeks and Amazons. On the neck, Hekate, a goddess of the underworld with two torches in hand, leads a four-horse chariot driven by a winged Nike, or Victory. Elaborate ornamentation on the rim, neck, shoulder, lower belly, and under the handles fills most of the space not occupied by mythological scenes. Small figures of the young Pan prance under the volutes, each decorated with the horned head of Io, a nymph turned into a heifer by Zeus. The reverse depicts a youth sitting in a shrine set between two other youths and two women, and here the neck is filled with an enormous palmette surrounded by additional ornamental leaves, tendrils, and flowers as well as other typical Greek ornament. The forefronts of four swans project at the join of the body to the neck of the vase.

A second South Italian vase at the Metropolitan is a typical fourth-century Apulian volute-krater, again with molded heads on the volutes and projecting swans' heads and necks (Figure 2). The scene here shows the hero Perseus, with winged cap, making a pact with Cepheus, the father of Andromeda, whom he had rescued from a monster. The two men stand within a shrine, surrounded by seated and standing figures. The vase's neck depicts the crowned head of a woman encircled by tendrils and flowers. The scene on the reverse shows a youth with spear and shield standing in a *naiskos* (shrine).

In the Neoclassical period, such Greek vases were admired not only for their own beauty, but also as models for new creations that proliferated throughout Britain and the Continent. Although certain scholars already had determined in the late eighteenth century that many of the pots discovered in Etruscan tombs and elsewhere on Italian soil were actually Greek, nonetheless the term "Etruscan" stuck.[4] Two early nineteenth-century pots now in Richmond, Virginia, thought at the time to be imitating Etruscan vases, were typical of the products of numerous European manufacturers who made copies of ancient vases to satisfy the desire of travelers on the Grand Tour, as well as of Italians themselves. Such tourists, especially Englishmen, would ship them back as trophies or souvenirs to decorate their town houses or country homes.

Metropolitan Museum Journal 48

1. Volute-krater. Attributed to the Capodimonte Painter, a follower of the Baltimore Painter, ca. 320–310 B.C. Terracotta, H. without handles 36 in. (91.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.63)

2. Volute-krater. Attributed to the Painter of Copenhagen 4223, 340–320 B.C. Terracotta, H. 36¾ in. (93.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, lent by the Dubroff family (L1991.35). Photograph: Paul Lachenauer. The Photograph Studio, MMA. Courtesy of Dr. Lewis Dubroff

John Allan, foster father of Edgar Allan Poe, probably owned the two pots in Richmond. He may have acquired them during his family's five-year stay in England from 1815 to 1820, or later, in 1825, when outfitting his new Richmond mansion with European furnishings.[5] They eventually made their way into the collection of his first wife's nephew, Mann Satterwhite Valentine II (1824–1892), who kept them in his new home in Richmond, along with hoards of other curios and clutter (Figure 4). Upon his death, Mann Valentine bequeathed his house and collection of books, Indian relics, artifacts, paintings, and other works of art, which would have included the two Valentine vases, to the City of Richmond. His gift formed the core of the Valentine Museum, now named the Valentine Richmond History Center. The two Valentine "Etruscan" pots have an interesting history in themselves and take on added luster through what may be their cameo appearance in one of Edgar Allan Poe's early short stories, "The Visionary," later retitled "The Assignation."

The Valentine Center's two well-made vases, with shapes and designs taken from eighteenth-century engravings, are splendid representations of early nineteenth-century European taste. No more popular source for the decoration of classicizing pots existed than the two sets of volumes illustrating the successive collections of vases assembled in Naples by Sir William Hamilton, British Envoy Extraordinary at the court of Naples from 1764 to 1800. He sold his first collection of vases and other antiquities to the British Museum in 1772, a sale that partly

3. Volute-krater said to have been found in Bari. Terracotta, H. 34⅞ in. (88.6 cm). From the collection of Sir William Hamilton. The British Museum, London (GR 1772.3-20.14). Photograph: The British Museum, London

4. Drawing room in the home of Mann S. Valentine, Richmond, Virginia. Photograph dated June 23, 1894. Photograph: Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, Virginia

paid for the cost of publishing the vases in four sumptuous folio volumes: *Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Honble. Wm. Hamilton, His Britannick Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Naples* (1767–76).[6] Its eccentric descriptions were written by "Baron d'Hancarville," a nom de plume for the roguish antiquary Pierre-François Hugues. For this publication, hereafter referred to as "d'Hancarville," Hamilton had a new typeface created and cast in Venice at enormous cost, and Neapolitan artists hand-colored its engraved plates, making the set too expensive to serve his stated purpose of educating Europe's craftsmen in the finest ancient drawing.

The publication of Hamilton's new, second collection of vases was accordingly undertaken in Naples in a less costly format by the German artist Wilhelm Tischbein: *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases* (1791–95), hereafter referred to as "Tischbein." Most surviving sets have three folio volumes; a fourth is rarer because many copies were burned during the invasion of Naples by French troops in 1798, before they were bound. Plates from both of Hamilton's collections would serve as the source for the artists who made the two Valentine vases.

The larger of the two pots, a well-painted vase imitating an Apulian red-figured volute-krater of the late fourth century B.C. (Figures 5, 6), appears on the tall glass-fronted case at the back right of a photograph of Mann S. Valentine's drawing room (see Figure 4). The picture, dated June 23, 1894, was taken only two years after the foundation of his museum. This volute-krater, broken in a fall, was repaired in 1959,[7] and a photograph of it was published in 1973 by a curator of the Valentine Museum who identified it as a Greek original.[8]

Both main scenes on the Valentine volute-krater, front and back, are copied from engravings in the third volume in Tischbein's publication of Hamilton's second collection, and both are presented as deriving from a single original Greek vase, now lost.[9] Greek vases normally have a primary side (called, in modern terminology, Side A), with the more elaborate scene or more carefully painted figures; and a secondary side that was usually painted in a simpler, more careless manner (Side B). However, on the Valentine volute-krater neither illustration is typical of a Side B, and Tischbein usually did not show the second side in his engravings. Most likely the two scenes come from the Sides A of two separate pots.

The scene on the body of Side A (Figure 7) is taken from Tischbein (vol. 3, pl. 21) and probably decorated a Campanian bell-krater (Figure 8).[10] At the lower left of

5. Valentine volute-krater, Side A. Terracotta. H. to top of handles 24 in. (61 cm), H. to rim 19¼ in. (48.9 cm), Diam. 12 in. (30.5 cm). Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, Va. (x.59.12). Photograph: Valentine Richmond History Center

6. Valentine volute-krater, Side B

Tischbein's plate, a hermaphrodite drives a chariot drawn by a griffin and a panther or lynx, while Eros, turning back, leads the procession. This figure is described as "Diana Egeria" by Chevalier Andrei Italinski (Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of all the Russias to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), a learned linguist, trusted diplomat, and scholarly drudge, who wrote much of the text for Hamilton's volumes 2 and 3 in the Tischbein publication.[11] Italinski points out that both Macrobius (III.8) and the apocryphal ancient author "Orpheus" say this goddess was bisexual, in which case a hermaphrodite would be an appropriate representation. However, in the painting of this figure on the Valentine vase, the hermaphrodite has been transformed into a nude Aphrodite, with no sign of the male genitalia that were clearly defined in Tischbein's plate. Above the figure of Aphrodite/Diana Egeria, Artemis leans back, spear in hand. In the center sits a woman with a basket or libation bowl, and at right Nike stands with a mirror. On the neck of Side A, at left, is a charioteer with his cape billowing out, driving two horses, and at right is a horseman who turns back toward the charioteer and appears to be fleeing (see Figure 5).

The scene on the body of Side B of the Valentine volute-krater (Figure 9) is a copy of Tischbein (vol. 3, pl. 22) (Figure 10). In the lower register, a maenad walks to left between two prancing panthers, and above, three other women (maenads?) walk or dance, while a swan alights on a lustral basin that looks much like a birdbath. Italinski, mistakenly supposing that both plates came from one vase,

7. Detail of the body of the Valentine volute-krater, Side A

8. Source of Valentine volute-krater, Side A. From Tischbein 1791–95, vol. 3, pl. 21

linked Diana on Side A with the swan on Side B, pointing out the reference to Diana's brother Apollo, who is often represented by the bird. Filling ornament in the picture field, reproducing that on Tischbein's plates, decorates both sides of the vase.

On the neck (see Figure 6) a dancing figure with tambourine and a seated figure with a mirror are watched by a draped and a naked man on the left, and at right by a satyr with a torch. This scene is not copied after the engravings of Hamilton's vases, yet the shape of the Valentine volute-krater itself seems to be copied from the third of the extra (unnumbered) plates at the beginning of Tischbein's second volume, engravings illustrating various shapes of Greek pots. This image follows a shape typical of volute-kraters from late fourth-century Apulia.

The second Valentine vase, a chalice with knotted handles (Figures 11, 12), sat atop another glass-fronted case on the left wall in the photograph of Mann S. Valentine's drawing room (see Figure 4), although its handles at the time were detached and stored inside the chalice.[12] At each

9. Valentine volute-krater, detail of Side B

10. Source of Valentine volute-krater, Side B. From Tischbein 1791–95, vol. 3, pl. 22

11. Valentine chalice, Side A. Terracotta, H. 17⅜ in. (44.1 cm), diam. 11 in. (27.9 cm). Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, Va. (x.59.13). Photograph: Valentine Richmond History Center

12. Valentine chalice, Side B

of the four ropelike ends, where the chalice's handles are attached to the rim, a tiny female (?) frontal face is worked freehand into the clay (Figure 13).

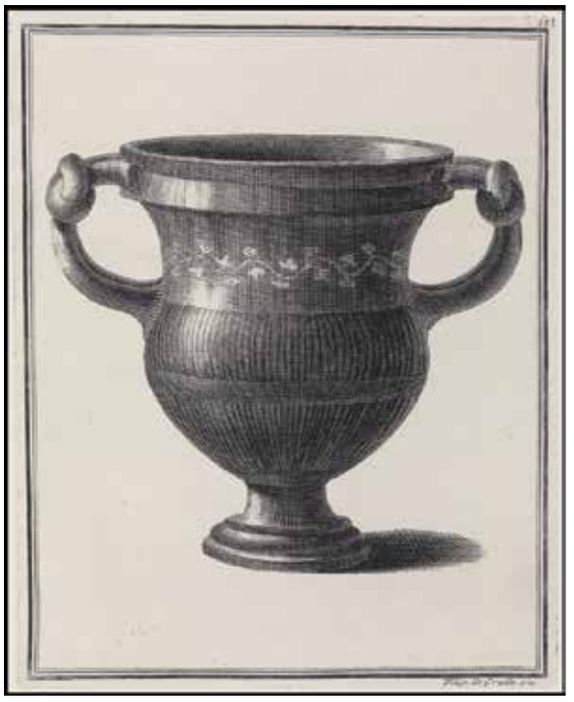
The chalice is an imitation of a Hellenistic Etruscan kantharos with knotted handles. Parallels to the shape are found among pots of the so-called Malacena ware made in North Italy near Viterbo,[13] and of the Gnathian ware made in Apulia, where even the little faces on the handles are sometimes present.[14] It is not clear which model was used by the potter of the Valentine vase, but a similar one (without the faces worked into the clay on the handles) is illustrated in d'Hancarville's publication of Hamilton's vases (vol. 3, pls. 101 [Figure 14] and 102).

Side A of the chalice, a black-figured scene with warriors, a horse, and a seated man, has been copied after a lost Attic lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter once in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein, vol. 2, pl. 4) (Figure 15).[15] On its neck is a boar hunt with elements drawn from similar Attic black-figured hunting scenes. The body of Side B illustrates the theme of Thebans bringing offerings to placate the Sphinx, who sits on an altar. The neck depicts a battle scene copied after Hamilton's Greek original, illustrated in d'Hancarville (vol. 1, pl. 62), but reversed (Figure 16).

Imitations of ancient Greek volute-kraters were made by numerous European potteries, including Wedgwood, Sèvres, and Ipsen (in England, France, and Denmark, respectively).[16] But the workmanship of the Valentine pots is not typical of any of these potteries. Instead, close parallels are found with the Neapolitan Giustiniani pottery, begun by Nicola Giustiniani in 1760 and active until about 1885.[17] Their pots are often marked with a "G" on the underside of the foot, but both of the Valentine vases have been strengthened with a modern restorer's plaster on the underside, so that any "G" (or other mark) that might have been there has been obscured. However, stylistic parallels and the shapes of the pots confirm the identification of the Valentine vases as products of the Giustiniani pottery.[18]

In 1815, upon the death of Nicola, his son Biagio Giustiniani took over the firm, and it was he who promoted the production for which Giustiniani is most well known: earthenware vases made "ad imitazione degli Etruschi." It is clear that the Giustiniani pottery had at its disposal copies of d'Hancarville's and Tischbein's volumes of Hamilton's vase collections and that they used them as sources for the Valentine vases as well as other pots made in the "Etruscan style."

The Valentine volute-krater, with female heads on the volutes and swans' heads at the base of the handles, is a form after the Antique that was popular with the Giustiniani pottery, and can be compared with other confirmed Giustiniani works. One parallel in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino in Naples (Figure 17), copied after an Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, is similar not only in shape but also in decoration.[19] The neck again displays two sets of horsemen, riding toward the right, and rosettes and other standard motifs around the upper neck. The molded and applied



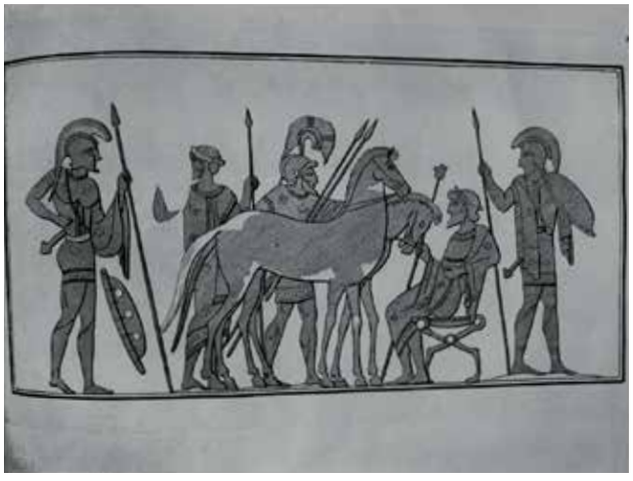
13. Far left: Valentine chalice, with frontal face on handle

14. Left: Hellenistic chalice with rope handles. From d'Hancarville 1767–76, vol. 3, pl. 101. This illustration may have served as a source for the shape of the Valentine chalice.

heads of females on the volute handles are different, but the swans' heads protruding from the base of the handles are essentially identical.

The second Valentine pot, the chalice, is of the same shape as a Giustiniani piece, identified by the firm's "G" mark, again in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino in Naples (Figure 18).[20] This chalice has many of the same features as the Valentine vase, including the knotted handles, the tiny faces at the join of handles to rim, and the shape of rim, neck, body, and foot. It, too, confirms the Giustiniani manufacture of the Valentine vase.

The literary progeny of the two Giustiniani vases in Richmond may come as a surprise. They seem to have played a role in Edgar Allan Poe's tale "The Visionary," written at the latest by 1833, when the author was twenty-four years old. Its scene is Venice. As the anonymous narrator's gondola approaches the Ducal Palace, he hears a woman's scream. The beautiful young marchesa Aphrodite has accidentally let her infant slip into the canal. Suddenly, out of the shadows, a gallant figure (the hero) appears and plunges into the water, rescuing the child. He returns the baby to the marchesa and her malevolent husband, the aged marchese.



15. Attic lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter. From Tischbein 1791–95, vol. 2, pl. 4. This illustration is the source of the main scene on the belly of the Valentine chalice, Side A. From the collection of Sir William Hamilton

16. Scene from an Attic black-figured lekythos. From d'Hancarville 1767–76, vol. 1, pl. 62. This illustration is the source, but reversed, for the neck of Side B of the Valentine chalice. From the collection of Sir William Hamilton

17. Volute-krater by the Giustiniani firm. Terracotta, H. 22⅜ in. (56.8 cm). Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples (inv. 9909). Photograph: Luciano Pedicini/archivio dell'arte, on concession by Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale della città di Napoli

18. Chalice by the Giustiniani firm. Terracotta, H. 15¾ in. (40 cm). Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples (inv. 10942). Photograph: Luciano Pedicini/archivio dell'arte, on concession by Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale della città di Napoli

After her husband returns to the house, the marchesa, blushing, lets her hand fall upon the hero's hand and whispers to him that they should meet again an hour after sunrise. The narrator of this tale, offering his gondola, then returns the hero to his palazzo, but not before the hero begs the narrator to visit him there again early the next morning. When the narrator pays his visit, the hero shows him a collection of objects of extravagant expense and beauty. Lastly, he unveils a full-length portrait of marchesa Aphrodite, who points downward to "a curiously fashioned vase" at her feet.[21] Then, the hero speaks to the narrator:

> "Come!" he said at length, turning towards a table of richly enamelled and massive silver, upon which were a few goblets fantastically stained, together with two large Etruscan vases, fashioned in the same extraordinary model as that in the foreground of the portrait, and filled with what I supposed to be Johannisberger. "Come!" he said abruptly, "let us drink!"[22]

The hero then swallows several cups of the wine and "[holds] up to the rich light of a censer one of the magnificent vases."[23] As the narrator discovers only after it is too late, the hero is committing suicide by having placed poison inside his cup. Staggering back from finding the hero "riveted in death," the narrator's hand falls "upon a cracked and blackened goblet," the evidence proving how his host had died. At that moment, a servant of the marchesa's household "burst into the room, and . . . in a voice choking with emotion," cried out, "My mistress!—my mistress!—poisoned! Oh beautiful—oh beautiful Aphrodite!" Thus, the two lovers, one near the marchesa's portrait, the marchesa in her husband's palazzo, have committed suicide together.

Poe submitted six short stories to a competition held in the autumn of 1833 by the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* [*sic*], and later he noted that "The Visionary" was one of them.[24] In 1834 Poe first published the text of this story anonymously in [Godey's] *Lady's Book*, and in the following year, he released a slightly revised and still anonymous version in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, a journal in Richmond of

which he soon became editor. In 1840 he issued it yet again in his book *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, with minor changes, but this time under his own name. Finally, in 1845, he published it for the last time during his life, but now with a new title, "The Assignation," which is the one used ever since.[25] Poe died in 1849 at age forty.

For our purposes, one of the most interesting details, present in all versions, is that of the "two large Etruscan vases, fashioned in the same extraordinary model as that in the foreground of the portrait."[26] It is possible that Poe was referring to the very objects likely known to him from his foster father's household.[27] Furthermore, in the version published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Poe made a change that connects the Valentine vases with his story even more clearly: the marchesa's name is switched from Bianca (in the *Lady's Book*) to Aphrodite. This alteration links the heroine to the decoration of Side A of the volute-krater, where perhaps the most eye-catching feature is the nude figure of Aphrodite driving the griffin and lion chariot.

The relationship between Poe's story and the Valentine vases depends in part on the dates of the classicizing pots by the Giustiniani firm in Naples, and in part on the probable date when they might have been acquired by John Allan. The two pots could have been made between 1815, when the Bourbon court returned from exile in Sicily and Biagio Giustiniani took over his father's firm, and 1840.[28] When would John Allan have acquired the vases, and how do we know they had been made by the Giustiniani firm in time for Allan to have bought them, and for Poe to have included them in his story, first published as "The Visionary" in 1834?

Allan took his family to Britain in 1815 (when Poe was six years old), in order to open an English branch of the Richmond firm of Ellis and Allan, merchants. Unfortunately for him and Ellis, in 1816 England went through its post-Napoleonic financial crisis, and after a promising start, the English venture failed; Allan and his family returned to Richmond in 1820. Assuming that the Giustiniani pots were made in the late teens or 1820, a reasonable date for their manufacture, then John Allan may have acquired them in England before his departure and had them shipped home. All of this assumes that a dealer or traveler on the Grand Tour had meanwhile sent the vases from Naples to England, a likelihood supported by the fact that transport from Naples to England was made possible in 1816 by a shipping treaty with the Neapolitan court that was much to England's advantage.[29] On the other hand, Allan continued to run his tobacco-export business with the United Kingdom, and could have received the vases through his British contacts at a later date. A further possibility is that Allan acquired them as part of the European furnishings he purchased to fill his substantial house, Moldavia, which he bought when he came into a large inheritance in 1825.[30]

A potential difficulty in this explanation is that the two vases in question may not have been brought to Virginia by Allan after all, but rather by his relative through marriage: Edward Virginius Valentine (1838–1930), brother of Mann S. Valentine, the founder of the Valentine Museum. He was a sculptor from Richmond who traveled to Paris, Florence, and Rome. In May 1861, according to his passport, he was in Naples, at that time a lawless place because of the merging of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies into the Kingdom of Italy only two months earlier. His stay in Naples was certainly short, for he was in Berlin by June of that year. He studied in Berlin with the noted sculptor August Kiss until the latter's death in 1865, and then left for Virginia, thus escaping the Civil War and the burning of Richmond at its conclusion. During that disaster, the Valentine collection and Edward's studio were located in a section of the city that remained untouched. After he returned, Valentine became a distinguished sculptor and created fine statues of Robert E. Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and many others, as well as classicizing works such as *Andromache and Astyanax*. He was the first president of the Valentine Museum and bequeathed his own substantial collection of sculpture and plaster casts to that institution. Although it is possible that he acquired the two Giustiniani vases in Europe, in which case Poe could not have known them, this is a highly unlikely scenario. Furthermore, an examination of several hundred expense receipts from Europe, as well as the remnants of the diaries of Edward V. Valentine, produces no support for that assumption.[31]

Mann S. Valentine died in 1892, and the museum was organized between 1894 and 1898. The codicil to his will states, "Many years of the life of my father and my brothers and my sons and myself have been devoted to securing and accumulating objects of archaeology and anthropology with a view and purpose of making them valuable to my state and city, and in order to preserve them . . . I desire to establish . . . an institute to be called the Valentine Museum."[32] Despite the uncertainty, oral history—via word of mouth through the curators at the Valentine Museum—claims that the two vases came from John Allan's house. We suggest that the greatest likelihood is that Allan owned the vases and displayed them at his home, Moldavia, while Poe lived there shortly after 1825, and that they later served as inspiration for Poe's early romantic story, "The Visionary." This proposal adds a new dimension to the cultural history of Giustiniani's pottery manufacture, and brings two fine Neapolitan copies of "Etruscan" vases, of the sort seen in the Metropolitan Museum, into the orbit of one of the greatest American poets and storytellers.

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NOTES

1. Poe 1834, p. 43.
2. See Mertens 2010, pp. 156–59.
3. British Museum GR 1772.3-20.14 (Figure 3) and F 282. See Jenkins and Sloan 1996, pp. 108–10; and Ramage 1990.
4. On Greek pots thought to be Etruscan vases, see most recently Ramage 2011a.
5. Quinn 1998, pp. 65, 80.
6. On the dating of this publication, see Ramage 1991, p. 35.
7. The volute-krater shows a fair bit of clumsy inpainting on the shoulders of the vase and on the upper right sides of the body of Sides A and B, all applied during the restoration in 1959.
8. Reed 1973, p. 168, fig. 1.
9. Trendall 1967, p. 546, no. 845. The original seems to have been Campanian by the Painter of BM F229 in the Rhomboid Group; letter from A. D. Trendall to R. D. Cromey, January 8, 1976. Trendall added, "The original could not have been a volute-krater, since this shape is not found in Campania, but was more probably one of the large calyx-kraters popular in this group." For the most recent publication on such vases, see Nava et al. 2009.
10. At least three fragments from this pot survived the sinking of Admiral Nelson's ship the *Colossus* in 1798. Smallwood and Woodford 2003, pp. 100–101, item 89, color pl. G, and pl. 66. Both Sides A and B of the Tischbein sources are illustrated in Reinach 1899–1900, vol. 2, p. 314.
11. Italinski labored under the curious idea that "Etruscan" pots would contain scenes from Roman history and myths, and thus mangles many of his explanations for scenes on Hamilton's pots. He also explained other images by referring to the Greek "mystery" cults. For Diana Egeria, a Roman rather than a Greek goddess, see Green 2007.
12. The handles of the chalice were reattached, but this vase has no other restoration or inpainting.
13. Beazley and Magi 1939, p. 93, pl. 35, and Beazley 1956, pp. 230–31. This type of kantharos is also related to Hellenistic Attic kantharoi, dated 290–270 B.C. See Rotroff 1997, pp. 89–90, nos. 94–100, fig. 9 and pl. 10. We are grateful to Joan R. Mertens for bringing these pots to our attention.
14. Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe 1930, pp. 247–48, no. 529, pl. 89 (dated to the third century B.C.).
15. Beazley 1956, p. 477.
16. For a volute-krater by Wedgwood, see Young 1995, pp. 59–60, no. C6. See also Zeitlin 1968, pp. 147–51. For Sèvres, see Roberts 1989 and Préaud et al. 1997, pp. 347–48, nos. 138a, b. For the Ipsen factory, see Jørgensen and Holst 2001, p. 62, and Christiansen and Nielsen 2000, pp. 162–63. For an overview, see Ramage 2011b.
17. We are grateful to Paul Lewis, independent researcher, who first suggested this possibility to us, and to Carlo Knight, Neapolitan scholar, for further enlightenment on the identification. On the Giustiniani firm, see Rotili 1981. See also Haggar 1960, p. 208, and *Continental Furniture, Tapestries, Works of Art, Ceramics, & Carpets,* sale cat., Christie's, New York, September 29, 1999, sale 9214, lots 342ff. This family of potters and decorators had already flourished in the early eighteenth century in a pottery located in Cerreto (Benevento); see Vigliotti 1973.
18. Similar work was done by the Neapolitan firm of del Vecchio, although no parallels as close as those for Giustiniani were found among their signed works. It is worth noting that Gaetano del Vecchio took over the family firm at least by 1818, and some of his pots bear a strong resemblance to the Valentine chalice. For del Vecchio, see Donatone 1991, pp. 93–100. Several vases by Giustiniani and del Vecchio were auctioned by Christie's, New York, on April 19, 2012 (sale 2545, lots 350ff.). Our thanks to James David Draper, Henry R. Kravis Curator, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum, for alerting us to the sale, and again, we are grateful to Carlo Knight for leading us to the del Vecchio manufactory.
19. See Rotili 1981, pl. 11, and Caròla-Perrotti, Donatone, and Ruju 1984, fig. 64.
20. Rotili 1981, pl. 14.
21. Poe 1840, p. 209.
22. Ibid., p. 210.
23. Ibid.
24. *Southern Literary Messenger*, August 1835. See French 1918. See also Fisher 1986 and Mabbott 2000, pp. 148–69, for a good analysis of the publication of this work.
25. Published in *Broadway Journal* of June 7, 1845, when Poe was editor and part owner of this short-lived magazine. The new title, "The Assignation," was kept by the editors for the publication *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe* (Willis, Lowell, and Griswold 1850).
26. The use of the term "Etruscan" must be purposeful here. Poe explains his own use of such objects in an anonymous review praising his edition of *Tales* (1845), in which he explains "Mr. Poe's" use of detail. From *The Aristidean*, October 1845; full text, Thompson 1984, pp. 871, 873.
27. In a letter of the Christmas season in 1831, when Poe was a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point, Allan permanently banished him from his house, cut off his funds, and forbade all further contact. In addition to the long-standing hostility between the two, the immediate cause of the rift may have been Poe's probable use for his own purposes of a sum of money—"a bounty"—from Allan that was meant to pay a "substitute" who had been hired to complete Poe's term of service in the army. Furthermore, Poe had written the substitute, suggesting that Allan probably didn't pay him because of his perpetual drunkenness . . . a letter that the substitute had forwarded to Allan. In 1834 Poe paid a visit to the dying Allan, who drove him out of the house. Allan died on March 7, 1834, without mentioning Poe in his will. Ostrom, Pollin, and Savoye 2008, vol. 1, pp. 61ff.
28. For the dates of manufacture, see Caròla-Perrotti, Donatone, and Ruju 1984.
29. In 1816 England signed a new Most Favored Nation trade treaty ("il privilegio di bandiera") with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The treaty was not reciprocal for Naples, and imports into England, on English ships, increased apace. On the treaty and nature of English imports from the kingdom in 1816, see Pontieri 1961, pp. 282–87, 292–95, and Pelliccio 2004, pp. 80, 84–86; on England's advantages, see Solimene 1840, pp. 10–17, the complete text of the 1816 treaty in Italian.
30. The relative was William Galt, whose will, and the will and codicils of John Allan, are published in Allen 1934, pp. 687–91.

31. His sales slips indicate that he mostly bought books and a few figurines, all of which would have had to be shipped to Richmond, which was already under threat of the disaster that eventually befell it.
32. Valentine n.d. [ca. 1922], p. 2354.

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Corrado Giaquinto's *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson* and Other Modelli for the Palacio Real of Madrid

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The small canvas of *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson* by Corrado Giaquinto (1703–1766), acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2011, is a significant addition to the artist's Spanish oeuvre (Figure 1).[1] The period that Giaquinto, originally from Italy, spent in Spain has received little attention in the art historical literature in recent times. This article looks broadly at the painter's time in that country and sheds new light in particular on his links to tapestry production at the Bourbon court. The Metropolitan's *Medea* is a key work from this phase of Giaquinto's career and should be understood within the larger context of his many projects for the Spanish royal court.

With the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty and the ascent to the throne in 1700 of the duc d'Anjou as Philip V (r. 1700–1746), the arts flourished in Spain. Philip was succeeded consecutively by his children Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–59) and Charles III (r. 1759–88), the two Spanish kings for whom Giaquinto worked (Figure 2). Their respective queens—Barbara of Braganza (1711–1758) and Maria Amalia of Saxony (1724–1760)—were also interested in the visual arts, as was Philip V's widow, the queen mother Elisabetta Farnese (1692–1766), who was still a forceful presence during the reigns of both Ferdinand and Charles. The second half of the eighteenth century in Madrid witnessed substantial architectural work on the royal residences, starting with the building of the new Palacio Real, begun following designs by Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736) for Philip V in 1738. Construction on the royal palace continued under both Ferdinand and Charles, and each king chose a main architect, Giovanni Battista Sacchetti (1690–1764) and Francesco Sabatini (1721–1797), respectively. At the same time, the new palace of Riofrío near Segovia was also being built, and the already existing residences of the Buen Retiro, Pardo, El Escorial, La Granja de San Ildefonso, and Aranjuez, all in or near Madrid, were refashioned. Under the Bourbons two new artistic institutions were created. In 1720, Jan van der Goten (Flemish, 1642–1724) was brought from Antwerp to set up the new tapestry factory in Madrid, the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara, which followed the model of the French Gobelins; and in 1744, the king founded an art academy, which later developed into the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. It was in this context—and in a period of particularly active artistic and architectural patronage in Madrid—that the Bourbon kings called to the city a series of Italian painters, including Jacopo Amigoni (1682–1752), Giaquinto, and subsequently Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770).

Giaquinto's move to Spain followed a considerable thirty-year career as a painter in Italy. Born in 1703 in the southern city of Molfetta, in Puglia, he studied with a minor painter from his hometown, Saverio Porto, before traveling in March 1721 to Naples, where he further trained in the studio of Nicola Maria Rossi (1690–1758), a disciple of Francesco Solimena (1657–1747).[2] By March 1727, Giaquinto had moved to Rome, and in 1733, he painted his first major fresco cycle in the Church of San Nicola dei Lorenesi. During brief visits to Turin between 1733 and 1735, Giaquinto produced frescoes for the Villa della Regina and for the chapel of Saint Joseph in the Church of Santa Teresa, along with a series of six canvases depicting the stories of Aeneas (now in the Quirinal Palace in Rome). During the 1740s the painter lived and worked in Rome; in 1740 he joined the Accademia di San Luca and worked on the decoration of churches such as San Giovanni Calibita (ca. 1741–42), San Lorenzo in Damaso (1743), and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (ca. 1744). Giaquinto also trained Spanish students in Rome, including Antonio González Velázquez (1723–1793), with whom he worked on a commission from Ferdinand VI of Spain to decorate the Church of the Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli in Rome in 1750.

After the death of Amigoni on August 22, 1752, Giaquinto was invited by King Ferdinand VI to travel to Spain; he left

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1. Corrado Giaquinto (Italian, 1703–1766). *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 29 × 21½ in. (73.7 × 54.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, University Place Foundation Gift, 2011 (2011.82)

2. Louis-Michel van Loo (French, 1707–1771). *The Family of Philip V*, 1743. Oil on canvas, 160⅝ × 204¾ in. (408 × 520 cm). The future Ferdinand VI is the third figure from the left; the future Charles III is portrayed at the far right. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. P02283). Photograph: Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Rome in April 1753 and arrived in Madrid in June. Amigoni had been the king's painter in Spain for five years (1747–52), and Giaquinto journeyed to Madrid to assume his place at court. In deciding to summon Giaquinto to Madrid, Ferdinand must have considered the artist's successful commissions from the Church and the aristocracy in Naples, Turin, and Rome as well as the work at Santissima Trinità. The secretary of state, José de Carvajal y Lancáster, and the Spanish ambassador in Naples, Alfonso Clemente de Aróstegui, were two key people who influenced the king's choice. Since 1737, the castrato Carlo Broschi (1705–1782), known as Farinelli, had been a celebrated resident at court, as both Philip V and his son Ferdinand were particularly fond of music, and Farinelli may also have been instrumental in Giaquinto's move to Spain. Soon after his move to Madrid, the painter portrayed the castrato in a magnificent canvas in which the singer was presented together with a self-portrait of the artist and a medallion displaying effigies of Ferdinand and Barbara of Braganza (Figure 3). The art of Giaquinto and the music of Farinelli were defining features of the Madrid art world under Ferdinand.

As soon as Giaquinto arrived, he was provided with lodgings in a house on Calle del Tesoro, near the Palacio Real,

3. Corrado Giaquinto. *Portrait of Carlo Broschi, Known as Farinelli*, ca. 1753. Oil on canvas, 108½ × 73 in. (275.5 × 185.5 cm). Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna

4. Corrado Giaquinto. *Triumph of Joseph*, ca. 1754–58. Oil on canvas, 126⅜ × 128 in. (321 × 325 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Aranjuez, Sala de Conversación (now Comedor de Gala). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

5. Corrado Giaquinto. *Spain Rendering Homage to Religion and the Catholic Church*, ca. 1755. Fresco. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real, Madrid, Staircase. Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

where Amigoni had previously lived and which was still decorated with the furniture that had belonged to another painter, Louis-Michel van Loo (1707–1771).[3] Official appointments soon followed: on December 7, 1753, he was made "primer pintor de cámara" (First Painter) with a salary of 8,000 pesos per year, and the following day the king nominated him director of the Academia de San Fernando, a year after the institution had received its royal charter.[4] The painter became its first director, supported in his role by Giovanni Domenico Olivieri (1708–1762) for sculpture and Sacchetti for architecture.

Palace decoration was of primary importance for the royal family in this period. Early in his tenure, Giaquinto was commissioned to restore the frescoes by Luca Giordano (1634–1705) in the Casón del Buen Retiro. While most of Giaquinto's Spanish works are difficult to date exactly, it seems possible that his first independent work was the series of seven canvases painted between 1754 and 1758 for the Sala de Conversación (now the Comedor de Gala) at the palace in Aranjuez, which completed a project started by Amigoni before his death.[5] Four illustrate biblical stories from the life of Joseph (Figure 4), and three were allegorical subjects. For his royal patrons, Giaquinto produced other

religious paintings, including the two cycles of small canvases with the Passion of Christ for the oratories of Ferdinand and of Barbara of Braganza (Oratorio del Rey and Oratorio de la Reina) at the Buen Retiro, and the altarpiece of *Saints Francis de Sales and Jeanne de Chantal*, completed in October 1757 for the royal church of Las Salesas. Most of Giaquinto's work, however, focused on the new Palacio Real.[6] Originally designed by Juvarra, the palace was begun in 1738 under the supervision of his pupil Sacchetti, who had taken over after the former's death in 1736. Giaquinto arrived at a crucial point during construction and worked in three major spaces: the Royal Staircase, Royal Chapel, and Hall of Columns. The decoration was regulated by a specific iconographic program, devised from 1747 to 1757 by the Benedictine monk Martín Sarmiento, and Giaquinto followed Sarmiento's plans for both the staircase and chapel. Sacchetti and Giaquinto collaborated on many of the decorative choices for the building; the division of labor between First Architect and First Painter seems to have been fluid on many occasions. For example, when Giaquinto frescoed the staircase and chapel, he also designed the stuccowork that framed it. On the ceiling of the main staircase—originally intended as a grand double staircase—the artist painted *Spain Rendering Homage to Religion and the Catholic Church* (Figure 5), accompanied by four allegorical figures, depicted as cutouts below the vault, the *modelli* for which also survive: *Peace* (Figure 6), *Magnanimity* (Figure 7), *Liberality* (Figure 8), and *Public Happiness* (Figure 9), and two ovals with *Urania* (Figure 10) and *Security* (Figure 11). In the chapel, he decorated the dome with the *Coronation of the Virgin*; the four pendentives with *Saints Leander* (Figure 12), *Isidore the Laborer* (Figure 13), *Hermenegild* (Figure 14), and *Mary of the Head* (Figure 15); and the three vaults above the entrance, presbytery, and choir. Work on the dome had started in 1754, but most of the decoration took place between 1757 and 1758 and was completed in 1759.[7]

Six years after his arrival in Madrid and while at work on the colossal enterprise of the Palacio Real, Giaquinto suffered the most serious crisis during his time in Spain. In 1759, Ferdinand VI died and was succeeded by his half brother Charles III. On December 3, 1759, Giaquinto wrote to Charles's Neapolitan architect, Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773), complaining: "I had to outdo all my reasonable limits, I had to act as an architect, decorator, and more; this is how I live here." He added in a concerned, if somewhat resigned, tone: "all that is left now is that I await this new monarch, as one says, new patron new law."[8] As soon as the new king arrived from Naples in January 1760, he introduced modifications for the palace, and Sacchetti was replaced as royal architect by another Italian, Francesco Sabatini, Vanvitelli's son-in-law. It became immediately clear that Charles and Sabatini had ideas for the Palacio Real very different from those of Ferdinand and Sacchetti, and many plans were

6. Corrado Giaquinto. *Peace*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 29⅛ × 20⅞ in. (74 × 53 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032932). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

7. Corrado Giaquinto. *Magnanimity*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 20⅞ in. (73 × 53 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032929). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

8. Corrado Giaquinto. *Liberality*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 21⅛ in. (73 × 53.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032931). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

9. Corrado Giaquinto. *Public Happiness*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 28¾ × 21⅛ in. (73 × 53.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032934). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

radically altered.[9] Sabatini resented Giaquinto's interference with the stuccowork, and as the paintings for the staircase and chapel ceilings were finished, Sabatini made sure that Giaquinto would not be involved with the architecture and the decoration of the second staircase (now the Hall of Columns). In 1760, Sabatini wrote to the king in no uncertain terms: "I feel it is right that everyone should take care of their part, that is Don Corrado of painting, and I of architecture."[10] Giaquinto decorated what was to become the new main staircase before it was transformed into the Hall of Columns, with a ceiling that featured the *Triumph of Apollo and Bacchus*. After two years under the new regime, he felt undervalued and asked Charles for a leave of absence. As Giaquinto stated he was ill and needed to take the baths in Italy, he was granted six months to return to Naples; in February 1762, he left Spain, never to return. By October the king had granted him permission to remain in Naples, and Charles was free to employ two painters whom he had called to Madrid and whose work hewed closer to his taste, notwithstanding their very different artistic styles: Giovanni Battista Tiepolo and Anton Raphael Mengs (German, 1728–1779).[11] Giaquinto died in Naples four years later, in 1766.

During his decade in Spain, Giaquinto was also involved in the creation and production of tapestries. These activities are still somewhat unclear despite recent important studies on the subject.[12] Philip V had created the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara under Van der Goten in 1720, and after the Flemish tapestry master died in 1724, his children (Francis, Jacob, Cornelis, and Adrian) took over.[13] While the Van der Goten family ran the factory and produced the tapestries, the *pintores de cámara* provided the designs for them. In spite of his long involvement with the Real Fábrica, Giaquinto is only documented as supervising the cartoons for tapestries after designs by other artists (Giordano and Solimena), and when tapestries were based on his canvases, they replicate paintings that were not initially meant for that purpose. The first established contact between Giaquinto and the Real Fábrica dates to November 7, 1755, when he was asked to choose from a series of paintings by David Teniers the Younger (Flemish, 1610–1690) so that tapestries could be made after their designs.[14] Under Ferdinand VI and after 1756, Giaquinto created tapestry cartoons based on paintings by Giordano, possibly his stories of David and Solomon, which were destined for the Besamanos de la Reina, a room in the queen's apartments (Cuarto de la Reina) that is now part of the dining room (Comedor de Gala).[15] With the death of Charles III's wife, Maria Amalia, soon after they had moved to Madrid in 1760, these apartments were occupied by the queen mother, Elisabetta Farnese. Under the new king, Giaquinto was put in charge of the designs for the Real Fábrica on May 11, 1760. In the following years he was involved with three sets of designs, including a series on Solomon using Giordano paintings and another with scenes from the lives of David and Solomon after works by Giordano and Solimena; about the time of Giaquinto's

10. Right: Corrado Giaquinto. *Urania*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 22⅛ × 16½ in. (56 × 42 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio de la Zarzuela (inv. 10055544). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

11. Far right: Corrado Giaquinto. *Security*, ca. 1755. Oil on canvas, 22⅛ × 16⅜ in. (56 × 41.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio de la Zarzuela (inv. 10055545). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

12. Far left: Corrado Giaquinto. *Saint Leander*, ca. 1757–58. Oil on canvas, 32⅞ × 21⅞ in. (83.5 × 55.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032894). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

13. Left: Corrado Giaquinto. *Saint Isidore the Laborer*, ca. 1757–58. Oil on canvas, 32⅞ × 21⅞ in. (83.5 × 55.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032897). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

14. Far left: Corrado Giaquinto. *Saint Hermenegild*, ca. 1757–58. Oil on canvas, 32⅞ × 21⅝ in. (83.6 × 55 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032895). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

15. Left: Corrado Giaquinto. *Saint Mary of the Head*, ca. 1757–58. Oil on canvas, 32⅞ × 21⅞ in. (83.5 × 55.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032896). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

16. Corrado Giaquinto. *Allegory of Wisdom*, 1762. Oil on canvas, 145⅝ × 73¼ in. (370 × 186 cm). Reggia, Caserta, Italy

departure for Naples, his pupil José del Castillo (1737–1793) produced a group of cartoons based on Giaquinto's Joseph canvases at Aranjuez.[16]

The idea to produce tapestries to decorate the Palacio Real had been suggested by Sarmiento. On September 23, 1752, he proposed a set of fifty-one tapestries representing historical events and the deeds of Philip V and Ferdinand VI for the eighteen rooms in the south and west wings.[17] As far as we know, Giaquinto was never directly involved, and the tapestry scheme does not seem to have developed any further than Sarmiento's program. After Giaquinto's return to Naples in 1762, he was commissioned to produce a large cartoon to his own design for the *Allegory of Wisdom* (Royal Palace of Caserta; Figure 16), part of a series of tapestries representing the conjugal virtues, woven by Pietro Duranti (1710–1789) between 1763 and 1767.[18] Intended for the bedroom of Ferdinand IV (r. 1759–1825), son of Charles III, in the Palazzo Reale of Naples, the tapestries were designed by various artists, including Giaquinto, Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), Stefano Pozzi (1699–1768), Giuseppe Bonito (1707–1789), and Francesco De Mura (1696–1782).

Research on paintings relating to Giaquinto's design of tapestries in Spain provides new and significant evidence of his activity for the Real Fábrica. The back of the original canvas of *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson*, the work recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, is inscribed "Arazzi/Medea/CG" (Figure 17).[19] The first word, *arazzi* ("tapestries" in Italian), reveals the work's purpose, and the rest of the text establishes the subject, Medea, and identifies the work as Giaquinto's via his initials. Two other paintings, now in the Casita del Príncipe at El Escorial palace, have similar inscriptions. The first clearly represents *Venus and Adonis* (Figure 18) and is inscribed "Arazzi/Venere/CG" (Figure 20).[20] The second is generally described as *Apollo and Daphne* though it appears in early inventories as *Pan and Syrinx* (Figure 19).[21] Its inscription, "Arazzi/Aretusa/CG," however, clearly identifies the scene as *Alpheus and Arethusa* (Figure 21).[22] Four other paintings by Giaquinto in the Casita also have matching inscriptions: *Peace* with "Scala/Pace/CG" (Figure 22); *Magnanimity*, "Scala/Magnanimita/CG" (Figure 23); *Liberality*, "Scala la Liberalita/CG" (Figure 24); and *Public Happiness*, "Scala/Felicita Publica/CG" (Figure 25).[23] These canvases are the *modelli* for the four allegorical figures on the ceiling of the Palacio Real staircase that Giaquinto decorated under Ferdinand VI. On each side of the staircase are two oval frescoes, *Urania* and *Security*, whose *modelli* are in the Palacio de la Zarzuela (Figures 10, 11).[24] Both have inscriptions: "Scala/Urania/CG" (Figure 26) and "Scala/Sicurezza/CG" (Figure 27). Thus, all six *modelli* for the staircase had their destination ("scala") and subject matter identified on the back above Giaquinto's initials. Research for this article has uncovered

17. Back of Figure 1

18. Corrado Giaquinto. *Venus and Adonis*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 35⅜ × 19¾ in. (90 × 50 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032933). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

19. Corrado Giaquinto. *Alpheus and Arethusa*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 35⅜ × 19¾ in. (90 × 50 cm). Patrimonio Nacional, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Casita del Príncipe (inv. 10032930). Photograph: © Patrimonio Nacional

four more similarly inscribed Giaquinto paintings that are also now at the Casita. They represent *Saint Hermenegild*, marked "Angoli/S. Ermenegildo/CG" (Figure 28); *Saint Leander of Seville*, "Angoli/S. Leandro/CG" (Figure 29); *Saint Isidore the Laborer*, "Angoli,/S. Isidoro,/CG" (Figure 30); and *Saint Mary of the Head*, "Angoli/S. Maria la Caves/sa/CG" (Figure 31).[25] The name of one saint, previously identified as Damasus, Ildephonsus, or Isidore of Seville, is now firmly established as Leander.[26] The inscriptions match the others and again note the location, in this case the pendentives ("angoli") of the chapel's dome.

These thirteen canvases are the only known paintings by Giaquinto with corresponding inscriptions. While more may exist, subsequent canvas linings may now conceal such notations. It is extraordinary that all thirteen *modelli* remain in their unlined state. As nothing similar survives for any of his Italian commissions, before or after his Spanish years, Giaquinto may have added these inscriptions, all in Italian, solely on the back of his Spanish works. However, it cannot be excluded that other paintings may have had similar markings. Ten of the thirteen canvases are related to the staircase and chapel, and it is therefore possible that the three remaining *modelli* for tapestries may have been intended for the palace or other residences. Except for *Medea*, all the *modelli* are documented as belonging to the Spanish royal collection.[27] In the inventory compiled in 1789–90 after the death of Charles III, *Venus and Adonis* and *Alpheus and Arethusa* are described as being in the apartments of the Infante don Pedro in the palace.[28] It also lists two *modelli* for the staircase (*Peace* and *Liberality*) in the same apartments, and the four for the chapel pendentives in the sacristy.[29] This group was later moved to the Escorial, and the staircase paintings first appear in an unpublished manuscript inventory of the Casita del Príncipe in 1824.[30] When the *Medea* was first published in 1977, it was in a private collection in Rodilana, near Valladolid.[31] It is therefore impossible to ascertain if the painting was ever in the royal collection and, if so, how it reached Rodilana in the twentieth century.

Three of the *modelli*—*Medea Rejuvenating Aeson*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Alpheus and Arethusa*—all likely belong to one tapestry series that was never executed. All three subjects derive from one of the best-known and most often used classical texts, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In book 7 (lines 162–293),

20. Back of Figure 18

21. Back of Figure 19

22. Back of Figure 6

23. Back of Figure 7

24. Back of Figure 8

25. Back of Figure 9

26. Back of Figure 10

27. Back of Figure 11

28. Back of Figure 14

29. Back of Figure 12

30. Back of Figure 13

31. Back of Figure 15

Ovid recounted the story of Medea restoring her father-in-law's youth.[32] Aeson was old and nearing death; his son, Medea's lover Jason, asked her if she could prolong his father's life with her magic and even professed willingness to give years of his own life in exchange. The sorceress Medea had previously abandoned and betrayed her own father, Aeëtes of Colchis, for Jason and had helped him steal the Golden Fleece from Aeëtes. She thought back to her father, and moved by this reflection, she agreed to help Aeson without a sacrifice on Jason's part. Ovid described Medea's magic ritual in detail. She waited for a full moon, and barefoot, with her hair loose, and wearing flowing robes, she walked out at midnight while "men, birds, and beasts were sunk in profound repose; there was no sound in the hedgerow; the leaves hung mute and motionless; the dewy air was still." Calling on the gods of the night and the moon above all, Medea flew over Thessaly in her dragon-drawn chariot to gather herbs for her potion for nine days and nine nights before returning home. She built two turf altars, "one on the right to Hecate and one on the left to Youth," and started performing her rite by sacrificing a black sheep and, while uttering her incantations, poured its blood into a ditch, together with honey and milk. Medea prayed to "the king of the shades with his stolen bride not to be in haste to rob the old man's body of the breath of life" and had Aeson's body brought to her. She made him fall asleep and "stretched him out on a bed of herbs," before sending Jason and all others away so that no one would witness her rites. Having lit candles at the altars, "thrice she purified the old man with fire, thrice with water, thrice with sulphur," while her potion, which included "hoar frost gathered under the full moon, the wings of the uncanny screech-owl with the flesh as well, and the entrails of a werewolf, . . . the scaly skin of a slender Cinyphian water-snake, the liver of a long-lived stag, to which she added also eggs and the head of a crow nine generations old," boiled next to her.

Following Ovid's text precisely, Giaquinto presents this moment in the painting. Two altars, one of which is surrounded by candles, are in front of Medea; the sacrificed black sheep burns on one altar, while Aeson sleeps over a pile of herbs and a magic circle on the ground. To the right is the cauldron, in which the potion is being prepared. It is the middle of the night, and three supernatural creatures have appeared above the altars. In the guise of a huntress and with a crescent on her forehead, the central figure is undoubtedly Diana, whom Medea has invoked as the moon. The male god to the right should be identified as Neptune because of his trident; however, with no reason for him to be present at this event, it is possible that Giaquinto intended him to be Pluto, the "king of the shades," who is usually shown with a two-pronged instrument. The woman to the left may be "his stolen bride," Persephone, or possibly Hecate, to whom one altar was dedicated. The deer next to her is an unusual attribute for either Persephone or Hecate and may be another reference to Diana. The most dramatic moment in the story is about to occur. Medea proceeded to cut the sleeping Aeson's throat, letting all of his blood flow out, and replace it with her potion. As soon as this happened, "his beard and hair lost their hoary grey and quickly became black again; his leanness vanished, away went the pallor and the look of neglect, the deep wrinkles were filled out with new flesh, his limbs had the strength of youth," and he looked forty years younger.

32. Antonio Tempesta (Italian, 1555–1630). *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson*, 1606. Etching, 4 1/8 × 4 3/4 in. (10.5 × 12 cm). From *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Ovid 1606, pl. 64). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of S. P. Jones, 1935 (35.6[65])

This scene is often confused with another episode in Medea's story that Ovid also narrated. Moved by the miraculous rejuvenation of Aeson, the daughters of King Pelias asked Medea to perform a similar rite on their father. To avenge Aeson and Jason, whose throne Pelias had usurped, Medea began her ceremony, but after cutting Pelias's throat she fled, killing him and leaving his daughters to weep for their father.[33] In two other accounts of Jason and Medea's story—*The Library* of Apollodorus (1.9.27) and *The Library of History* by Diodorus Siculos (4.50.2–52.3)—Pelias was killed in this manner, but Aeson had committed suicide before Jason's return from Colchis with Medea and the Golden Fleece.

The death of Pelias is often depicted in illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*, the rejuvenation of Aeson less so. The iconography of Medea and Aeson was rare in antiquity. Starting in the Middle Ages, the event connected magic with the origin of medicine, and in the *Ovide moralisé*, the fourteenth-century French translation, the story was seen as a metaphor for man leaving his sins behind.[34] Woodcuts showing Medea and Aeson appear in an edition published by Johannes Steinman in Leipzig in 1582 and in the more famous one illustrated by Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) and published in Amsterdam in 1606 (Figure 32). Giaquinto probably knew the Tempesta woodcut; the square altar surrounded by tall tapers is similar, as is Aeson's recumbent

33. Bartolomeo Guidobono (Italian, 1654–1709). *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson*, ca. 1690. Oil on canvas, 61¼ × 73¼ in. (155.5 × 186 cm). Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University (1980.200)

34. Corrado Giaquinto. *Medea*, 1732–33. Oil on canvas, 18⅞ × 25¼ in. (48 × 64 cm). Collection of Marchese Giulio de Luca di Melpignano, Molfetta, Italy

body over the magic circle. In the sixteenth century, Benedetto Caliari (1538–1598; Paolo Veronese's brother) frescoed this subject in chiaroscuro in the courtyard of Ca' Mocenigo in Venice, and a canvas attributed to Orlando Flacco (ca. 1530–ca. 1592) in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona shows the story.[35] Guercino (1591–1666) drew the subject, and Bartolomeo Guidobono (1654–1709) painted it twice about 1700, in canvases now in a private collection and at the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University (Figure 33).[36] Giaquinto himself painted the subject of Medea on several occasions. As early as 1732–33, the painter produced a series of twelve canvases with mythological subjects—now in the collection of Marchese Giulio de Luca in Molfetta—one of which depicts Medea (Figure 34).[37] An early 1750s half-length of a sorceress in the Pinacoteca Civica, Montefortino, has been variously identified as Circe, Armida, and a generic sibyl, but may be another representation of Medea (Figure 35).[38] A full-length canvas of the same figure by Giaquinto was exhibited at Colnaghi's in May–June 1961.[39]

The three subjects for the tapestry *modelli*—*Medea*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Alpheus and Arethusa*—suggest that they may have been part of a series from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is likely that more *modelli* existed, and if so, have not yet been identified. The extent and purpose of this series as well as why it was not executed remain open to speculation. A canvas with the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (Figure 36) in the Museo del Prado in Madrid is similar in style and facture to *Medea*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Alpheus and Arethusa* and could be a fourth *modello* for the tapestry series. Its height is similar to that of *Medea*, but the canvas is substantially wider; however, the difference in format would not be unusual in a tapestry series. The painting has been relined, and if an inscription once appeared on its back, it is no longer visible. The sacrifice of Iphigenia, like the three other subjects, is also described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The inscriptions matching the ones on the staircase and chapel *modelli* make it likely that the commission was related to a royal residence and most likely the Palacio Real itself. Royal patronage is also probably the reason why the project was left unfinished and why the tapestries were never made. While working for the Real Fábrica de Tapices, Giaquinto was paid a regular salary: no documentary evidence survives with regard to his specific work on individual tapestry projects, making it impossible to determine precisely if the Ovid series and the three *modelli* were conceived under Ferdinand or Charles. Both the staircase and chapel were decorated under Ferdinand VI, a fact that would strengthen the idea that the Ovid tapestries *modelli* were painted between 1753 and 1759 for the king. All three paintings, with their delicately orchestrated rhythm and staged compositions, seem appropriate for an opera lover like Ferdinand. *Medea* in particular displays an exceptionally operatic visual approach,

35. Corrado Giaquinto. *Medea*, ca. 1750. Oil on canvas, 25¼ × 19¼ in. (64 × 49 cm). Pinacoteca Civica, Montefortino, Italy

reminding the viewer of fashionable performances of the time, those written by Pietro Metastasio above all. Ferdinand's death in 1759 could be the reason why the project was left unfinished. However, Charles III could have commissioned the tapestries, which would date the *modelli* to 1760–63. The new king was especially fond of mythological subjects, and while Giaquinto's ceiling for Ferdinand's staircase depicted *Spain Rendering Homage to Religion and the Catholic Church*, his ceiling for Charles's staircase represented the *Triumph of Apollo and Bacchus*. A painting by Luis Paret (1746–1799) from about 1775 shows Charles III having lunch in the royal palace (Figure 37). The specific room has never been identified and is likely an imagined setting; behind the king and the courtiers are walls entirely decorated with tapestries that do not correspond to any known series. Their compositions are particularly Giaquintoesque in style, and the painting suggests what the Ovid series may have looked like if it had been completed and translated into tapestry form. If Charles were the patron, Giaquinto's departure to Naples and the arrival of Mengs and Tiepolo may well explain why the project was abandoned. A third possibility is that the tapestry group, with its focus on the female figures of Medea, Venus, Arethusa, and possibly Iphigenia, may have been intended for the apartments of one of the queens. As Maria Amalia died soon after her arrival in Madrid in 1760, it is unlikely, if not impossible, that they were conceived for her. Giaquinto may have designed the

36. Corrado Giaquinto. *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 29½ × 48⅜ in. (75 × 123 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. 105). Photograph: Museo Nacional del Prado

37. Luis Paret y Alcázar (Spanish, 1746–1799). *Charles III Dining at Court*, ca. 1775. Oil on canvas, 19¾ × 25¼ in. (50 × 64 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. P02422). Photograph: Museo Nacional del Prado

series for either Barbara of Braganza before her death in 1758 or even the queen mother, Elisabetta Farnese.

It is apparent, however, that this must have been an important royal commission during Giaquinto's Spanish decade. *Medea Rejuvenating Aeson* is one of the few *modelli* by the artist relating to a Spanish commission, currently in a museum outside Spain. All others remain in the royal collection and are displayed in two royal residences. The discovery of thirteen matching inscriptions on the backs of Giaquinto's *modelli* at El Escorial, Zarzuela Palace, and the Metropolitan is fascinating, and more may be found. It would be interesting to determine if this was a standard practice in Giaquinto's workshop in Italy and Spain, or if these captions appear only on *modelli* relating to the Palacio Real. Even though the tapestry series was never completed, the New York *Medea* and its two companions at the Casita del Príncipe exemplify Giaquinto's art in Spain and bear witnesses to the splendor of the mid-eighteenth-century Bourbon court in Madrid. Art historian and critic Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez praised Giaquinto's sketches in his *Diccionario histórico* of 1800; he extolled the painter's skill and subtlety in color and concluded referring to his frescoes—but this is true of his *modelli* and of the *Medea* in particular—that they "illustrate a creative genius, and extraordinary spirit, and a new and admirable taste."[40]

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NOTES

1. For the arts in Spain in the eighteenth century, see *L'Art européen à la cour d'Espagne* 1979; Mulvey 1981; Bottineau 1986; Helston 1989; and Kasl and Stratton 1997.
2. For Giaquinto's career in Italy, see De Dominici 1745, pp. 722–23; D'Orsi 1958; Olsen and Amato 1971; Amato 1981; *Giaquinto: Capolavori* 1993; Amato 2002; and Scolaro 2005.
3. For Giaquinto in Spain, see García Sáseta 1971; Pérez Sánchez 1971; Cioffi 1984, pp. 434–40; Cioffi 1992; Pérez Sánchez 2005; and *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006.
4. Urrea 2006, especially p. 42.
5. For the most up-to-date chronology of Giaquinto in Spain and for the known documentation on this period, see *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, pp. 94–104.
6. The most complete study of Giaquinto's work in the Palacio Real is Cioffi 1992.
7. Ibid., pp. 120–37.
8. "Qui mi è convenuto oltra passare i miei giusti limiti, havendo dovuto fare da Architetto, Ornamentista ed altro, etc, ecco qui come si vive . . . resta solo che io sto all'evento di esso Nuovo Monarca, como suole dire nuovo Padrone nuova Legge." Urrea Fernández 1977, p. 121.
9. For the Palacio Real and its decoration in this period, see Sancho 1991a, 1991b, 2004a, and 2004b.
10. "Poiche mi pare giusto che ciascheduno bada alla sua parte, cioè Dn. Corrado alla Pittura, ed io all'Architettura." Cioffi 1992, p. 361.
11. For Tiepolo, Mengs, and Charles III, see Whistler 1986 and Sancho 1997.
12. For Giaquinto and tapestry designs, see Göbel 1928, pp. 480–82; Held 1971; and especially Frutos Sastre 2006, pp. 57–73.
13. For the Fábrica, see Herrero Carretero 1993 and 2000.
14. Urrea 2006, p. 46.
15. Frutos Sastre 2006, pp. 58–60.
16. Ibid., pp. 61–69.
17. Cioffi 1992, pp. 112–13, 138–43.
18. Ibid., p. 357; Clark 1985, pp. 290–91, no. 262; and *Giaquinto: Capolavori* 1993, pp. 212–13, no. 47.
19. Urrea Fernández 1977, p. 142, mistakenly transcribes the text as "Giaqui/Medea/C.G."
20. *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, pp. 222–23, no. 58.
21. For the interpretation as Apollo and Daphne, see D'Orsi 1958, pp. 106, 110n5; and Urrea Fernández 1977, pp. 127–28. For Pan and Syrinx, see inventories in Fernández-Miranda 1988 and *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, pp. 224–25, no. 59. None of these sources seem to have known about the inscription on the back of the canvas.
22. The painting is correctly identified as *Alpheus and Arethusa* in Jordán de Urríes y de la Colina 2006, p. 50.
23. For the paintings, see *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, pp. 234–41, nos. 62–65. Pérez Sánchez correctly reports the inscription for *Peace*, but his transcriptions for *Liberality* and *Public Happiness* are partly incorrect, and he does not note an inscription behind *Magnanimity* even though there is one.
24. Ibid., pp. 242–45, nos. 66, 67.
25. For the paintings, see ibid., pp. 212–19, nos. 53–56. Pérez Sánchez does not mention any of the inscriptions, except for the one behind *Saint Leander*. They were discovered only when the present author asked the curator at El Escorial to check the back of these *modelli*. I thank Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón for her help in examining these canvases.
26. Even though the inscription (Figure 29) is mentioned in *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, p. 214, no. 54, the author identifies the saint as Isidore of Seville, Leander's brother.
27. An unpublished 1772 inventory of the Palacio Real (from the Archivio General de Palacio) lists several "fabulas pequeñas" by Giaquinto, but it is impossible to safely identify any of these with the *Medea*. I would like to thank Leticia de Frutos Sastre for this information and for her kindness in checking the inventories of the Palacio Real.
28. Fernández-Miranda 1988, p. 59, in the "Quarto del S.r Ynfante D.n Pedro": "1 Dos de tres quartas y media de alto y media vara de ancho: El uno el Dios Pan perseguiendo la ninfa Sirings, y el otro Adonis muerto, y Venus sitiendo su muerte, á mil y Quinientos reales cada uno. Corrado." They also appear as "558. Dos de tres quartas y media de alto y media vara de ancho: El uno el Dios Pan persiguiendo la ninfa Sirings, y el otro Adonis muerto, y Venus sitiendo su muerte, á mil y quinientos reales cada uno. Corrado" in the same location in an unpublished 1789 inventory from the Archivio General de Palacio, Madrid. This information was provided to me by Leticia de Frutos Sastre.
29. Fernández-Miranda 1988, p. 59: "Tres quartas y media de alto y dos tercias de ancho: La Paz con la Cornucopia de la abundancia á los pies y un Genio que quema los Ynstrumentos de Guerra. Yd . . . Otro igual al anterior. La liberalidad repartiendo dones, en mil reales Idem." For the chapel *modelli*, see p. 62.
30. Biblioteca di Palacio Real, Madrid, II/1882, "figuras alegoricas vocetos de la pinturas de la escalera del R.l Palacio de Madrid." I thank Almudena Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón and Javier Jordán de Urríes y de la Colina for this information.
31. Urrea Fernández 1977, p. 129. The painting subsequently passed to William Cairns in Gerona and Channel Islands until it was auctioned at Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 2011, lot 153, and purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. The painting has appeared in only two publications: Urrea Fernández 1977, and Amato 2002, p. 82.
32. Ovid 1994, vol. 1, with Latin and English translation on facing pages.
33. Ibid., book 7, lines 297–356.
34. For a specific study of the iconography of Medea and Aeson, see Bardon and Bardon 1969, pp. 83–93.
35. Boschini 1966, p. 445; "Medea, ben vera Dea, che al vechio Eson/Rinzovenisse i membri, el cuor e 'l pelo,/Per meritar del so Giason l'anelo,/E mi ghe vogio dar mile rason."
36. For the drawing, see Morassi 1937, p. 38, no. XLII; for the paintings, see Gelsomina Spione in Arnaldi di Balme et al. 2012, pp. 56–57, no. 10.
37. The other eleven canvases depict the *Triumph of Galatea*, *Polyphemus and Galatea*, *Rape of Europa*, *Hermes and Argus*, *Diana and Endymion*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Venus and Vulcan*, *Amphitrite and Neptune*, *Apollo and Daphne*, *Orpheus and Cerberus*, and *Perseus and Andromeda*. For the series, see Amato 2002, pp. 54–93.
38. *Giaquinto: Capolavori* 1993, pp. 184–85, no. 33; Scolaro 2005, pp. 230–31, no. 41; and *Corrado Giaquinto y España* 2006, pp. 140–41, no. 20.
39. A copy of this canvas was sold at Christie's, London, May 27, 1983, lot 163.
40. Ceán Bermúdez 1800, pp. 184–85; "sus obras manifiestan un genio criador, un espíritu extraordinario, y un gusto nuevo y admirable en el fresco."

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On the Provenance of Louis Tocqué's Sketch of Jean Marc Nattier

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Arnauld Doria's 1929 monograph is the principal source for the work of the portraitist Louis Tocqué, who was born in Paris in 1696 and died there in 1772. Doria's study is abundantly documented, but his catalogue is outdated,[1] and since he had limited knowledge of Tocqué's lifestyle and wealth, those subjects have remained obscure.[2] The discovery of the artist's postmortem inventory and several other notarized documents permits us to shed light on his late years and reconstruct the history of Tocqué's oil sketch of Jean Marc Nattier that belongs to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1).[3] These records also offer information about the circle of artists frequented by Tocqué and presents an opportunity to reconsider his ideas about portraiture.[4]

Louis Tocqué was apprenticed briefly to the history painter Nicolas Bertin (1668–1736) and then to Jean Marc Nattier (1685–1766), his future father-in-law. Received at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1731 and admitted as a portraitist in 1734, Tocqué exhibited regularly at the Salons of the Académie from 1737, establishing his reputation in 1739 with the presentation of his portrait of the Dauphin, Louis de France, son of King Louis XV.[5] In 1747 the painter married Marie Catherine Pauline Nattier, his master's daughter, which consolidated the friendship between the two artists. In the picture at the Metropolitan Museum, Tocqué presents an image of a respected master and friend, a man who looked kindly upon his son-in-law and former apprentice.

Tocqué's career was advanced by Abel François Poisson de Vandières, marquis de Marigny, director of the Bâtiments du Roi, who recommended him to Empress Elizabeth Petrovna of Russia.[6] From 1756 to 1758 he worked as a court portraitist in Saint Petersburg, and then he occupied a similar position at the court of King Frederick V of Denmark.[7] While in Copenhagen he was elected to membership in the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. As his reception piece Tocqué submitted a highly finished portrait of Nattier (Figure 2) that is based on the Metropolitan Museum sketch.[8] His father-in-law was named to the Danish Academy as well, presenting an elegant portrait of Tocqué.[9]

Upon his return to France in 1759, Tocqué settled with his wife and his only daughter, Catherine Pauline, in lodgings at the Louvre.[10] The major family event of the 1760s was his daughter's marriage, on May 30, 1768, to the clockmaker Jean Claude Martinot. The marriage contract mentions the names of the witnesses.[11] Doria stressed the ties of friendship that bound Tocqué and the sculptor Jean Baptiste Lemoyne the Younger (1704–1778), one of the witnesses.[12] This association is confirmed by the fact that Louise Lemoyne, young daughter of the sculptor, attended the ceremony. One of Tocqué's last works was a portrait of Marie Thérèse Lemoyne, another of the sculptor's daughters.[13] Contact with Jean Baptiste Lemoyne could have influenced Tocqué's style. While Nattier showed his sitters' heads in frontal view, Tocqué presented a more spatial dimension: his portraits, including the one at the Metropolitan, are often in three-quarter view and slightly *di sotto in su* (looking up from below).

Catherine Pauline Tocqué's wedding was also attended by three members of the Coypel family, including Philippe Coypel, younger brother of the history painter Charles Antoine Coypel (1694–1752). Louis Tocqué and Charles Antoine Coypel were friends and seem to have shared an intimate vision of portraiture. The feeling of closeness that characterizes Tocqué's portrait of Nattier at the Metropolitan also applies to the portrait Charles Antoine painted of Philippe Coypel in about 1732 (Figure 3). In addition, Tocqué and Charles Antoine may have used similar pictorial techniques. In the paintings of Charles Antoine there is a lack of sharpness that is due to the application of many layers of glazes, a feature of the technique of both Tocqué and Nattier.

Another witness at the wedding was Françoise Marguerite Pouget (1707–1791) (Figure 4), wife of the painter Jean Siméon Chardin (1699–1779). Here again it might be asked whether the acquaintance between the two artists

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1. Louis Tocqué (French, 1696–1772). *Jean Marc Nattier (1685–1766)*, 1762. Oil on canvas, 30½ x 23¼ in. (77.5 x 59.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Colonel and Mrs. Jacques Balsan, 1955 (55.205.1). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, The Photograph Studio, MMA

2. Louis Tocqué. *Jean Marc Nattier.* Signed and dated (lower left): *L. Tocqué 1762*. Oil on canvas, 31⅞ x 25¾ in. (81 x 65.5 cm). Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen. Photograph: © Akademiraadet (Det Kongelige Akademi for de Skønne Kunster)/Det Kongelige Bibliotek

3. Charles Antoine Coypel (French, 1694–1752). *Philippe Coypel (1703–1777), the Artist's Brother,* ca. 1732. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24 in. (75 x 61 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF1968-5). Photograph: © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Franck Raux

was limited solely to the fact that both were *peintres-académiciens* or whether the art of portraiture, which Chardin practiced at various stages of his career, was a subject of discussion between them. Tocqué's *intimiste* approach has much in common with the style of Chardin's portrait of Pouget (Figure 4). In addition to his sketch of Nattier at the Metropolitan, another example by Tocqué of this style of work is his portrait of Madame Dangé.[14]

Doria pointed out the extent to which Tocqué's production declined upon his return to France.[15] After 1762 the artist no longer exhibited at the Salon. This development can be explained both by his age and by the wealth accumulated during his years abroad, which meant that he did not need to continue working as a painter. His prosperity is reflected in a number of documents. He provided his daughter with a dowry of 25,000 livres, and the inventory of his property, begun on February 17, 1772, showed that he held assets in the form of stipends totaling 68,000 livres, from contracts mostly signed after 1759.[16] The money from these annuity contracts (*constitutions de rente*) resulted from Tocqué's activity as a court painter in Russia and Denmark. His personal property was also valued high, at nearly 8,000 livres for just the silverware, rings, and gold *tabatières* (snuffboxes).

That there was no studio in Tocqué's vast apartment in the Louvre is thus not surprising. The works of art appraised there by the painter and art expert Julien Folliot seem only to have served as decoration. There were a few paintings, including a portrait by Alexis Grimou and one by Jean Baptiste Santerre (each appraised at 160 livres), as well as a *Portrait of a Man* by Van Dyck (appraised at 200 livres).[17] Sculptures and prints were also displayed. Significantly, the framed prints all reproduced portraits by Tocqué himself, offering the visitor a sort of catalogue of his work. In the sitting room was an engraving by Jean Georges Wille after Tocqué's portrait of the duc de La Vrillière.[18] In the painter's

4. Jean Siméon Chardin (French, 1699–1779). *Françoise Marguerite Pouget, the Artist's Wife*. Signed and dated: *Chardin 1775*. Pastel on paper, 18⅛ x 15 in. (46 x 38 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (25207). Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York

bedroom hung engravings of his portraits of the queen of France and Jean Baptiste Massé, as well as one of the empress of Russia.[19] In the dining room Folliot noted "four portraits engraved after Monsieur Tocqué." No further information is given, but it is very likely that three of the four represented the marquis de Marigny, Count Razumovsky, and Count Vorontsov.[20] These prints were listed in detail three years later in the posthumous inventory of Tocqué's widow.[21]

Various family portraits also hung in the apartment. In keeping with ancien régime tradition, these were not appraised but instead mentioned only "pour mémoire" (for the record). Those hanging in the sitting room—intended for receiving guests—were probably among the finest. These included "three pictures painted on canvas representing the one M[onsieur] Nattier, father of said l[ady] Tocqué, the other s[aid] [Monsieur] Tocqué, the third s[aid] l[ady] Tocqué in their frames of gilded carved wood and . . . two terracotta busts representing s[aid] l[adies] Tocqué and Martinot."[22] As we shall see, one of the sculptures was by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne the Younger. As for the painting representing Jean Marc Nattier, there is reason to believe that it was by Tocqué and is identical with the painting at the Metropolitan Museum, which is known to have come from the artist's descendants.[23] Although there were other family portraits in the bedroom, including "two pictures painted on canvas representing the father and mother of s[ai]d W[idow] Tocqué," the oil sketch of Nattier probably hung in the sitting room, given its importance to Tocqué.[24]

The discovery of the will and the postmortem inventory of the painter's widow, Marie Catherine Pauline Nattier Tocqué, both dated 1775, permits us to elucidate the provenance of the Metropolitan Museum's painting.[25] Tocqué's widow left her well-stocked library to her son-in-law, Claude Martinot. To her sister Madeleine Sophie Nattier, wife of the history painter Charles Michel Ange Challe (1718–1778), she bequeathed a "terracotta bust from the hand of the famous M. Le Moyne."[26] To her sister Charlotte Claudine Nattier, wife of the lawyer François Philippe Brochier, she left the "portrait of [her] father in its original gilded frame from the hand of [her] husband, the head of which is finished, with the rest of the bust only roughly sketched."[27] This description is similar to that made several days later in her postmortem inventory: "a picture painted on canvas representing s[aid] M[onsieur] Nattier whose clothes are only sketched in its gilded wood frame, said portrait cited for the record, given its nature, but the frame is hereby appraised at eight livres."[28] And so the unfinished aspect of the Metropolitan Museum's painting furnishes evidence that accords with information in the documents. Beyond expanding the painting's provenance, this brief study provides an opportunity to revisit the work of Louis Tocqué, an artist too often upstaged by the more systematic production of his father-in-law, Jean Marc Nattier. Louis Tocqué's quest to perfect the art of portrait painting was probably nurtured by discussions in a circle of friends about which we now know more.

NOTES

1. The following should be removed from Doria 1929: p. 93, no. 4 (late 18th century); p. 99, no. 51, fig. 66 (by Marianne Loir); pp. 110–11, no. 120, fig. 145 (of a much later date); p. 115, no. 159, fig. 63 (French, ca. 1730); p. 133, no. 276, fig. 10 (by Jean François de Troy); p. 133, no. 279, fig. 137 (not by Tocqué); p. 136, no. 297, fig. 3 (probably by Marianne Loir); p. 149, no. 433, fig. 132 (closer to Jean Marc Nattier); p. 153, no. 507, fig. 138 (by Marianne Loir); pp. 153–54, no. 513, fig. 71 (not by Tocqué); p. 155, no. 531, fig. 142 (copy after Tocqué); p. 155, no. 532, fig. 61 (French, ca. 1720); p. 157, no. 563, fig. 124 (not by Tocqué).
2. The loss of the *procès-verbal de scellés* (the report on property placed under seal) of Tocqué's widow (1775) hampered the search for notarized family documents; its disappearance was noted by Jules Guiffrey (1883–85, vol. 3, p. 298).
3. Doria 1929, p. 128, no. 243.
4. The newly discovered documents include: A. Contract for the marriage of Louis Tocqué's daughter, Catherine Pauline, to Jean Claude Martinot: Archives Nationales de France, Paris, Minutier Central des Notaires de Paris, étude (hereafter ANMC) XLV, 534, May 23, 1768. (The contract was signed on May 23; the ceremony was held on May 30.) B. Postmortem inventory of the estate of Louis Tocqué: ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772. C. Last will and testament of Tocqué's widow, Marie Catherine Pauline Nattier Tocqué: ANMC

CXIII, 477, March 27, 1775. D. Postmortem inventory of the estate of Tocqué's widow, Marie Catherine Pauline Nattier Tocqué: ANMC CXIII, 477, April 10, 1775. E. Deed of liquidation of Louis Tocqué's property: ANMC XLV, 562, October 7, 1776.

5. Tocqué's reception pieces represent the history painter Louis Galloche (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 8168; Doria 1929, p. 110, no. 118, fig. 53) and the sculptor Jean Louis Lemoyne (Louvre, 8171; ibid., p. 117, no. 169, fig. 33). His portrait of the Dauphin is also in the Louvre (8174; ibid., pp. 102–3, no. 71, fig. 5).

   Louis Tocqué delivered a lecture on portrait painting at the Paris Académie on March 7, 1750; de Montaiglon 1875–92, vol. 6, *1745–1755* (1885), p. 199. The speech was reread by Charles Nicolas Cochin on April 9, 1763; ibid., vol. 7, *1756–1768* (1886), p. 217.
6. Tocqué's portrait of the empress, signed and dated 1758, is in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Doria 1929, pp. 106–7, no. 91, fig. 88).
7. Among Tocqué's works in Denmark are pendant standing portraits of King Frederick V and his second wife, Queen Juliane Marie, now in Christian VII's Palace at Amalienborg, Copenhagen (ibid., p. 109, no. 110, fig. 6, and p. 114, no. 147, fig. 7).
8. Doria 1929, p. 128, no. 242, fig. 85.
9. Ibid., ill. facing title page.
10. Ibid., p. 24.
11. ANMC XLV, 534, May 23, 1768. Among the witnesses were the still-life painter Claude François Desportes; Marie Madeleine Bérain, daughter of the ornamentalist; and Jacques Bailly, keeper of the king's paintings. Doria (1929, p. 87) published only the religious wedding certificate.
12. Doria 1929, p. 25.
13. Ibid., pp. 117–18, no. 173, fig. 34.
14. This work seems to have been much admired when it was exhibited at the Salon in 1753 (ibid., pp. 61–62). The painting is at the Louvre (RF1480; ibid., p. 102, no. 68, fig. 101).
15. Ibid., p. 25.
16. The dowry was noted in the marriage contract (ANMC XLV, 534, May 23, 1768). The sums of the various contracts appear in the documents in the postmortem inventory (ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772) and in the deed of liquidation of the painter's property (ANMC XLV, 562, October 7, 1776).
17. The portrait by Van Dyck had been bequeathed to him by the miniaturist and engraver Jean Baptiste Massé (1687–1767). See Campardon 1880, p. 141.
18. The portrait of Louis Phélypeaux de La Vrillière, comte de Saint-Florentin, is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles (Doria 1929, pp. 135–36, no. 292, fig. 96).
19. "Portrait de la reine gravé d'après Monsieur Tocqué," "Portrait de Monsieur Massé gravé d'après Monsieur Tocqué," and "Portrait de l'Impératrice de Russie"; Postmortem inventory, ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772. Painted in 1738–40, the portrait of Marie Leszczyńska, queen of Louis XV, was among Tocqué's most important official commissions (Louvre, 8177; Doria 1929, pp. 121–22, no. 210, fig. 15); it was engraved by Jean Daullé. That of Massé was engraved by Jean Georges Wille (ibid., p. 125, no. 224, fig. 42). The painter of the portrait of the empress of Russia (see note 6 above) was unnamed, but it too was doubtless by Tocqué; it was engraved by Georges Frédéric Schmidt (ibid., pp. 106–7, no. 91).
20. ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772: "quatre portraits gravés d'après Monsieur Tocqué." The portrait of the marquis de Marigny (Château de Versailles, MV 3776; Doria 1929, pp. 123–24, no. 219, fig. 95) was engraved by Wille and that of Count Kirill Razumovsky (Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; ibid., p. 133, no. 278, fig. 91) by Schmidt. Count Mikhail Vorontsov's portrait is known only from Schmidt's engraving (ibid., p. 142, no. 338, fig. 77).
21. ANMC CXIII, 477, April 10, 1775.
22. ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772: "trois tableaux peints sur toile représentant l'un M[onsieur] Nattier père de la dite d[ame] Tocqué, l'autre le d[it] S[ieu]r Tocqué, le troisième la d[ite] d[ame] Tocqué dans leurs bordures de bois sculpté doré et . . . deux bustes en terre cuite représentant les d[ites] d[ame] Tocqué et Martinot."
23. Doria (1929, p. 128) cited a letter written by Adrien Raffard, a descendant of Nattier's through the Goupil family: "Jusqu'en 1924, nous avons conservé dans l'indivision un portrait inachevé de Nattier par Tocqué, probablement une ébauche du tableau de Copenhague" (Until 1924, we had joint ownership of an unfinished portrait of Nattier by Tocqué, probably an oil sketch for the painting in Copenhagen).
24. ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772: "deux tableaux peints sur toile représentant les père et mère de la d[it]e V[euv]e Tocqué." In the same room were "deux petits tableaux peints en pastel représentant les frères et sœur de la d[it]e D[am]e Tocqué dans leurs bordures et cadres" (two small pictures done in pastel representing the brothers and sister of s[ai]d L[ad]y Tocqué in their frames); ibid.
25. ANMC CXIII, 477, March 27, 1775, and ANMC CXIII, 477, April 10, 1775.
26. Ibid., March 27, 1775: "buste en terre cuite de la main du célèbre M. Le Moyne." Thus one of the busts mentioned in the painter's inventory (ANMC XLV, 543, February 17, 1772) was indeed by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne.
27. ANMC CXIII, 477, March 27, 1775: "le portrait de [son] père dans sa bordure dorée original de la main de [son] mari dont la tête est achevée mais dont le reste du buste n'est qu'ébauché."
28. Ibid., April 10, 1775: "un tableau peint sur toile représentant le d[it] S[ieu]r Nattier dont les vêtements ne sont qu'ébauchés dans sa bordure de bois dorée, le dit portrait cité pour mémoire attendu sa nature mais la bordure est ici prisée huit livres."

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Chinnery and Houqua: Questions of Attribution

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A small, full-length portrait of an elderly Chinese gentleman in the robes of a public official, seated with crossed legs on a red divan, was bequeathed to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1941 by the architect and collector W. Gedney Beatty (1869–1941) (Figure 1). The balance of his bequest, 366 books by or on Vitruvius, went to the Department of Prints.[1] The lone painting, then titled *A Chinese Merchant* and thought to be by the English artist George Chinnery (1774–1852), was assigned to the American Wing.[2] Undoubtedly this was done because of the strong American interest in Chinese goods, for which, from the early days of the China trade until the Civil War, New York had been the principal port of entry.[3] The sitter for the portrait was later identified as Houqua II (Wu Bingjian, 1769–1843),[4] also spelled Hoqua or Howqua[5] (the syllable "qua" was added to Chinese names as a mark of respect by Europeans in Canton).[6] While the identification of the sitter is correct, the Museum's painting cannot be accepted as the work of Chinnery.[7]

Revered for his honesty by British and American businessmen in the China trade, the melancholy-looking Houqua was not just a hong merchant; he was the leader of the *cohong*, the powerful guild of Chinese traders authorized by their government to oversee the business dealings of Western merchants at Canton (Guangzhou), the only port open to foreigners after 1757 until the opening of the treaty ports in 1842.[8] Hong merchants paid large sums for the privilege of selling silk and tea to Westerners in exchange for opium from India and Turkey. They controlled all foreign trade with the port, earning millions of dollars in revenue annually.[9] In 1834 Houqua's personal wealth was estimated at twenty-six million dollars, and his villa and gardens were famous for their beauty. A staff member of the British embassy recalled a visit to his mansion in 1817: "Howqua's house, though not yet finished, was on a scale of magnificence worthy of his fortune."[10]

The Western traders believed Houqua to be fair, friendly, intelligent, and generous.[11] He offered assistance to the foreign merchants who "found themselves financially embarrassed."[12] In 1839, when the emperor ordered trade halted and opium destroyed during the first Opium War (1839–42), Houqua was put in charge of the burning and was held in chains by the Chinese authorities until the Westerners destroyed their stocks.[13] He paid a fine out of his own pocket to save Canton from bombardment by the British.[14] After Houqua's death in 1843, a clipper ship was named after him; a relative of the China trader Benjamin R. C. Low composed a memorial poem dedicated to him;[15] and his wax effigy was displayed for years at Madame Tussaud's in London.[16] Houqua's appearance is further documented by a small watercolor-on-ivory portrait head in the Museum's collection signed by the Chinese artist Tingqua (Guan Lianchang, born ca. 1809; active 1840–70) (Figure 2).

The oil painting of Houqua is traditionally associated with Chinnery, who was born in London and was the son of an amateur artist. In 1791, when he was seventeen, he first exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts with *Portrait of His Father* and continued to show portrait miniatures, small whole-lengths and portraits in oil and crayon as well as in pencil, and finally watercolors and landscapes, until 1846. In 1797 he moved to Dublin, where he gained Irish patrons and married Marianne Vigne. When the marriage proved too constraining for Chinnery, a colorful and eccentric character, he abandoned his wife and two children and sailed for Madras (Chennai) in 1802.[17] Sketching and painting vibrant scenes of the people and country, he remained in India until 1825, when he fled to escape not only his creditors but also his wife and family, who had joined him when he moved later from Madras to Calcutta (Kolkata). He then left for Macao, just downriver from the major trading center of Canton.[18] He lived there until his death in 1852 but paid no visits to Canton after 1832.[19] Given his propensity for accurate likenesses and his quick wit, Chinnery became friends with American and British traders. According to a contemporary, "at Canton he became a general favorite, his anecdotes of Indian life, his powers of description, his eccentricities, made him a much-sought-for guest."[20]

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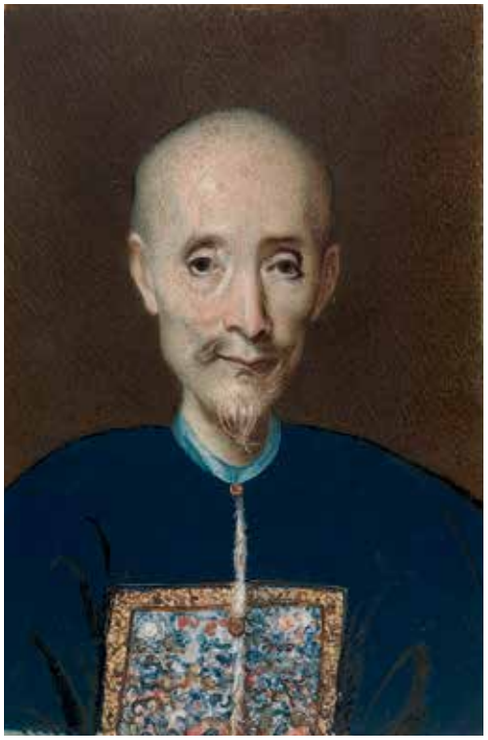
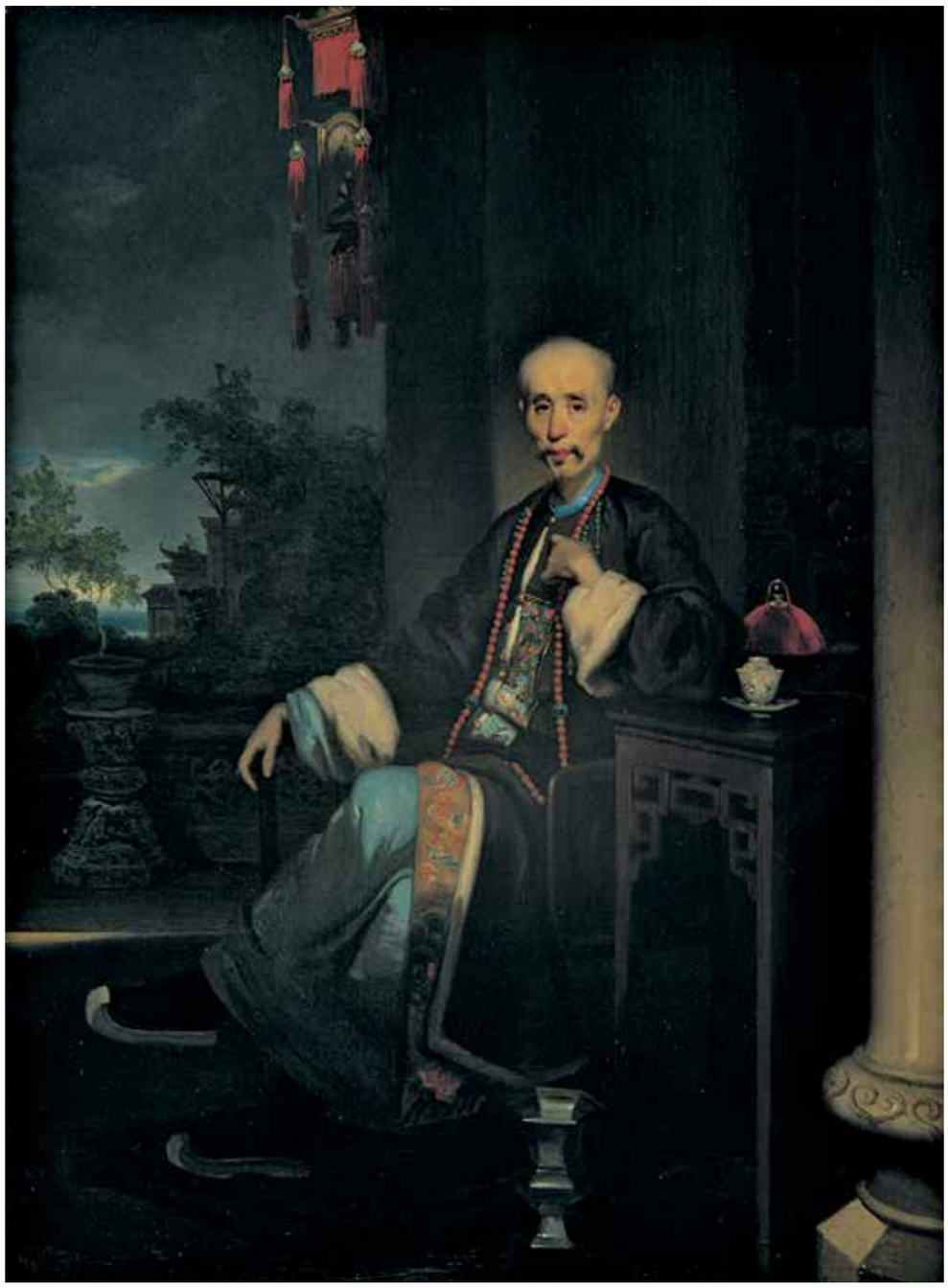
1. Style of George Chinnery (English, 1774–1852), possibly by Esther Speakman (American, 1823–1875). *Houqua*. If by Speakman, the painting would date to 1843. Oil on canvas, 25 x 18⅝ in. (63.5 x 47.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.405). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, The Photograph Studio, MMA

There is only one painting of Houqua that is assuredly by Chinnery, and it belongs to the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) (Figure 3). The portrait, with that of another merchant, Mouqua (Figure 4), was commissioned about 1827 by W. H. Chicheley Plowden, president of the East India Company in Canton, who first returned to England in 1830, presumably taking the pictures with him.[21] The date of Plowden's portrait of Houqua can be construed from a preliminary drawing on which Chinnery inscribed in shorthand "December 26th [18]27. Canton"[22] (Figure 5). Chinnery's oil shows a Chinese man of indeterminate age. He has a wistful expression, high, wide forehead, and wispy mustache and is seated with legs crossed in a Western pose, slightly turned toward the viewer. On the right is a column with a decorated base. The furnishings and accoutrements are those of a wealthy Chinese man: elegant tables, a tasseled hanging lantern, a delicate porcelain teacup, a spittoon, and on the high table at his elbow a red silk hat with a finial of opaque lapis lazuli denoting a public official of the fourth grade.[23] Through the tall window or door behind Houqua is a glimpse of his gardens with a distant temple set against a stormy sky. The picture is atmospherically lit so



2. Tingqua (Chinese, born ca. 1809; active 1840–70). *Portrait of Houqua*, signed, ca. 1840. Watercolor on ivory, 6¾ x 4½ in. (17.1 x 11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. John de Peyster Douw, 1966 (66.109). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, The Photograph Studio, MMA



3. George Chinnery. *Houqua*, ca. 1828. Oil on canvas, 24½ x 18¾ in. (62.2 x 47.6 cm). Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd. Photograph: Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd.

that the head, fur edgings of the sleeves and robe, soles of the shoes, spittoon, teacup, and sunset emerge from the shadows. Houqua wears a calf-length surcoat of blue-black satin lined with white fur and with an embroidered phoenix rank badge on the chest, light blue satin trousers, and black satin boots with white felted paper soles.[24] Houqua, with elegantly attenuated wrists, is fingering a necklace of semi-precious stones.

The Metropolitan Museum's *Houqua* (Figure 1) is one of many variants of a different composition held in museums and private collections in the eastern United States, Great Britain, and Ireland. They were brought home as souvenirs of their association with the great merchant by traders such as John Perkins Cushing, Nathan Dunn, John M. and Robert Bennet Forbes, Augustine Heard, Samuel Wadsworth Russell, and Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, many of whom made fortunes in the opium trade.[25] The versions and copies, all showing a frontal figure and virtually identical in size, differ significantly in quality and detail from the Hong Kong picture (see appendix). On examination of the originals or photographs of eight such paintings, none contains the fine highlights or painterly treatment of the fur edging of the

4. George Chinnery. *Mouqua*, ca. 1828. Oil on canvas, 24½ x 18¾ in. (62.2 x 47.6 cm). Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd. Photograph: Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd.

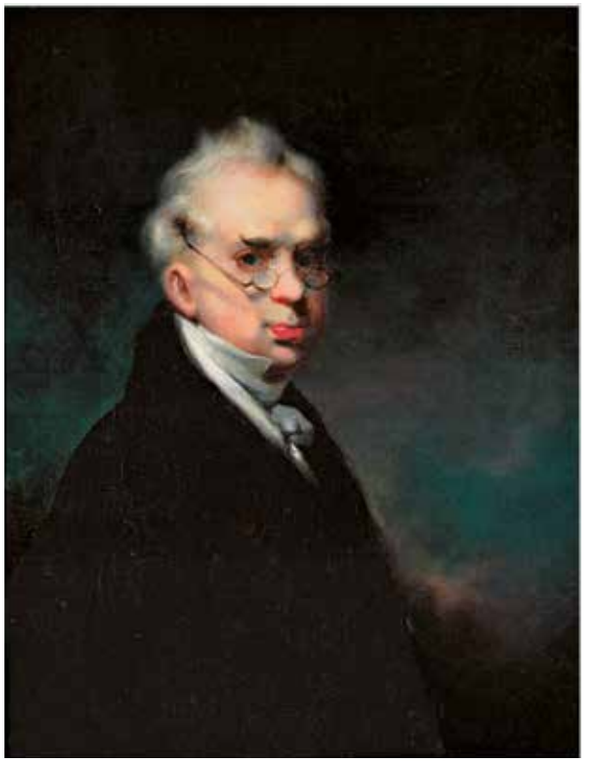
robe and soles of the shoes found in the HSBC work; the superbly painted teacup is not in evidence, and the pose is less refined.[26] In these iterations, including the one owned by the Metropolitan, Houqua is seated on a red divan rather than a wood armchair and is framed by an octagonal window. A pilaster is in the background, and a small, low table perches on the divan. An incense burner not present in the Hong Kong picture sits on a pedestal behind him. He wears striped rather than plain trousers and more strings of beads. Not all of the faces resemble the Hong Kong *Houqua*; in some cases he has acquired a faint beard and has aged significantly. Given the wide variation, it is unlikely that all of his portraits were created during his lifetime.[27]

Most of the small, frontal full-lengths were assumed to be by Chinnery in the mid-nineteenth century, but the twentieth century has seen much conjecture about their authorship. Chinnery did not replicate his work. He rarely signed his paintings, though some of his pen-and-ink and pencil sketches are initialed and dated.[28] He was apt to add notes to his drawings in his own complicated shorthand, which has stood in for a signature.[29] The full-lengths of Houqua are all about 25 by 18⅝ inches. In writing about them, Chinnery expert Patrick Conner explains that "problems of attribution become acute. The once-cherished notion that Chinnery's portraits are to be distinguished from Chinese work on grounds of 'quality' is inadequate, for the latter is often highly accomplished by any standards."[30] For Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, writing in 1953, "few of these paintings would seem to be done in Chinnery's characteristic style." He concluded that "almost all of them would appear to be painted by Chinese artists."[31]

Chinese painting for export was a particular genre developed to satisfy the taste of Westerners doing business in Canton in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as they experienced local life and customs.[32] While Chinnery was deftly drawing street scenes, animals, and marine views as well as painting portraits, flourishing local artists provided him with competition. The principal Cantonese artist in these endeavors was Tingqua's older brother Lamqua (Guan Zuolin, 1801–1860), who was active from 1825 to 1860, a period coinciding with Chinnery's stay. He was reportedly a pupil of Chinnery's though the latter emphatically denied the claim.[33] Lamqua undercut Chinnery by charging much lower rates.[34] It was not uncommon for a Western trader to have his portrait painted by Chinnery and then copied by Lamqua.[35] A contemporary British account describes him: "There resides at Macao a singular character in the person of a portrait painter, a Chinese, of the name of Lamqua . . . he shews [*sic*] a wonderful degree of talent in his pictures, which are executed altogether after the European style."[36] Another author notes that the building in which he painted included a workshop on the first floor, where eight to ten assistants toiled, drawing Chinese landscapes, painting miniatures, and copying European prints. On the top floor was Lamqua's studio, "a small unornamented room lighted by a skylight. . . . The whole wainscot is covered with the small portraits of the sitters." The writer continues, "Although he has, in general, more portraits to paint than he can well accomplish, and finishes them with expedition, he is considered to make no more by his profession than about £500 a year."[37] Lamqua developed a fluent style and, like Chinnery, added vivid flashes of color at the final stages of his work.[38]

Lamqua purportedly never left China but was represented at the Royal Academy in 1835 and 1845. He exhibited in New York in 1841 and in Philadelphia in 1851 and 1860. At the Boston Athenaeum in 1850,[39] five Lamqua portraits of Chinese merchants, including one of Houqua, were displayed, all brought to New England by Augustine Heard (1785–1868).[40] The Houqua portrait could be the waist-length likeness attributed to Lamqua that is in the Ipswich Public Library, Massachusetts.[41] One expert effused that those five works were "some of the finest portraits ever done of the Chinese merchants who dealt with Westerners. The Houqua portrait is equal in quality to a portrait by the most academic American painter of the period."[42] Conner agrees that such portraits "attest to the remarkable talents of the Chinese artist

5. George Chinnery. *Houqua*, 1827. Pen and ink on paper, dimensions unknown. Location unknown



6. Lamqua. *George Chinnery*, ca. 1850. Oil on canvas, 9¾ x 7½ in. (24.7 x 19 cm). Hong Kong Museum of Art Collection (AH 1991-0003). Photograph: Hong Kong Museum of Art

7. Attributed to Lamqua (Chinese, 1801–1860). *Mouqua*, ca. 1828–40. Oil on canvas, 24 x 18⅝ in. (60.8 x 47.3 cm). Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (M20450). Photograph: Peabody Essex Museum

in adopting not only Western techniques of manipulating paint, but also Western conventions."[43] Other works attributed to Lamqua are good copies of Chinnery's *Portrait of a Tanka Boatwoman* and a half-length self-portrait of about 1850 (Figure 6) as well as a skillful version of Chinnery's *Mouqua* (Figure 7), all of which may attest to his talent as a painter.[44] It should be noted that versions of Houqua's portrait have been attributed to Lamqua on limited, if any, evidence.

In order to have a standard against which to judge who may have painted those Houqua portraits, we examined the Metropolitan Museum's Chinnery self-portrait from the collection of B. C. Wilcocks (1776–1845) (Figure 8).[45] A Philadelphia trader who served as the United States consul in China in 1812, Wilcocks was a great friend of the artist's in Canton, and Chinnery painted him in a splendid small full-length, signed and dated 1828 (Figure 9). The Museum's Chinnery self-portrait underwent infrared reflectography prior to its publication in the 2009 catalogue of the Museum's British paintings, and it was discovered that the artist made a careful preparatory pencil sketch on the canvas before applying paint.[46] With the cooperation of the Department of Paintings Conservation, it was decided to submit the Metropolitan's *Houqua* to X-radiography. Wilcocks also owned a Houqua portrait that remained in his immediate family until it was bequeathed to the Philadelphia Maritime Museum (Independence Seaport Museum) in 1988 (Figure 10). In light of the Wilcocks connection, this

8. George Chinnery. *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1828. Oil on canvas, 8⅝ x 7¼ in. (21.9 x 18.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1943 (43.132.4). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, The Photograph Studio, MMA

9. George Chinnery. *Benjamin Chew Wilcocks*, 1828. Oil on canvas, 28 x 18½ in. (71.1 x 47 cm). Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd. Photograph: Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd.

painting was X-rayed as well to find out if any of Chinnery's trademark underdrawing might be discovered. The results were largely negative.

Metropolitan Museum conservator Dorothy Mahon shared her expertise in assessing these results.[47] She observed that the canvas used for the Metropolitan's painting is typical of an early nineteenth-century American prepared and stretched canvas. It bears a stencil on the back (Figure 11), indicating that it came from Philadelphia, with the initials ES in ink.[48] The practice of stenciling the backs of canvases in the United States started in New York about 1830 and spread to Boston and Philadelphia.[49] At the time there was an active trade in prepared canvases and pigments between England, the United States, and China.[50] Completed canvases were sent to the United States for stretching and framing.

In the X-ray of the Independence Seaport's Houqua painting, Mahon perceived signs of underdrawing in the face, lips, and hands, with possible pencil lines on the left foot that were then thickly painted up. No hint of underdrawing was found in the Metropolitan's painting, and only two minor adjustments to the head and vase were discovered. This version seems to be by a different hand, with less freedom, softness of modeling, and spontaneity than are evident in the Independence Seaport Museum's portrait. After being X-rayed, Wilcocks's Houqua portrait was examined at the Independence Seaport Museum.[51] Supporting the earlier findings, it was judged to be superior, with crisper details in the costume and livelier handling throughout. Of all the versions and variants studied, this one seems to be of the highest quality. On examination, a Houqua portrait at the

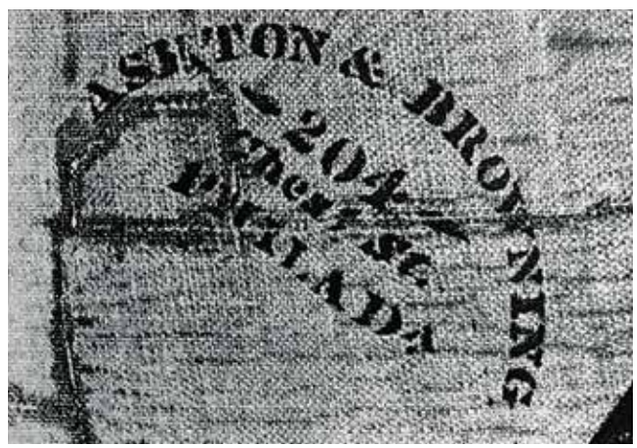
Philadelphia Museum of Art (Figure 13) was found to be more similar to that of the Metropolitan, while the portrait at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (Figure 15), attributed to Lamqua, revealed a less polished version of the Independence Seaport's canvas. Nonetheless, the Independence Seaport Museum's work looks to be painted by a more skillful hand than either the Metropolitan Museum or the Philadelphia Museum versions.[52] On the back of the panel is a handwritten attribution to the American artist Thomas Sully (1783–1872).[53] However, the original owner, Captain Charles Frederick Bradford, listed this portrait with that of another Chinese merchant in his inventory of works brought back from Asia.

To further complicate the matter, Sully was commissioned to copy Wilcocks's Houqua portrait, though his version has never been identified. Wilcocks was a patron of the arts as well as a friend and supporter of Sully, who had painted two bust-length portraits of his fellow Philadelphian in 1807.[54] On April 11, 1828, Sully wrote in his journal that Wilcocks had just returned from Canton with a letter for him from "Chinnery the painter," and that Wilcocks visited again on April 16, bringing art supplies from China. On April 27 he wrote: "Mr. Wilcocks left me the whole length of Houqua by Chinnery to be copied." In his register Sully mentioned that he "received Chinnery's Houqua from the Academy" and began a copy on August 28, 1828.[55] Although Wilcocks had copies made for business acquaintances and members of his extended family, it is doubtful, in light of his close connections to Chinnery, that he would knowingly have kept for his personal collection a portrait of the great Houqua by a Chinese copyist.

In researching the recently acquired portrait at the Philadelphia Museum, curator Carol Soltis of that institution has suggested that the painting may be by the Philadelphian Esther Speakman (1823–1875). The work bears a framer's stencil identical to the Metropolitan's and the initials ES, followed by the number 112.[56] Little is known of Speakman, who painted and copied canvases in various genres for Wilcocks and other patrons. In 1843 she submitted eleven canvases to two exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Almost half of them were owned by Wilcocks, including a portrait of Houqua after Chinnery. She exhibited there again in 1850.[57] Considering the "ES" and the canvas maker's mark on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's picture, as well as Speakman's exhibition date of 1843, she could be the artist.

It seems likely that Chinnery's portrait of Houqua now in Hong Kong (see Figure 3) is later than the prototype of the divan portrait, as in the Metropolitan Museum painting. Wilcocks returned to Philadelphia in the spring of 1828 with his *Houqua* (see Figure 10), which included the red divan, and exhibited it in the same year. Plowden, whose more polished Chinnery commission is now owned by HSBC, first returned to England from Canton in 1830; from a second visit, he returned in 1834. Might Chinnery have painted the portrait owned by Wilcocks? The HSBC work is quite naturalistic and more Western than the more symmetrical, structured, formal and frontal variations. As to the question of whether any of the others could possibly be by Chinnery himself, it is not certain that any of them are by him or, for that matter, by Lamqua, Sully, or Speakman. We may safely use the term "style of" Chinnery, if only because so many of the pictures have long been associated with his name.

10. Style of Chinnery (possibly by him). *Houqua*, ca. 1825. Oil on canvas, 26 x 19 in. (66 x 48.3 cm). Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia (88.10). Photograph: Independence Seaport Museum



11. Replica of canvas maker's mark of Ashton & Browning on the back of Figure 1

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks go to Katharine Baetjer for her help and continuing interest in this project. Conservator Dorothy Mahon generously extended her time and expertise in examining the X-rays of the paintings. I am enormously grateful to Carol Soltis of the Philadelphia Museum of Art for sharing her research and steering me toward Thomas Sully's register and journal. Without her insights, the American connection would have been less fully developed. Additional thanks go to Craig Bruns of the Independence Seaport Museum, and to Karina H. Corrigan, Kathryn Carey, and Eric Wolin, of the Peabody Essex Museum. Kamilah Foreman was of invaluable assistance in shaping my manuscript. I also extend my appreciation to Patrick Conner, Adrian Le Harivel, and Helen Swinnerton for their helpful comments.

NOTES

1. Archives, MMA.
2. Harry B. Wehle to Mr. Greenway, September 25, 1941, Archives, MMA.
3. Gardner 1953, p. 310.
4. Hummel 1943–44, vol. 2, p. 877.
5. Karina H. Corrigan, H. A. Crosby Forbes Curator at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, confirmed that the correct spelling is "Houqua."
6. Berry-Hill and Berry-Hill 1970, p. 47.
7. The Museum's attribution was changed to "copy after Chinnery" and later "attributed to Chinnery." Note on the catalogue card by J. L. Allen, February 1945.
8. Gardner 1953, p. 320. Hongs, or factories, were places of business on the Pearl River in Canton leased from the Chinese by foreign merchants and used for storing goods as well as for living quarters and office space. The American hong housed several trading firms and the United States consul. See Forbes 1996, p. 59n83.
9. Hunter 1911, p. 218.
10. Ellis 1818, p. 305.
11. Downs 1941, p. 94.
12. Loines 1953, p. 6.
13. Christman 1984, p. 89.
14. Gardner 1953, p. 315.
15. Loines 1953, p. 60.
16. Conner 1993, p. 175.
17. Strickland 1913, pp. 170–71.
18. Baetjer 2009, p. 226.
19. Conner 2007, p. 20. After 1832 the Chinese government severely restricted foreigners because of the opium trade, and the traders withdrew to Macao. Loines 1953, p. 7.
20. Hunter 1911, pp. 264–68.
21. Conner 2011, p. 50. Plowden came back briefly to Macao before returning to England in 1834.
22. See Conner 1993, p. 172, pl. 103.
23. Garrett 1990, p. 28.
24. Ibid., pp. 21, 29. The embroidered phoenix badge was an honorary distinction bestowed on hong merchants. See Berry-Hill and Berry-Hill 1970, p. 44.
25. Downs 1968, pp. 421–24, 434–35.
26. Conner (1993, p. 175) points out that although the sitter's legs are crossed in the versions, "the pose is nearer to the full-frontal approach typical of Chinese ancestor portraits."
27. Clunas 1984, p. 35.

28. Orange 1920, p. 90.
29. Conner 2011, p. 16.
30. Conner 1986, p. 53.
31. Gardner 1953, p. 312.
32. Conner 1993, p. 169.
33. Cunynghame 1844, vol. 2, p. 98.
34. Conner (1986, p. 54) notes that in the 1840–41 accounts of the trading company Jardine Matheson, the British trading company made payments to Lamqua for $34 and $60, and to Chinnery for $150 and $250.
35. Crossman 1972, p. 26, and Conner 1993, p. 170.
36. Cunynghame 1844, vol. 2, p. 97.
37. Downing 1838, vol. 2, pp. 91, 112, 114.
38. Conner 1996, p. 734.
39. Perkins and Gavin 1980, p. 89.
40. Ibid.; Crossman 1972, pp. 27–28.
41. Lamqua, *Houqua*, ca. 1840. Oil on canvas, 32¾ × 25¼ in.
42. Crossman 1972, p. 28.
43. Conner 1986, p. 55.
44. Conner 1999, pp. 46, 53. The Chinnery self-portrait is in the Peabody Essex Museum (M11510). Lamqua's copy is in the Hong Kong Museum of Art (AH 1991-0003). The latter is dated ca. 1835, but the Peabody Essex's dating of the original at about 1850 is more likely. Chinnery's portrait of Mouqua was painted for Plowden about 1828. The version attributed to Lamqua at the Peabody Essex Museum (M20450) differs from it in background details.
45. The artist's self-portraits are of diverse sizes and in various poses and media, having been painted or drawn at different stages of his life.
46. Baetjer 2009, pp. 266–67.
47. The examination occurred on July 17, 2010.
48. The canvas maker's mark on the reverse states "ASHTON & BROWNING 204 Chest.[nut] St[reet]. PHILAD^{A}." "ES/133" also appears in pen and ink. The firm of Ashton & Browning, which prepared the canvases, was at 204 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia from 1838 to 1841, and by 1843 had moved to 205 Chestnut Street, where it remained until 1844. Katlan 1992, pp. 412–13.
49. Katlan 1987, p. 7.
50. Conner 1999, p. 52.
51. On May 25, 2012, Craig Bruns, chief curator, Independence Seaport Museum; Carol Soltis, consulting curator at the Center for American Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art; and Katharine Baetjer, curator, Metropolitan Museum, joined me in a careful study of the painting, which we compared to the Metropolitan's portrait by magnifying details of the latter work from the Museum's website.
52. On July 30, 2012, the Peabody Essex Museum's conservator Kathryn Carey provided this information and studied the portrait under black light; she found a negligible spot of overpainting in the sky and noted that the finish was original. She surmised that at an earlier date, probably in the 1970s or 1980s, the painting had been wax-mounted to Masonite board, and so there are no identifying canvas preparers' marks in evidence.
53. "Portrait of Houqua/Painted by T. Sully/after/Chinnery" is written in yellow paint in modern-day block letters.
54. Hart 1909, p. 179, nos. 1870, 1871.
55. "Journal of Thomas Sully's Activities May 1792–1793, 1799–December 1846; Includes Paintings Executed by Him, Financial Affairs, Visitors Received, Calls Made, Trip to England and France, 1837–38; Annual 'Review of Concerns' . . . Including Valuations of Work Done and a Financial Statement," and "Register of Paintings Executed by Thomas Sully between 1801–1871; Complete List of All Miniatures, Oil Portraits and Other Paintings," Microfilm reel N18, Thomas Sully Papers, 1792–1871, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., accessed April 27, 2012. Filmed from originals in the Manuscript Division, New York Public Library. Sully noted in his register that he had started "Houqua full-length in small—copy Wilcocks," on August 28, 1828; completed it on September 13; and was charging $200. The dimensions were noted as 26 × 19 inches. The painting is not listed in Biddle and Fielding 1921. According to his journal, on January 15, 1829, Sully "sent home to Wilcocks his own portrait by Chinnery and my copy of Houqua." On May 4, he "packed up Chinnery's Houqua to go to Boston." On May 10, Sully "packed the original picture and sent it to Ralston Compting, the copy put in a frame and sent to Wilcocks."

    The reference to the academy must have been to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, which in 1828 exhibited a Chinnery work, *Portrait (full-length small) of Houqua, Hong Merchant of Canton* (also titled *Portrait of How-Qua*), no. 145. It was exhibited there again in 1843, no. 88, as belonging to B. C. Wilcocks, and in 1854, as belonging to a Mrs. McMurtrie, whose husband was a patron of Sully's. See Rutledge 1955, p. 48.
56. The stencil is no longer visible but has been documented.
57. Rutledge 1955, p. 211, no. 54.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

APPENDIX

The following versions of the Houqua portrait were studied in person or from photographs. The list is not complete: other versions are unaccounted for.

George Chinnery, *Houqua*, ca. 1828
Ex coll.: W. H. Chicheley Plowden, Canton (ca. 1828); A. G. Stephen, Hong Kong (until 1924; bought for the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd.)
Figure 3

Attributed by the Independence Seaport Museum to Lamqua, *Houqua*
Ex coll.: Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, Philadelphia (by ca. 1825–d. 1845); his granddaughter, Mrs. Percy (Elizabeth Campbell) Madeira, Washington, D.C.; her niece, Mrs. Benjamin Brannan Reath II, Merion, Pennsylvania (by 1941–d. 1988; bequeathed to Philadelphia Maritime Museum, now Independence Seaport Museum)
Figure 10

12. Attributed by the National Gallery of Ireland to George Chinnery, *Houqua*
Oil on canvas, 25⅝ × 18½ in. (65.1 × 47 cm)
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (NGI 785)
Ex coll.: Sir Hugh Lane (until d. 1918; bequeathed to National Gallery of Ireland)
Photograph: Courtesy National Gallery of Ireland

13. Attributed by the Philadelphia Museum of Art to Esther Speakman after George Chinnery, *Houqua*, by 1843
Oil on canvas, 24½ × 18⅞ in. (62.2 × 47.9 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Anna I. Roberts, 2012 (2012-42-1)
Photograph: Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art

14. Attributed by private collection, United Kingdom, to Lamqua, *Houqua*
Oil on canvas, 24¼ × 19½ in. (61.6 × 49.5 cm)
Ex coll.: Private collection, United Kingdom
Photograph: Courtesy private collection

15. Attributed by Peabody Essex Museum to Lamqua, *Houqua*
Oil on canvas, 25 × 19 in. (63.5 × 48.2 cm)
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (M232280)
Ex coll.: Captain Charles Frederick Bradford (by 1840); by descent to Rebecca B. Chase, Ann B. Mathias, and Charles E. Bradford (until 1990; donated to Peabody Essex Museum, [M23228])
Photograph: Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum

16. Attributed by private collection to Lamqua, *Howqua*
Oil on canvas, 25⅝ × 19¼ in. (65.1 × 48.9 cm)
Ex coll.: Russell (19th century); private collection
Photograph: Courtesy Martyn Gregory Gallery, London

17. Attributed by Redwood Library and Athenaeum to George Chinnery, *Houqua*
Oil on canvas, 24½ × 18½ in. (62.3 × 47 cm)
Redwood Library & Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island, Bequest of Violet Gordon King (Mrs. Ian McEwan) (RLC.PA.010)
Ex coll.: E. King (19th century; to Redwood Library & Athenaeum)
Photograph: Courtesy of Redwood Library & Athenaeum

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John Frederick Kensett's Point of View in *Lake George*, 1869: A Correction

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The point of view in *Lake George*, 1869, by John Frederick Kensett (American, 1818–1872), is from the west shore of New York State's Lake George, looking toward the northeast (Figure 1). Recent on-site research indicates that the artist's viewpoint was from Homer Point, not Crown Island, two miles up the lakeshore, as suggested in *American Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*.[1] From the east side of Homer Point, the view toward the picturesque, island-filled section of the lake called the Narrows contains the essential topographical features of that painting and of several closely related works. The location is noted on the map in Figure 2, and the elements of the view are indicated in the photograph in Figure 3. Based on a local historian's earlier incorrect identification of Kensett's viewpoint, Natalie Spassky, the author of the catalogue entry in *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum*, understandably concluded that Kensett "took considerable liberties with the topography."[2] Correct identification of the viewpoint reveals that in fact the handling of the topography is fundamentally accurate, although Kensett did seek to strengthen the composition by shortening the distance across the lake and exaggerating the heights and profiles of the mountains.

The visual drama of the Narrows of Lake George as seen across the lake from the area of Bolton Landing—with mountains on either side, the palisades of Shelving Rock, and a scattering of tiny islands—was a popular subject for artists to paint and tourists to contemplate in the nineteenth century. Kensett painted at least six compositions of the scene, including the Metropolitan's *Lake George*. Two of the paintings are based on the view from Clay and Recluse Islands, depicted in the Metropolitan's painting. One of these is presently unlocated; the other is the Adirondack Museum's *Lake George*, 1856, which includes the main elements of the distant mountains in the Metropolitan painting but in a wider view that includes Tongue Mountain to the west of the Narrows.[3] By moving his viewpoint slightly farther south to Homer Point for another three small works (Figures 4–6) and the large Metropolitan painting, Kensett took advantage of the added compositional elements of the nearby islands—Clay, Recluse, and Little Recluse. The islands enclose the space and block most of the view of Tongue Mountain, allowing Black Mountain to dominate the other elements.

In the background of the Metropolitan painting, the mountains on the eastern shore include, right to left, Erebus Mountain, Shelving Rock, Black Mountain, Elephant Mountain, and distant Spruce Mountain. The lower slope of Tongue Mountain appears between the two leftmost islands. Kensett introduced a foreground shore at right—composed of moss-covered stone slabs, reeds, and a fallen tree—that greatly shortens the distance across the lake seen in the on-site photograph (Figure 3). In most of his works at the lake, Kensett reduced the expanse of the water as he adjusted the placement and proportions of his features to fit conventional landscape picture proportions of about 2:3.[4]

One of the smaller paintings from Homer Point, *Lake George*, 1872 (Figure 4), is dated three years after the Metropolitan's *Lake George* of 1869, while the other two, both undated, may be preliminary studies for the Metropolitan painting. Of these two, the earlier is probably *Black Mountain, Lake George* (Figure 5), with its wider format, framing trees at left, and in general, features that more closely resemble the actual location than the features in the other undated painting. The other one (Figure 6)[5] appears to be an unfinished study that established the basic composition and tonal relationships for the much larger Metropolitan painting. In all four of these paintings, Kensett enhanced the expression of the mass of the mountains by increasing their height—an approach he took in most of his Lake George works, as he consistently increased the apparent heights of the mountains by 30 to 50 percent.[6] In the

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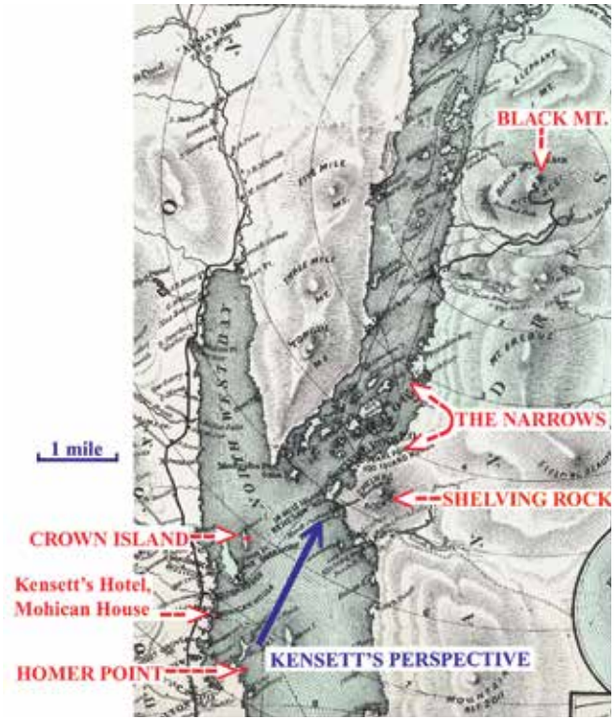
1. John Frederick Kensett. *Lake George*, 1869. Oil on canvas, 44⅛ x 66⅜ in. (112.1 x 168.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maria DeWitt Jesup, from the collection of her husband, Morris K. Jesup, 1914 (15.30.61)



2. Detail of *Map of Lake George*. From Stoddard 1897

3. Perspective of Lake George from the east side of Homer Point looking to the northeast. Photograph: Anne Diggory

Metropolitan painting, Kensett made Black Mountain appear even more imposing: he introduced an element of the Sublime by suggesting a tremendous vertical drop from the peak in place of the mountain's actual leftward sloping ridges and slight concavity at the top.

While working on the Metropolitan Museum *Lake George*, Kensett made aesthetic adjustments that distinguish the larger painting from the three smaller works. The proportions and details of the sky closely resemble those of *Black Mountain, Lake George*, but Kensett eliminated that canvas's low-lying clouds and slightly subdued the towering cumuli. He darkened the sky at the top of the Metropolitan painting and balanced it with a much more substantial foreground, and he further manipulated geological details without radically distorting the essential topography. For example, on the left Kensett pushed Clay Island back in space and added cliffs to it. He created a version of Recluse Island with a rock face twisting to the right, a change from its depiction in *Black Mountain, Lake George* with no rock face, and in the unlocated *Lake George,* with the cliff twisting in the opposite direction. Instead of the birds and recreational boats seen in most of his paintings of Lake George, Kensett introduced a figure in an Indian canoe, suggesting depth of historical time as well as space.

During his lifetime Kensett earned a reputation as an artist who recorded landscapes with "truth and definite character in his outline . . . loyal to natural peculiarities."[7] The correction of our understanding of the viewpoint from which he composed the Metropolitan painting—the perspective is clearly from Homer Point rather than Crown Island—confirms his careful use of the topography and supports that reputation. Kensett's attention to the details of actual mountain arrangements is important for understanding his process of creation, yet the power felt in viewing the painting comes from his handling of those forms combined with the unusually large scale of the work.

4. John Frederick Kensett. *Lake George*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 12 x 24 in. (30.5 x 61 cm). Private collection. Photograph: Adams Davidson Galleries, Washington, D.C.

5. John Frederick Kensett. *Black Mountain, Lake George*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 14⅛ x 24 in. (35.9 x 61 cm). Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Gift of Jesse H. Metcalf (20.029). Photograph: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

6. John Frederick Kensett. *Lake George*, n.d., 13¾ x 23¾ in. (34.9 x 60.3 cm). Location unknown. From Kensett Estate Sale Album 1873, pl. 5

NOTES

1. Natalie Spassky in Spassky et al. 1985, pp. 34–36.

   I initially researched Kensett's perspectives based on my experience as a painter for a lecture, "Artistic Choices," at the Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, N.Y., during its 2005 exhibition "Painting Lake George: 1774–1900." The Kensett section of the appendix to that exhibition's catalogue (Coe and Owens 2005, pp. 81–83) lists ninety-two paintings of Lake George. My ongoing research of painting perspectives, which is available in the census of Lake George paintings maintained by the Hyde Collection, updates that list by eliminating misidentifications and duplications as well as by adding new works to create a revised list of eighty-six paintings. I have been continuing this research and analysis at Lake George, Skidmore College, and with Kevin J. Avery, senior research scholar at the Metropolitan Museum.

   This study depends partly on the catalogue of the posthumous sale of Kensett's works (Kensett Estate Sale 1873) and the photographic record of that sale (Kensett Estate Sale Album 1873), which is bound without title page or text. The estate sale lists thirty-eight paintings with titles referencing Lake George or its features, and an additional three paintings are visually identifiable as Lake George scenes. The aforementioned census at the Hyde Collection includes my page-by-page analysis of the photographic album with the Lake George paintings identified.
2. Spassky in Spassky et al. 1985, p. 35. Spassky went on to say that "certain distinctive features [of the view] have been identified by Peter L. Fisher of the Glens Falls Historical Association." The identification supplied by Fisher is in the Kensett files in the Department of American Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum and includes a diagram that mislabels most of the mountains and islands in the painting, owing to the assumption that Kensett manipulated the elements of a Crown Island perspective.
3. The *Lake George* of 1856 at the Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y. (65.79.1 [112]), is oil on canvas, 26 x 42 in. (66 x 106.7 cm). For an illustration, see Mandel 1990, p. 78. The unlocated painting is *Lake George, from Clay Island*, n.d., 13 x 23 in. (33 x 58.4 cm), Kensett Estate Sale 1873, lot 280, and pl. 20, top row, third from right, in the Kensett Estate Sale Album 1873. Additionally, there exists a rare Kensett drawing of the Narrows, *Lake George*, 1853, which was a basis for the Adirondack Museum painting; it is pencil and white on buff paper, 10 x 14 in. (25.4 x 35.6 cm), and in a private collection. For an illustration, see Driscoll and Howatt 1985, p. 96, fig. 59.
4. The consistent approach can be seen in the comparisons of the reproductions and location photographs connected with the Kensett section of the census of Lake George paintings maintained by the Hyde Collection mentioned in note 1 above.
5. The painting was part of the Kensett Estate Sale 1873, lot 50.
6. The increases in height were probably both a deliberate effort to dramatize the topography and an intuitive effort to solve the inherent limitations of two-dimensional representation of large, distant landforms. On location, the vertical dimension of a far-off mountain will be minimal, but we sense its true height because we simultaneously experience its great distance from us. Because the sensation of space in a drawing or painting cannot completely match the experience of deep three-dimensional space, a literal transcription of the proportions of distant mountains makes them seem too slight; small increases in the depicted height compensate for the unavoidably shallower illusionistic space.
7. Tuckerman 1867, p. 513.

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Abraham Lincoln: The Man (*Standing Lincoln*): A Bronze Statuette by Augustus Saint-Gaudens

THAYER TOLLES

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In January 2012, just days before the opening of the New American Wing Galleries for Paintings, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts, the Metropolitan acquired a bronze statuette of transformative impact to the present installation and to its historic American sculpture collection. This particular cast of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Abraham Lincoln*: *The Man*, more familiarly known as *Standing Lincoln* (Figures 1, 2), surfaced after decades of private ownership, unknown to scholars and unrecorded in the catalogue raisonné of the artist's work.[1] Art historical and technical research conducted during the acquisition process yielded one affirmation of its significance after another: the first cast (1911) in an edition of some seventeen located bronzes, the sculpture bears a distinguished provenance and installation history and offers important insight into foundry practices of the day. That it should join the Metropolitan's collection is fitting, for the Museum has a long history of association with Saint-Gaudens, even having served as the opening venue for his memorial exhibition in 1908, an installation of 154 works held in the Hall of Sculpture (now the Great Hall).[2] The acquisition of *Standing Lincoln* has redressed the one significant lacuna in the Metropolitan's broad holdings of the artist's work, which number forty-five but until now lacked a reduction based on the public monument that affirmed his career as a sculptor of national, and later international, repute.

The arc of Saint-Gaudens's career may be correlated precisely with the demand for civic sculptures commemorating Civil War heroes in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Apprenticed as a cameo cutter between 1861 and 1867 in New York, Saint-Gaudens also attended night classes in drawing at the Cooper Union and the National Academy of Design. He moved to Paris in 1867, and in March 1868 matriculated at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, where he studied in the atelier of François Jouffroy. The rigorous academic training he received in Paris, and his exposure to classical and Renaissance sculpture during his subsequent sojourns in Rome in 1870–75, formed the basis of his signature style, one in which the naturalistic treatment of a fluid, textured surface was paramount and the architectural setting was fundamental to a monument's narrative and pedagogical imperatives. These hallmarks distinguish the Civil War–related commissions for which he is celebrated, notably the Farragut Monument (1877–80, Madison Square Park, New York); the Shaw Memorial (1884–97, Boston Common); and the Sherman Monument (1892–1903, Grand Army Plaza, Manhattan, New York).

The first of these monuments, celebrating Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, was unveiled in 1881, earning Saint-Gaudens the praise of New York's cultural elite, who parlayed their connections with the leading journals and newspapers of the day to promote the sculptor as a harbinger of a new school of American-based artists working in a sophisticated, French-inspired style. This deliberately orchestrated publicity machine of the early 1880s brought Saint-Gaudens increasing national notice and soon expanded his circle of patrons beyond Boston and New York. In 1883 the Chicago Lincoln Memorial Fund unofficially granted Saint-Gaudens the commission for *Standing Lincoln*. (The final contract is dated November 11, 1884.) This larger-than-lifesize monument (Figure 3), which spawned the posthumous reductions beginning with the Metropolitan's in 1911, was funded by the estate of lumber magnate Eli Bates. The $40,000 commission (equivalent to about $1 million in today's purchasing power) called not only for a statue of Lincoln for Lincoln Park but also for the Eli Bates Fountain, *Storks at Play*, which Saint-Gaudens modeled in 1886–87 in collaboration with his gifted studio assistant Frederick William MacMonnies. The bronze ensemble of three herons

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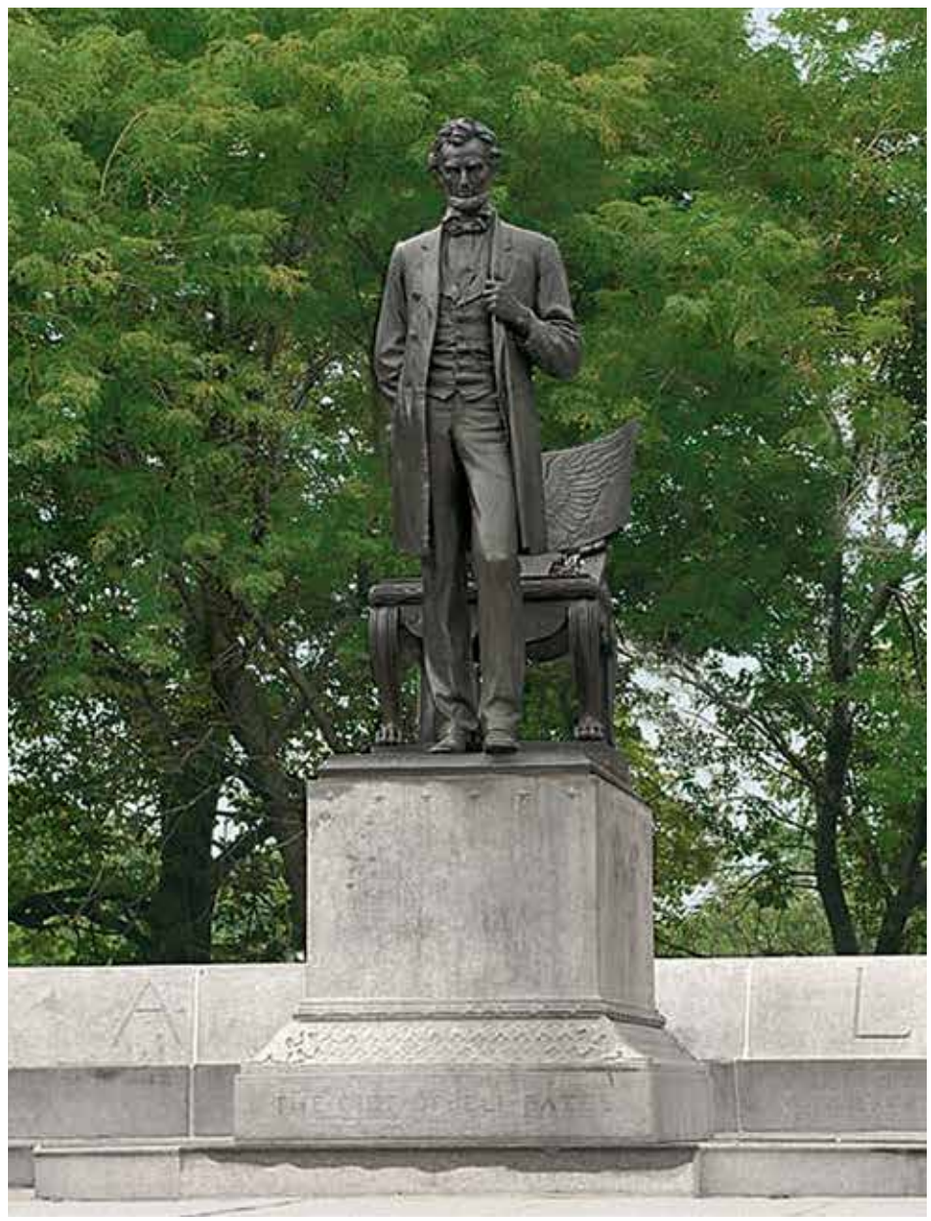
1. Augustus Saint-Gaudens (American, 1848–1907). *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), 1884–87; reduced 1910 (this cast, 1911). Bronze, 40½ x 16½ x 30¼ in. (102.9 x 41.9 x 76.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Tyson Family Gift, in memory of Edouard and Ellen Muller; The Beatrice G. Warren and Leila W. Redstone, and Maria DeWitt Jesup Funds; Dorothy and Imre Cholnoky, David Schwartz Foundation Inc., Joanne and Warren Josephy, Annette de la Renta, Thomas H. and Diane DeMell Jacobsen Ph.D. Foundation, and Felicia Fund Inc. Gifts, 2012 (2012.14a, b). Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

2. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), side view. Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

and three putti holding fish is installed in a circular stone basin, also within the park.

Saint-Gaudens's portrait style melded accurate likeness with projection of character, the result of research, observation, and instinct. The sculptor particularly relied on these varied approaches for the *Lincoln* commission, the honor of modeling a portrait of the martyred president having inspired him to added seriousness of purpose. Saint-Gaudens's vision of Lincoln was in large part informed by his own youthful recollections. In February 1861 he had seen the president-elect in New York during a procession down Fifth Avenue to the Astor House, and he remembered him as "a tall and very dark man, seemingly entirely out of proportion in his height with the carriage in which he was driven, bowing to the crowds on each side."[3] Four years later, in April 1865, Saint-Gaudens paid his respects to the assassinated president at City Hall. He recalled, "After joining the interminable line that formed somewhere down Chatham Street and led up by the bier at the head of the staircase, I saw Lincoln lying in state . . . and I went back to the end of the line to look at him again. This completed my vision of the big man, though the funeral, which I viewed from the roof of the old Wallack's Theater on Broome Street, deepened the profound solemnity of my impression."[4]

This "profound solemnity" was later reinforced as Saint-Gaudens, on the recommendation of his close friend and critical advocate Richard Watson Gilder, poet and editor of the *Century Magazine*, studied Lincoln's speeches and writings in preparation for the commission. Excerpts from the Cooper Union speech (February 27, 1860) and second inaugural address (March 4, 1865) were carved into the accompanying sixty-foot-long exedra, while bronze cannonballs flanking the steps have extracts from the Gettysburg Address (November 19, 1863) and a letter written to Horace Greeley (August 22, 1862), editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.



3. Augustus Saint-Gaudens; architectural setting designed by Stanford White. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), Lincoln Park, Chicago, 1884–87. Bronze. Photograph: James Peterson. Courtesy of Chicago Park District

4. Clay sketches for *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), 1885, destroyed. In Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 2, p. [27]

5. Mathew B. Brady (American, 1823?–1896). *Abraham Lincoln*, January 8, 1864. Photograph: National Archives, Washington, D.C. (111-B-3656)

These elements, along with the granite pedestal, were designed in collaboration with the architect Stanford White, who regularly worked in creative partnership with Saint-Gaudens on the planning of settings for his monuments.[5]

In 1885, during his first summer in Cornish, New Hampshire, Saint-Gaudens began concentrated work on *Standing Lincoln*. To entice him to visit what would become his longtime summer retreat, the sculptor had been promised "plenty of Lincoln-shaped men up there."[6] With a lean, six-foot-four farmer named Langdon Morse serving as his model, Saint-Gaudens created a number of small clay sketches (since destroyed; see Figure 4) in which he arrived at the figure's standing pose. (He also considered, then abandoned, a seated one.)[7] To ensure an accurate physical likeness, Saint-Gaudens no doubt consulted photographs, presumably including those taken by the Mathew Brady gallery, whose Washington, D.C., studio Lincoln visited several times during the Civil War. In his articulation of Lincoln's tall, gangly figure Saint-Gaudens might have found particularly useful a full-length photograph taken by Anthony Berger at Brady's gallery on February 9, 1864. Another photograph, taken by Brady on January 8, 1864, in which Lincoln poses with his left hand behind his back (Figure 5), may have inspired Saint-Gaudens's adaptation of that gesture.[8]

Saint-Gaudens also relied on a life mask of Lincoln's face and casts of his right and left hands taken by the Chicago sculptor Leonard Wells Volk in the spring of 1860 (Figures 6, 7). Volk took the mold of his face in April and those of his hands on May 20, two days after Lincoln received the Republication Party's nomination for president. Volk was the first artist to model Lincoln's portrait and to produce life molds, and as a result, made his name and subsequent living from the steady output of variant portrait busts. (The Metropolitan has a posthumous example of about 1914.)[9] Fortuitously, Volk's son, the painter Douglas Volk, brought the original plaster casts to the attention of Saint-Gaudens, who in 1886, along with Richard Watson Gilder and collectors Thomas B. Clarke and Erwin Davis, purchased them for $1,500 to be placed in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (They are now in the National Museum of American History.) To finance the donation, the men organized a subscription whereby funders would receive sets in either bronze or plaster, depending on the amount contributed ($85 or $50, respectively). Saint-Gaudens oversaw the casting in 1886 and added dedicatory inscriptions to the back of the mask and to the wrists. He then individualized the casts by insetting the subscriber's name within the inscription on the mask. (The Metropolitan's bronze mask and right hand were originally owned by Gilder.) For his monumental figure Saint-Gaudens adopted from the mask the high forehead, large ears, deep-set eyes, and facial structure, to which he added the familiar tousled hair, bushy eyebrows, and trimmed beard.

The final conception for the statue, one maintained in the reductions, was innovative: Lincoln stands motionless in front of a ceremonial Chair of State. Saint-Gaudens presented Lincoln not as a man in action, but as a man in an intensely private, introspective moment, preparing to lift his head to address his audience. Lincoln's left hand grasps the lapel of his frock coat, while his right is positioned behind his back, loosely clenched in a fist. Saint-Gaudens added subtle naturalistic touches that activate the surface of an essentially static monument, from the undulating folds of fabric on Lincoln's vest to the projection of his left foot off the edge of the base into the viewer's space. His head is slightly bowed, his expression pensive (Figure 8). One contemporary noted that Lincoln's "face was not exactly that of Narcissus" and that, nonetheless, and despite Lincoln's lanky ungainliness, Saint-Gaudens had successfully solved "the problem of being very real and yet indicating grandeur of character."[10] In other words, he had presented Lincoln as an individual and a hero, both homely and majestic, as a thinker, an orator, a leader, and a defender of liberty.

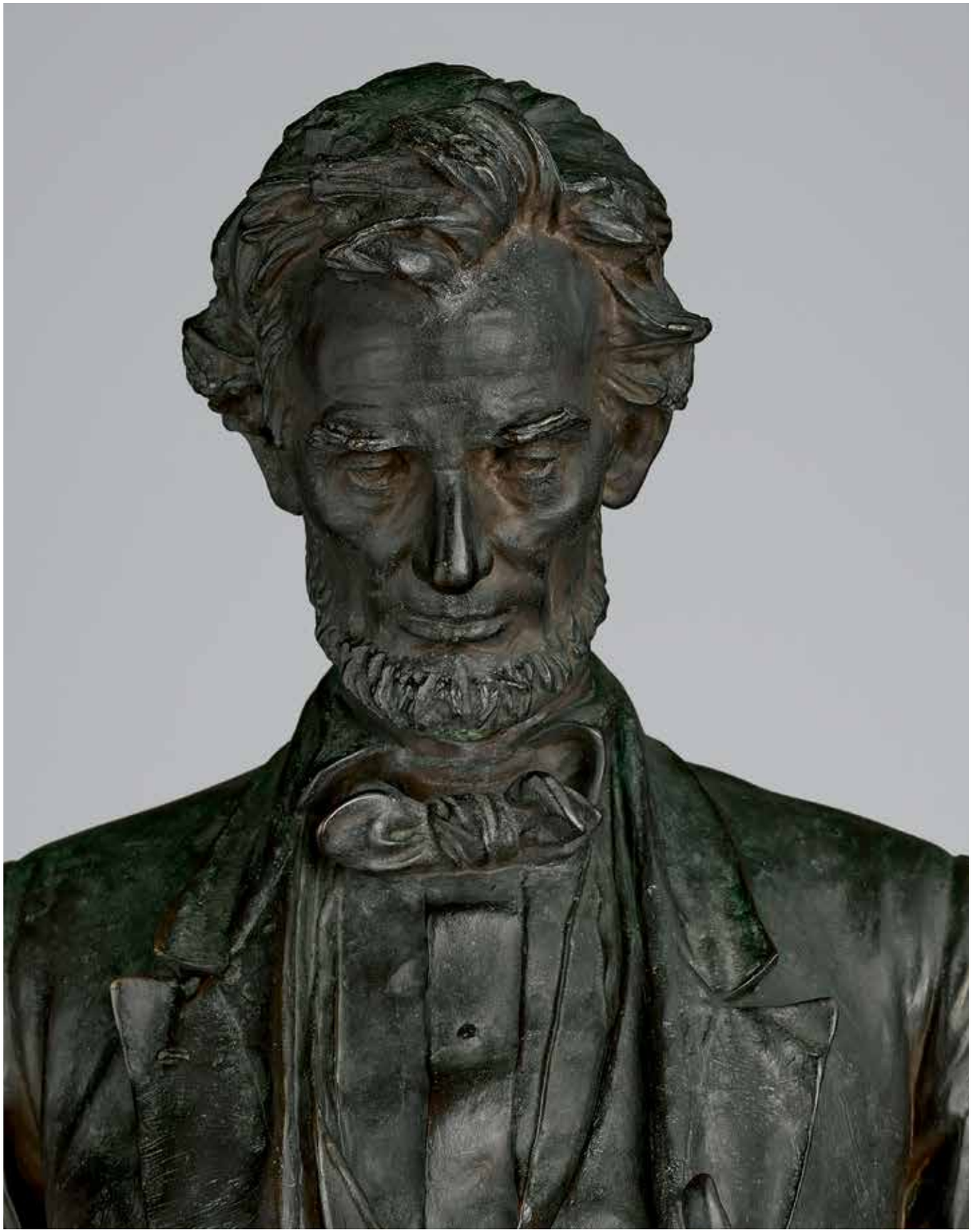
The Chair of State was deliberately oversized to emphasize both the power of the presidential office and the gravity of the political moment, serving a symbolic rather than practical function. Rendered as a classical klismos, it was derived compositionally from the Throne of the Priest (ca. 330 B.C.) in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens. Saint-Gaudens wrote in his *Reminiscences* of being "absorbed before the cast of a Greek seat in the theater at Athens," which he saw in the Museum of Fine Arts (Figure 9) during a trip to Boston relating to the Shaw Memorial.[11] In particular, Saint-Gaudens looked to the form of the throne's legs as well as to the low-relief decoration. Lincoln's chair features a crest rail (Figure 10) on which a low-relief American eagle is posed frontally with wings outspread and accompanied by the motto "E PLVRIBVS VNVM" (out of many, one), the device of eagle and motto adapted from the Great Seal of the United States. With the chair, Saint-Gaudens introduced a symbolism both national and timeless that would have been readily legible to viewers of the day. As a journalist described it shortly before the sculpture was cast by the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company in the summer of 1887, "the feet are lion claws, to denote authority and strength; the sides of the seats are Roman fasces, to indicate the Executive. . . . There are oak leaves for power, and palm leaves for martyrdom, while the arches between the legs have ornaments of pine cones, suggestive of the North."[12]

The *Standing Lincoln* monument was dedicated before ten thousand people on October 22, 1887, with Abraham Lincoln's fourteen-year-old grandson and namesake unveiling the flag-draped sculpture. The outpouring of critical accolades immediately positioned it as a landmark sculpture: "the first statue of Lincoln that has yet been made" and "the finest product of American sculpture yet achieved" were frequent refrains in contemporary newspapers and journals.[13] American sculptors immediately looked to Saint-Gaudens's likeness for creative and narrative guidance, not only in its realism, but also in the way Lincoln is represented symbolically as defender and preserver of the Union. Among those influenced by it was longtime Metropolitan trustee Daniel Chester French, for both his reflective standing bronze in Lincoln, Nebraska (1909–12), and his massive seated figure (1911–22) for the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., which became the most iconic of all sculptural depictions of Lincoln.[14]

Beginning in the 1890s, as Saint-Gaudens worked principally on the Shaw and Sherman monuments, riding the coattails of his success with *Farragut* and *Lincoln*, he began casting so-called commercial bronzes. These small casts were produced in unlimited editions for a mass market and were sold principally through galleries in New York and Boston or occasionally purchased directly from the artist. Saint-Gaudens's principal objective was to generate steady income between the infrequent payments for his commissioned monuments, which often took him many years to complete. By the late 1890s, first in New York and after 1897 in Paris, he had reduced and cast four models that would remain the nexus of his small-bronze business both before and after his death: *Diana*, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, *The Puritan*, and *Amor Caritas*.[15] After 1900,

6. Leonard Wells Volk (American, 1828–1895). *Life Mask of Abraham Lincoln*, 1860 (this cast, 1886). Bronze, L. 8 in. (20.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Jonathan L. Cohen and Allison B. Morrow Gift and Friends of the American Wing Fund, 2007 (2007.185.2). Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

7. Leonard Wells Volk. *Right Hand of Abraham Lincoln*, 1860 (this cast, 1886). Bronze, L. 6¼ in. (15.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Jonathan L. Cohen and Allison B. Morrow Gift and Friends of the American Wing Fund, 2007 (2007.185.1). Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA



8. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), detail of head and upper torso. Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

when Saint-Gaudens returned to the United States from his stay in France, his wife, Augusta, in consultation with the sculptor and his studio assistants, increasingly managed the production and marketing of his commercial bronzes. Her meticulous record-keeping allows for an accurate reconstruction of patterns of pricing and sales and the selection of foundries, as well as the gradual introduction of additional models to the repertoire.

After Saint-Gaudens's death in 1907, following a hiatus during which she managed the consolidation and dispersal of works for the five-venue memorial exhibition (1908–10), Augusta Saint-Gaudens turned her attention to casting small bronzes from the sculptor's oeuvre with a renewed dedication both practical (to provide income) and idealistic (to ensure her husband's public artistic legacy). Under the terms of Saint-Gaudens's will she was authorized to cast posthumously any works that he had copyrighted, a practice known as estate casting, where in the best possible scenario bronzes are cast from original plasters at the deceased sculptor's preferred foundries, even by his favorite artisans. By the early 1920s, when Augusta Saint-Gaudens ceased casting, she had expanded the

9. Installation view of plaster cast of Throne of the Priest (ca. 330 B.C.) from the Theater of Dionysos, Athens, in the Classical Galleries, Museum of Fine Arts, Copley Square, Boston. The cast is to the left of the doorway. Photograph: © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

10. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), detail of chair crest rail. Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

11. "Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Hall of Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, view looking south, 1908

inventory of small bronzes to twenty-five, scrupulously controlling their quality and shrewdly placing them in museums and libraries, in addition to managing private sales for domestic display.

As correspondence attests, Saint-Gaudens was amenable to a reduction to a smaller scale of the monumental *Standing Lincoln* during his lifetime. In 1902 he was asked by Charles McKim of McKim, Mead & White to authorize a marble replica at the same scale as Jean-Antoine Houdon's full-length *George Washington* (1792; Capitol Building, Richmond, Virginia) for the White House. The firm, which was overseeing renovations to the White House, planned to place marble replicas of both sculptures in the entrance hall. They were to be produced by the New York–based Piccirilli Brothers, esteemed carvers for many leading American sculptors.[16] However, the project was never carried out. Several months before Saint-Gaudens's death, during a discussion of copyright issues with their attorney Charles O. Brewster, Augusta Saint-Gaudens inquired about the possibility of producing a statuette. Brewster responded: "As to the reduction of the standing Lincoln, I suppose that there would be no objection to your making such copies. I assume that this statue was never copyrighted."[17] Shortly thereafter, in reply to a separate request by Saint-Gaudens to produce a full-size replica, the Commissioners of Lincoln Park provided a definitive answer: "By a unanimous vote, [they] resolved to never permit any replicas to be made of the statue of Lincoln. This . . . would not preclude the making of plaster casts for museums, following the custom in regard to great works of art every where."[18]

Indeed, during preparations for the memorial exhibition at the Metropolitan, Augusta Saint-Gaudens received approval from the Lincoln Park commissioners to cast two full-size plasters from a mold taken off the original bronze. One was intended for the traveling exhibition (Figure 11), while the other remained in the New York studio of plaster caster John Herman Walthausen, who had traveled to Chicago to produce the mold. Later Augusta Saint-Gaudens

appealed through Robert Todd Lincoln, the president's son, for permission to produce reductions after the full-size bronze, and in August 1908 the park commissioners gave their consent "to aid the widow."[19]

In spring 1910, shortly after the close of the memorial exhibition at its final venue, the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, Augusta Saint-Gaudens assigned Gaëtan Ardisson, the sculptor's longtime trusted mold maker and technician, the task of reducing *Standing Lincoln* from its original 11½ feet in height to a size she later described to the Metropolitan's director Edward Robinson as "3 ft. 5 in." including the plinth (the Metropolitan's cast measures 40½ inches).[20] Her precise records, maintained in her account book, provide an unusually complete glimpse into the production process. She first purchased the full-size plaster that remained in Walthausen's New York studio and had it transported to Cornish, New Hampshire, where assistants continued to bring monumental commissions to completion and to assist in the production of models for the commercial bronzes.[21] Records of payments to Ardisson reveal that he began the work in September 1910 and continued through April 1911, expending a total of 1,424 hours—testament to the laborious process of sculpture making.[22] The task was completed using a mechanical reducing machine, a tool in widespread use since its development in France in the 1830s. Augusta Saint-Gaudens expressed her pleasure at the result to Edward Robinson, writing him in May 1911 to inform him of the opportunity to purchase a bronze cast: "This reduction seems to us unusually successful."[23]

Unlike Saint-Gaudens, who cast with many different foundries, Augusta Saint-Gaudens worked consistently with just two: Tiffany Studios in New York and Gorham Manufacturing Company in Providence, Rhode Island. Focusing on Tiffany and Gorham was shrewd, for the foundries channeled bronzes into their respective New York showrooms and even sent bronzes to each other for inventory. Tiffany offered to make casts of *Standing Lincoln* for $240 apiece, as opposed to Gorham's estimate of $380 (or $700 for two), and following her husband's practice she almost always selected the lowest bid.[24] Although the Metropolitan's statuette does not have a foundry mark, the first cast was made at Tiffany Studios in 1911, and as is detailed below, the provenance of the Museum's cast definitively identifies it as that example. As her account book attests, on December 19 Augusta Saint-Gaudens paid Tiffany $240 for the reduction as well as $12 for "putting on inscription"—possibly a reference to their working "AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS•SCVLPTOR•M•D•C•C•C•LXXXVII" into the surface of the wax model.[25] Her foundry selection was all the more logical inasmuch as Charles and Ernest Aubry, two of Saint-Gaudens's preferred founders, were then employed by Tiffany Studios.[26]

Two other casts were retailed in 1912. Gorham's showroom sold the second cast (now at the Yale University Art Gallery) to George Armour, and Boston's Doll & Richards gallery sold the third (now at the Harvard Art Museums) to Grenville W. Winthrop. Each was priced at $1,500.[27] Like the Metropolitan's bronze, neither bears a foundry mark, so it is impossible to determine where Armour's was produced, though it was likely at Tiffany Studios, even though sold through Gorham.[28] Winthrop's cast is documented as having been cast at Tiffany Studios and approved by Louis Comfort Tiffany and the sculptor James Earle Fraser, a former Saint-Gaudens studio assistant and frequent adviser to Augusta Saint-Gaudens on artistic matters.[29]

During the early years of her casting *Standing Lincoln* reductions, Augusta Saint-Gaudens twice offered the Metropolitan an opportunity to purchase one. She regularly corresponded with Director Edward Robinson and sculptor Daniel Chester French, chair of the trustees' committee on sculpture, often drawing their attention to works available for purchase. In one letter she informed Robinson about the availability of a large version of the rejected reverse for the World's Columbian Exposition commemorative presentation medal (1892–94), as well as the Lincoln statuette and a heroic-size bust derived from the *Standing Lincoln* monument (1910; Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire). After seeing a copy of the letter, French responded to Robinson: "In view of past experiences I suppose it is not within the range of possibility that Mrs. Saint-Gaudens expected to present these bronzes [the Lincoln statuette and bust] to the Museum! If this were the case, our course would be clear. As it is, I suppose you wish me to take the matter under consideration and advise you later as to my views on the subject. I should very much like to have both of these bronzes, but it is probable that we should have to pay a pretty large sum for them, but this thought gives me pause."[30] French was alluding to Augusta Saint-Gaudens's difficult temperament, which he had encountered both as de facto curator of the Saint-Gaudens memorial exhibition at the Metropolitan and during Museum negotiations for the purchase of four bronzes through the auspices of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial Committee.[31] Thus French did not recommend that the Metropolitan pursue the *Standing Lincoln* acquisition either at that time or in 1914, when Augusta Saint-Gaudens again offered the opportunity to purchase a cast along with the *Victory* statuette excerpted from the Sherman Monument.[32] (The Museum ultimately purchased the *Victory* from her in 1917.)

By at least 1914 Tiffany was using a more durable bronze master model (from which molds were made to produce additional bronze statuettes) rather than plaster ones (which deteriorated and had to be replaced after several molds were cast). Augusta Saint-Gaudens's willingness to invest in a bronze pattern for *Standing Lincoln* is an indication of her confidence that a sizable number of reductions would be required in the future.[33] The statuette, priced throughout the

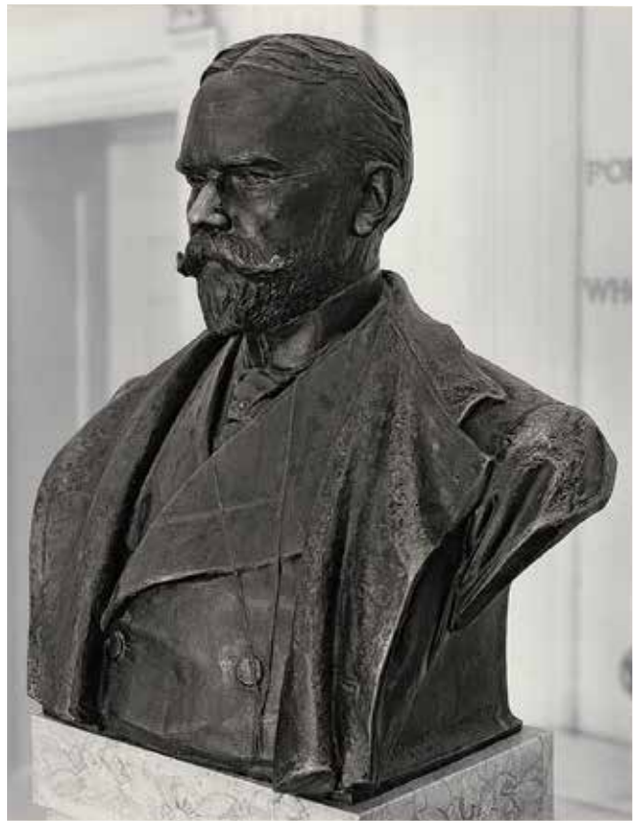
1910s at $1,500 (then the top of the market for an American bronze statuette), earned her a handsome income as she steadily sold casts. Augusta Saint-Gaudens's account book records three additional casts in 1914–15: income in 1914 for one sold by Gorham and outlay to Tiffany Studios in 1915 for two casts, one to be sold through Gorham in New York, the other through Doll & Richards in Boston.[34]

By 1917 Tiffany Studios' casting charge had risen to $450, as against Gorham's $420. Because Tiffany & Co.'s showroom planned to charge a 30 percent commission on casts sold (rather than the previous 20 percent), Augusta Saint-Gaudens moved the production of *Standing Lincoln* casts (and several other models) to the Gorham foundry in Providence. Casts produced by Gorham in 1917 and later are readily identifiable, as they include the foundry-generated serial mark QAWM.[35] All casts, whether produced by Tiffany or by Gorham, exhibit a remarkable similarity in construction and surface appearance, evidence not only of their having been produced from a single bronze pattern but also of Augusta Saint-Gaudens's discerning commitment to quality control. In 1921 she received a bid of $650 from Roman Bronze Works for casting *Standing Lincoln*, but there is no evidence that the firm produced any replicas.[36] Casting of the Lincoln statuettes ceased in the early 1920s, as did production of other authorized posthumous models. By that time several were in public institutions; one was acquired by the public library (now Jackson District Library) in Jackson, Michigan, in 1915, and in 1920 the Newark Museum received one as the gift of Franklin Murphy Jr. Augusta Saint-Gaudens also reserved one cast for the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, which she founded in 1919 to maintain the Cornish home and studios, as well as the collections. Today it is maintained by the National Park Service as the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

The Metropolitan's *Standing Lincoln* is distinguished not only as the first cast in the edition, but also by the nature of its early provenance. Augusta Saint-Gaudens arranged to have the new sculpture shipped to the Smithsonian's National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., presumably so as to give it maximum exposure.[37] She also lent the National Gallery the heroic-size bronze bust of Lincoln excerpted from the Chicago monument (the one she had previously offered to the Metropolitan). Her choice of Washington was logical, not only for historical associations, but also because she and her husband had been frequent visitors there in the years before the sculptor's death. In 1901 he had been named to the Senate Park Commission, known as the McMillan Commission, formed to clarify planning on and around the National Mall, and in 1905 he had been selected by President Theodore Roosevelt to redesign the nation's ten- and twenty-dollar gold coins and the one-cent piece. Furthermore, the memorial exhibition had traveled from the Metropolitan directly to the Corcoran Gallery of Art in December 1908. Augusta Saint-Gaudens asked its organizer, Glenn Brown, secretary of the American Institute of Architects, to appeal to the National Gallery's curator William Holmes for acceptance of the loans.

The bronze cast was shipped to Washington directly from the Tiffany Studios foundry in December 1911. At the museum it was assigned an accession number, recorded on the rear edge of the plinth in red paint—a valuable clue to the early provenance of the piece.[38] In May 1912 Augusta Saint-Gaudens sold the statuette, though still on loan, to Clara Stone Hay (1849–1914) for $1,000.[39] At that same time she copyrighted the sculpture and obtained permission from Clara Hay to have the inscription "COPYRIGHT 1912 BY A. H. SAINT-GAUDENS" cold-worked into the rear edge of the plinth.[40]

That Augusta Saint-Gaudens should have suggested to Clara Hay that she purchase the first example of the *Standing Lincoln* statuette is unsurprising. She was the widow of John M. Hay (1838–1905), assistant private secretary to Lincoln during the Civil War. Hay went on to coauthor with John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's principal private secretary, the ten-volume biography *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, published by the Century Company in 1890. Early excerpts,



12. Augustus Saint-Gaudens. *John Hay*, 1904 (this cast, 1910). Bronze, 24⅞ x 23⅛ x 13¼ in. (63.2 x 58.7 x 33.7 cm). John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.

13. Central Hall, National Gallery of Art in Natural History Museum, Washington, D.C., 1922. View with the *Standing Lincoln* installed against the fourth pier to the left. Photograph: Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C. (2002-32213)

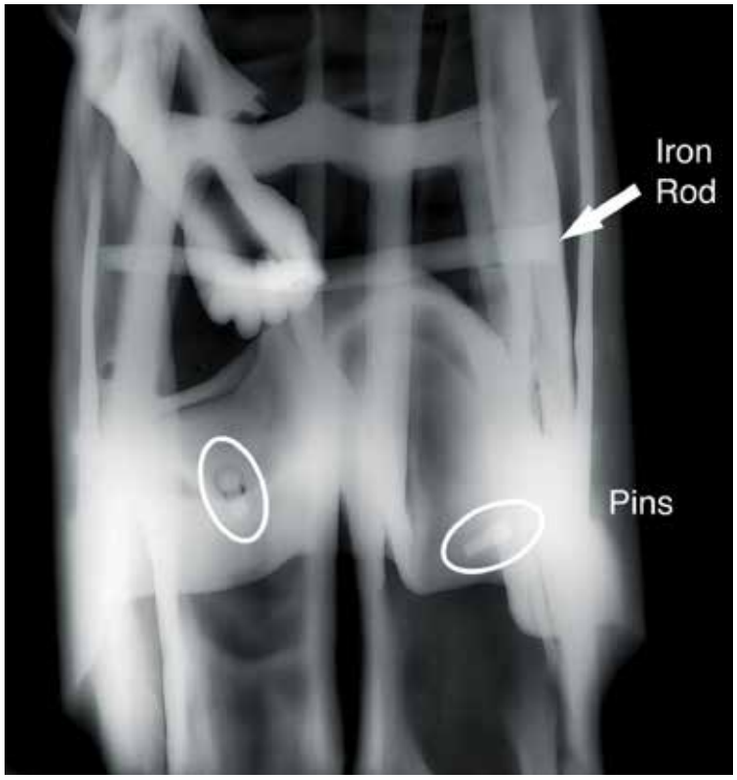
based on diaries Hay and Nicolay kept during their years in the White House, were printed in the *Century Magazine* beginning in 1886, whereupon Saint-Gaudens expressed his pleasure in an undated letter to its editor Richard Watson Gilder: "Hoooooraaaahhhh for the Life of Lincoln. It's a big thing."[41] Although Saint-Gaudens had known Hay as early as the mid-1880s, it was only later that the two men formed a firm friendship, at the time when Hay was serving as secretary of state (1898–1905) to Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt and Saint-Gaudens was advising Roosevelt on arts matters.

In the fall of 1903 Saint-Gaudens accepted a commission from Hay to sculpt his portrait. He began modeling the bust the following winter, relying on photographs taken for the purpose. In the summer of 1904 Hay sat for Saint-Gaudens in Cornish, not far from Hay's own summer residence, The Fells, in Newbury, New Hampshire. Saint-Gaudens modeled Hay in contemporary business attire, with a neatly clipped beard and a waxed mustache (Figure 12). By the end of that year the sculptor, with his assistants Elsie Ward and Frances Grimes, had begun the process of replicating the bust in bronze and marble (both are privately owned). In 1906, after Hay's death, Clara Hay commissioned a tomb from Saint-Gaudens that he was unable to complete. He was already gravely ill with intestinal cancer and would die in August 1907, and the work (in Cleveland's Lake View Cemetery) was instead carried out by James Earle Fraser in 1916. In the years of their widowhood Clara Hay and Augusta Saint-Gaudens remained in friendly contact and correspondence.[42] In 1910 Clara Hay ordered a bronze replica of the Hay bust for the John Hay Library at Brown University, which opened in November of that year.[43] Although their correspondence about the *Standing Lincoln* transaction has not been located, evidence suggests that the purchase was prompted by this close personal association.

For reasons unknown, Clara Hay never took possession of her *Standing Lincoln* statuette, and it remained on loan to the Smithsonian until 1943. Following her death in 1914 its ownership passed to her estate, shared by her children Helen Hay Whitney (1876–1944), Alice Hay Wadsworth (1880–1960), and Clarence Hay (1885–1969). Over the years the sculpture was consistently on view at the National Gallery of Art; a photograph of the gallery's Central Hall from 1922 (Figure 13) shows it installed against a pier among an assortment of sculptures, a suit of armor, weapons, urns, and paintings. Smithsonian annual reports document that it was lent on at least two occasions: to the Great Lakes Exposition in Cleveland (May–September 1937) and to the Illinois Building at the New York World's Fair (1939–40).[44]

In December 1943 the Hay children terminated the loan of *Standing Lincoln* to the National Collection of Fine Arts[45] and arranged for its sale through George Tiffany and Dan

14. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), detail of head inserted into neck. X-radiograph: Linda Borsch



15. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), detail of middle section of figure. X-radiograph: Linda Borsch

Norton, executives with Nestlé, who purchased the sculpture to present to their colleague Edouard Muller in honor of his forty years of service to the company. Following Muller's death in 1948 the statuette remained in his family for another sixty-four years until its sale to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. At present, *Standing Lincoln* is installed in the American Wing in Gallery 762, the Peter M. Sacerdote Gallery, which houses art from the period 1860–80 linked to Civil War and Reconstruction themes. In proximity to sculptures relating to Saint-Gaudens's other Civil War monuments as well as paintings treating themes of conflict, abolition, and transition, the bronze statuette stands as a cornerstone in both this gallery and the Metropolitan's American sculpture collection.

TECHNICAL NOTES

The results of the pre-acquisition technical examination of *Standing Lincoln* support its documented date of 1911.[46] Surface analysis using nondestructive X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) identified the metal as a copper alloy, composed of approximately 88.9% copper, 6.6% zinc, 3.9% tin, and less than 1% lead, a composition consistent with American casts of the period. Initial examination suggested that the figure was lost-wax cast in a single form, since joins were so well concealed in recesses of the clothing. Microscopic examination and digital X-radiography confirmed that the statuette was in fact produced by sand casting in eleven hollow sections that were joined together either mechanically or by brazing, or by a combination of the two.

The figure consists of four sections: Lincoln's head, his upper body and coat, his legs and feet, and his left hand. X-radiography revealed that the head was cast with a tapered cylindrical element at the neck, which was inserted into an opening at the collar and secured by pinning and brazing (Figure 14). Dark circles, visible in the radiograph at both shoulders, indicated that an iron armature used to suspend the core in the mold for the body was removed after casting along with the core; the resulting holes were repaired with thinner brazed metal patches, which appear darker than the surrounding metal on the radiograph. The left hand, cast with a small section of the lapel attached, was joined by brazing into openings at the lapel and wrist.

16. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man* (*Standing Lincoln*), detail of underside of base. Photograph: Bruce J. Schwarz, The Photograph Studio, MMA

The figure's legs, feet, and a hexagonal section of the plinth below the feet appear to be cast as a single element. A horizontal supporting rod for the casting core, similar to the rod removed from the upper torso, is visible on the radiograph at the level of the hips (Figure 15). After casting and removal of the core, the iron rod was cut flush with the surface of the cast but left in place, since the ends were to be covered by the frock coat once the figure was assembled. The join between the legs and body was concealed under the front of the waistcoat and inside the lower front, sides, and back of the frock coat. Like the armature rod, these areas appear as denser or whiter areas on the radiograph. The join was reinforced with several hidden pins, which were inserted through the coat and into the legs before brazing (see Figure 15).

The stepped plinth was cast as a single hollow form, with a hexagonal opening on the lower tier to receive the corresponding element cast with the legs and feet. The mechanical join between the figure and the plinth was reinforced with two large pins that are visible on the underside (Figure 16). The chair was cast in six hollow sections: the seat and seat rails as one unit, the crest rail and stiles as another, and the four legs. All were joined mechanically with pins and threaded rods. The seat was cast with a rectangular opening on the underside, allowing access for core removal and hidden attachment of the stiles and legs. The opening was concealed with a brazed patch once the chair was assembled. The chair's four feet were joined to the upper tier of the plinth with four threaded rods and nuts (two are now missing) that are visible on the underside of the sculpture (see Figure 16).

Technical examination revealed a high level of artistry and skill in each stage of the statuette's creation, from the modeling, through the casting and joining, to the finishing and patination. Radiography confirmed that since its completion in 1911 *Standing Lincoln* has sustained no notable damage, alterations, or repairs. Equally, or possibly more, significant is the fact that the statuette has suffered very little surface wear during its history of ownership. The original dark brown patina is largely intact, with naturally occurring green oxidation in recesses and minimal wear to a lighter brown color at high points and on horizontal surfaces. Saint-Gaudens's characteristic textured tooling, faithfully translated in the reduction, enlivens the surfaces of the statuette. In its remarkable state of preservation, the Metropolitan's *Standing Lincoln* faithfully represents the technical sophistication of its creator.

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NOTES

1. Dryfhout 2008, pp. 158–62.
2. See Tolles 2009, pp. 50–60.
3. Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 1, p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 51.
5. On the monument's setting, see Schiller 1997, pp. 203–58, and Strazdes 2010.
6. Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 1, p. 312.
7. Several additional archival photographs of destroyed clay sketches are held in the Augustus Saint-Gaudens Papers, ML-4, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., microfilm reel 46, frames 676–77. They are illustrated in Dryfhout 2008, p. 159.
8. See Hamilton and Ostendorf 1963, pp. 384, 386.
9. MMA 14.92; see Holzer and Ostendorf 1978.
10. "A. Lincoln for Chicago," *New York Times*, June 26, 1887, p. 4.
11. Saint-Gaudens 1913, vol. 1, p. 331. The plaster cast of the Throne of the Priest is documented in Robinson 1896, pp. 220–21, no. 513.
12. "A. Lincoln for Chicago," *New York Times*, June 26, 1887, p. 4.
13. "The Fine Arts: Art Notes," *The Critic*, n.s., 8 (July 2, 1887), p. 6; and "Eli Bates' Great Gift. Saint-Gaudens' Colossal Statue of Lincoln," *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1887, p. 1.
14. For other sculptural representations of Lincoln, see Durman 1951.
15. For further discussion of the chronology of Saint-Gaudens's commercial bronze casting, both lifetime and posthumous, see Tolles 2011.
16. See correspondence between Saint-Gaudens, McKim, Mead & White, and Piccirilli Brothers, 1902–4, in the Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 9, frames 557–64.
17. Charles O. Brewster to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, May 21, 1907, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 2, frame 647.
18. Bryan Lathrop, vice-president, Commissioners of Lincoln Park, to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, July 5, 1907, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 9, frames 697–98. This position was later reversed, as a bronze cast was unveiled in Parliament Square in London in July 1920, presented to the British people in 1914 by the American National Committee for the Celebration of the Centenary of the Treaty of Ghent.
19. M. H. West, Lincoln Park System, to W. W. Ellsworth, August 14, 1908; and Ellsworth to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, August 17, 1908, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 9, frames 700–701.
20. Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Edward Robinson, May 9, 1911, Archives, MMA (Sa 238).
21. See Augusta Saint-Gaudens's account book, 1910–17, entry for October 1, 1910, recording payment of $175 to Herman Walthausen, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 859.
22. See account book, 1910–17, Saint-Gaudens Papers. In September Ardisson devoted 189 hours to *Standing Lincoln*; in October, 121; in November, 124; in December, 243; in January, 244; in February, 240; in March, 178; and in April, 85. He was paid 65 cents an hour. Microfilm reel 41, frames 859, 863, 867, 870, 874, 876, 879, and 882.
23. Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Edward Robinson, May 9, 1911, Archives, MMA (Sa 238).
24. List of estimates, 1908–11, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 36, frame 128.
25. Account book, 1910–17, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 898.
26. Aubry Brothers & Co. was based in New York between 1905 and 1909. Among other works by Saint-Gaudens, the foundry cast *The Pilgrim* (1903–4), unveiled in 1905 outside City Hall in Philadelphia and since 1920 installed in Fairmount Park. When the Aubrys went to work for Tiffany Studios, the Saint-Gaudens plasters at their former foundry were transferred with them. See Shapiro 1985, pp. 102, 167–68.
27. Account book, 1910–17, entries for July 9, 1912, and November 13, 1912, microfilm reel 41, frames 913 and 920. Payments of $1,200 per cast were recorded; the actual purchase price was $1,500, minus a 20 percent commission. On Yale's cast, gift of Allison V. Armour in 1937, see Freedman and Frank 1992, p. 154.
28. Augusta Saint-Gaudens noted that Armour's cast was "at The Tiffany Studios in New York." See Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Henry Kent, Secretary, MMA, May 11, 1912, Archives, MMA (Sa 238).
29. For Winthrop's cast, see account book, 1910–17, entry for November 25, 1912, payment to Tiffany Studios for "Lincoln reduction (Winthrop) 240." Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 921. See also Augusta Saint-Gaudens to F[ergus] S. Turner, Doll & Richards, undated [1912], typescript copy, object file 1943.1116, Division of European and American Art, Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.
30. French to Robinson, May 12, 1911, Archives, MMA (Sa 238).
31. The four bronzes were a relief portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson, busts of General William Tecumseh Sherman and Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, and a relief portrait of painter Jules Bastien-Lepage (MMA 12.76.1–4).
32. See Memorandum, Meeting of the Committee on Purchases, March 16, 1914, Archives, MMA.
33. Hugh White, Contract Department, Tiffany Studios, to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, October 30, 1914, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 13, frame 434. White provided a list of nine bronze patterns and thirteen plaster patterns then at Tiffany Studios. This suggests that the majority of casting of Saint-Gaudens's sculpture was taking place at Tiffany at that time. The fourth bronze cast of *Standing Lincoln* by Tiffany Studios was cast by June 7, 1913, when Augusta Saint-Gaudens noted payment of $320 to the foundry in her account book, 1910–17, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 932.
34. Account book, 1910–17, entries for April 23, 1914, and August 16, 1915, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 42, frames 11, 41.
35. See list, in Augusta Saint-Gaudens's handwriting, titled "Tiff Studio prices—Oct 1917," Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 13,

frame 429. See also ledger entry, November 9, 1917, for "QAWM, Statuette Bronze 'Lincoln and Chair,'" Gorham Manufacturing Company, Bronze Division records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 3680, frame 99. The original ledger is held in the Gorham Company Archive, John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.

36. Roman Bronze Works to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, June 1, 1921, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 36, frame 123.
37. The forerunner to the present Smithsonian American Art Museum, the Smithsonian National Gallery of Art was renamed the National Collection of Fine Arts in 1937 upon the founding of the present National Gallery of Art.
38. Originally the sculpture was assigned 11.10.L, and later changed to 11.12.1.L, the number that remains on the back of the bronze plinth. Karen Lemmey, Smithsonian American Art Museum, to the author, email, October 2, 2012.
39. See account book, 1910–17, entry for December 19, 1911, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 898. The notation "express" for $6.16 presumably refers to the cost of shipping the statuette; and entry for May 17, 1912, frame 910: "By check from Mrs. Hay for the Lincoln reduction."
40. Library of Congress copyright card for *Standing Lincoln* statuette, May 17, 1912, Entry: Class G, XXc, no. 40898, Saint-Gaudens Papers, box 42, folder 11 (too mutilated to microfilm). See also Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Unit 311, National Collection of Fine Arts Office of the Director, Records, 1892–1960, for further information about circumstances of the Smithsonian loan, the sale to Clara Hay, and the copyright inscription.
41. Saint-Gaudens to Gilder, undated (ca. late 1880s), typescript copy, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 7, frame 446. The letter accompanied "bronzes" that Saint-Gaudens presented to Gilder, which almost certainly refer to casts of Lincoln's life mask and hands after the originals by Volk.
42. See, for instance, Charles Brewster to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, April 19, [1910]: "I am glad to hear you are safely back at Washington again. . . . With Mrs. Baxter + Mrs. Hay there you will surely have an enjoyable visit." Later in the spring Augusta Saint-Gaudens visited Clara Hay's home in New Hampshire. See Brewster to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, May 5, [1910]. Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 3, frames 524 and 540.
43. Account book, 1910–17, entry for November 26, 1910, Saint-Gaudens Papers, microfilm reel 41, frame 865. Clara Hay paid $1,000 for the bronze cast.
44. *Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year Ended June 30, 1937* (Washington, D.C., 1938), p. 40; and *Report on the National Collection of Fine Arts . . . for the Year Ended June 30, 1941* (Washington, D.C., 1942), p. 49.
45. *Report on the National Collection of Fine Arts . . . for the Year Ended June 30, 1944* (Washington, D.C., 1945), p. 41.
46. The original technical reports, from which this text is adapted, were completed at the Metropolitan Museum by Linda Borsch (X-radiography), conservator, Department of Objects Conservation, and Federico Carò (XRF), associate research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, December 12, 2011.

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The Critic Sadakichi Hartmann as the Subject of a Caricature by Marius de Zayas

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Among the more than four hundred paintings, drawings, watercolors, prints, and sculptures that came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1949 as part of the Alfred Stieglitz Collection are forty caricatures and abstract portraits made between 1908 and 1915 by the Mexican-born artist Marius de Zayas (1880–1961), who during those years was a close friend of Stieglitz's and also his collaborator and adviser. Compared to Marsden Hartley, Arthur Dove, John Marin, and many others in the Stieglitz circle, de Zayas has been little studied, even though he was quite prolific and published his caricatures of socialites, theater celebrities, and politicians in popular newspapers of the day in Mexico City, New York, and Paris.[1] His noncommercial work is almost unknown outside the walls of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which owns the largest group of his drawings in public hands.[2]

In the catalogue of the Alfred Stieglitz Collection published in 2011 to accompany the exhibition "Stieglitz and His Artists, Matisse to O'Keeffe" held that year at the Metropolitan, all but four of the subjects of de Zayas's drawings were identified.[3] Several depict Stieglitz himself, and most of the others are of the coterie of photographers, painters, critics, and writers associated with Stieglitz's first gallery for modern art in New York, officially called the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession but better known as 291, after its address on Fifth Avenue.

Thanks to Stieglitz scholar Peter C. Bunnell, who until his retirement was professor of the history of photography at Princeton University, the sixty-year-old mystery of the identity of the man de Zayas caricatured wearing a big black hat (Figure 1) has been solved.[4] In early 2012 Bunnell wrote to tell me that the man in the hat is not the actor John Drew Jr., as I had speculated in the 2011 catalogue, but the writer and art critic Sadakichi Hartmann (1867–1944).[5] Hartmann was a longtime associate of Alfred Stieglitz's and a frequent contributor to his periodicals *Camera Notes* and *Camera Work*. The new identification helps explain the strong visual connection between this drawing and another caricature by de Zayas (Figure 2), also in the Alfred Stieglitz Collection, of the painter Max Weber (1881–1961). Knowing the volatile relationships between Hartmann, Weber, and Stieglitz, de Zayas very likely intentionally paired the two caricatures.

Produced for his own amusement and that of his colleagues at 291, de Zayas's caricatures encapsulate with delicious wit and biting sarcasm the stories behind the scenes, broadly hinting at who was in favor with Stieglitz and who was on the way out. The same scenario played out at 291 again and again as onetime acolytes who dared to contradict Stieglitz were excommunicated. Ironically, de Zayas suffered the same fate when in 1915 he went head-to-head with Stieglitz over the new periodical *291*.

In 1910–11, however, de Zayas was still very much in Stieglitz's favor. At the time it was Max Weber who was the target of Stieglitz's wrath. Just a year or two earlier Weber's firsthand knowledge of Matisse's and Picasso's work had contributed to Stieglitz's appreciation of the then radical new movements Fauvism and Cubism. But a bitter falling-out over the pricing of Weber's first one-man exhibition at 291 (January 11–31, 1911) dissolved the brief but strong personal and professional alliance. De Zayas's own dislike of Weber is evident in his unflattering portrayals of the painter as a smug little gnome (see Figures 2, 3).[6]

De Zayas's large caricature of Weber (Figure 2), with its completely painted figure and background, is atypical of the other drawings by him in the Alfred Stieglitz Collection, which are line drawings and charcoals. It is, however, a natural companion to his caricature of Hartmann. The two portraits are painted on a similar type of Japanese paper in

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1. Marius de Zayas (Mexican, 1880–1961). *Sadakichi Hartmann*, ca. 1910–11. Ink and watercolor on paper, 18 x 15½ in. (45.7 x 39.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.213)

2. Marius de Zayas. *Max Weber*, ca. 1910–11. Ink, gouache, watercolor, metallic paint, and graphite on paper, 18¼ x 15⅝ in. (46.4 x 39.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.214)

the same squarish format and with the same degree of finish and painterliness. They were both probably made in late 1910 or early 1911, when Weber's show was planned and on view at 291.

Professor Bunnell's identification of Hartmann as the subject of de Zayas's drawing was confirmed by two illustrations in *The Valiant Knights of Daguerre*, a compendium of Hartmann's writings on photography and photographers that appeared in 1978: a caricature by John Decker (Figure 4) and a photograph by J. C. (Julius Caesar) Strauss (Figure 5).[7] In all three pictures Hartmann's striking German-Japanese face, with its thin mustache, strong jawline, and slight underbite, is seen in profile, and in all three he wears his rakish hat. In the Strauss photograph he holds a walking stick, and in Decker's drawing he smokes a cigar, attributes that also appear in de Zayas's watercolor. Strauss's photograph was taken in 1911, about the time de Zayas drew his caricature. A photograph by Edward Steichen also in the Metropolitan's collection (Figure 6) shows Hartmann eight years earlier, in 1903.

For some fourteen years Hartmann wrote articles about photography and modern art for *Camera Notes* and *Camera Work*, often under the nom de plume Sidney Allan, the more responsible and straitlaced alter ego under whose guise he also lectured around the country. (Hartmann also used the pseudonyms Chrysanthemum, Hogarth, Juvenal, Caliban, and A. Chameleon.) In their introduction to *The Valiant Knights of Daguerre*, editors Harry W. Lawton and George Knox say of Hartmann: "He was admired; he was feared; he was detested. Among the pioneers of photographic criticism in America none exerted such direct personal influence on so many photographers as did Sadakichi Hartmann."[8] While Stieglitz valued Hartmann's work, he did not embrace him socially in the way he did others in his immediate circle. Hartmann's erratic behavior, audacious con-man trickery, and abrasive, forthright personality often left him uninvited to, or worse, ignored, at Stieglitz's weekly meals with the boys—a slight that he took very much to heart.

3. Marius de Zayas. *Anne Brigman and Max Weber*, 1910. Ink, watercolor, and metallic paint on paper, 17⅜ x 11¼ in. (44.1 x 28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949 (49.70.210). Anne Brigman's photographs were shown at 291 and reproduced in *Camera Work*.

4. John Decker (American, born Leopold von der Decken, Germany, 1895–1947). *Sketch of Sadakichi Hartmann*, ca. 1911(?). Ink on paper. Wistaria Hartmann Linton Collection, Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside

In 1911, when almost every critic dismissed the work in Weber's show at 291 as incomprehensible, Hartmann came to his defense in "Structural Units," an article Stieglitz published in the October 1911 issue of *Camera Work* despite his own quarrel with Weber. That Stieglitz likely perceived Hartmann's article as an act of disloyalty must have prompted de Zayas to make this pendant to his caricature of Weber. Whatever the inspiration, Bunnell was correct when he said that "as a personality [Hartmann] was certainly a subject for caricature."

NOTES

1. See Hyland 1981, de Zayas 1996, and *Marius de Zayas* 2009.
2. In addition to the forty drawings in the Alfred Stieglitz Collection (Messinger 2011, pp. 218–38, nos. 219–58), the Museum owns a caricature de Zayas made in about 1910 of the American painter Leon Dabo that was a gift of Mrs. Dabo in 1970 (1970.128).
3. Messinger 2011, pp. 287, 289, 291, nos. 225 (verso), 227 (verso), 246, 253.
4. Letter from Bunnell to the author, February 25, 2012.
5. Messinger 2011, p. 233, no. 246. De Zayas made a number of caricatures of Drew, who also had dark hair, arched eyebrows, and a thin mustache.
6. Ibid., nos. 233, 247.
7. Hartmann 1978, frontis. and p. 27.
8. Ibid., p. 1.

6. Edward J. Steichen (American, born Luxemburg, 1879–1973). *Sadakichi Hartmann*, 1903. Direct carbon print, 9¾ x 12 in. (24.6 x 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1933 (33.43.52)

5. J. C. (Julius Caesar) Strauss (American, 1857–1924). *Sadakichi Hartmann*, 1911. Photograph. Wistaria Hartmann Linton Collection, Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside

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