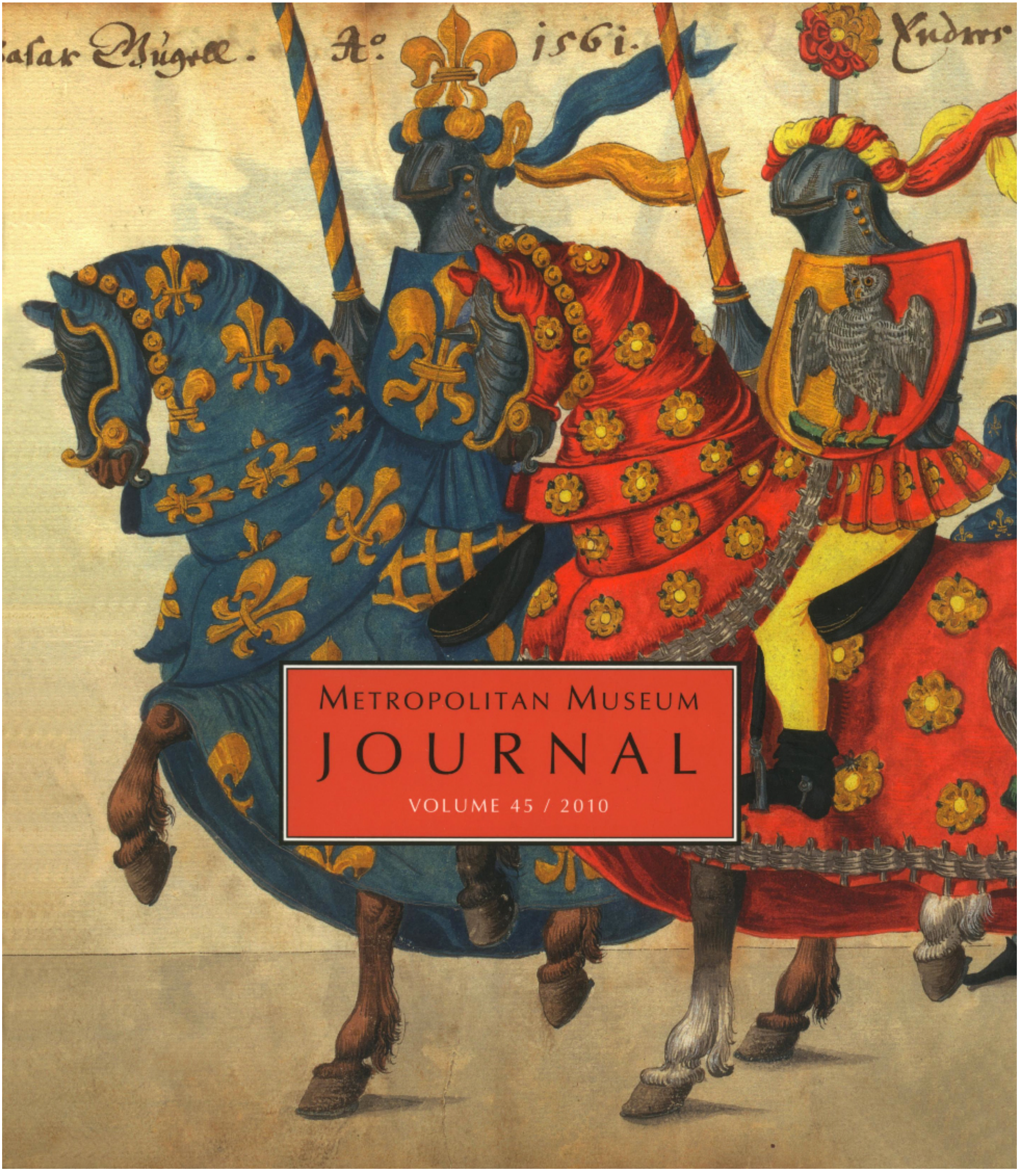


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Contents

Montuhotep-Nebtawyre and Amenemhat I: Observations on the Early Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt 7
Peter Jánosi

Hephaistos Goes Home: An Attic Black-figured Column-krater in the Metropolitan Museum 21
Mary B. Moore

Epitome of National Disgrace: A Painting Illuminating Song–Jin Diplomatic Relations 55
Shi-yee Liu

Sparse Trees and Pavilion, a Fan Painting by Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385) 83
Birgitta Augustin

"The great Dragon rifeth vp with a straight ftalke": A Possible Model for the Unicorn's Tree 91
E. Charles Nelson

Three Fragments of the *Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* Tapestry 97
Kathrin Colburn

Organic Patinas on Small Bronzes of the Italian Renaissance 107
Richard E. Stone

A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg 125
Helmut Nickel with Dirk H. Breiding

Velázquez's *Philip IV* in the Metropolitan Museum 187
Michael Gallagher

A Study for *Abimelech Discovering Isaac and Rebecca* by Étienne Parrocel 199
François Marandet

Mr. Devis and Mr. Bull 203
Katharine Baetjer and Josephine Dobkin

A Gainsborough Sitter Identified: John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire 211
Hugh Belsey

A Technical Study of Henry Lerolle's *Organ Rehearsal* 217
Isabelle Duvernois

Gertrude Stein's Brooches 225
Nancy Hirschland Ramage

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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
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Montuhotep-Nebtawyre and Amenemhat I: Observations on the Early Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt

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Since the Egyptian priest Manetho wrote his *Aigyptiaca* in the third century B.C., the chronology of ancient Egypt has been structured according to a system of so-called dynasties, sequences of rulers who were united by kinship or by regional origin or city of residence or both. While the interior sequence of rulers of most of the thirty dynasties is in many cases reasonably well attested, the transitions from one dynasty to the next are often difficult to understand and reconstruct. A good example of that kind of problem is the transition between Dynasties 11 and 12 at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

The end in about 1991 B.C. of Dynasty 11, ruling from Thebes, and the passing of power to the founder of Dynasty 12, King Amenemhat I (see Figure 1), who subsequently moved the capital again to a traditional location in the greater Memphite region, are obscured by the lack of sufficient contemporary evidence. Montuhotep-Nebtawyre (IV),[1] generally regarded as the seventh and last ruler of the Theban Dynasty,[2] is an enigmatic figure who—except for a number of rock inscriptions and one depiction[3]—left hardly any record.[4] No monuments, buildings, or statues[5] of this monarch are known, and his final resting place is still uncertain.[6] Adding to this paucity of contemporary records, later sources, namely the pharaonic king lists and the surviving extracts of Manetho's *Aigyptiaca*, omit Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's reign.[7] The entry in the thirteenth-century B.C. Turin Papyrus actually states that after the rule of six kings of the Eleventh Dynasty a period of seven unassigned or "empty" years (*wsf rnpt 7*) occurred,[8] underscoring the obscurity of this transitional period.[9] Given Nebtawyre's omission in later records and the "empty years" noted in the Turin Canon, an inscription carved in the Wadi Hammâmât (No. 191) naming Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's mother Imy as the king's mother but not a king's wife was considered evidence that she was not of royal blood and that her son was consequently a usurper.[10] In actual fact Imy's titulary is not atypical for the period and does not permit any far-reaching conclusions as to the monarch's legitimacy,[11] nor does the available evidence support any theories concerning a conflict between two opposing monarchs.[12]

In every discussion of Montuhotep-Nebtawyre and in any attempt to shed light on the historical events at the end of Dynasty 11, a tiny object forms a crucial piece of evidence. It is a fragment originating from a slate bowl (Figure 2) that was found by The Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition at Lisht-North, site of the pyramid of Amenemhat I and the cemetery of his adjacent capital of It-Towy.[13] The piece was originally part of a large stone vessel about 12¼ inches (31 cm) in diameter inscribed on the inner and



1. Head of a sphinx of Amenemhat I. Lebanon, possibly Tyre; Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat I, ca. 1991–1962 B.C. Green dolomitic marble, H. 5½ in. (14.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Fletcher Fund and The Guide Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1966 (66.99.4)

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45
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2. Front and back of a fragment (enlarged here) of a bowl with the names of kings Montuhotep (Dynasty 11) and Amenemhat I (Dynasty 12). Found by The Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition at Lisht-North. Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2051–1650 B.C. Slate, 1⅝ x 1⅝ in. (4 x 4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.180.543)

outer sides (see Figure 9).[14] On the outside of the fragment appears the protocol of "Horus [ ]tawy, the son of Re, Montuhotep," and on the inside that of "Horus Wehem-mesut" (Amenemhat I).

Despite its potential historical significance for the early Middle Kingdom, the importance of the tiny fragment was not recognized for many years. Although the slate fragment was discovered in 1907 or 1908, it was not published until 1941, in an article by Herbert E. Winlock with the somewhat misleading title "Neb-hepet-Re Mentu-Hotep of the Eleventh Dynasty."[15] Winlock was concerned not so much with Montuhotep-Nebhepetre (now known to be Montuhotep II) as with the question of Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's position within the succession of the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, a much-debated issue in those days.[16] The incomplete inscription was restored by the archaeologist (Figure 3) as the name of the last ruler of Dynasty 11, [Horus Neb]tawy, Montuhotep (IV). Winlock reasoned further that an object like a slate bowl could hardly have survived the fifty-one year reign of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre or the twelve-year reign of his successor, Montuhotep-Seankhkare, and concluded that Horus Nebtawy must have ruled after these two monarchs; he argued that since Nebtawy's name was found with that of Amenemhat I on the same object, Nebtawy clearly must have been Amenemhat I's immediate predecessor.[17] In Winlock's opinion the tiny fragment was unquestionably contemporary with Nebtawy's poorly documented reign.[18] Concluding his historical reconstruction, he maintained that the monarch was one of the men who struggled for power during the seven-year period recorded in the Turin Canon.[19]



3. Reconstruction of the inscription on the outside of the bowl fragment in Figure 2 according to Herbert E. Winlock (1941, pl. 21)

In his well-written book *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes,* published in 1947, Winlock introduced another piece of evidence into the discussion on Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's reign.[20] In 1915 the Department of Egyptian Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art registered the lower part of a blue glazed tablet found at Lisht that bore the cartouche of a king "[ ]hotep" (Figure 4). William C. Hayes proposed reconstructing the incomplete name as [Montu]hotep and identifying it with the last ruler of Dynasty 11 (Figure 5, left).[21] Adding the evidence of this fragment to that of the slate piece, Winlock decided that Horus Nebtawy "thought that he had actually started a new line of rulers over Egypt, which he hoped would rule the land from It-Towy."[22]

Twenty-five years later, in a discussion of the historical conundrums of the early Middle Kingdom, in particular the change of the first two names of Amenemhat I's full protocol, Jürgen von Beckerath used the inscription on the slate fragment as evidence that Montuhotep-Nebtawyre was not in disgrace during Amenemhat I's reign, although the later records might seem to suggest otherwise.[23] In von Beckerath's opinion, Amenemhat I showed his respect for his predecessor by adding his own name to the slate bowl. Carrying his theory a step further, von Beckerath speculated that the weak monarch Montuhotep-Nebtawyre had finally been forced to accept as coregent his powerful vizier Amenemhat, who eventually became sole ruler and founder of a new dynasty after Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's death.[24]

Until now the incomplete text on the slate bowl has been accepted as corroborating the existence of some sort of relationship between these two monarchs.[25] Furthermore, it has seemed that if Amenemhat I added his name on an artifact of his predecessor, it must have been the case that he respected the last ruler of the preceding dynasty.[26] When the inscribed slate fragment is reexamined, however, a number of details emerge that clarify some points in the discussion summarized above and make possible another, historically more convincing reconstruction of the incomplete text. First of all, it is useful to deal with the incomplete tablet that Winlock referenced as further evidence of Nebtawyre's existence at It-Towy (Figure 4). In fact it can be shown that this tiny object has no significance for the history of Nebtawyre's rule. It is not at all evident that the object

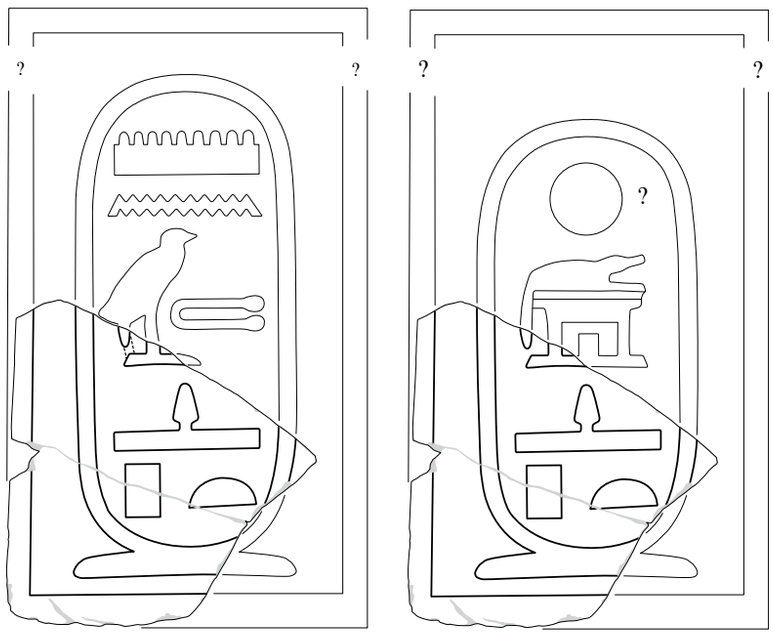
should be associated with this monarch. The tablet was found in layers dating to later periods and not in a securely dated context of the early Twelfth Dynasty.[27] Furthermore, the royal name in the cartouche is incompletely preserved, leaving only the lower part intact. A small trace of a sign was preserved in the upper left part of the cartouche, which Winlock reconstructed as the legs of the quail chick (the *w*-sign, Gardiner sign list G43) in order to restore the name as "Montuhotep." His reconstruction (see Figure 5, left), however, would position the *w*-sign far to the left in the cartouche and create an overly close and awkward arrangement with the *t*-sign (Gardiner sign list V13). Written in vertical cartouches the *w* is usually positioned as a central element under the *t*.[28] But even if the inscription on the tablet is correctly reconstructed as the name Montuhotep, it is of little significance, for without further evidence the name could be linked with any of the rulers of the Eleventh or even with two kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Montuhotep V and Montuhotep VI).[29] Looking again at the small traces reconstructed as the tail and legs of the quail chick, it is apparent that they actually fit quite well into a restoration of the sign that depicts a shrine with the recumbent crocodile on top (Gardiner sign list I4), the horizontal trace fitting into the lower left edge of the shrine and the vertical trace preserving the end of the animal's tail (Figure 5, right). The name could thus be restored as either Sobekhotep, used by a number of kings during Dynasty 13, or as Sobekhotepre, the name of King Sobekhotep I.[30] In the final analysis, therefore, this incomplete object has no significance for Montuhotep IV's rule.

As to the slate bowl itself, it must be stressed at the outset that even in the current understanding of the inscriptions, the bowl fragment is unsuited to support von Beckerath's theory that Montuhotep-Nebtawyre and Amenemhat I might have been coregents. Winlock had already realized that the inscriptions differ in form and execution and that they were carved by two different artists.[31] Furthermore, as William J. Murnane has rightly pointed out, Amenemhat I's Horus name is given as *Wḥm-mswt*, while von Beckerath's idea had been that the monarch used another Horus and Nebty name (Sehetepibtawi) during the coregency period.[32] There is in fact absolutely no evidence that Amenemhat I added his name to the slate bowl at the very beginning of his reign.[33] This misconception rests on the erroneous assumption that the appearance of both names on the same object indicates a historical link between the two monarchs. Absent the many rock inscriptions testifying that the Vizier Amenemhat (commonly believed to be the later King Amenemhat I)[34] served under the last ruler of Dynasty 11, the slate bowl fragment alone would not be enough to prove even a close temporal relationship between these two individuals.[35] The slate fragment testifies only that a bowl made for a specific purpose at a specific place was inscribed by a monarch of the Eleventh Dynasty and later reused by the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.

As Winlock has observed, the two inscriptions on the bowl fragment (Figure 2) were clearly executed by two different persons. In both cases the texts are incomplete, but the preserved parts display fine and careful carving. The older inscription on the outside shows smaller signs and a somewhat clumsy arrangement of the hieroglyphs in the horizontal line at the bottom. The Amenemhat I inscription features larger hieroglyphs with some inner details (see the feathers[?] of the *w*-bird in the Horus name). Differences can also be observed in the rendering of individual hieroglyphs. While the *iwn*-pillar (Gardiner sign list O28) on the outside is shown with a pedestal, the same sign has none in the Amenemhat I



4. Lower part of a tablet with the incomplete royal name of a king "[ ]hotep." Found by The Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition at Lisht-North. Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 2051–1650 B.C. Faience, 1⅞ x 1¾ in. (4.7 x 4.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915 (15.3.916)



5. Left: reconstruction of the royal name on the incomplete faience tablet in Figure 4 according to Hayes (1953, p. 176) and Winlock (1947, p. 54). Right: reconstruction of the royal name with the Sobek shrine as the central element. Drawing: Liza Majerus

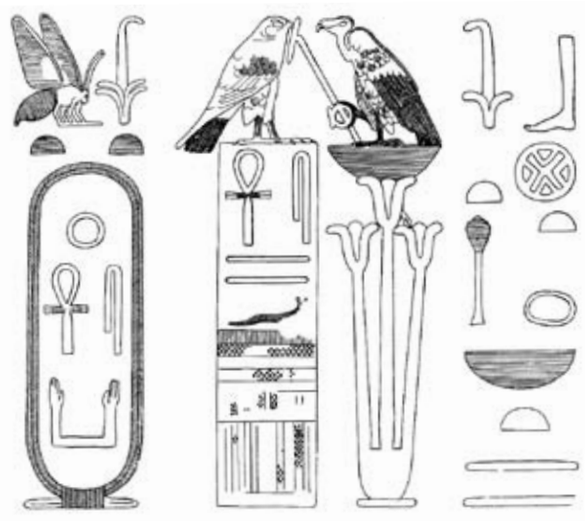


6. Bowl. From Tomb M12, Abydos, Egypt. Early Dynastic Period, ca. 3100–2900 B.C. Slate; H. 3¼ in. (8.1 cm), Diam. 5⅞ in. (15 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902 (02.4.57)

inscription. The *n* sign (Gardiner sign list N35) on the outside in Montuhotep's cartouche is rendered as a short waterline of conventional form, while the same sign on the interior, where it occurs facing the *serekh* of Amenemhat I in the name of Dendera (*Iunit*), is executed with short and irregular vertical strokes set next to each other.

Although incomplete, both inscriptions furnish valuable information concerning the object's use in antiquity. In both texts the royal names face the text "beloved of Hathor, mistress of Dendera."[36] While the Montuhotep text consists of the *s3-Rᶜ* and Horus names of the royal protocol, Amenemhat I's Horus name faces the emblem of Uto (Wadjit), which is then followed by the Hathor text. It is remarkable that Hathor of Dendera is combined with the emblem of Uto, the Lower Egyptian crown goddess, to face the king. The arrangement suggests that to the left of Amenemhat I's Horus name the inscription probably continued with the monarch's *s3-Rᶜ* name faced by the emblem of Nekhbet of Elkab (see Figure 7). The deity at the far left could have been a falcon-headed god, presumably Montu of Thebes, who was popular at that time.[37]

While the identification and restoration of the later inscription poses few problems, the older text as reconstructed by Winlock (Figure 3) merits further comment. First,



7. The royal panel from a temple relief at Armant, showing the name of Montuhotep-Seankhkare (left) with the emblem of Upper Egypt, the goddess Nekhbet of Elkab. The *serekh*-panel comprising the king's Horus name is taller than the cartouche of his throne name. Drawing: Mond 1940, pl. 94

in Winlock's reconstruction the falcon on top of the Horus name facing the *s3-Rᶜ* name should be reversed. In inscriptions containing a deity as part of the royal protocol the name (or names) of the king either faces the same direction as the deity (see the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre tablets from Deir el-Bahari)[38] or confronts him or her (see Figures 7, 11).[39] Second, when Winlock published the fragment he was of the opinion that "an object of so little intrinsic value" could hardly have survived the long reigns of Montuhotep IV's predecessors—Montuhotep-Nebhepetre (fifty-one years) and Montuhotep-Seankhkare (twelve years)—so that the bowl must have been carved near the time of Amenemhat I's reign.[40] At first glance the argument seems reasonable, but the same argument would then require the assumption that the bowl was reinscribed early in Amenemhat I's twenty-nine-year reign. Since the object carries the monarch's later titulary, however, the assumption of a very early date for the carving can be refuted. And opinions about the durability of the bowl are not of paramount importance in the reconstruction of the incomplete royal name.

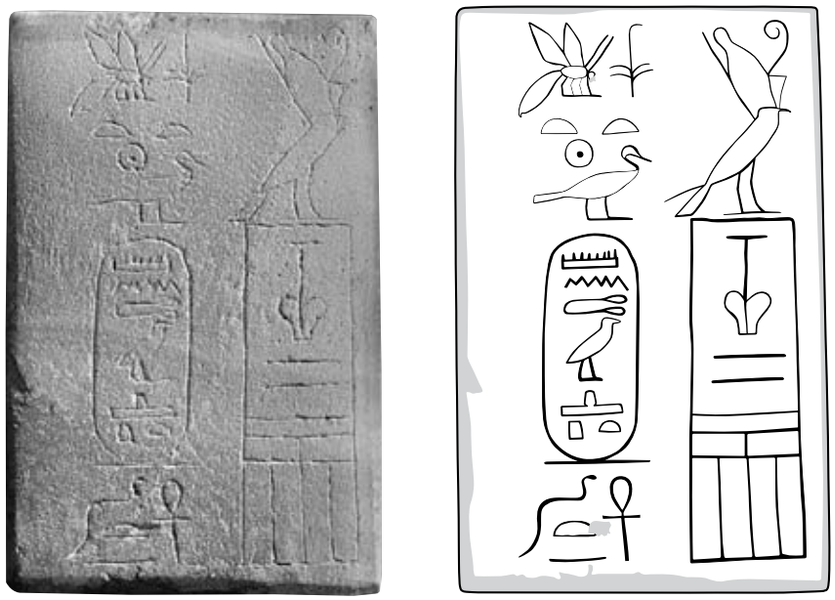
As to the bowl itself, if it were the insignificant object Winlock considered it to be, one wonders why it was inscribed by at least two different monarchs. Both inscriptions clearly mention Hathor of Dendera, the most important female deity of the late Eleventh Dynasty, and probably a male deity as well, rendering it possible that the bowl originated from a sanctuary at Dendera. Because the object was part of a temple inventory, it cannot be excluded that other monarchs—perhaps even kings of the Old Kingdom—had left their names on the vessel. It is well known, for example, that Kings Teti and Pepi I (Dynasty 6, 2323–2150 B.C.) felt a special devotion to Hathor of Dendera.[41] This raises the question of the date of the bowl, which might well have been manufactured earlier than the two preserved inscriptions would indicate. An uninscribed convex-sided bowl with an incurved rim found in a tomb at Abydos dating to the Early Dynastic Period (Figure 6) is an example of the type of vessel that the Metropolitan's fragment may have come from.[42] In this scenario such a bowl could have been reused in the Old(?) and later in the early Middle Kingdom. The vessel's material and shape also suggest that it was not used in a daily ritual or in a mundane way but was rather deposited as a votive or commemorative object in a sanctuary or in a temple magazine.

Looking at the name on the outer surface of the fragment, then, one might reconsider Winlock's reconstruction and seek another possibility. In the incomplete Horus name only the two *t3* signs are preserved, and they are positioned in the center of the panel, leaving no space to the left or right for further signs. The only space for completing the Horus name is to be found above *t3.wy*. In proposing his reconstruction Winlock (see Figure 3) obviously assumed that the height of the cartouche (which is almost completely preserved)

should correspond to the height of the Horus name. Such an assumption of course constrains the space for other signs above *t3.wy*, and Winlock must have felt that only the *nb*-basket (Gardiner sign list V30) fit the available place. Winlock's proposal remains a possibility, but it is not the only solution.

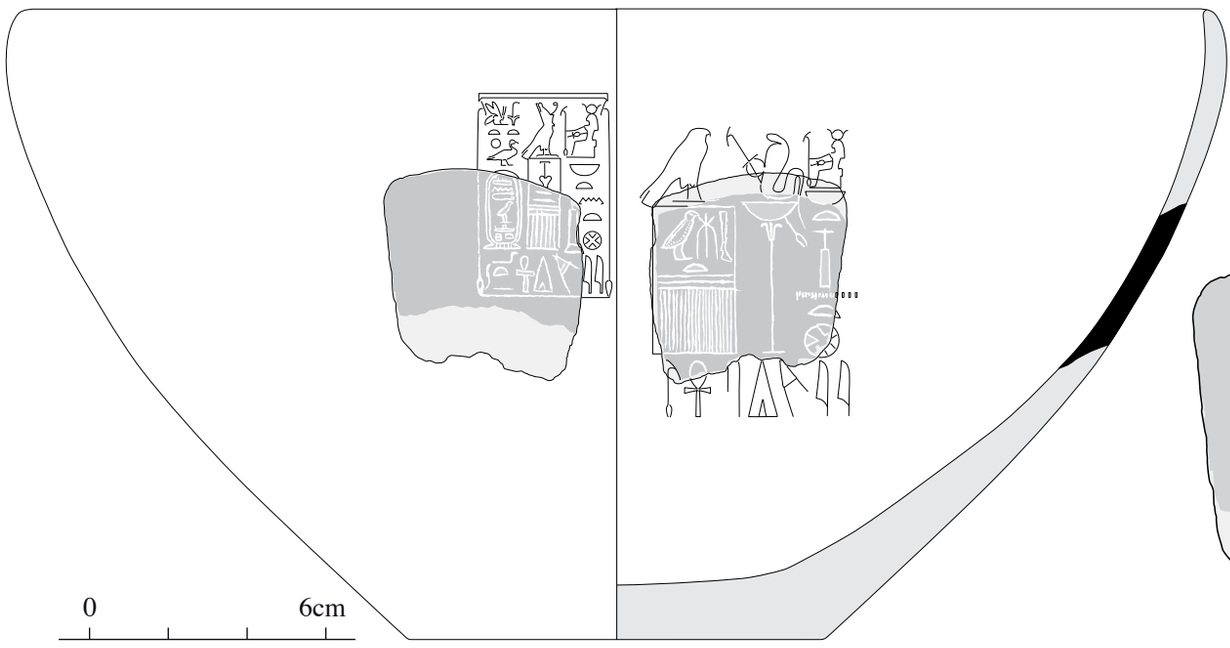
One characteristic of the royal protocols of nearly all the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty is the use of the word *t3.wy*. For the present discussion, however, all of the Antef-kings, Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's first Horus name (*Ś.ʿnḫ-ib-t3.wy*), and Montuhotep-Seankhkare's Horus name (*Ś.ʿnḫ-t3.wy.f*) can be excluded. In the last phase of his long reign Montuhotep-Nebhepetre adopted the Horus name *Sm3-t3.wy*. While the name is commonly written with the *sm3*-sign next to the *t3.wy* (seen for instance on the pillars of the lower colonnade of his mortuary temple),[43] a second form exists as well. On numerous monuments and especially smaller objects the *sm3*-sign has been put on top of the *t3.wy* in order to adapt to spatial requirements.[44]

Even more important here, a large number of examples of royal protocols clearly demonstrate that the height of the cartouche need not always equal the height of the Horus name in inscriptions where the two are juxtaposed (see Figure 7). Especially when one looks at smaller carvings in stone and other materials (such as ivory), it becomes obvious that a slightly taller Horus name was actually the more common occurrence.[45] A small Egyptian alabaster tablet discovered in the foundation deposit in the southeast corner of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's mortuary complex at Deir el-Bahari (Figure 8) displays a fine example of such writing from that reign.[46]

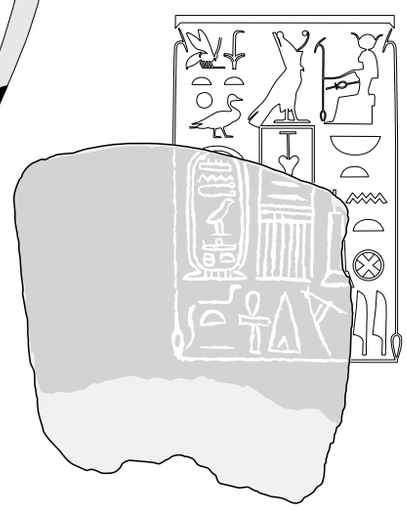


8. Tablet. From the southeast foundation deposit of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's temple at Deir el-Bahari, Thebes. Egyptian, Dynasty 11, ca. 2051–2000 B.C. Egyptian alabaster, 2⅞ x 1⅞ in. (7.25 x 4.65 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922 (22.3.188). Drawing: Liza Majerus

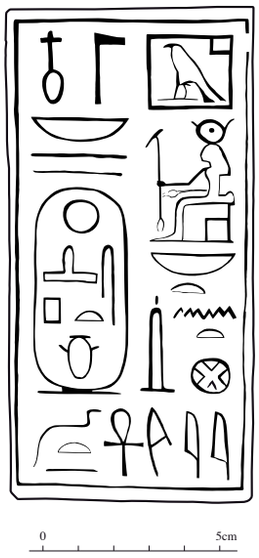
The available space within the Horus name on the Lisht bowl can therefore be extended, which permits another reconstruction of the royal name. Since there is also no need to assume that the two inscriptions on the slate fragment must be chronologically close, I propose that it was actually Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's third and last Horus name—*Sm3-t3.wy*—that was once written on the outside of the slate bowl (see Figures 9, 10). Considering this king's



9. Reconstruction of the slate bowl from which the fragment in Figure 2 originated, with the inscriptions restored. On the outside of the fragment is inscribed the protocol of "[Horus Sema]tawy, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the son of Re, Montuhotep" and on the inside, that of "Horus Wehem-mesut" (Amenemhat I). In both texts the royal names face the text "beloved of Hathor, mistress of Dendera." Drawing: Liza Majerus, after William Schenck in Dorothea Arnold 1991, fig. 17



10. Reconstruction of the inscription on the outside of the slate bowl fragment in Figure 2. Drawing: Liza Majerus



11. Line drawing of a tablet showing the titles and throne name of Amenemhat I with the goddess Hathor, mistress of Dendera. Probably from a foundation deposit for a sanctuary or temple building at Dendera. Faience, 5⅝ x 2¾ x ¾ in. (14.3 x 6.9 x 2 cm). The piece, formerly in the Freiherr Wilhelm von Bissing Collection and later housed in the Egytian National Museum in Berlin (17567), is now in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (Äs 2926). Drawing: Liza Majerus

importance in Egyptian history as the unifier of the country after the turmoil of the First Intermediate Period and noting his ambitious building program, especially favoring the goddess Hathor of Dendera (see Figure 11), it seems more reasonable to propose that Amenemhat I might have specially wished to add his own name to a bowl inscribed with Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's name.[47]

Both kings left a considerable number of records at Dendera testifying to their devotion to Hathor.[48] In the decoration of his small Ka-Chapel built near the temple of that deity, Montuhotep-Nebhepetre presented himself as the son of Hathor (Figure 12).[49] The same monarch transferred the cult of this goddess to Gebelein (3rd Upper Egyptian nome), where he was also shown as her son.[50] In the inscriptions at both places Montuhotep-Nebhepetre incorporated the epithet "Son of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera" in his cartouche to stress his special association with the goddess. Furthermore, it has been rightly supposed that somewhere in the Bay of Deir el-Bahari at Thebes an old sanctuary of Hathor must have existed that influenced Montuhotep-Nebhepetre to build his funerary monument there, thus initiating large-scale veneration of the deity in the Theban area.[51]

From the beginning of Egyptian history Hathor was a central figure in the ideology of Egyptian kingship. She was the divine consort and mother of the monarch.[52] Although little remains from Amenemhat I's building program in Upper Egypt,[53] inscribed blocks found at Dendera amply attest the monarch's intention to enhance the prominence of Hathor's cult.[54] The faience tablet inscribed with the titles and the throne name of this king as beloved by Hathor, Mistress of Dendera (Figure 11) provides good reason to believe that Amenemhat I erected a sacred building at Dendera.[55] Although the provenance of the small votive object is unknown, it is quite likely that it was an element of a foundation deposit for a sanctuary or temple building at Dendera.[56] That the form of the writing on the tablet adheres to the standards of inscribed foundation tablets of that time provides further confirmation of the reconstruction put forward here.

Being of humble birth and with no direct ties to the Egyptian monarchy, Amenemhat I would have been keen to demonstrate his adherence to the religious and ideological concepts of that monarchy, including the veneration of Hathor. In the middle of the first decade of his reign he left Thebes, the center of Dynasty 11 rule, and moved to the north of Egypt.[57] When in the later part of his long reign he finally established a new capital, It-Towy, at el-Lisht,[58] he must have realized the necessity of establishing the gods crucial to Egyptian kingship in his new city, where temples and sanctuaries would certainly have been built. Next to Hathor, who was already worshiped under a special form of the cow in the nearby site at Atfih (*Tp-jḥw*), the capital of the 22nd Upper Egyptian nome situated about nine miles south of el-Lisht (in several inscriptions Hathor of Atfih is labeled as residing in the pyramid temple of Senwosret I, or Xnmt-swt),[59] Montu was one of the foremost male deities in the early Middle Kingdom pantheon.[60] Amenemhat I not only established those cults but in all likelihood furnished them with all sorts of equipment and goods from various parts of the country. A finely carved limestone relief block was retrieved from his pyramid temple that shows the monarch embraced by Montu, "the Lord of Thebes."[61] And two altars dedicated to Amen-Re and Montu were inscribed by Amenemhat I's son and successor, Senwosret I.[62]

Amenemhat I probably also transferred to his new capital and reused votive or sacred objects from important places such as Dendera and perhaps other sites. It seems understandable that for this purpose Amenemhat I would have been especially interested in objects inscribed by the unifier of the country, King Montuhotep-Nebhepetre. This monarch, like Amenemhat I himself, originated from a local family with absolutely no direct links to the Memphite kingship of the Old Kingdom and needed therefore to bolster his claim to the throne with both ideology and force.[63] Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's success and long reign certainly created a strong impetus for the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty to associate himself with his predecessor's achievements and to continue that monarch's veneration of the most important gods, including Hathor of Dendera, in order to strengthen his own claims.[64]

Among the many objects in the Egyptian Art Department of the Metropolitan Museum that date from the reign of the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty is a small rectangular Egyptian alabaster tablet incised with a text consisting of three vertical columns (Figure 13).[65] This tablet, which has been repeatedly mentioned in the scholarly literature but has never been published, relates directly to the discussion presented here and might also initiate further research on the subject. The tablet's place of origin is unknown, but since its inscription mentions the god Montu, Lord of Thebes, the tiny object most probably came from Luxor. This presumption seems to be corroborated by another tablet of the same size and material and carrying a similar inscription (Figure 14). This tablet was bought from the Luxor-based dealer Mohareb Todrus,[66] along with other objects, for the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin on January 18, 1905.[67] The Berlin tablet and its counterpart in New York are so similar in size, form, and epigraphy that they no doubt belonged to the same issue and very likely originated from the same place.[68] As each tablet names Montu, the Lord of Thebes, it can be safely surmised that they came from a foundation deposit of a building dedicated to Montu at Thebes. Whether the tablets came from a sanctuary at Karnak,[69] from another place on the east bank,

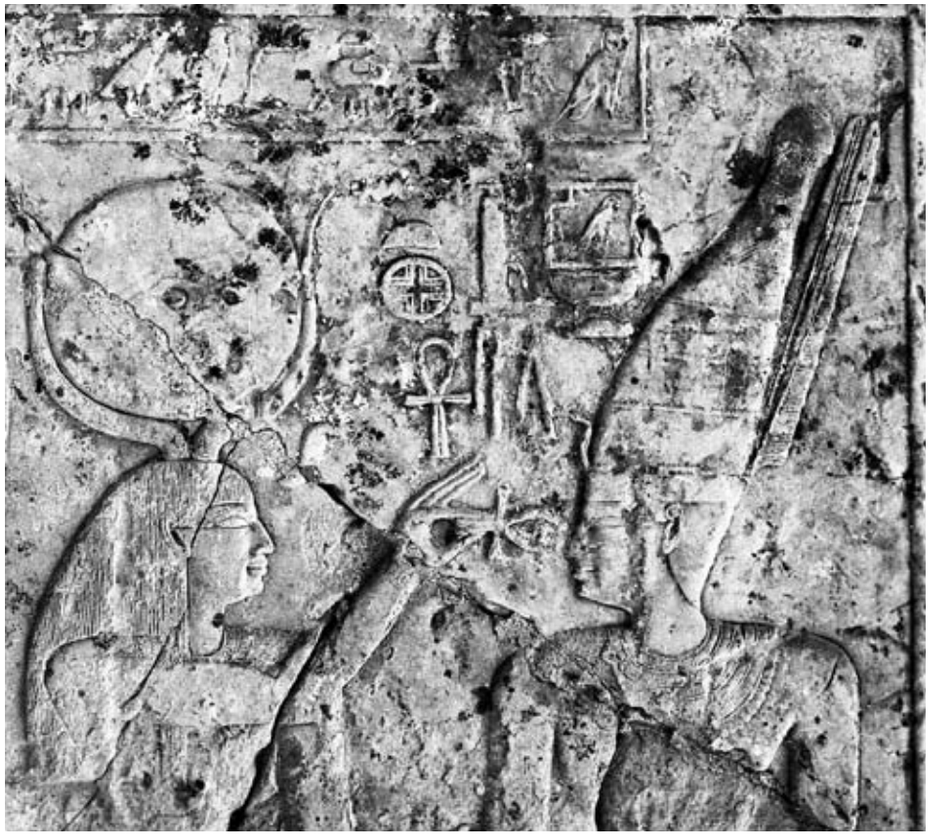
or were used in a building on the west bank (perhaps the place south of the Deir el-Bahari bay that was originally intended as the king's burial spot) remains an open question, however.[70] Both tablets show three columns of vertical inscriptions created by two vertical dividing lines, and, as is usual with this type of Egyptian alabaster object, there is no surrounding frame (see Figure 8). The inscriptions are fairly well carved with semicursive hieroglyphs, some of the signs being rendered in the somewhat clumsy form characteristic of this kind of votive object.[71] The column on the right contains the god's name and epithet and faces left, while the other two columns with the names and epithets of the king are turned right, confronting the deity.[72] The text on the New York tablet reads:

> *Ḥr Wḥm-mswt nb t3-wj nswt bjt 'Imn-m-ḥ3t dj ꜥnḫ nb ḏt mrj Mnṯw nb W3ś.t* (The Horus Wehem-mesut, Lord of the two lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenemhat, given all life forever, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes).

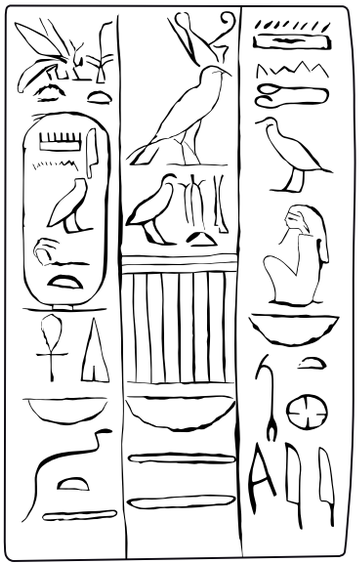
The text on the tablet in Berlin reads:

> *Ḥr Wḥm-mswt mj Rꜥ ḏt nswt bjt Ś.ḥtp-jb-rꜥ dj ꜥnḫ mj Rꜥ ḏt mrj Mnṯw nb W3ś.t* (The Horus Wehem-mesut, [given life] like Ra forever, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre, given life like Re forever, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes).

In both cases the name of Thebes is written not with the nome sign but with the town determinative, indicating that



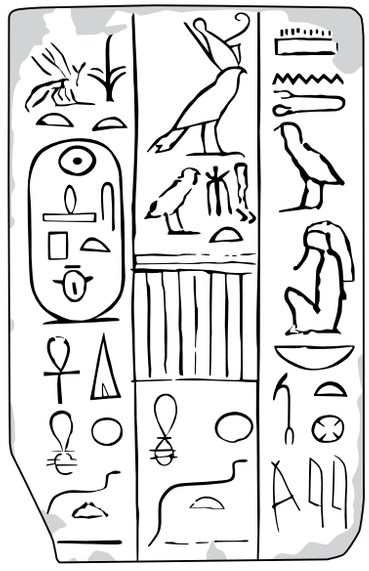
12. Detail of a limestone relief showing the goddess Hathor of Dendera presenting life to King Montuhotep-Nebhepetre. From the Ka-Chapel of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre near the temple of Hathor, at Dendera. Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JdÉ 46068). Photograph: Archive of the Department of Egyptian Art, MMA (C-335)





13. Tablet with the names of Amenemhat I and Montu, the Lord of Thebes. Probably from Luxor. Egyptian, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat I, ca. 1991–1962 B.C. Egyptian alabaster, 3⅛ x 2 x ⅝ in. (8 x 5 x 1.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.247). Drawing: Liza Majerus





14. Tablet with the names of Amenemhat I and Montu, the Lord of Thebes. Probably from Luxor. Egyptian, Dynasty 12, reign of Amenemhat I, ca. 1991–1962 B.C. Egyptian alabaster, 3⅛ x 2 in. (8.1 x 5.1 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 17567). Drawing: Liza Majerus

it was Montu in the town of Thebes for whom the building was erected.[73] The tablets show slight variations in the composition of the text in the two left-hand columns, especially in the use of the epithets after the king's names. Curiously, the monarch's *nswt-bjt*-name is given on the New York tablet as *'Imn-m-ḥ3t* and on the one in Berlin as *Ś.ḫtp-jb-rᶜ*.[74] Also noteworthy is the way the king's *serekh* is rendered. The panel containing the Horus name is not drawn as an independent unit, but the way in which the two vertical lines dividing the three columns constitute its outer frame makes it the center of the three-columned inscription.[75] Furthermore, the top border of the *serekh* is omitted on both tablets, thus leaving the falcon without the usual baseline. This correspondence in epigraphy is certainly no coincidence, and it corroborates the shared identity and origin of the two pieces. There can be no doubt that more tablets of this sort once existed, and it will remain a goal of future endeavor to identify the building to which these votive objects once belonged.

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NOTES

1. The numbering of the Theban rulers (Dynasty 11) called Montuhotep is still inconsistent. While most scholars start with Montuhotep-*Ḥrw tpj-ᶜ* as the first potentate of this name, others (see, for instance, Werner 2001) prefer to attribute this position to Montuhotep-Nebhepetre. In this article the first version is followed, with four rulers carrying this name.
2. Winlock 1941; Simpson 1959, pp. 26–28; Barta 1970, pp. 34–37; Helck 1981, pp. 102–3; von Beckerath 1982, pp. 69–70; Gestermann 1987, pp. 31–33; Vandersleyen 1995, pp. 37–39, 43–44; von Beckerath 1997, pp. 139–42; von Beckerath 1999, pp. 80–81, 284; Schneider 2002, p. 158. For the royal protocol of that monarch and the historical sources, see the fundamental study by Lilian Postel (2004, pp. 265–78, 371–77).
3. Breasted 1906, sects. 434ff.; Couyat and Montet 1912, pls. 3, 11, 29, 36, 37 (nos. 1, 40, 55, 105, 110, 113, 191, 192, 205, 241); Fakhry 1952, pp. 19–23, figs. 14–19, pls. 6–8A; Goyon 1957, nos. 52–60; Schenkel 1965, pp. 260–70; Gundlach 1980; Seyfried 1981, pp. 1, 7–10, 115, 245–47, 258, 262; Posener-Kriéger 1989, p. 313. Recently, a representation of the king with a short text mentioning an expedition in year one of his reign was found at Ain el-Soukhna; see Abd el-Raziq 1999, p. 129, pl. 33, and Abd el-Raziq et al. 2002, pp. 40–41, figs. 10, 11, pls. 48–52.
4. Winlock 1943, pp. 281–83. Based on textual evidence recording only years one and two of Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's reign, it is generally assumed that it did not exceed those two years. The much-debated record of a first *heb-sed* (*zp tpj ḥb-sd*) in the king's second year (Hammâmât No. 110) is unlikely to reflect historical truth. Some scholars doubt that the mention of the first *heb-sed* and the mining inscription are contemporaneous; see Hornung and Staehelin 2006, pp. 9, 19, 36. Be that as it may, in the monarch's second year an expedition of 10,000 men was sent to the quarries in the Wadi Hammâmât to obtain a sarcophagus, and 3,000 men were dispatched to get a lid for the king's burial (Hammâmât Nos. 110, 191, 192). The mission was led by the vizier Amenemhat (commonly assumed to be identical with Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's successor, King Amenemhat I), and the items were brought back into the Nile Valley "without a loss" (Hammâmât No. 113). The high number of participants mentioned in the texts, however, is puzzling and has to be met with reservation. There is no way that 10,000 men were necessary in order to obtain a sarcophagus from the quarries. According to inscription No. 192, the lid, measuring 8 by 4 by 2 cubits (4.2 x 2.1 x 1.05 m), was brought to Egypt (*t3-mrj*) by 3,000 men. These high numbers must be regarded either as exaggerations, intended to glorify Amenemhat's success as leader and organizer of the expeditions, or as an indication that the vizier had an actual political reason to keep such a force close at hand.
5. Müller 2005, pp. 57, 59.
6. See Dorothea Arnold 1991, pp. 16–17.
7. On a relief block from a building erected by Amenhotep I at Karnak, King Montuhotep-Seankhkare is immediately followed by the *jtj-nṯr Śn-wsr.t* (without a cartouche), who is commonly regarded as Amenemhat I's nonroyal father (Chevrier 1938, p. 601; Habachi 1958, pp. 185–90, pl. 4; Posener 1956, pp. 50–51). The only "official" monument probably recording his existence is the so-called Chamber of Ancestors built by Thutmosis III at Karnak, where Nebtawyre is supposed to have been recorded after King Nebhepetre and a King "Seneferkare," commonly restored to Seankhkare (Sethe 1914, p. 609[16]; Vandier 1936, pp. 106–7; von Beckerath 1965, p. 8; Gomaà 1980, p. 136 and n. 5; von Beckerath 1999, pp. 80–81; Postel 2004, p. 266). Although it is generally agreed that the order of royal names preserved in the Karnak list is selective and not in chronological order (see Maspero 1901, p. 281; Maspero 1902, p. 189; Habachi 1958, p. 182; Wildung 1969, pp. 60–63; Redford 1986, p. 31; and von Beckerath 1997, p. 23), it is nevertheless assumed that the name incompletely preserved and following King "Seneferkare" (Seankhkare?) must be restored as [*Nb*]-*t3*[*wy*]-*Rᶜ*.
8. On the word *wsf* in the royal canon, see Ryholt 1997, pp. 10–12, and Ryholt 2006, p. 30.
9. See Winlock 1947, p. 57, and Hayes 1964, pp. 31–34; discussed in Berman 1985, pp. 17–18, and Seidlmayer 2006, pp. 159–61. It is not possible to decide if those seven years comprised the entire length of Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's reign (von Beckerath 1965, p. 8) or if a period of turmoil and political unrest unfolded after his second year and was ended only when Amenemhat I seized power and the Egyptian throne. A number of royal names known only from Lower Nubia are regarded as the names of antikings (*Gegenkönige*) at the end of Dynasty 11 by some egyptologists (see Stock 1949, pp. 84–85; von Beckerath 1965, p. 8; von Beckerath

1997, pp. 141–42; and von Beckerath 1999, pp. 80–81). On these kings, see the cautious discussion by Postel (2004, pp. 266–67, 279–80, 379–81).

10. Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 36; Winlock 1941, pp. 116–17; Winlock 1943, p. 282; Stock 1949, p. 89; Hayes 1953, p. 167; Habachi 1958, p. 189; Gundlach 1980, p. 114; Callender 2000, p. 156.
11. Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's filiation as recorded in the Hammâmât inscription fits well the protocol of Egyptian kingship at that time and cannot be used as an argument for his illegitimacy; see Roth 2001, pp. 192, 198–201. In the famous Wadi Shatt er-Rigale scene depicting Montuhotep-Nebhepetre with his mother Jah (Winlock 1947, p. 62, pls. 12, 36; Habachi 1963, p. 48, fig. 23), she is also labeled only as "king's mother." As has been recently demonstrated by Postel (2004, pp. 269–71), Nebtawyre's titulary does not indicate any disruption in the succession of the late Eleventh Dynasty.
12. See, for instance, von Beckerath 1997, p. 139. While Hayes (1953, p. 167) seems initially to have favored the usurpation theory, he later changed his opinion; see Hayes 1964, p. 31, where he clearly admitted that "there is no evidence that the new ruler was a usurper, the omission of his name from the Turin Canon and other Ramesside lists of kings being attributable, . . . to a gap in the document used as a source by the compilers of these lists." See also von Beckerath 1965, p. 8, and Barta 1970, pp. 47–48. Although Stock knew of Winlock's 1941 article on the slate bowl fragment, he nevertheless disregarded his comments and concluded his chapter on the end of the Dynasty 11 (Stock 1949, p. 90) with the words: "Amenemhet I. liess offenbar seinen ehemaligen Herrn und Gegner zur Vergessenheit verurteilen und unterband dadurch dessen Aufnahme in die staatlichen Listen der Könige." Amenemhet I apparently condemned his former master and opponent to oblivion and thereby prevented his inclusion in the state king lists. As Helck (1956, p. 33) correctly pointed out, the omission of Horus Nebtawy from the later lists cannot be taken as an argument for his suppression or for an assumed illegitimacy, since the lists do record condemned kings and antikings ("verfemte Herrscher und Gegenkönige").
13. Hayes 1953, p. 167, fig. 102.
14. For the reconstruction of the complete bowl, see the drawing by William Schenck in Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 12, fig. 17, and p. 43n51.
15. Winlock 1941, pp. 116–19. It remains a mystery why this little object, which entered the Metropolitan's Egyptian collection in 1909, received so little attention. Not only is the year of its discovery not recorded (1907 or 1908?) but the exact find spot in the area of Amenemhat I's pyramid complex is also undocumented. According to Dorothea Arnold, tiny scratches and marks on the edges of the fragment indicate that it was later, probably during the so-called village period (see note 27 below), reused as a tool to prepare smooth surfaces, for instance papyri.
16. Ibid., p. 117nn2–3.
17. Ibid., p. 117: "There is very small likelihood that an object of so little intrinsic value would have survived the twelve years of S'ankh-ka-Re' to be brought to Ithtowe, King Amen-em-het's new capital at Lisht, and naturally far less likelihood that it had already survived the fifty-one years of Neb-hepet-Re'. Therefore, this bowl must have been later than both of these Eleventh Dynasty rulers, and thus King Nebtawi-Re', its first owner, must have been among their successors. Further, the linking of the two names on it suggests that Neb-tawi-Re' was an immediate predecessor of Amen-em-het I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty." See also Winlock 1947, p. 54.
18. Winlock 1941, p. 117.
19. Ibid., p. 118; Winlock 1947, p. 54.
20. Winlock 1947, p. 54.
21. Ibid.; Hayes 1953, p. 176.
22. Winlock 1947, p. 54.
23. Von Beckerath 1965, p. 8. The earlier form of King Amenemhat I's titulary (Horus Sehetepibtawi, Nebty Sehetepibtawi) is preserved on an altar found at Sebennytos (now in the Alexandria National Museum, no. 460); see Daressy 1904, pp. 124–25; Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 9, fig. 8; and Postel 2004, pp. 280–89, 377. In order to strengthen his argument, von Beckerath also referred to the glazed tablet (Figure 4, and see note 27 below), but he was obviously misled by Hayes's wording (1953, p. 176) linking the glazed tablet and the slate fragment as if they were found together, or at least in close archaeological context, at Lisht-North: "Other monuments from the pyramid site associated directly with Amun-em-het I include . . . several fragments of blue faience tiles with the inscriptions in relief, possibly from the foundation deposits. With the latter was found a fragment of faience inlay bearing part of the cartouche of a King Montu-hotpe [*sic*; and without indicating that the first part of the name is missing], probably Neb-towy-Re', Amun-em-het's immediate predecessor." Compare von Beckerath 1965, p. 8n3: "Ausserdem wurde in Lischt unter Fayence-Kacheln mit dem Namen Ammenemes' I. auch eine solche mit der Kartusche eines Montehotpe, wahrscheinlich *Nb-tȝwj-Rᶜ*, gefunden." (Among faience tablets with the name Ammenemes' I discovered at Lisht there was one with a cartouche of Montehopte, probably . . .) Although the archaeologists found a considerable number of broken glazed faience tablets, none of them can be linked directly with any of the three foundation deposits uncovered in Amenemhat I's pyramid precinct (on these deposits, see Mace 1921, pp. 16–17, figs. 8–11; Hayes 1953, p. 175; Simpson 1954, pp. 16–21; and Weinstein 1973, pp. 66–69). The fragments were retrieved from the *radim* of the so-called village period (see note 27 below). Thus, any connection between the [ ]hotep fragment (Figure 4) and the slate piece (Figure 2) rests solely on the interpretation of the latter. In consequence, the two incomplete inscriptions led Hayes and von Beckerath to believe that the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty regarded himself as the legitimate heir of the preceding dynasty in respecting the monuments of his predecessors. See von Beckerath 1965, p. 8: "Wir finden hier [on the slate fragment] sogar die Namen der beiden Herrscher in enger und anscheinend beabsichtigter Verbindung" (We here . . . even find the names of the two rulers in close and seemingly deliberate association).
24. Von Beckerath (1965, p. 9) further speculated that Amenemhat I changed his old name (preserved on the altar from Sebennytos; see note 23 above), which was shaped according to the protocol of the Dynasty 11 monarchs, after Montuhotep-Nebtawyre's death and the start of his sole reign. The political constellation of having two monarchs ruling the country consequently became the prototype for almost all rulers of the following dynasty. Although I do not question the institution of coregency during the Twelfth Dynasty, von Beckerath's reasoning is not convincing, since none of the monarchs of that dynasty, who initially shared their power with their fathers, later changed their names after the older king had died. The change of Amenemhat I's name must have had a political purpose more serious than the death of his predecessor.
25. See for instance Schneider 2002, p. 53.
26. Von Beckerath 1965, p. 8; Helck 1981, pp. 102–3; Gestermann 1987, pp. 32–33.
27. The fragment was found with many other fragments in the *radim* (debris) of the "village period," dating to the late Middle Kingdom

or even the New Kingdom according to the photograph register of the MMA Egyptian Archives (Exped. Neg. No. L 13–14: 610).

28. See Dieter Arnold 1979, fig. 12, and Postel 2004, pp. 319–55.
29. Von Beckerath 1982, p. 70; von Beckerath 1999, pp. 102–5.
30. See Spalinger 1984 and von Beckerath 1999, pp. 90–105. A later note on the "tomb card" for MMA 15.3.916 records that the incomplete name should be reconstructed with the pedestal and a recumbent crocodile on top, reading the name as King [Sobek-]hotep.
31. Winlock 1941, p. 117.
32. Murnane 1977, pp. 23–24.
33. See Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 15.
34. Allen 2003, pp. 22–23.
35. See Simpson 1959, p. 27; Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 15.
36. In the Amenemhat I inscription the verb *mrj* can be reconstructed according to the outside text as [*Ḥr*] *Wḥm mswt* [*dì*] *ʿnḫ* [*…ḏt?*] [*mrỉ*] [*ḫwt-ḥr n*]*bt ʾIwn*[*t*].
37. See the remarks below and the two Egyptian alabaster tablets of Amenemhat I (Figures 13, 14).
38. See note 72 below.
39. See, for example, the Egyptian alabaster sistrum inscribed with the name of King Teti (Dynasty 6) in the MMA (26.7.1450; see Hayes 1953, fig. 76, and Fischer 1968, frontis.).
40. Winlock 1941, p. 117.
41. See Fischer 1968, 52–54.
42. For this vessel type, see Aston 1994, pp. 111ff., fig. 10(50).
43. Naville 1907, pls. 8, 7H.
44. See Postel 2004, p. 190. Although the present list is certainly incomplete, various monuments coming from different parts of Egypt exhibit the vertical writing: the fragments of an altar from Medamud (Bisson de la Roque, Clère, and Drioton 1928, p. 52, figs. 34, no. 467, 143, no. 3124; Bisson de la Roque 1931, pp. 56–57, fig. 30, inv. 5414); one of the Egyptian alabaster tablets found in Deir el-Bahari (MMA 22.3.188; Dieter Arnold 1979, pp. 55–56, fig. 12, pl. 31); two doorjambs from Tod (inv. 2121, 1171; Bisson de la Roque 1937, pp. 69–70, figs. 22, 31); the lower part of a granite statue from Tod (no. 1510; Bisson de la Roque 1937, pp. 77–79, fig. 31); a limestone doorjamb and wall fragments from Elephantine (Habachi 1963, figs. 18, 19, pl. 13; Kaiser et al. 1975, pls. 21b, 22a).
45. Among the many examples from the Old Kingdom are Unas's small Egyptian alabaster vessel in the Brooklyn Museum (inv. 37.76E; James 1974, pp. 20–21, no. 53, pl. 23); Teti's Egyptian alabaster sistrum (MMA 26.7.1450; see note 39 above); Merenre's ivory box (Louvre N 794; Ziegler in Dorothea Arnold et al. 1999, p. 450, no. 181); Pepi I's Egyptian alabaster vessel from his pyramid precinct (Berlin 7715; Priese 1991, p. 42, no. 27); Pepi II's small Egyptian alabaster jubilee jar (Louvre N648a,b; Ziegler in Dorothea Arnold et al. 1999, pp. 448–49, no. 180); and Pepi II's ivory headrest (Louvre N646; ibid., pp. 452–53, no. 183).
46. Hayes 1953, p. 155, fig. 92; Dieter Arnold 1979, pp. 55–56, fig. 12, pl. 31.
47. See Dorothea Arnold 2008, pp. 5–6.
48. Fischer 1968, p. 52 and n. 209. The importance of Dendera during the Eleventh Dynasty was discussed by Gundlach (1999, pp. 31–33, 40–41).
49. Habachi 1963, pp. 19–28; O'Connor 1999, pp. 215–20.
50. Porter and Moss 1937, p. 163; Donadoni-Roveri, D'Amicone, and Leospo 1994; Marochetti 2005; Morenz 2009.
51. Allam 1963, pp. 57–62; Dieter Arnold 1974, pp. 83–84. In the temple on top of the Mountain of Thot, to the west of Thebes, cult objects and epigraphical evidence testify to Hathor's veneration during the time of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's successor, Seankhkare (see Pudleiner 2001).
52. Allam 1963; Troy 1986, pp. 53–72; Radwan 2006. In his prayer recorded on a stela in the MMA (13.182) King Antef Wah-anch addressed Re-Atum and Hathor; see Winlock 1947, pl. 4, and Clère and Vandier 1948, pp. 9–10.
53. On the king's building program in Egypt, see Gestermann 1987, pp. 119–20, 133–34, ill. p. 125, and Hirsch 1994.
54. Fischer 1968, p. 52n209. For a discussion of the fragments with further references, see Hirsch 2004, pp. 16, 183–84 (docs. 36–40). Thus far two lintels made of red granite, a granite block with an inscription found on the roof of the Ptolemaic building and used as a water drain, a sandstone column with the cartouche of Amenemhat I(?), a block with the inscription "beloved of Hathor, mistress of Dendera, son of Ra Amenemhat, given life," and a faience foundation plaque (Figure 11; see von Bissing 1932, 68–69) have been found.
55. Von Bissing 1932, p. 69, ill.; Weinstein 1973, p. 70, no. 11; *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* 1976, p. 59.
56. The fact that Amenemhat I erected a building at Dendera is indirectly corroborated by a bronze *situla* from the Late Period (Berlin inv. 18 492), which carries the same two lines of inscription that are preserved on the faience tablet (Schäfer and Andrae 1925, ills. pp. 299 (upper right), 602 (299,5). Amenemhat I was obviously venerated as one of the memorable builders of the Hathor temple at Dendera in the Late Period (Radwan 1983, p. 149).
57. For the chronology of Amenemhat I's reign, see Dorothea Arnold 1991.
58. The first inscriptional record mentioning the capital It-Towy dates from Amenemhat I's last year (year 30; *Catalogue géneral des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire,* stela 20516); see Simpson 1963, p. 53, and Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 14.
59. See Allam 1963, pp. 92–93, and Gomaà 1987, pp. 44–45.
60. Werner 1985, pp. 22–77; Hirsch 1994, pp. 140–42.
61. Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JdÉ 40482). On another block (a door lintel: JdÉ 31877) Montu is labeled as Lord of the two lands and Atum, the lord of Heliopolis. A third block (JdÉ 40483) depicts Sokar, the lord of Ra-Setjau. All these blocks were found reused in the mortuary precinct at Lisht-North and in all probability originated from a sanctuary at It-Towy. The reliefs will be published in my forthcoming book *The Pyramid Precinct of Amenemhat I at Lisht: The Reliefs* (MMA).
62. The two objects were retrieved from a canal near el-Lisht; see El-Khouly 1978, Dieter Arnold 1988, pp. 14, 94n287, and Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 15 and n. 53. On the possibility of a cult installation of Hathor at the pyramid precinct of Senwosret I at Lisht-South, see Dorothea Arnold 1991, pp. 17, 74, and Dorothea Arnold 2008, p. 5.
63. See Gestermann 1987, pp. 55–57, 224–25.
64. Dorothea Arnold 2008, p. 5. As Aufrère (1982, pp. 53–54) has pointed out, Amenemhat I's first Horus (and Nebty) name (*Ś.ḥtp-ib.tȝ.wy*) is modeled not only on Teti's Horus name (*Ś.ḥtp-tȝ.wy*), but also on Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's first Horus name (*Ś.ʿnḫ-ib.tȝ.wy*). See also Postel 2004, pp. 285–86. Berman (1985, pp. 8–9) was somewhat skeptical about Aufrère's reasoning.
65. Hayes 1953, p. 179; Weinstein 1973, p. 70, no. 12; Hirsch 1994, p. 140; Hirsch 2004, p. 14; Ullmann 2007, p. 6n24. I thank Dr. Dorothea Arnold for drawing my attention to this important object.
66. Mohareb Todrus (died 1937) was the son of the antiquities dealer and consular agent in Luxor for Prussia Todrous Boulos (died 1898); see M. L. Bierbrier, ed., *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd ed. (London, 1995), p. 417.
67. The tablet was lost during World War II and was published only in a cursory sketch in *Aegyptische Inschriften* 1913, p. 212. For

providing a photograph and the information pertaining to this object I am deeply indebted to C. Saczecki of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. According to the museum's inventory book the piece is said to originate from Karnak. For the kind permission to publish the tablet here I thank Olivia Zorn of the Berlin museum.

68. Contrary to Ullmann's statement (2007, p. 6n24) that the Amenemhat I tablets and their inscriptions are very similar to those found in Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari and the tablet naming Montuhotep-Seankhkare (see note 72 below), several divergences seem to indicate a kind of "development" in the production of Egyptian alabaster tablets. The tablets of Dynasty 11 belonging to this category of votive objects (Dieter Arnold's "second type"; see 1979, p. 56) show only two vertical lines of inscriptions, which are never divided by any intermediary line. The texts containing the god's and king's names uniformly face in the same (right) direction. Only the tablet of Seankhkare shows the "opposition" of the godly and the royal text facing each other, which seems to become a standard for the Middle Kingdom (see Figure 11) and the Senwosret I tablets found at Abydos (Petrie 1903, pl. 23, 68). In the latter examples the text is framed with two *w3ḏ*-scepters, the sky, and the *t3*-sign.
69. Although little remained of the building activities at Karnak before the reign of Senwosret I, the traces and objects that have been preserved clearly show that the last monarchs of the Eleventh Dynasty and Amenemhat I were interested in that area (see Hirsch 2004, pp. 13, 180–82, and Gabolde 2009, especially p. 107).
70. See Dorothea Arnold 1991. Since the eastern part of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre's mortuary complex at Deir el-Bahari was dedicated to the cult of Montu (see Dieter Arnold 1974, p. 75; 1979, p. 56; and 1997, p. 74), it is feasible to assume that Amenemhat I intended to incorporate this important deity in his burial complex as well.
71. Compare the inscribed tablets of Montuhotep-Nebhepetre and Senwosret I (Dieter Arnold 1979, fig. 12, pl. 31, and 1988, fig. 37, pls. 60c, 61c, 62d, 63a, b).
72. The vertical columns of text facing each other are absent on the Montuhotep-Nebhepetre tablets (see Figure 8 and note 71 above), but they occur on the tablet and cylinder seal of Montuhotep-Seankhkare (see note 68 above). The form of the inscriptions on the tablets from the southwest foundation deposit of Amenemhat I's pyramid differ entirely from the examples discussed here and belong to the group found in Senwosret I's pyramid (see Dieter Arnold 1988, fig. 37). The Amenemhat I tablets will be included in the forthcoming volume on the pyramid complex's architecture by Dieter Arnold (MMA).
73. In the inscriptions found on the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre tablets (see note 71 above) the name is written with the nome sign. See also the Egyptian alabaster tablet of Montuhotep-Seankhkare from El-Tarif or Dira Abu'n-Naga, now in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (Dorothea Arnold 1991, p. 17, fig. 20; Postel 2004, p. 363, no. 1387), the inscription on which is repeated almost identically on a carnelian cylinder seal without provenance that is now at Johns Hopkins University (inv. 2086D; Goedicke 1989, pp. 119–20).
74. On the curious and hitherto unexplained variations in how the different forms of the king's name are shown and the distribution of the tablets, see Dieter Arnold 1979, p. 56.
75. The Horus name (*Wḥm-mswt*) is the later form encountered with the monarch's titulary (see von Beckerath 1999, pp. 82ff., and Postel 2004, pp. 284–86, 377[10]), but since nothing is known about the date the king changed his titulary, any historical conclusion regarding when the Montu building was erected must remain moot.

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Hephaistos Goes Home: An Attic Black-figured Column-krater in the Metropolitan Museum

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In Athens during the sixth century B.C., artists decorating pottery worked in a technique modern scholars call Attic black figure.[1] Ornament and figures were drawn in a lustrous black glaze on the light reddish background of the vase, and incision as well as accessory red and white embellished the decoration. In Attic black figure, mythological scenes were favorite subjects and provide the best evidence for how the Greeks envisioned the lives and adventures of their gods and heroes.

In 1997, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired fragments of a very large column-krater that may be dated about 560–550 B.C. (Figures 1–3, 13, 14, 26–34). The column-krater was used to hold wine mixed with water at symposia as well as other bibulous occasions, and it is the most common type of krater in Attic black figure (see Figure 7). It has a flat rim with a vertical overhang, a slightly concave neck, and an ovoid body tapering to an echinus foot or one in two degrees. A flat handle plate extends from the rim at each side and is supported by two columns, the feature that gives the shape its name. It is a sturdy, practical-looking vessel.[2]

Although the Metropolitan's column-krater is quite fragmentary, enough of one large fragment (b+g+h; see Figure 2) remains to calculate its dimensions and describe its shape and ornamental patterns.[3] The rim is flat on top and decorated with a frieze of lions confronting boars (Figure 4). A chain of lotuses and palmettes appears on the overhang, with added red applied to the cuffs of the lotuses as well as to the hearts of the palmettes, and a white dot appears in each link of the chain. The glazed neck is slightly concave. On the shoulder, a frieze of tongues alternating red and black appears above a festoon of lotuses and palmettes (the cuffs of the lotuses and the hearts of the palmettes are red; in some of the chain links there is a white dot). The main figural composition on the body of the krater depicts the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos accompanied by satyrs and nymphs. In the frieze below, there is an extended representation of Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon, one of the latest of his twelve labors. Each mythological scene continues around the vase without interruption. Below the main figural composition, there are two red lines; next comes a wide band of glaze and another red line, some of it hardly visible today, then rays above the foot, which is not preserved. One handle plate remains with most of both supporting columns; on the side of the plate there is a continuation of the lotus-palmette chain on the overhang of the rim. On the top side of the preserved handle plate (see Figure 36) there is a chariot to right.

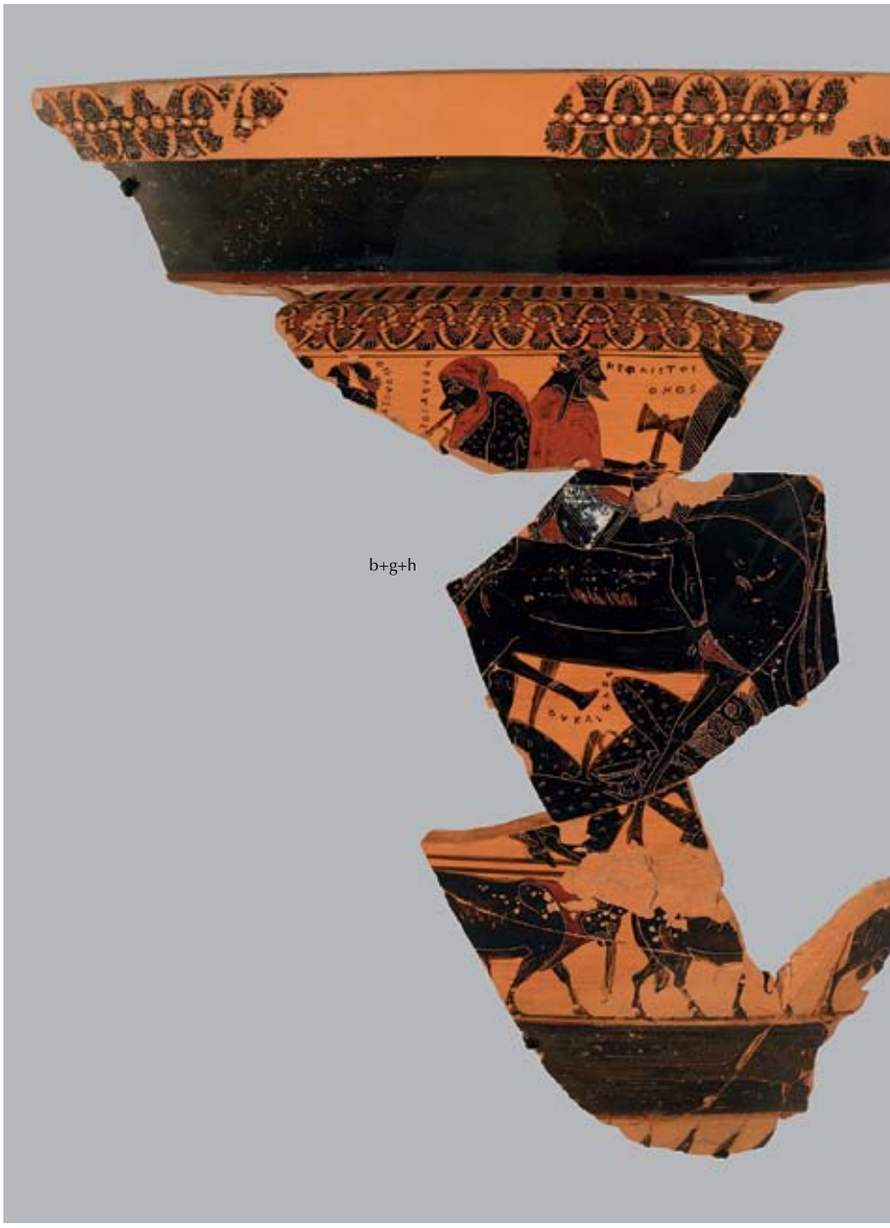
Since this is the initial publication of all the fragments of this important vase, I shall not only describe what is preserved, but also present a reconstruction drawing of the missing parts of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos in order to restore as much as possible of the original appearance of this innovative composition (see Figure 5).[4]

A word about the terminology for satyrs (or silens), nymphs, and maenads. The most important recent discussion is by Guy Hedreen, who refers to satyrs as silens or silenoi because this is how they are labeled in the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase (see Figure 6), the only known inscription identifying them as a group.[5] Since "satyr" is the term more commonly used in modern parlance, I shall retain it for this article. The difference between maenads and nymphs is more clear-cut. Maenads were mortal women forced to worship Dionysos against their will and were temporarily maddened during a ritual in his honor. Nymphs are creatures of myth who are associated with the infancy of Dionysos and later honor the god willingly; in the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase, they are labeled **NYMΦAI** (nymphs). For most of the sixth

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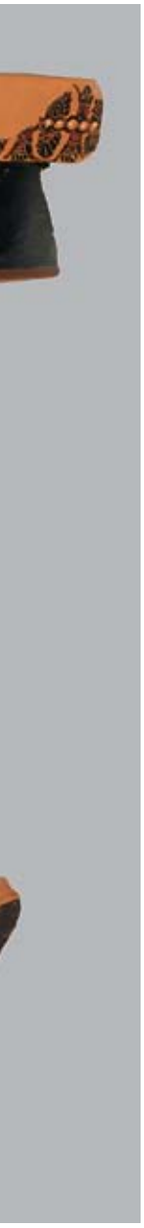
2

century B.C. there is a certain intimacy and friendly playfulness between satyrs and nymphs. In red-figured vase painting, the association is less amicable.[6]

THE RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS: THE MYTH

This is a story of revenge. When Hephaistos was born with deformed legs or feet, Hera was so ashamed of her son she cast him out of Olympos. He fell into the sea; after Thetis rescued him, she and her sisters, the Nereids, cared for him. Hephaistos vowed retaliation: he fashioned a beautiful throne and footstool made of gold, then sent them to Olympos as a present for his mother. The throne was equipped with invisible chains and when Hera sat on it, she could not rise. Only Hephaistos could free her, but he refused. Ares foolishly attempted to bring him back to Olympos by force, but he was no match for the master craftsman and armorer, who scared him off with blazing torches. Dionysos had a much more persuasive means—wine. He made Hephaistos drunk, put him on a mule, then led him back to Olympos accompanied by his retinue of playful satyrs and dancing nymphs.[7]

Depictions of the Return of Hephaistos in Attic vase painting begin early in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., specifically on the famous François Vase in Florence, dated about 570 B.C., which was signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter (Figure 6).[8] The scene appears on the reverse of the vase in the frieze below





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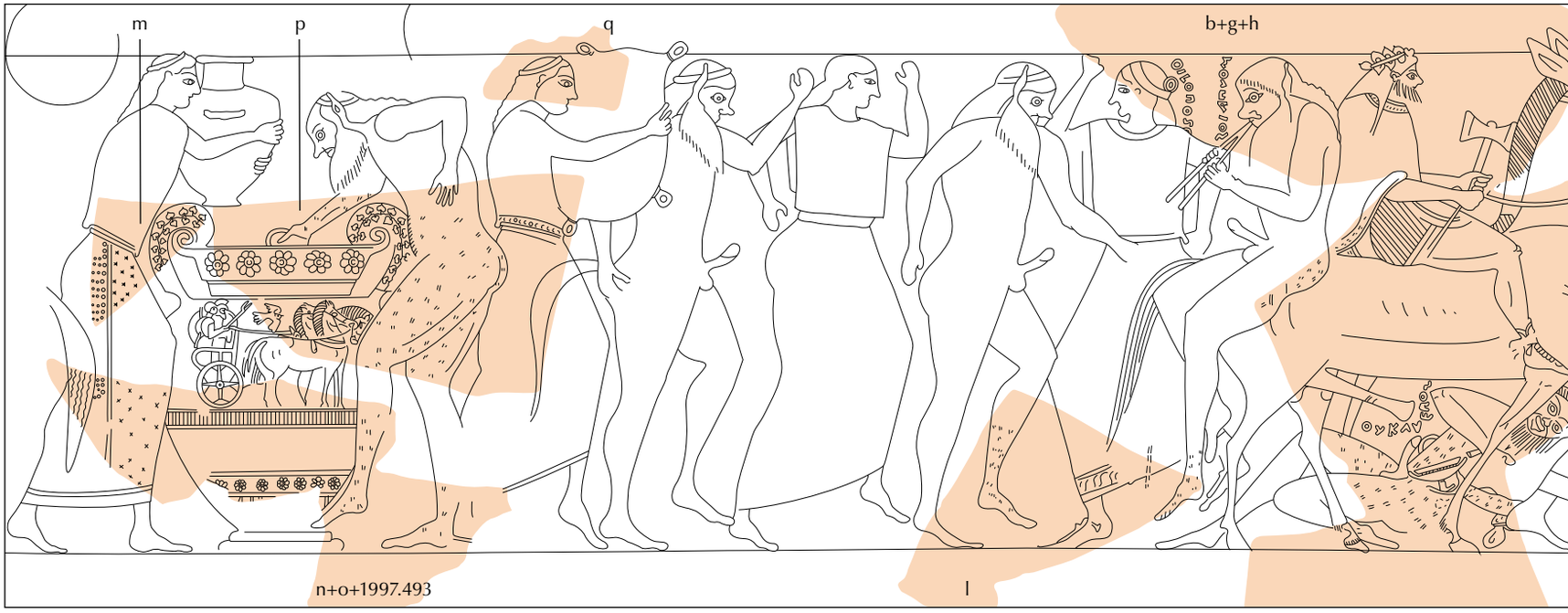
1. Fragments c, m, n+o+1997.493, p, and q of an Attic black-figured column-krater, showing a nymph and a satyr at a volute-krater and, in the frieze below, Herakles. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta; overall H. 28 in. (71.1 cm); H. of fragment m: 3¼ in. (8.3 cm); H. of fragment n+o+1997.493: 6⅜ in. (16.3 cm); H. of fragment p: 5½ in. (14 cm); H. of fragment q: 2 in. (5.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and Dietrich von Bothmer, Christos G. Bastis, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts, 1997 (1997.388a–eee). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1996 (1996.56a, b). Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1997 (1997.493). See also Figure 5.

2. Fragment b+g+h of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the Return of Hephaistos in the main zone and Herakles driving the Cattle of Geryon in the frieze below. H. 28 in. (71.1 cm)

3. Fragment d+e+f of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, depicting a shaggy satyr pouring wine into a krater, two nymphs, and another shaggy satyr; and, in the frieze, parts of three bulls. H. 13⅛ in. (33.3 cm)



4. Detail of Figure 2, showing the frieze of lions confronting boars on the flat top of the rim of the column-krater



5. Reconstruction drawing of the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos on the obverse of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, with the surviving fragments in place. Drawing: Mary B. Moore

the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and inscriptions name each figure. The party led by Dionysos has just arrived at Olympos, greeted by Aphrodite. A majestic Zeus and a gloomy Hera sit on separate thrones. This moment in the myth is not depicted very often.[9] Much more frequent is the noisy, uninhibited procession, such as the one on a column-krater by Lydos dating about 550 B.C. (Figure 7) and on a contemporary band cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8), both in the Metropolitan Museum.[10]

The scene on the Museum's fragmentary column-krater depicts a moment different from either of these. Hephaistos sits astride the mule preceded by Dionysos. He has probably drunk his fill, but he is not inebriated, unlike the satyr lying on the ground beneath the mule who surely is (see Figures 2, 16). The procession has not truly begun because two large kraters standing on the ground, one below each handle (see Figures 1, 3), are still in use. The drinking is not quite finished. The scene may take place on Naxos.

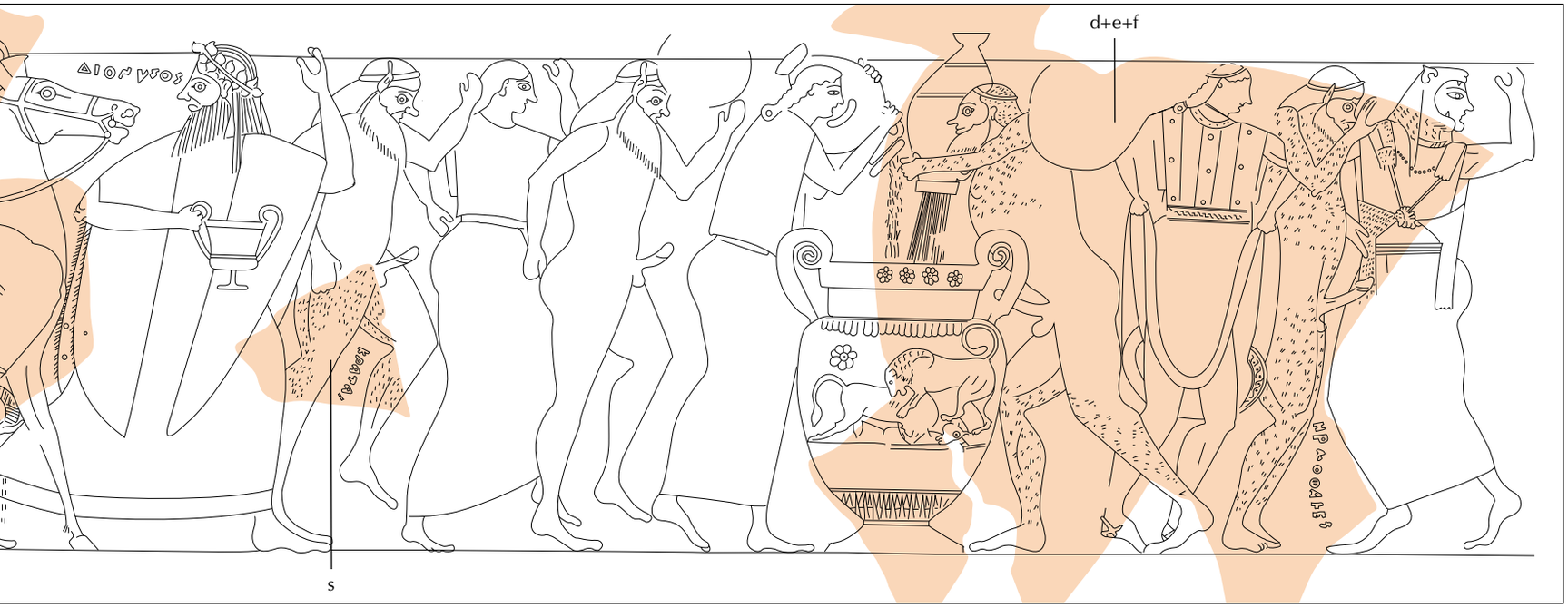
THE MAIN FIGURAL DECORATION ON THE COLUMN-KRATER

The Composition below the Left Handle

Four nonjoining fragments (m, n+o+1997.493, p, q; see Figure 1 and also Figure 5) comprise what remains of this scene: a nymph at the left holds a vase, a large volute-krater stands on the ground, and a satyr dips his oinochoe into it to draw wine.[11] Directly below this satyr, Herakles appears and indicates the beginning of his driving the cattle of Geryon, which proceeds from left to right.

Fragment m preserves part of the torso and legs of a nymph wearing a belted peplos that has a red overfold and a skirt divided vertically by two incised lines. Rows of closely spaced red dots above a red panel decorate the left side; small Xs ornament the right. In front of the nymph is a section of the flanged handle of the volute-krater decorated with ivy leaves. Fragment n+o+1997.493 gives more of the nymph's skirt: part of each panel and, just above the break, a little of the lower border decorated with Ss. Overlapping the skirt is part of the incised tail of a satyr to the left, who belongs with the group to the left of the handle because he moves away from the krater scene. Next is more of the volute-krater: the lower part of the body and a little of the foot in two degrees that looks like a torus above a torus, the lower one in added red.[12] On the body of the krater, the artist incised a chariot team to right (half of the wheel of the vehicle and the hind legs of the horses from the hocks down as well as their front hooves remain; more of them appears on fragment p). Below them is a narrow band of vertical bars with two incised lines above and below; next, two red lines, a zone of glaze, another red line, and a frieze of rosettes between lines. Above the foot were incised rays (just the tips of five are preserved).

At the upper left break of fragment p there is the foot of a vessel held by the nymph and to the right of it is the beginning of an inscription, perhaps a Φ.[13] Fragment p preserves



the right side of the volute-krater: its flanged handle, the upper section of the neck decorated with a row of incised rosettes (a white dot in the core of each one, the petals alternating red and black), and the lower section of it painted red and bordered above and below by two incised lines. The preserved foreparts of the team show two trace horses wearing red collars, and the yoke pad on the pole horses is also red. At the left break, above the area where the team's hindquarters were, an eagle (the beak and part of each wing, the covert of one painted red) flies to right.

Fragment n+o+1997.493 shows the calves and feet of a woolly or shaggy satyr, his left foot raised, the right on the ground; fragment p depicts the lower part of his torso and both thighs, also his right forearm, the hand grasping the handle of an oinochoe that he dips into the krater for one last drink before joining the procession.[14]

At the right break of fragment n+o+1997.493 is the white foot of a nymph to right wearing a sandal, its sole and straps



6. The François Vase, an Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter. Chiusi, ca. 570 B.C. Terracotta, H. 26 in. (66 cm). Museo Archeologico Etrusco, Florence (4209). Photographs: Nimatallah / Art Resource, New York. The overall photograph shows the Caledonian boar hunt, the chariot race at the funeral of Patroklos, and the gods arriving after the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The detail below shows the Return of Hephaistos on the other side of the vase. See also Figure 19.







7. Attic black-figured column-krater attributed to Lydos. Obverse (with detail), showing the Return of Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 22–22¼ in. (55.9–56.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931 (31.11.11). See also Figures 10, 20.



8. Detail of an Attic black-figured band cup attributed to the Oakeshott Painter, showing the Return of Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 550 B.C. Terracotta, H. of cup 6½ in. (16.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.5)

in red,[15] and a little of the border of her peplos decorated with a wavy line. Fragment p preserves most of the red skirt, its belt, and the black overfold decorated with small red dots. Just in front of her at the break is a tied leg of the red wineskin she carries. Overlapping the nymph's skirt is the solid black tail of a satyr to right. Fragment q shows part of the nymph's cheek and the end of her nose painted white, the back of her head with a red fillet, and more of the wineskin, as well as a little bit of a tied leg. Because this nymph and satyr move away from the krater scene, they begin the section of the procession showing Hephaistos on his mule accompanied by Dionysos, as well as more nymphs and satyrs (see Figure 5).

The nymph to the left of the volute-krater

The nymph's left leg bore her weight and her right leg was back, the heel raised slightly. I reconstructed her head from that of the nymph on fragment q (Figure 1). The small foot of the vase she holds indicates a closed shape, either an amphora or a hydria. An amphora is a vessel used to store various commodities, especially wine. It would not have an iconographical purpose in this composition because the wine is already in the krater; otherwise the satyr would not be dipping his oinochoe into it. The nymph must therefore be holding a hydria full of water that she will pour into the krater.

In Attic black figure, there are three variants of the hydria: the round-bodied, the shouldered, and the kalpis. The last is not pertinent to this study because it was not invented until the end of the sixth century B.C.[16] The round-bodied hydria has a slightly flaring neck and a spherical body tapering to an echinus foot; it was popular from about 580 B.C. until a little after 550. When I tried drawing this variant, it looked old-fashioned compared with the volute-krater, which is a very accurate representation of a shape better known after the middle of the sixth century B.C. (see Figure 6). The

shouldered hydria, characterized by having the shoulder offset from the body, appears in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. One of the earliest (about 570 B.C.) is attributed to Lydos; the others by him date in the 560s.[17] This type, popular after 540 B.C., lasted until the early fifth century. Normally, the shouldered hydria has a torus mouth and an echinus foot, but on some, the foot is more articulated. I based the reconstruction of the hydria held by the nymph rather generally on a hydria in the Metropolitan Museum of about 560–550 B.C. that was decorated by an unidentified artist contemporary with the painter of our column-krater (Figure 9).[18] This hydria has the typical torus mouth, a slightly concave glazed neck, and a gently sloping shoulder, the body tapering to a foot in two degrees, which is probably a little wider in proportion to the diameter of the mouth than the one I reconstructed.[19] The positioning of the handles in the drawing reflects their placement on shouldered hydriai made around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The horizontal handles attach to the body slightly below the shoulder; in back, the vertical handle rises from the shoulder to the top of the mouth. The nymph clasps the hydria tightly, bracing it against her left shoulder, as she prepares to empty its contents into the krater.[20]

The satyr to the right of the volute-krater

The preserved handle (fragment c; see Figures 1, 36) was originally attached just above the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the krater; the brownish misfiring of the glaze on its right column matches that on the satyr. This position of the handle column caused the satyr to duck beneath it much like one of his counterparts on Lydos's column-krater (Figure 10).[21] Judging from the space available for our satyr's left arm, I suggest it was raised and bent sharply at the elbow, the hand empty. I based it loosely on the satyr named Hermothales in the scene next to the right handle (see Figures 3, 5, 23), only reversed. For his head, I relied on that of Molpaios, the piping satyr behind Hephaistos (see Figures 2, 5, 12). An oddity of this satyr is that he lacks a tail, as those nearest Hephaistos and probably the one at the right handle do also. This is an unexpected omission, since a horse's tail is as intrinsic a feature of a satyr as his equine ears and snub nose.[22] Cornelia Isler-Kerényi remarked that "more than once there are some satyrs without a tail, an allusion . . . to the metamorphosis from [padded] dancer to satyr."[23] This explanation would be plausible if fully formed satyrs, with or without tails, occurred in Attic black figure only after the initial appearance of padded dancers, about 580 B.C., but such is not the case. The earliest satyrs are contemporary with the first padded dancers and may be dated about 590–580 B.C. The three best-preserved satyrs are the one astride a mule on a lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter and two by Sophilos, one grasping a nymph by the arm, the



9. Unattributed Attic black-figured hydria. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 19¾ in. (50.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1988 (1988.11.3)



10. Detail of the side of the column-krater in Figure 7

other in a file of satyrs.[24] Darrell Amyx remarked that "padded dancers are not the precursors of satyrs, but are instead purely human characters dressed in a special costume for specific religious and ritualistic events" and that "padded dancers are 'simply ordinary people made up in a particular way,' to celebrate a particular occasion. The nature of that occasion has been, and still is, a matter for human speculation, for there is no general agreement on the answer to this question."[25] What the padded dancer and the satyr often have in common is the dancing motion: arms akimbo, one leg weight-bearing, the other raised and bent at the knee.

As for the satyr without a tail, there may be a simpler explanation than a metamorphosis from a dancer to a satyr. John Boardman wrote that "satyrs seem to have been invented by Athenian artists by about 580 B.C. They are never really involved in myth, . . . but they attend Dionysos on events such as the Return of Hephaistos."[26] This is an important observation because all of the satyrs without tails known to me, with one exception,[27] seem rather tame and high-spirited but not unruly or threatening, and they are all connected with Dionysos. The satyrs on the Metropolitan column-krater are cheerful, aimiable fellows, even the inebriated one on fragment b+g+h (see Figures 2, 16). Another reason for the omission of a tail may simply be lack of space. On the obverse of the column-krater, the tail would interfere with the harmony of the composition, as I realized when I tried drawing a tail on the satyr pouring wine into the krater on fragment d+e+f (see Figures 3, 5).[28]

The volute-krater

The most important component of the scene at the left handle (see Figure 1) is the volute-krater, the grandest of the kraters.[29] Few preserved volute-kraters may be dated before 550 B.C. Most famous is the François Vase (ca. 570 B.C.; see Figure 6), but also important is the fragmentary example in Izmir found in Phocaea and attributed to the Fallow Deer Painter. It may be dated about 560 B.C.[30] Although the rest of the early volute-kraters are very fragmentary, they nonetheless provide details pertinent to the volute-krater depicted here.

Before the middle of the sixth century B.C., the volute-krater did not have an offset rim, and the handle spirals rested on the flat top side of the neck. Those of the François Vase are attached in this manner, and those of the Izmir krater probably were too. Today, its handles are missing, but the absence of an offset rim above the neck indicates this attachment was likely.[31] This is exactly the arrangement on fragment p (see Figures 1, 5, 11), including the line accenting the outer edge of the neck.[32] On all three kraters, the two parts of the neck flare, the ones on fragment p a little more sharply than those of the François Vase and the one in Izmir, but this difference is marginal. Also, our painter accurately observed the handle, noting not only how the spiral rests on the top side of the neck, but also how the upright loop supporting the flange looks in profile.[33] The flanges of the painted krater's handles are decorated with ivy, a conceit standard on later Attic black-figured volute-kraters as well as on the handle flanges of amphorae Type A.[34] A chain of double palmettes ornaments the handles of the François Vase. There is no way of knowing how the handle flanges of the other contemporary volute-kraters were decorated because none survives, but ivy appears elsewhere, for example on the upper part of the neck of a proto-volute-krater in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to Sophilos, dating about 580–570 B.C.[35] Given the narrow space for decoration of the handle flanges, our painter opted for a simpler ornament, but one that is very effective.

The rosettes on the volute-krater, particularly those on the upper part of the neck, are especially decorative with alternate petals in added red and a white dot in each core. The rosette is a common ornament, but these compare best with some by the Painter of London B 76, an artist active in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.[36] The difference is that on vases by this painter and his contemporaries the petals of the rosettes are separated only by a short incised line because they appear against the reserved background. On fragment p, they are incised in the black glaze and each petal is fully articulated. Below the rosettes, just above the break, there are the tips of five incised rays; it is uncertain whether they were stacked as they are on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3). My guess is they were.

The figures on the body of the volute-krater, as well as those on the krater below the right handle (fragment d+e+f; see Figure 3), are its most important feature. These, along with the figured kantharos incised on a hydria in the J. Paul Getty Museum (see Figure 21), are the earliest preserved examples of this unusual choice of decoration, a figured vase painted on a figured vase.[37] The model for my reconstruction of the missing parts of the horses is the team on the handle plate, fragment c (see Figure 36). There is no way to know if an eagle flew above the hindquarters of these horses on fragment c, but one may have.[38] The chariot on the handle plate also provided the model for the missing half of the wheel, all of the box, rail, and breast work, as well as the driver who stands in the vehicle well back of the axle.[39] There was no passenger beside the charioteer on the handle. When I drew just one figure in the chariot on the volute-krater, there was too much empty space. Introducing a warrior not only filled this area, but also enhanced the narrative. To sum up, the harmony of shape, ornament, and figures indicates that not only was our painter very familiar with this type of krater and its details, but he was also able to show us how contemporary volute-kraters, known today only from fragments, may have looked when they were intact.

The Central Group: Hephaistos, Dionysos, Satyrs and Nymphs

The main figures on the obverse of our column-krater (Figure 2, and see also Figure 5) are Hephaistos on his mule accompanied by Dionysos, satyrs, and nymphs. This scene begins on fragment p (Figure 11) with the nymph carrying the wineskin and the satyr in front of her (just his tail remains) moving to right. After these two figures, there is a missing area before we come to the three fragments that preserve the section of the composition depicting Hephaistos and the figures nearest him, fragments b+g+h, l, and s (Figures 12–14).[40]

Philoposia and Molpaios

At the far left of fragment b+g+h (see Figures 2, 5), just below the ornament on the shoulder, there is a bit of black glaze that may be the raised hand of the nymph who faces left. All that remains of her on this fragment are the top of her head and her hair tied up with a red fillet.[41] Written behind her is ΦΙΛΟΠΟΣΟ (Philoposia, love of drinking).[42] More interesting is the satyr behind Philoposia whose name is also inscribed: ΜΟΛΠΑΙΟΣ, retrograde (Molpaios means rhythmic or tuneful, which is appropriate because he plays the aulos).[43] Preserved are his head and left shoulder (Figure 12) and part of his buttock and thigh. His long hair and beard are red, and he has a shaggy coat. He also has no tail, just like the satyr on fragment p.[44] Fragment l (Figure 13), one of a group of fragments (see also Figures 14, 26–34) not included in the assemblages shown in the gallery (Figures 1–3), preserves the lower left leg and foot of Molpaios and the feet of Philoposia, as well as the right foot and raised left leg and foot of a shaggy satyr dancing toward them.[45] Of Philoposia, there is the lower part of her peplos decorated with a border of Ss and her feet shod with sandals like those of the nymph on fragment n+o+1997.493 (see Figures 1, 5). It was difficult to incorporate the tracing of this fragment into the reconstruction drawing because of its strong vertical curve and the degree to which the foot of Molpaios overlaps the remaining parts of Philoposia. When I tried to "stretch" the ground line, the result made the fragment look very distorted, but I believe this is where fragment l belongs in the composition.[46] In the reconstruction (Figure 5), I inserted a tracing of the preserved parts of Philoposia and Molpaios on fragment l into the appropriate part of the composition and drew the rest of the figures freehand. Comparison of Figure 13 with Figure 5 indicates where the photograph differs from the drawing, mainly the left foot of Molpaios overlapping the skirt of Philoposia's peplos.

I opted to depict Philoposia dressed in a belted peplos, one arm raised, the other lowered, and one foot on the ground, the other raised slightly. Filling in the missing parts of Molpaios produced surprising results. Drawing his arms and hands, then the aulos, was quite easy and, at first glance, it looks as if one foot touched the ground overlapping the



11. Detail of Figure 1 (fragment p), showing the satyr standing next to the volute-krater



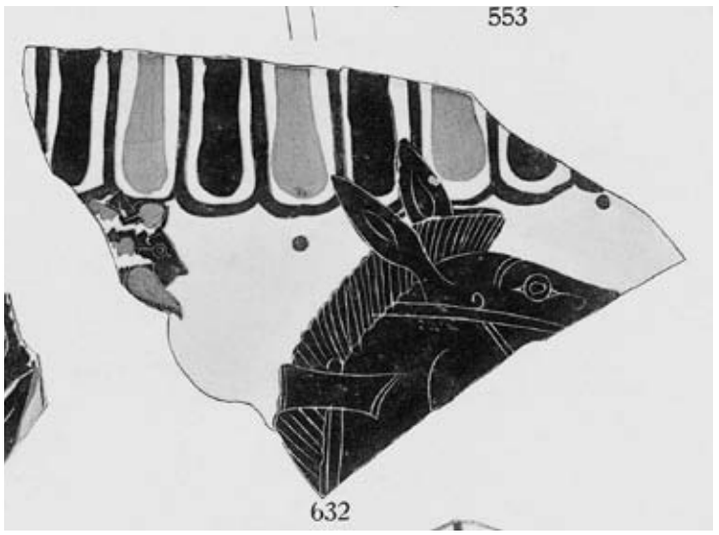
12. Detail of Figure 2 (fragment b+g+h), showing the heads of Molpaios and Hephaistos



13. Fragment l of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower legs and feet of two shaggy satyrs, the feet and lower drapery of a nymph, and, in the frieze below, part of the head, neck, and shoulder of a bull. H. 5 in. (12.8 cm)



14. Fragment s of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing part of Dionysos and the legs of a shaggy satyr. H. 3⅞ in. (9.7 cm)



15. Fragment of an unattributed column-krater depicting the Return of Hephaistos, showing the head of Hephaistos and the head of his mule. Ca. 560 B.C. Terracotta, H. 3½ in. (9 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (632). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 25, no. 632

hindquarters of the mule. But this is not possible because his leg would be much too long. Rather, he is either sitting on the hindquarters of the mule or, more likely, sliding off them. I do not know a parallel for this most unusual detail, but there are other unexpected features in this part of the composition, such as the satyr reclining on the ground looking out at the viewer. Reconstruction of the dancing satyr on fragment l is quite tentative. I also drew him freehand, relying on parts of other satyrs, namely the one named Hermothales and the one on fragment s who was dancing (Figures 3, 14, and see Figure 5).

Hephaistos on the mule

Hephaistos sits astride his ithyphallic mule moving slowly to right looking very dignified and not the least bit drunk (see Figures 2, 12). His hair is long, his beard neatly trimmed. He wears a red cloak over a short white pleated chiton and an ivy wreath around his head, the leaves alternating red and black. On his right foot is a laced-up red boot. Written in front of his face is: ΗΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ. In his right hand Hephaistos holds the reins and in his left an ax, one of the earliest preserved examples of this attribute in the representations of the Return to Olympos. An unattributed fragment of a column-krater, found on the Akropolis and dating about 560 B.C. (Figure 15), also depicts this object.[47] The Akropolis fragment shows most of the god's face and red beard, part of the head, ears and neck of his mule, and the head of the ax with part of the handle. Hephaistos with his ax appears earlier in illustrations of the Birth of Athena,[48] which very likely prompted painters to include it in scenes of the Return to Olympos, because it is an attribute that identifies him as a master craftsman. The length of the handle varies and sometimes may be rather long. The parts of Hephaistos that had to be reconstructed were minimal, chiefly a little of his cloak and parts of his right hand and thigh (Figure 5).

The mule

The mule on our krater (see Figures 2, 5) is an elegant animal worthy of its immortal rider. Preserved are its long ears, much of its neck and mane, all of its body, its right foreleg but for the hoof, and the start of the left, as well as a little of both hind legs including the left hind hoof. Red accents the incised line defining the shoulder bone, as well as the arcs incised on its shoulder and hindquarter, also its ribs. In the reconstruction drawing, the head of Hephaistos's mule on the column-krater by Lydos (Figure 7) was my model, but I opted for a plain eye rather than the decorative one Lydos incised. The tail is based on that of the mule ridden by Hephaistos in the Return scene on the François Vase (Figure 6). I drew the missing parts of the mule's hind legs and all of the tail freehand. Because the mane on fragment b+g+h (Figure 2) is so carefully incised, I chose to incise the tail as well so it would look more luxuriant and add texture to this part of the composition. The cheek strap of the headstall of the bridle is indicated by a double line, not a single one as on the mule by Lydos; the start of the cheek strap remains on fragment b+g+h, but today it is covered by one of the clamps that support the fragment in the exhibition vitrine.[49] On his column-krater, Lydos included the brow band and throatlatch, but very likely only the upper half of the noseband, which on an actual bridle encircles the muzzle just above the mouth. Omitting the lower half of the noseband is the way Lydos usually drew this strap of the headstall, and I decided on the same arrangement for fragment b+g+h.[50] Inscribed above Hephaistos's ax is ΟΝΟΣ (onos, ass).[51]

The inebriated satyr

Along the left side of the mule, an inebriated shaggy satyr lies on the ground staring out at the viewer (Figures 2, 16). A large red dot defines the pupil of each eye. Most of his body and all of his right arm, the hand grasping the lower

leg of a hoofed animal, remain,[52] as do his left forearm and hand balancing a cup, indicating that he probably plans to drink some more. The position of this forearm indicates he supported himself on his left elbow (his shoulder and nearly all of the upper arm are lost). His right thigh is raised, the leg probably bent at the knee; his left leg was folded back very sharply for his foot is visible next to the left hind hoof of the mule. This satyr, like Molpaios and the one on fragment p, has no tail. Inscribed between the satyr and the belly of the mule is ΟΥΚΑΛΕΓΟΝ (Oukalegon, nothing worries me).[53]

The satyr's frontal face draws attention not only to himself, but also to Hephaistos and Dionysos, the central figures on this side of the krater. Beazley observed that "in archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard."[54] The satyr behind Hephaistos on Lydos's krater (Figure 7) looks out at the viewer with his arms raised and his legs bent. Were he to stand he would be taller than the other figures in the scene, thus emphasizing his role, which is to focus attention on Hephaistos; likewise the satyr near Dionysos on the other side of that krater. See also the satyr with the frontal face on the Oakeshott Painter's cup, which depicts the Return of Hephaistos (Figure 8).[55] On the Amasis Painter's famous amphora in Würzburg, a cheerful-looking satyr peers out at the viewer while he pours wine from a rather full skin into the kantharos of a tipsy Dionysos.[56] Figures with frontal faces normally stand, so our drunken satyr reclining on the ground is exceptional.[57]

Reconstructing Oukalegon's legs and the left side of his face with beard and ear was not difficult (see Figure 5). More of a challenge was to draw his missing upper left arm and elbow, which, as we shall see, were overlapped by part of Dionysos, who appeared in front of the mule. What remains of the satyr's right shoulder is particularly brawny, and the start of his upper left arm just above the forearm indicates that it too was muscular. The painter's drawing here is a little imprecise, so reconstruction of this area may not be quite accurate. The satyr's left elbow did not rest on the ground line. Below his left forearm and overlapped by the right heel of Dionysos, there is part of an object that must have been lying on the ground, and presumably it supported the satyr's elbow. All that remain are a small, incised hook and a pair of very short lines that do not match the incisions on the shaggy satyr. Just above the modern break there are two narrowly spaced horizontal lines, and there is a little more glaze below Dionysos's heel. One thinks of a pillow, but pillows usually appear in scenes set indoors, and on Attic black-figured vases they are plain or decorated with an incised line or two. A wineskin comes to mind, but normally wineskins are plain (see Figure 6).[58] Furthermore, wineskins used as pillows usually appear on Attic black-figured vases of the late sixth century B.C. and on red-figured ones of the fifth. During the middle decades of the sixth century B.C., wineskins are not depicted very often. But even without a good contemporary parallel, it is very tempting to suggest that a wineskin supports our satyr as he looks out at us. A rather good later counterpart is the lively reclining satyr painted on the front of the wheel-made rim of MMA 12.234.5, a head vase by the Brygos Painter, dating about 490–480 B.C. (Figure 17).[59] He is quite similar to the satyr on fragment b+g+h, and his wineskin shows very clearly how one leg of the skin is tied so the wine will not spill, and how it folds back on itself, indicating it is partly empty. This satyr holds a pair of krotala (castanets) and looks back, his left leg raised, his right outstretched on the ground. If the object supporting our black-figured satyr is a wineskin, then what remains might be the end of one leg and the pair of incised lines its tie. Since our painter favored shaggy satyrs, he might very well have articulated the pelt of the wineskin this way, even though the wineskin carried by the nymph on fragments p and q (Figure 1) is painted red. There is, however, a good parallel for a wineskin decorated with rows of incised dots, even if it is not being used as a pillow.



16. Detail of Figure 2 (fragment b+g+h), showing an inebriated satyr



17. Detail of the rim of an Attic red-figured kantharos in the form of two female heads attributed to the Brygos Painter, showing a satyr playing castanets and reclining against a wineskin. Greek, ca. 490–480 B.C. Terracotta, H. 7¾ in. (19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.234.5)



18. Detail of an Attic cup with merrythought handles signed by Ergotimos as potter. Greek, ca. 560 B.C. Terracotta, Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (V.I.3151). Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York

Oreios carries it on the unattributed cup in Berlin signed by Ergotimos as potter and dating about 560 B.C.; it depicts the Capture of Silenos (Figure 18).[60] Thus, in the reconstruction drawing (Figure 5), I tentatively suggest that the satyr reclines against a wineskin, which was mostly overlapped by Dionysos.

Two details around the inebriated satyr (see Figure 16) at present defy explanation. The first is the enigmatic area of glaze between the satyr's left buttock and left foot and the ground line; more of it appears behind the left hind hoof of the mule. The incision defining the contour of the satyr's buttock and thigh is clear, but what the glaze below it represents is not. The other puzzling detail is the loop that projects above the satyr's rib cage. It looks like the handle of a dipper similar to the one held by the satyr on fragment p (Figures 1, 11), except that it makes no sense here, because there is no one to hold it. The loop also resembles the curved tail of a feline, but this will not work because the area where the rest of the animal would have to appear is reserved. For now, therefore, I have no explanation for these two areas of glaze.



19. Detail of Figure 6, showing Dionysos

Dionysos

The next figure in the procession is Dionysos (see Figure 5). Very little of him remains, but there are good parallels for the reconstruction I propose: he strides to right, torso and shoulders frontal, head turned back to face Hephaistos. Dionysos wears a long chiton with a cloak over both shoulders and very likely an ivy wreath around his head. Since most of the figures are named, Dionysos's name was probably written in the space above the mule's head.

Fragment b+g+h preserves Dionysos's raised right heel next to the inebriated satyr's left forearm, and at the right break opposite the mule's neck and chest there is a little of the back and front of the god's cloak edged with fringe, his right elbow, and the start of his forearm (Figure 2). The cloak covered all of his right shoulder and upper arm but was overlapped by the forearm, leaving it and the hand free. More of Dionysos appears at the far left of fragment s (Figure 14): a little of the god's fringed cloak and the skirt of his chiton painted a dull red.[61]

The general pose of Dionysos was comparable to that of Dionysos in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase (Figure 19): torso and shoulders in front view, left leg forward and bent at the knee, right leg back probably with the heel raised fairly high. Even the position of his arms was helpful for the reconstruction. Dionysos on the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8) is even more similar to the pose I suggest.[62] Since the satyr with the frontal face on fragment b+g+h draws attention to both Hephaistos and Dionysos, there was no need for Dionysos to look at the viewer. Turning his head toward Hephaistos emphasizes their shared responsibilities. I modeled Dionysos's head on that of Hephaistos but enlarged it and gave him a longer beard, which is typical for Dionysos, and for contrast I incised his long locks of hair instead of leaving them solid black as our painter did for some of his other figures, including Hephaistos (see Figure 5). This adds texture that complements the shaggy coats of the satyrs and the colorful white chiton and red cloak and boot worn by Hephaistos. I also made Dionysos's head overlap the ornament a little bit so his face would be at the same height in the composition as that of Hephaistos. Dionysos's garments are rather subdued, although originally the red of his chiton may have been brighter. Small red dots strewn over the surface of his cloak and the short fringe accenting the edges are decorative touches.[63]

We come now to the position of each arm. I suggest that Dionysos raised his left arm as he does in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, except that his hand held nothing. Instead, this is a gesture of exclamation or excitement. Of more interest is his now-missing right hand. The little that remains

of Dionysos's right elbow indicates the arm was bent almost at a right angle, with the forearm about horizontal. It is likely that his right hand was not empty but held something. There are three choices: a branch with ivy leaves or bunches of grapes, a drinking horn, or a kantharos.

On Lydos's column-krater, Dionysos holds a drinking horn and ivy in his raised left hand and a branch laden with grapes in his right (Figure 20). Because the god stands very quietly in this scene, there is more space around him than there is on fragments b+g+h and s, where he moves forward in a lively manner. A little later, the Oakeshott Painter gave Dionysos an ivy branch as well as a kantharos (Figure 8), but on this cup, there is plenty of space and no figure overlaps another. In our composition, introducing a branch, either of ivy or with grapes, would disrupt the balance between textures and colors as well as the rhythm between the figures and the background. A drinking horn is a common attribute for Dionysos, and in many scenes he holds one as he does on the column-krater in Figure 20, but when I drew a drinking horn held in his right hand, it diminished his dignified manner considerably because it had to be held upright and be small enough not to overlap his beard, let alone his face. In Attic black figure, Dionysos usually holds the drinking horn against the reserved background of the composition.[64]

I propose instead that Dionysos held a kantharos in his right hand (see Figure 5). The kantharos was man-made and therefore different from the drinking horn, which was acquired from the slaughter of an animal. Isler-Kerényi considers the drinking horn a vessel used in a primitive phase of wine imbibing, "the antithesis of the civilized world," and that it recalls "a previous period, when vessels used for drinking wine made by man—the skyphoi and kylikes—were not yet used. Instead, containers acquired through sacrifice from the animal realm were used."[65] In scenes on Greek vases, the kantharos is very metallic-looking, and surely the painters intended the kantharos held by Dionysos to imitate those made of metal, not clay.[66] With its tall handles, flaring body, and slender stem terminating in a thin flat foot, it is an elegant shape, befitting an Olympian god, and it became the preferred vessel for Dionysos, even though the drinking horn never entirely disappeared.

The earliest preserved representation of the kantharos appears on a late seventh-century B.C. Cycladic amphora in the Archaeological Museum on Melos. In this scene, a dignified-looking man, identified as Dionysos because he holds a kantharos, stands to right facing a woman holding out her veil (an early example of the bridal gesture), who is probably Ariadne, the god's wife.[67] When the kantharos appears on Attic black-figured vases in the early decades of the sixth century B.C., it is not held by Dionysos, but by komasts (revelers). Good examples are those on two skyphoi and a cup by the KX Painter and on a dinos connected



20. Detail of the reverse of Figure 7, showing Dionysos with a maenad and two satyrs

with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis.[68] On the dinos in London signed by Sophilos, Peleus holds out a kantharos as he greets his wedding guests, and on the François Vase by Kleitias, in the scene of the same subject, a kantharos stands on an altar in front of Peleus.[69]

Images of Dionysos holding a kantharos in Attic black figure first appear during the time our painter was decorating the Metropolitan's column-krater, not in the 540s B.C., as Thomas Carpenter thought.[70] One occurs on Munich 1447, an amphora dated about 560 B.C. that Beazley attributed to an artist near the Painter of Acropolis 606. Dionysos stands quietly before a dancing satyr, his kantharos very metallic-looking. See also Dionysos on the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8). Another example appears on an unattributed fragmentary skyphos dated about 550 B.C., or a little earlier, which was dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. Dionysos's name is inscribed, and he holds out his kantharos very proudly. A fourth example is Dionysos on the shoulder of an unattributed hydria of about 550 B.C. in Florence. A fifth representation, contemporary with our column-krater, occurs on a hydria in the J. Paul Getty Museum, attributed to the wider circle of Lydos by Herbert Cahn and dated about 560–550 B.C. (Figure 21). On this vase, an incised horse and rider decorate Dionysos's large black kantharos, and he is accompanied by a woman holding out her veil, the pair facing Poseidon.[71] The style of drawing on the Metropolitan column-krater is closer to that



21. Detail of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the wider circle of Lydos, showing Dionysos, Ariadne, and Poseidon. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 15¼ in. (38.5 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Villa Collection (86.AE.113)

on the Malibu hydria than it is to that on the other four vases; therefore I used this kantharos as the model in my reconstruction. In such a monumental representation of the Return of Hephaistos, it is more appropriate for Dionysos to hold an elegant metal kantharos than a common animal horn. In any case, these examples, as well as the above discussion, offer compelling evidence that during the decade 560–550 B.C. the kantharos began to be the preferred vessel held by the god of wine.

The background between the incised contour of the mule's neck and chest and Dionysos is glazed, and the glaze extends downward between the animal's left foreleg and the top of the reclining satyr's head. This is an area one expects to be reserved. I have no explanation for what is represented, and there is no clue such as added color or incision.

The dancing satyr

Most of fragment s depicts the thigh and calf of the shaggy satyr in front of Dionysos (Figure 14). What remains indicates that the right leg was straight and was overlapped a bit by Dionysos's chiton, and the left leg was bent rather sharply at the knee and the foot raised. He is an animated dancing satyr named ΚΡΑΤΑΙ[ΟΣ] (Krataios means strong).[72] Since so little is preserved, I tentatively suggest he was in profile to right, one arm lowered, the other raised, and he may have had a fillet around his head, similar to the satyrs on fragment d+e+f (see Figure 3). A tantalizing bit of glaze and added red appear at the break in the lower right and represent the sandal of a nymph (a little of the red strap at the back and the heel). See fragments l, i+j, and r (Figures 13, 25, 26).

The Composition below the Right Handle

Fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) preserves about two-thirds of the scene at this handle.[73] A shaggy satyr stands to left emptying wine from a one-piece amphora into a large krater placed on the ground. What remains are his head with receding hairline (the hair stippled), indicating he is an older satyr; his long red beard; his left arm; part of his portly torso; and his lower legs, the right forward and bent at the knee, the left back with the heel raised. Around his head is a thin red fillet. An odd feature of this satyr is that he has a human ear instead of an equine one (Figure 22).[74] The satyr's left thumb is looped through one handle of the amphora to help steady it against his right shoulder. Accessory red accents the mouth of the vase, and there is a wide red band below the maximum diameter of the body. In front of the satyr's chest are three letters of his name: ΕΟΙ.[75] Next to the handle of the amphora is the red torus mouth, a little of the neck, and the start of the vertical handle of a hydria from which water gushes into the krater to mix with the wine. I believe the hydria is held by a nymph, not by another satyr (see Figure 5).[76] Both liquids are drawn in dilute glaze.

The krater into which the satyr pours wine is an elaborate vessel. Decorating the upper part of the neck are incised rosettes, the petals alternating red and black, and the lower part of it is red; then comes a row of white dots between an incised line above and below, next a zone of black tongues on the shoulder at the junction with the neck. On the body, a fierce lion brings down a large bull. This is a motif borrowed from the Near East that was a frequent subject in sixth-century B.C. Greek art, especially in Athens.[77] What remains of the lion are its lower jaw seizing the bull's back just behind the shoulder, part of its ruff (parallel incised lines), its neck with incised S-shaped locks of mane, much of its body, all of its legs, and the end of its tail. Of the bull, just the foreparts, some of its body, and one hind leg are preserved; red decorates its neck and belly. Below these figures, there is a wide band of accessory red between two lines above and below, then a zone of incised stacked rays. An incised fillet separates the body from the foot, which was not in two degrees like that on fragment n+o+1997.493 (see Figure 1), because there is no line separating the two parts.[78] The rest of the figures on this fragment belong to the procession on the back of the vase (see below).

The nymph pouring water from the hydria was probably similar to her counterpart at the left handle (see Figures 1, 5), and I based my drawing of her on this one with only minor adjustments for the different manner in which she holds the vessel. Filling in the missing parts of the satyr was relatively uncomplicated because so much of him is preserved. When I drew the contour of his shoulder and back, it became clear that the handle root overlapped them a little bit. Originally I opted to give him a tail, but when I saw how a tail interrupted the folds of the peplos worn by the nymph behind him, I omitted it.

We may return now to the krater between the satyr and the nymph. The defining feature of a column-krater and a volute-krater is the handle, and since the handles are not preserved, I had to guess which type of vessel this is. Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann thought it was an amphora, not a krater, but the mouth is too wide for an amphora.[79] Also, wine and water would not be poured into an amphora because the mixed liquid was to be consumed, not stored. Werner Oenbrink identified the shape as a column-krater, based on the one drawn by the Amasis Painter on his fragmentary amphora of about 540–530 B.C. excavated in the Heraion at Samos, somewhat later than the Metropolitan's fragmentary column-krater.[80] Jasper Gaunt thought the painter may have drawn a column-krater, but he did not elaborate except to write that "the foot seems to have been an echinus."[81]

Two features argue against identifying the vase as a column-krater. The first is the zone of stacked rays above the foot, which occurs on Attic black-figured vases decorated by artists of the first generation who were active in the late



22. Detail of Figure 3 (fragment d+e+f), showing the satyr pouring wine

seventh century B.C.[82] From the first half of the sixth century B.C. there are very few examples of stacked rays on Attic vases, and as far as I know they do not occur on column-kraters or volute-kraters.[83] This is not surprising. During these decades, the shape of the Attic column-krater was strongly influenced by Corinthian examples, which have single rays above the foot,[84] and the canonical volute-krater did not appear until early in the second quarter. As discussed above, the known examples of the volute-kraters are very fragmentary. Furthermore, the Metropolitan column-krater has a single row of rays above the foot (Figures 2, 3).[85] Since the painter of MMA 1997.388 was so attentive to details of shape and ornament, if the representation on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) were a column-krater, it would not have stacked rays, but only a single row. The second feature that argues against identifying the vase on fragment d+e+f as a column-krater is the profile of the foot. Before 550 B.C. and even a little later, the foot was a simple echinus, which has a convex profile.[86] The top side of the foot of the krater depicted on fragment d+e+f is slightly concave and thus is a different shape.[87]

Other criteria offer additional reasons for identifying the vase as a volute-krater. When I tried to reconstruct the handle of a column-krater on a vase with so much ornamental and figural decoration, it looked awkward. A volute-krater handle with its elegant spiral and embellished flange appears more plausible. Furthermore, a second volute-krater balances the one at the left handle, and the two frame the composition on the obverse.

The figural decoration incised on the volute-krater at the right handle shows a lion bringing down a bull. Usually, two lions attack the bull, creating a symmetrical composition well suited to temple pediments, such as those on the Athenian Akropolis. Occasionally, there is just one lion when space for two is lacking.[88] This was the case here, but when I reconstructed the missing hindquarters and tail of the bull (Figure 5), which stretch across the ground line, too much empty space remained in the upper left. In this area, I suggest there was a rosette, just as there is above the bull in a similar composition on the François Vase, only there the figures are reversed.[89] I modeled the rosette on those on the neck of the volute-krater at the left handle (see Figure 1).

Kraters were used for mixing wine and water, and the ancient literary sources emphasize that civilized people did not drink their wine full strength. Only non-Greeks, such as Scythians, or wild creatures like centaurs, indulged in this unacceptable practice.[90] Among the gods only Dionysos drank unmixed wine.[91] Wine is key in this myth; without it, Hephaistos probably would not have returned to Olympos. The two extraordinary kraters painted on the Metropolitan column-krater indicate how keenly aware our artist was of the significance of wine in the myth, as well as that it must be mixed with water. At the left handle (Figures 1, 5), the nymph is about to empty the water in her hydria into the volute-krater, which already contains the wine. A slightly different moment is shown in the scene at the right handle (Figure 3), namely both liquids being poured into the krater simultaneously. This feature is most unusual and may even be unique. François Lissarrague remarked that the painters do not show the "practice of the essential mixing of the wine and water. . . . When a *krater* is shown being filled, it is the wine which is shown, never the water."[92] The krater on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) offers irrefutable evidence of an exception to this conclusion. Our artist distinguished the two liquids, not only by their containers, a hydria and an amphora, but also by the appearance of each. The mouth of the amphora is wide enough to allow the wine to flow freely in a steady stream, even when the vessel is held vertically, as on fragment d+e+f.[93] By contrast, the hydria has a narrow mouth and neck compared with its broad shoulder. When a full hydria is held upside down or even at an angle, the water will not pour forth easily, but gurgles as it empties out. Only when the hydria is partly empty, does the water flow in a steady stream.[94] Our artist understood the difference.

The Two Missing Sections

On the obverse of our column-krater, reconstruction of the preserved sections of the composition did not fill the available space, which is 33 inches (83.7 cm) from the midpoint below each handle. I think it is possible to suggest what the missing figures in these gaps may have looked like. First of all, there is a rhythm in the composition: a satyr always alternates with a nymph, except for the central group of Hephaistos and Dionysos. At the right of fragment p there is the tail of a satyr to right (Figure 1), and at the left of fragment l (Figure 13, and see Figure 5) there are both feet and the calf of the left leg of a satyr dancing to right in front of Philoposia and Molpaios. From this admittedly slender evidence, I reconstructed the two satyrs by combining parts of the better-preserved ones in the composition (Figure 5). This left space for another figure, which I believe was a nymph, and for her I used the same procedure. These three figures nicely fitted the estimated space of about 7 inches (18 cm) with a degree of overlapping comparable to the preserved parts of the composition. I drew freehand most of Krataios, whose legs are partly preserved on fragment s (Figure 14), relying on other satyrs for his missing parts. Between Krataios and the nymph pouring water into the krater below the right handle, there is an estimated gap of about 4 inches (10 cm). This leaves enough room for a nymph and a satyr.

The First Three Figures on the Reverse

The Return of Hephaistos continues on the reverse of the column-krater; much less remains, and it is not certain where to place each fragment. On fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) there are parts of three figures, an ithyphallic satyr between two nymphs.

The nymph directly behind the satyr pouring wine into the volute-krater moves (dances?) to right. Her head and torso, as well as her legs from the knees down and most of her right foot, remain. Her long black hair is tied in a loop at the end; her flesh is white and her eye has a red pupil. She has a red fillet around her head and an incised necklace. This nymph wears a peplos with an overfold decorated with vertical panels that alternate red and black; a row of Xs between lines accents the neckline, a zone of Ss with dots between two lines defines its lower border. With each hand she holds up part of the red skirt (all of her left arm and hand remain; just a little of her upper right arm overlapped by the root of the handle column and the start of the forearm positioned vertically are preserved). Lower down there is more of the skirt with the same border as the overfold. The nymph's right heel is raised, the foot shod with the type of sandal the other nymphs wear. Her left foot is missing but for the toes (the white has flaked).



23. Detail of Figure 3 (fragment d+e+f), showing a satyr and a nymph

The pose of this nymph holding up her skirt is unusual, but not erotic as one might suppose at first glance.[95] Rather, it enabled her to move or dance faster. I have not yet found a good comparison for this nymph, but one may compare the one on the top side of the rim of an unattributed Attic black-figured dinos in Würzburg, dating about 500 B.C.[96] That nymph runs to left looking back at a satyr and holding up her skirt with her left hand.

Next comes a shaggy ithyphallic satyr standing with feet together but gesturing excitedly (right arm raised, hand open; the forearm of the left appears in the background above the next nymph's right shoulder). Around his head is an incised black fillet; his hair and beard are red. Inscribed in front of him is ΗΡΜΟΘΑΛΕΣ (Hermothales).[97]

The third figure is a nymph who moves to left, looking back (Figure 23). Just her chin and neck, part of her upper left arm, which was raised, and her right hand, as well as her frontal torso remain (some of the white for her flesh has flaked). She wears a belted peplos with a red overfold and a skirt with vertical panels alternating red and black (part of two remain, as well as traces of one covering her bent right leg at the break opposite the inscription naming Hermothales (Figure 3); this feature is the clue to her position, moving to left looking back). What is most unusual about this nymph is that she wears a lionskin in the manner of Herakles (her head in its mouth). Of the pelt, a little of its red lower jaw, its ruff and mane, as well as a forepaw hanging over each

shoulder, and all of one hind leg remain. It is black and stippled to indicate short hairs. Each forepaw looks as if it has been slit open in back and flipped over, then joined by an incised rosette. The two paws are linked by a loose chain stretching across the nymph's chest and by thin diagonal straps that meet just above her waist and are fastened to the hind legs by an elaborate rosette. The effect is ornamental and striking.

This nymph who wears a lionskin is quite puzzling. The only female figure who sometimes wears a lionskin is Artemis, who has no role in the Return of Hephaistos. She appears at the far left of the scene on the François Vase, but simply as a bystander.[98] Nevertheless, three images of Artemis wearing a lionskin provide comparisons for our nymph. On two occasions contemporary with or slightly later than the Metropolitan column-krater, Artemis wears a lionskin in the Gigantomachy, where she fights alongside her brother, Apollo. One occurs on a fragment of an unattributed band cup excavated on the North Slope of the Akropolis and depicts Artemis with Apollo and Dionysos. Another comes from the Akropolis itself. This is the big dinos signed by Lydos that probably dates a little after 550 B.C. Here, too, Artemis appears with her brother. Most interesting is the fragment of a kantharos attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, also from the Akropolis and dating about 560–550 B.C. (Figure 24).[99] Its subject is uncertain; it depicts a procession of Olympians approaching Zeus seated on an elegant throne and holding his thunderbolt. All that is preserved of the lion's pelt is most of Artemis's face in its mouth and some of its mane. Her name is inscribed in the genitive: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. Directly in front of her is Apollo (back of helmeted head, most of frontal torso, and left arm). The baldric attached to his quiver is similar to the chain linking the forepaws of our nymph's lionskin, and the rosette on the flap of his corselet is similar to the one joining the straps above her waist, only better drawn. I have no explanation for why this nymph wears a lionskin; were it a panther skin it would simply be a Dionysiac attribute. In any case, she is an enigmatic, but elegant figure.



24. Fragment of an Attic black-figured kantharos attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, showing part of Apollo and Artemis. Greek, ca. 560–550 B.C. Terracotta, H. 1⅝ in. (4 cm). Akropolis Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (2133 b). Photograph: Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 93

Other Fragments

Other fragments belong on the reverse, but there is not enough preserved to permit a reconstruction drawing or to place them in the composition.

Fragment i+j (Figure 25) shows part of a nymph dancing to left and a shaggy satyr to right.[100] All that remains of him is the calf of his left leg and a little more of it above the nymph's skirt at the left break. The nymph's right foot, shod with the same kind of sandal as the others, is well off the ground, and a little of the heel of her left foot appears at the break. She wears a peplos (just the bottom of its skirt divided by vertical panels alternating red and black, and some of its



25. Fragment i+j of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower legs and feet of a shaggy satyr and a maenad, with parts of two bulls in the lower zone. H. 11½ in. (29.1 cm)

border decorated with Ss between two incised lines above and below).

Fragment r (Figure 26) comes from the lower part of the composition.[101] The main section preserves the lower drapery and right foot of a nymph striding or walking to left. She wears a peplos decorated with a thick red horizontal line and dot rosettes with red cores surrounded by white dots. (The dots are visible today only under magnification.) Over her peplos there is the end of a red cloak with a black border ornamented with short, incised strokes. She wears a sandal with a red sole and straps. Most of the white of her flesh has flaked. Behind her is the lower leg and part of the left foot of a shaggy satyr to left. There is something hanging alongside his calf with a red line articulating one contour, but I am not sure what it is. Between the two: ΠΙΣΙΟΣ.[102]

Fragment k (Figure 27) preserves part of the white foot of a nymph shod like the others and two hooves next to one another, to right.[103] I am not certain what kind of creature these hooves belong to. I doubt it is another equid because there are no short lines of incision at the top of the hoof (called the crown) as there is on Hephaistos's mule (see Figure 2). Perhaps it is a hoofed satyr similar to the one lugging the full wineskin in the Return scene on the François Vase (Figure 6), but it would be odd for a satyr to stand with his feet together. Hoofed or human-footed satyrs prefer to be mobile, though occasionally there is an exception, Hermothales on fragment d+e+f (Figure 3) being one.

Fragment t (Figure 28) preserves the lower calf and part of the left foot of a shaggy satyr dancing to left and a nymph dancing to right.[104] All that remains of her is part of her peplos decorated with vertical panels alternating red and black, its border with short incised lines between two lines, then her raised left foot wearing a sandal like those worn by the other nymphs. At the break in the lower left is a little of her right foot with the red strap of the sandal. White for the nymph's flesh is well preserved.

Fragment u (Figure 29) shows part of the skirt of a peplos: on the left, a panel divided horizontally red, black, and red; then a panel of lozenges with dotted crosses, framed by two incised lines; next part of a red panel. In the lower left, just above the break, there is a curved incised line (part of a satyr?).[105]

Fragment v (Figure 30) also preserves the skirt of a decorated peplos with a bit of the lower border of the overfold.[106] The skirt is decorated with squares with interior boxed Xs, the area outside each box alternating red and black. The nymph seems to be moving to left. At the upper left, traces of another figure—a little bit of glaze with brown outline.

Fragment w (Figure 31) preserves drapery decorated with red squares and a black saltire square in each. Incision and a bit of reserve are at the very bottom.[107]

On fragment x (Figure 32) the surface is completely gone on the inside, so the orientation is uncertain.[108] The stippled area shows neat rows, so this is probably not a satyr. It might be part of a wineskin, as on the cup signed by Ergotimos (Figure 18). In the upper right there is plain glaze with a red dot or small circle.

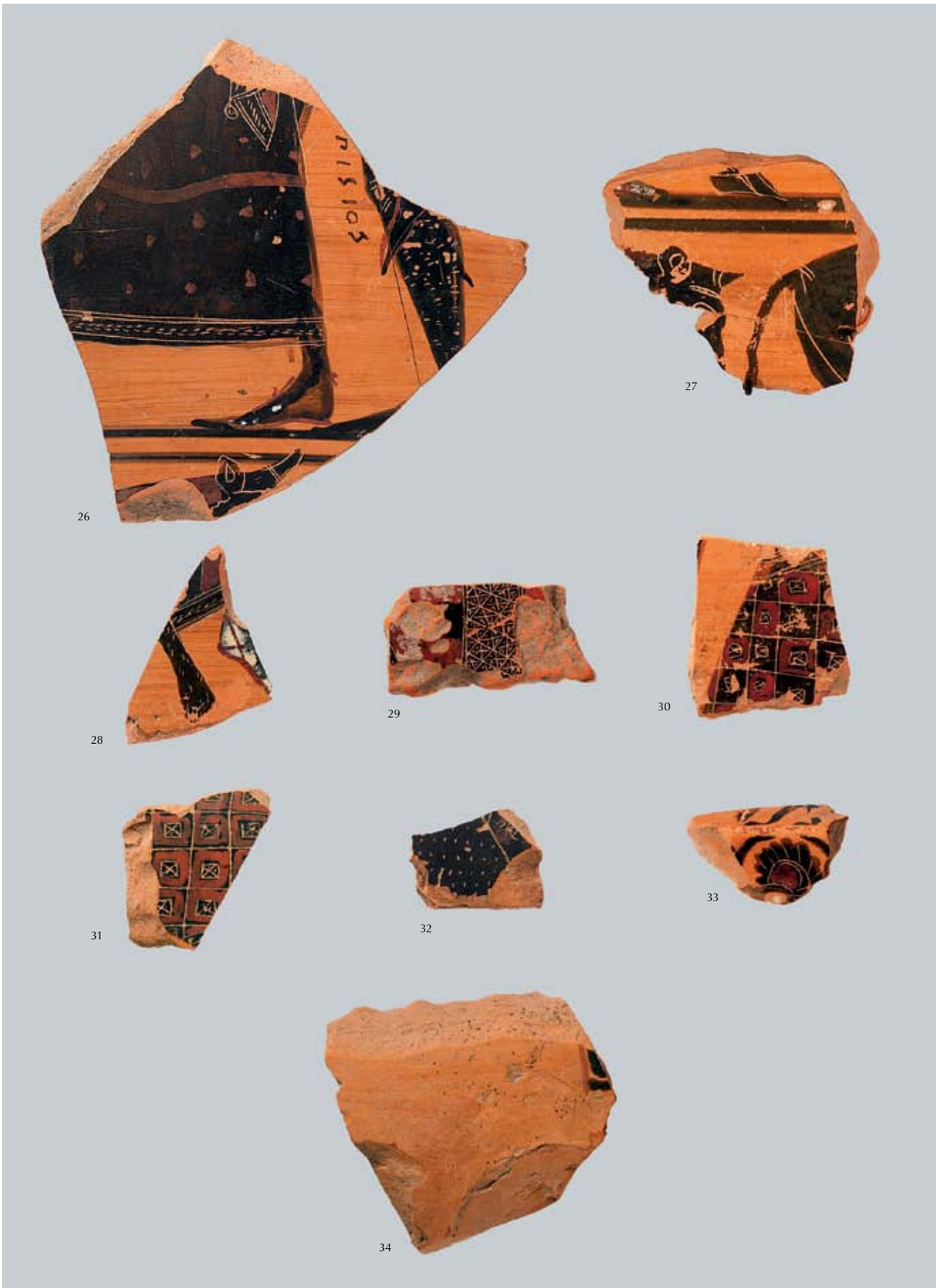
Fragment y (Figure 33) is part of the rim.[109] The top side shows the forelegs of a panther. On the side, there are fronds of two lotuses flanking a palmette that has a red heart; one link of the chain has a white dot.

Fragment aa (Figure 34) preserves the area where the root of the right column of the handle sheared off, and at the break there is the end of the tongue pattern where the shoulder joins the neck.[110]

THE LOCATION OF THE DRINKING PARTY

The moment depicted most often in the Return of Hephaistos to Olympos is the procession (see Figures 7, 8, 10, 20).[111] Much less frequent is the arrival at Olympos, where a disgruntled Hera waits for Hephaistos to free her, often accompanied by other Olympians (Figure 6).[112] The scene on the Metropolitan column-krater does not represent either of these episodes because the presence of the two large volute-kraters with their attendants indicates an earlier moment. The bibulous party is almost over and the procession is just beginning its journey to Olympos, but the participants have not yet fallen into line and some of them face in the opposite direction. The question arises: where did the drinking take place?

At this time on Attic black-figured vases, it was unusual to indicate settings for narrative representations, but there are exceptions. Sophilos depicted the palace of Peleus in two scenes of his wedding to Thetis; so did Kleitias in his monumental illustration, and he also depicted a fountain house and the walls of Troy in the scene of Achilles pursuing Troilos.[113] In the scene on our column-krater, the artist probably had in mind a specific venue because the two volute-kraters are still in use and may even be in a permanent location. They look too large to be transported anywhere. The only recent scholar to consider where Hephaistos prepared for his journey is Guy Hedreen, who thinks it occurred at a place where Dionysos felt at home. Hedreen followed an idea expressed long ago by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who suggested that Naxos was the most probable site for the preliminaries that led to Hephaistos's return to Olympos. Homer was silent about this part of Hephaistos's life, but an ancient scholarly commentary on a passage in the *Iliad* relates that Dionysos entertained Hephaistos on Naxos, and this was when Dionysos received the golden amphora that later contained the ashes of Patroklos and Achilles.[114] A hydria in the British Museum in the manner of the Lysippides Painter may depict this gathering (Figure 35).[115] Dionysos reclines comfortably on a kline, turning to face Hermes who comes in from the right holding a



26. Fragment r of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower parts of a nymph and a shaggy satyr and, in the frieze below, part of the head of a bull. H. 6 in. (15 cm)

27. Fragment k of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the foot of a nymph and two hoofs, with parts of two bulls in the frieze below. H. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

28. Fragment t of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the lower drapery and foot of a nymph and the lower leg of a shaggy satyr. H. 2⅜ in. (6 cm)

29. Fragment u of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm)

30. Fragment v of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 2¼ in. (5.8 cm)

31. Fragment w of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the drapery of a nymph. H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm)

32. Fragment x of the column-krater described the caption to Figure 1, showing what might be part of a wineskin. H. 1⅛ in. (2.9 cm)

33. Fragment y of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the forelegs of a panther on the top and fronds of two lotuses flanking a palmette on the side. H. 1⅛ in. (2.8 cm)

34. Fragment aa of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, showing the end of the tongue pattern where the shoulder joins the neck. H. 3¼ in. (8.2 cm)

kantharos. At the far left, Hephaistos enters carrying his ax. Satyrs and nymphs are present, one satyr plays the kithara, and there is a vine in the background. Since Hephaistos does not yet participate in the festivities, I think Hedreen is correct when he writes that the scene "on the London hydria is not taking place at the home of Hephaistos."[116] On an unattributed Attic red-figured chous, dating about 430–420 B.C., Dionysos reclines with Ariadne on a rock covered with animal skins, and a satyr enters with Hephaistos. The setting is a vineyard.[117] Both scenes depict Dionysos at ease, and if they do represent the beginning of the drinking party, Naxos would be a suitable location.[118] In any case, each of these representations is exceptional.

The composition on the Metropolitan column-krater is equally unusual and may even be unique. The drinking is almost over for now, and the journey is about to begin. This moment precedes the customary one where the procession is well under way, the one by Lydos being a particularly good example. Our painter chose an earlier moment and infused the satyrs and nymphs with exuberance and enthusiasm, Hephaistos and Dionysos with dignity and purpose.

HERAKLES WITH THE CATTLE OF GERYON

This is one of the latest of the hero's twelve labors. To accomplish it Herakles traveled across Okeanos to the island of Erytheia in the far west. He had to kill Geryon, the triple-bodied owner of the herd, as well as his herdsman, Eurytion, and his two-headed dog, Orthos, then round up the cattle and drive them back to Tiryns, an extremely long, arduous journey.[119] The earliest known representations of this labor occur on a Protocorinthian pyxis from Phaleron, dating about 650 B.C., and on a late seventh-century bronze relief from Samos, the latter being the first to include all the participants: Herakles attacking Geryon, the slain Eurytion and Orthos, also some of the cattle milling about.[120] The usual composition, especially in black figure, shows Herakles attacking Geryon, with or without the herdsman, dog, or cattle depending on the amount of space available. The scene on the Metropolitan column-krater is quite incomplete, but it represents an unexpected moment: the beginning of the journey. Herakles has left the island of Erytheia and is driving the cattle home to Tiryns, perhaps accompanied by someone, with the cattle moving along in line from left to right.



35. Detail of an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, showing Dionysos reclining on a banquet couch in the presence of Hermes, satyrs, nymphs, and Hephaistos. Greek, ca. 520 B.C. Terracotta, H. 18½ in. (47 cm). British Museum, London (B302). Photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum

The fragments that remain depict some of this labor, but there are not enough to attempt a reconstruction. Where preserved, the neck, chest, belly stripe, ribs, and markings on the hindquarters of the cattle are red. Fragment n+o+1997.493 (Figure 1) begins the labor because Herakles appears below the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the volute-krater at the left handle. Herakles is preserved to the start of his thighs. He wears his lionskin over a red chiton (the lower jaw of the pelt is red), and he strides ahead, left arm outstretched. A sheathed sword and a quiver hang at his left side (no baldric is indicated and there is no bow). Behind Herakles there seems to be part of another figure (right hand with sword [?]; it is uncertain what the glaze at the break represents). In front of Herakles is a little of the top of a bull's hindquarters including the start of its tail. Fragment l (Figure 13), below Philoposia and Molpaios, shows an ear, the horn, some of the neck, and a bit of the shoulder and body of a bull. Fragment b+g+h (Figure 2), below Hephaistos, depicts parts of three bulls: most of the head, neck, forelegs, and body of one; the body, hindquarters, and tail, as well as one foreleg and the hoof of the second; much of the hindquarters and tail of the third. On fragment d+e+f (Figure 3), below the volute-krater at the right handle and the satyr to the right of it, there are parts of three more bulls: most of one, except for the top of its neck and back, and all of its hindquarters and tail; the shoulders and top of the next bull are missing; just a little of the neck and the start of the tail of the third remain.

The rest of the fragments showing Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon are from the reverse of the column-krater. Fragment i+j (Figure 25) preserves the foreparts of one bull and the hindquarters of the next. On fragment r (Figure 26), there are the horn, the ear, and a little of the neck of a bull. Fragment k (Figure 27) depicts just the forehead, horn, and ear of one bull and a little of the hindquarters and tail of the next.

In this representation, there do not seem to be references to the opponents, and one assumes they have met their demise. Since this composition continued around the vase without interruption, I believe it focused on Herakles and the prize cattle. If the slain Geryon, his herdsman, and dog had been included, the narrative would depict two distinct

episodes, the deaths of the opponents and the return home. Including two moments of a subject in a single panel or frieze is foreign to Attic black-figured vase painters, and if it had been attempted here, it would have disrupted the unity of the figural decoration. Most significantly, each scene on this vase depicts one moment in time, the beginning of a long journey, which can hardly be a coincidence. Herakles driving the cattle is a moment in this labor rarely selected for illustration; its representation on this column-krater is not only the earliest preserved but also the most extensive.[121]

THE HANDLE PLATE

Fragment c preserves most of the handle on the left of the obverse above the satyr dipping his oinochoe into the volute-krater (Figure 1).[122] On the top side of the handle plate (Figure 36) there is a chariot to right, much like the one painted on the volute-krater below.[123] The heads and necks of the horses are missing, also the tops of their backs. The end of the muzzle of a trace horse appears in front of its chest just below the break indicating that its neck was bent sharply. Of the charioteer only a little of his black chiton remains. The team moves to right at a lively walk. The right-hand pole horse (from the charioteer's vantage) is white with a red tail. The right-hand trace horse has a red collar, and the upper part of its girth is also red. Most of the chariot remains but for the breastwork. The wheel is compass drawn.

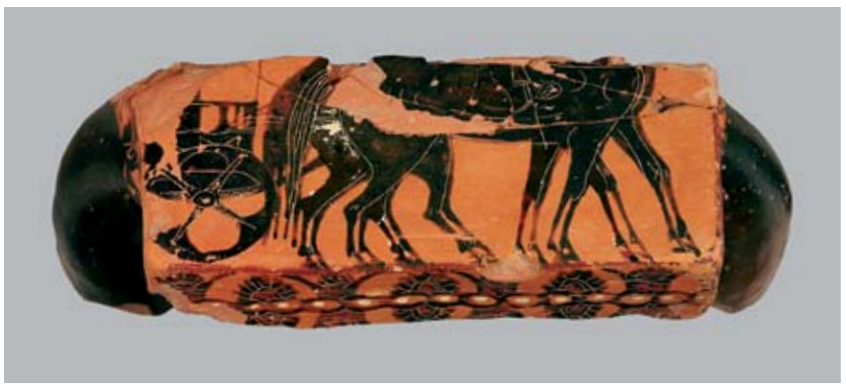
The use of white for one of the horses of a chariot team is probably intended to clarify a dense composition of four horses moving together and does not signify a horse of a different color. Usually it is the pole horse nearer the viewer that is white, but not always. Sophilos was the first Attic painter to include a white horse, and he may have invented the conceit. It occurs three times on his dinos in London—for the teams drawing the chariots of Amphitrite and Poseidon, Ares and Aphrodite, and Athena and Artemis—and also on Athens, NM 15499. The next major artist to depict a white horse is Kleitias on the François Vase, for the chariot of Hippothoon in the scene of the Funeral Games for Patroklos and for several of them in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.[124] Kleitias clearly understood the clarifying effect a white horse would have in a group with three black horses. After that, the presence of a white pole horse occurred fairly often until about 530 B.C., but no painter seems to have preferred it to the extent that it may be a criterion for attribution.

THE PAINTER

Attributing a vase to an artist is a lot like reading handwriting, recognizing details peculiar to the writer and to no one else. In theory, it should be possible to attribute every figured Greek vase to a painter. When the fragmentary column-krater came to the Museum, it brought with it an attribution to Lydos, which was repeated in the publications.[125] The remaining task is to evaluate the attribution to Lydos or, if the krater is not by him, to discover who the painter may be.

Lydos was the most prolific Attic vase painter in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.[126] Well over one hundred vases and fragments are attributed to him, and they attest to his preferred shapes and subjects. Lydos paints pots as well as small vases such as cups and lekythoi; in addition he decorated a fine set of plates, some of them dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. The early work of Lydos is characterized by somber figures created with a judicious use of incision and accessory color. Good examples are the very early hydria in Munich, the slightly later one in Berlin and the neck-amphora in the Louvre.[127] His mature work, however, is quite the opposite. The drawing is very sure, there is a fine balance of black glaze, incision, and the application of added red and white. The compositions are more complicated, sometimes with a dense overlapping of the figures. The best examples of his mature vases are the Akropolis dinos and the intact column-krater in the Metropolitan (Figures 7, 10, 20).[128] These remarks might appear to justify the attribution of the fragmentary column-krater to Lydos. But there are difficulties.

Heide Mommsen was the first scholar to question the attribution to Lydos, and she was joined more recently by Bettina Kreuzer.[129] In the exhibition gallery at the Metropolitan Museum, the proximity of the two column-kraters (MMA 1997.388 and 31.11.11; Figures 1–3, 7, 20) is most enlightening, for it emphasizes the considerable difference in size between the two vases, which cannot be discerned in photographs. There is no preserved black-figured column-krater as large as this one, either in the oeuvre of Lydos or in that of his contemporaries. It is the creation of someone comfortable working to a scale much larger than usual



36. Top of the handle (fragment c) of the column-krater described in the caption to Figure 1, depicting a chariot. L. at lower edge 7⅞ in. (20 cm)

for most other vase painters. Lydos's drawing is very sure and economical, his figures well-proportioned and elegant. At first glance, this seems to be the case with the drawing of the figures on the fragmentary column-krater, but careful study over a period of time reveals quite a number of differences. Our painter's drawing is looser and less controlled than the drawing by Lydos. Lydos's satyrs are quite well behaved, and none is ithyphallic; the coats of the shaggy ones are indicated by carefully incised rows of dots (see Figures 7, 20), not the pairs of short lines that are not arranged in orderly rows and look as if they were executed in haste (Figures 1–3, 14). All of Lydos's satyrs have tails and animal ears. Artistic temperament, not size of vase, accounts for these differences. The figures on the intact column-krater (MMA 31.11.11; Figures 7, 10, 20) are less animated than those on the fragmentary one, and no one is drunk, even though the satyr in front of Dionysos takes a sip of wine from the skin carried by the satyr in front of him (see Figure 20). Lydos did not label his figures very often, and when he did, the letter forms are very neat and precise, drawn with utmost care.[130] Lydos's inscriptions name only human figures, not animals. Without belaboring the point, I cannot attribute the krater to Lydos. That said, it remains to try to figure out who painted this monumental vessel.

In describing the scenes on the vase, especially the Return of Hephaistos, I have drawn comparisons with the work of quite a few painters besides Lydos: Sophilos, Kleitias, the Heidelberg Painter, the Painter of London B 76, Nearchos, and one or two painters from the Tyrrhenian Group, specifically the Prometheus Painter and the Kyllenios Painter. With the exception of Sophilos, these artists flourished during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and a bit beyond. Contemporary with them is the early work of the Amasis Painter, who had a long career lasting into the 520s B.C. The work of these artists led to the grand achievements of the painters of Group E and Exekias, the Painter of Berlin 1686, the Princeton Painter, and the Swing Painter. The connections between our column-krater and the first group of painters are slight, comparative details that are iconographic, not stylistic. They indicate the wider context for the painter of our krater, and it is both interesting and somewhat disappointing that the vase cannot be attributed to any of them. Nor have I found unattributed vases clearly by this painter that would help to create a new artist.

While it may not be possible at this time to identify our painter, there are a number of features in his work that help to establish his artistic personality. First of all, he was a painter who liked large areas on which to paint his energetic, spirited figures; in no way was he a miniaturist like Kleitias, who left us delicately rendered figures capable of great expression. Nor was he an artist likely to specialize in one shape, as did the Heidelberg Painter with the Siana cup and painters of the Tyrrhenian Group with the ovoid neck-amphora. The artist who decorated our column-krater strikes me as one who preferred the challenge of applying ornament and figures to a variety of shapes.

Whoever he was, our painter was most innovative. He depicted two scenes that so far are unique. Hephaistos setting out with Dionysos accompanied by satyrs and nymphs signals the very beginning of the procession that will terminate on Olympos to free Hera from her golden throne, and it seems to have no parallel; neither does the depiction of Herakles driving the cattle of Geryon to Tiryns, also the start of a long journey. The figural compositions, particularly the central group of Hephaistos and his companions, were created by an artist who achieved clarity among the black figures against the light background and also established a balance of black glaze, texture, and added color.

Other observations illustrate this artist's astute observation of the world around him. The kraters at each handle (Figures 1, 3) indicate that the painter was attentive to small potting details one would notice only on actual examples. The figural decoration on each vessel is unprecedented. This is also the case for the cup held by the inebriated satyr (Figures 2, 16). It is a Little-Master Cup, an elegant drinking vessel that became the favorite type of cup just before the middle of the sixth century B.C. and continued well into the 530s. It is characterized by a thin, offset lip; a rather wide, shallow bowl; and a tall stem supported by a broad, flat foot. The handles attach to the bowl just below the lip and curve upward, continuing the profile of the bowl. Usually a line of glaze emphasizes the join of lip and bowl. On a lip cup, one or two small figures appear in the center of the lip, the feature that gives this variant its name.[131] Save for the figures on the lip, our painter observed and included all these features.

The potting details of the column-krater itself are very carefully finished with crisp, precise edges, and the ornament is wisely chosen to enhance the different parts of the vase, such as the overhang of the rim and the junction of the shoulder with the neck (Figure 2). A good potter probably selected the ornaments, even if the painter, who was probably more skilled with the brush than the potter, actually applied the different patterns.

Our painter devoted less energy to his figures, which are not as well articulated, and the unevenness is significant. Molpaios has a large head compared with the remaining parts of him; the inebriated satyr has an enormous upper right arm; the satyr at the krater below the right handle has a small head, a short, thin left arm, and a thick torso; and Hermothales has a small right arm compared with his long torso (Figures 1, 3, 5). This contrasts considerably with Lydos's masterfully drawn figures that have plausible human proportions even if they are satyrs and nymphs (see Figures 7, 10, 20).

Other details attest to the artist's lively imagination—satyrs without tails and one with human ears, perhaps to make them appear less wild; Molpaios sliding off the hindquarters of the mule while playing the aulos, not an easy feat; a nymph wearing a lionskin. If I am correct to give Dionysos a kantharos, it would be one of the earliest representations of the god with this elegant vessel. Our painter had a sense of humor: witness the wry inscription next to the inebriated satyr. He was also literate. He gave the satyrs and nymphs names that appear to be unusual and sometimes relate to their physical characteristics (Krataios: strong), personal traits (Philoposia: love of drinking), or skills (Molpaios: tuneful or musical).

The discrepancy between the careful attention to details our artist lavished on his painted vessels compared with less attention paid to his figures may signify that he was a potter trying his hand at painting. He was by no means a poor painter, but he was clearly more interested in shapes of pots than shapes of humans, even those of the mythological world. More important is that he depicted new moments in well-known mythological subjects, ones that do not seem to have parallels. And he did this on a grand scale. I do not think this magnificent column-krater was decorated by Lydos, but I hope that in time other vases by this innovative artist will come to light.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. The basic introduction to Attic black-figured vase painting is still Beazley 1986. More generally, see Boardman 1991. See also Moore and Philippides 1986 for a discussion of the many shapes and painters found in the extensive Agora excavations. For the most recent review of the scholarship on Greek vase painting, see Oakley 2009.
2. For the shape, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 23–25; also Moore 1997, pp. 20–23. Most recently, see the brief remarks in Schöne-Denkinger 2009, p. 15.
3. The column-krater was formerly on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum (L. 87.AE.120). Fragment MMA 1997.388 b+g+h provided the basic measurements: preserved height 71.1 cm; diameter at the rim 71.8 cm; width of the rim 5.8 cm; height of the main composition 29 cm; height of frieze below 9.5 cm; maximum circumference of the body 257.5 cm. I thank Rudolf Meyer for calculating the measurements and for making a profile drawing of fragment b+g+h. Bibliography: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 135–37, figs. 2 a–d; *LIMC*, vol. 6 (1992), s.v. "Molpaios" (Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann), p. 648, no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Oukalegon II" (Kossatz-Deissmann), p. 32, no. 1, pl. 91; *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), s.v. "Philopos" (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 385–86, no. 1; Oenbrink 1996, pp. 94, figs. 9, 10, 100–104; *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Silenoi" (Erika Simon), p. 1114, no. 29 b (Malibu L. 87.AE.120: the fragment not designated); Mertens 1998; Hedreen 2004, p. 41n13; Venit 2006, pp. 32–33, pl. 7; Kreuzer 2009, pp. 147–49, fig. 5; Clark 2009, pp. 90–91, 104, fig. 3; Mackay 2010, pp. 48–49n5; Hirayama 2010, p. 77, fig. 5i, j.
4. A note on procedure: I traced every fragment but one on coated mylar. The exception is fragment b+g+h, which is too fragile for this kind of work. For the figures on this fragment, I enlarged a photograph on a copier until the height of the frieze measured 1:1 (29 cm). Because the actual size of the figures is so large, I reduced my 1:1 drawings by 35% and worked at this scale. The adjusted circumference is 167.4 cm, the height of the frieze 18.5 cm. The 1:1 measurements are given below when each fragment is described.

   In the drawing (Figure 5), the perimeter of each fragment and its missing areas are indicated by dashes. I did not fill in details, such as ornament on drapery or the shaggy coats of the satyrs, because this would be misleading. Thus, the reader may determine exactly what remains and what I have reconstructed. On the obverse, the length of the composition from the midpoint below each handle is 83.7 cm. On this side, I was able to reconstruct three groups: the nymph and satyr with the volute-krater below the left handle, Hephaistos and Dionysos with satyrs and nymphs, and the satyr and nymph pouring wine and water into a krater below the right handle.

   Fragments I was unable to fit into the reconstruction drawing are described after the discussion of this composition. For the depiction of Herakles driving Geryon's cattle, I merely described what remains because it is obvious how the figures were arranged even if the rendering of the scene is quite unusual.
5. Hedreen 1994. On a fragment of a large unattributed cup found on the Akropolis and dating ca. 570 B.C. (Athens, NMAcr. 1611 c), a satyr (preserved are most of his head and his left shoulder) is inscribed **ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ** (Silenos); see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 1, pl. 82. Hedreen (1994, p. 47n1) writes: "It seems likely that the names *silen* and *satyr* were synonymous in the Archaic period," but he prefers the former term because "the name *silen* is attested on Athenian vases and the name *satyr* is not."

6. See Hedreen 1994, passim, especially pp. 50–51, for the differences between maenads and nymphs. For the inscribed nymphs of the François Vase, see *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 93, 244.
7. See Schöne 1987, pp. 24–47; Carpenter 1986, chap. 2; *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hephaistos" (Antoine Hermary), pp. 638–41, 652–54, for a brief discussion; Hedreen 1992, chap. 1; Gantz 1993, pp. 74–75. See also the brief remarks by David Walsh (2009, pp. 107–14), who concentrated on the humorous renderings of the myth that are almost exclusively non-Attic.

   Homer gives a brief version of how Hera threw her son out of Olympos because of his lameness (*Iliad* 18.395–405; Murray 1925, pp. 317, 319). The author of the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo writes a fuller account (*Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer*, 315–19; West 2003, p. 95): Hera complains that "my son has turned out a weakling among the gods, Hephaestos of the withered legs [ῥίκνος πόδας], whom I myself bore. I picked him up and threw him in the broad sea, but Nereus' daughter, Thetis silverfoot, took him in and looked after him together with her sisters; I wish she had done the gods some different service." For other ancient references, see the bibliography at the beginning of this note. For Hera bound to the throne and Ares scared off by torches, see Page 1955, pp. 258–60. For the lameness of Hephaistos, see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Hephaistos: Hephaistos als Krüppel" (Ludolf Maltens), vol. 8 (1913), cols. 333–37; more briefly, Brommer 1978, pp. 4, 7 (on p. 7, the reference to *The Theogony* should be 578, not 587), and Burkert 1995, pp. 167–68.
8. Florence 4209: Beazley 1956, p. 76, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 29, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 21; *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 90–93; Shapiro 1995, p. 8, pl. 75, a, b; Gaunt 2002, pp. 40–50, 435–39, pls. 10–12; Hedreen 2004, pl. 3 a; Torelli 2007, passim; Hirayama 2010, passim.
9. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hera" (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 693–95.
10. Lydos: MMA 31.11.11 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 5; Beazley 1971, p. 43, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 29; Kreuzer 2009, pp. 146–47, fig. 4 a, b). The Oakeshott Painter: MMA 17.230.5 (Beazley 1971, p. 78, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 51; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermary], p. 640, no. 139a, pl. 394; Shapiro 1989, pp. 90–91, pl. 39 d; Shapiro 1995, p. 7, pl. 74 c; Hedreen 2004, pl. 3 b; Hedreen 2009, p. 128, fig. 6).
11. The preserved measurements of the fragments are m: 8.3 x 6 cm; n+o+1997.493: 16.3 x 25.5 cm; p: 14 x 22.3 cm; q: 5.2 x 9 cm. There are nicks and scratches here and there on both the inside and the outside. Some of the accessory color has flaked, especially on the foot of the nymph to the right on fragment n+o+1997.493 and on her face (fragment q). The glaze fired brownish on the satyr at the krater.
12. For the volute-krater, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 25–26, with bibliography, especially Hitzl 1982, which should be consulted along with the review by Bothmer (1985, pp. 66–71); Schleiffenbaum 1991; recently, Gaunt 2002, passim and pp. 400–401, for the volute-krater painted on MMA 1997.388; Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
13. Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, p. 188) does not deal with this letter. If it is a **Φ**, a possible name is **ΦΙΛΙΑ** (Philia, friendship). This name would fit the space available. It occurs on the namepiece of the Eupolis Painter, a red-figured bell-krater dated ca. 450 B.C., where it names a nymph (Vienna 1772: Beazley 1963, p. 1072, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 325). The difficulty of identifying this letter as a **Φ** is that the transverse bar does not seem to extend through the circle of the letter. It may be a qoppa, which was used in many parts of Greece until the middle of the sixth century B.C. See Jeffery 1961, pp. 33–34, 67, 71–72, pls. 2, 3. She noted that both Sophilos and Kleitias use this letter. For example: Sophilos for Chariklo on Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex 587 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10), and for Patroklos on Athens, NM 15499 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 16; Beazley 1971, p. 18, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 10). On the scene of the Kalydonian Boar on the François Vase, Kleitias named one of the hunters Koraxs (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 154).
14. See Richter and Hall 1936, p. 128: "The artist [of MMA 07.286.84] has been identified as the Painter of the Shaggy Satyrs." This name occurred first in Beazley 1925, p. 343: "zottigen Silene" in reference to the name vase of the painter he later called the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (Beazley 1963, pp. 613–14). For shaggy satyrs, see the list by Frank Brommer (1937, p. 53), and *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Silenoi" (Simon), pp. 1113–14, nos. 29–34, pl. 751. Since there are some shaggy satyrs predating MMA 1997.388 that are not in these references, I drew up a fresh list, especially since the majority of satyrs in Attic black figure are not shaggy. One in the Manner of the Gorgon Painter, formerly Buffalo, Albright-Knox Gallery G 600, ca. 590 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 12, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 8, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 3; sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, June 7, 2007, pp. 48–49, lot 33). Two by Sophilos: collection of Arthur Richter, ca. 580 B.C. (Padgett 2003, pp. 236–38, no. 53, with bibliography); and Istanbul 4514, ca. 580 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 42, no. 37; Carpenter 1989, p. 11; *LIMC*, vol. 8 [1997], s.v. "Nymphai" [Monique Halm-Tisserant and Gérard Siebert], p. 895, no. 42, pl. 592, and s.v. "Silenoi" [Simon], p. 1114, no. 30). Agora P 334, connected with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis, ca. 580–570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 23, —; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; *LIMC*, vol. 8 [1997], s.v. "Silenoi" [Simon], p. 1113, no. 29, pl. 751). MMA 26.49 by Nearchos, ca. 570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 83, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 23). Two unattributed: Athens, NMAcr. 1611 c (see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 82), and Vatican 316, a lip-cup, ca. 550 B.C. (Albizzati 1925–39, pl. 34).
15. Other nymphs on this krater wear similar sandals (Figures 1, 3, 13, 26–28). For a clay aryballos in the shape of a foot shod with a sandal just like these, including the red sole and straps, see Kassel T 1172, dated ca. 550 B.C. (Verbanck-Piérard, Massas, and Frère 2008, pp. 374–75, no. III.A.21).
16. For a brief discussion of the three types, see Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 35–38, with bibliography.
17. Munich 1681 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 29). See Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 37n14. For the others by Lydos, see Beazley 1956, pp. 108–9, nos. 13–19; Beazley 1971, p. 45; Carpenter 1989, pp. 29–30.
18. See Moore 2006a, pp. 34–35, figs. 1–3. Compare also a slightly later one, Louvre F 10 (*CVA*, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 62 [401], 1, 2).
19. For a hydria with a foot smaller in diameter than the mouth, see Florence 3792, dating ca. 540 B.C., and thus a little later than our column-krater (*CVA*, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 17 [1881], 1).
20. I have not found an exact parallel, but on an unattributed hydria in Florence on which five women appear with hydriai, one of them holds hers out in front of her (Florence 3792: *CVA*, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 18 [1882], 1; for a good color photograph, see Esposito and De Tommaso 1993, p. 36, fig. 41). This woman, however, is probably preparing to place the hydria on top of her head, which was the customary manner of carrying it, whether full or empty, and the women are probably leaving the fountain house to return to their homes. On Florence 3792, the vertical handle of each hydria in the picture faces backward. For carrying the hydria, see Fölzer

1906, p. 10; she also remarks that men carry the hydria differently, namely resting on the shoulder and steadied by one hand.

21. This satyr does not show in Figure 7 or 20. See Tiverios 1976, pl. 54 β.
22. For a list of satyrs without tails, see Brommer 1937, p. 53; also Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 145, nn. 185, 186. Add Würzburg L 265 and L 282 by the Amasis Painter, the satyr pouring wine into Dionysos's kantharos (Beazley 1956, p. 151, no. 22; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 22; Carpenter 1989, p. 43). Only one of these vases that depict satyrs without tails is earlier than 550 B.C., and thus contemporary with MMA 1997.388: Copenhagen, NM 57, by the Prometheus Painter, an artist in the Tyrrhenian Group (Beazley 1956, p. 102, no. 97; Beazley 1971, p. 38, no. 97: the attribution is by Dietrich von Bothmer). There, a tail would interfere with the inscription naming the nymph ΗΑΛΙΟΠΕ (Haliope). See Fränkel 1912, p. 22.
23. Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 145; and see ibid., chap. 2, "Turning into a Satyr: Small Vases from the First Half of the 6th Century BCE" (pp. 17–63), and the section of chap. 3 subtitled "Early dancers and satyrs" (pp. 65–69).
24. Manner of the Gorgon Painter: formerly Buffalo, Albright Knox Gallery G 600; two by Sophilos: Oakland, Calif., collection of Arthur Richter, and Istanbul 4514 (all three as in note 14 above). For other early satyrs, see those cited in note 14, especially the one on Agora P 334. Add the head of a piping satyr on an unattributed fragment from Naukratis, London, BM B 103.16 (Carpenter 1986, pl. 18 B). Furthermore, on a round-bodied oinochoe found in the Athenian Agora and dating ca. 600 B.C., an artist working in the manner of the Gorgon Painter drew a pair of satyr protomes complete with animal ear, prominent eye, snub nose, and long beard (Agora P 24945 [Beazley 1971, p. 8, 1 bis; Moore and Philippides 1986, pp. 194–95, no. 723, pl. 69; Carpenter 1989, p. 3]).
25. Amyx 1988, p. 620 for the first quotation, and p. 651 for the second. The embedded quotation is from Payne 1931, p. 120. For komasts and padded dancers, see Smith 2010.
26. Boardman 1991, p. 233.
27. The exception is the one by the Prometheus Painter who assaults a nymph (as in note 22 above).
28. When one consults illustrations of the satyrs without tails cited in the bibliography in note 22 above, it becomes clear that the presence of a tail would crowd these compositions.
29. Bibliography: as in note 12 above. The body of the volute-krater is similar to that of the column-krater, ovoid and tapering to an echinus foot or one in two degrees, a fillet above a torus, the latter similar to the foot of the calyx-krater and the amphora Type A, each a large vessel introduced after 530 B.C. For the calyx-krater, see Moore 1997, pp. 26–27, for black-figured examples and bibliography. For the amphora Type A, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 4, with bibliography. The mouth of the volute-krater is flaring and flat on top; the upper part of the neck is offset from the lower, and each part flares slightly. A vertical loop on the shoulder supports the flanged handle that curves upward above the mouth, then downward terminating in a spiral after it is attached to the top side of the mouth. This feature gives the shape its name. Nearly all the known Attic black-figured volute-kraters were made from ca. 520 to 500 B.C. (see Gaunt 2002, pp. 443–508), and during these decades the shape and the system of decoration are probably indebted to bronze examples, which do not have figures on the body, but only on the neck, if at all. On the clay volute-kraters, a tongue pattern decorates the shoulder at the junction with the neck, ornament appears on the handle flanges, and there are rays above the foot. Figures occur on the neck only. The effect is spare and elegant. For metal and clay examples, see Hitzl 1982, pp. 43–83; Schleiffenbaum 1991, pp. 32–42, 51–58; Gaunt 2002, pp. 340–58; and Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
30. For the François Vase, see note 8 above, and *Vaso François* 1981, passim. The most recent and best discussion, as well as the collected bibliography, is by Gaunt (2002). For Izmir 9634, see Gaunt 2002, pp. 55–58, 440 no. 8; for good photographs, see Tuna-Nörling 1997, pp. 435–38, figs. 1–6, and Hirayama 2010, pp. 76–77, fig. 5h. For the earliest Attic black-figured volute-kraters, the best discussion is Gaunt 2002, pp. 28–60, 434–42 nos. 1–12. This also includes the proto-volute-kraters, which predate the true examples and are not pertinent to this study (Gaunt 2002, pp. 28–40). See also Hirayama 2010, pp. 71–78.
31. See Tuna-Nörling 1997, pp. 436–37, figs. 3, 4, the former a profile drawing, and also Hirayama 2010, fig. 5h. The earliest preserved volute-krater to have a strongly offset mouth is Athens, NMAcr. 2626, an unattributed one dated ca. 550 B.C. (Gaunt 2002, pp. 434–35, no. 3, pl. 8, fig. 31).
32. For the line on the François Vase, see the good color photograph in Esposito and De Tommaso 1993, p. 21, figs. 12, 13. For the line on Izmir 9634, see Tuna-Nörling 1997, p. 437, fig. 4, and Hirayama 2010, fig. 5h.
33. Oenbrink (1996, p. 104) suggests that our painter had in mind a clay krater, not an expensive metal one, and the scheme of decoration supports his interpretation. Later artists were not as attentive as our painter to the appearance of the loop of the handle, and they drew it so it looks as if it has been turned 90 degrees. These are two examples: Heidelberg 279, an unattributed skyphos dating ca. 530–520 B.C. or a bit later (Gaunt 2002, p. 679, no. 16, with bibliography, especially Schleiffenbaum 1991, p. 408, no. D 9, dating the skyphos ca. 510 B.C.); London, BM 1873.8-20.384, ex B 297, a neck-amphora signed by Nikosthenes as potter and attributed to Painter N, dated ca. 530–510 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 218, no. 16; Carpenter 1989, p. 58; Gaunt 2002, p. 680, no. 18; Tosto 1999, p. 211, no. 16, pl. 93).
34. As in note 29 above.
35. MMA 1977.11.2: Gaunt 2002, p. 442, no. 12, pl. 9; Hirayama 2010, fig. 4f. The most detailed discussion is by Dietrich von Bothmer (1986). See also Athens, NMAcr. 2626: Gaunt 2002, pp. 434–35, no. 3, pl. 8, fig. 31. Elsewhere in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., ivy may frame figures on hydriai, a good example being Agora P 998 by Lydos, dated ca. 560 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 30). Ivy also appears on the lips of Siana cups decorated according to the double-decker arrangement, i.e., ornament on the lip and figures on the bowl. Here are four examples by the Heidelberg Painter, all dating ca. 560–550 B.C.: Basel, H. and T. Bosshard Collection, Bo 88 (Brijder 1991, p. 448, no. 361, pl. 117, d, e); Heidelberg S 61 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 2; Brijder 1991, p. 448, no. 362, pl. 118, e, f); Cambridge GR 4. 1930, ex 30.4 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 450, no. 369, pl. 122, a–b); and Rhodes 15370 (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 14; Brijder 1991, p. 451, no. 372, pl. 124, a–b). Sometimes the stems of the leaves are wavy, sometimes straight.
36. Particularly good examples appear on his loutrophoros-hydria at Eleusis, 252, ex 766 (Beazley 1956, p. 86, no. 6; Beazley 1971, p. 32, no. 6). A frieze of rosettes decorates the side of the mouth as well as the back of the vertical handle and the sides of each upright handle on the shoulder. See also the frieze of rosettes on the side of the mouth of the painter's amphora in Lyons, no number (Beazley 1956, p. 87, no. 16; I know this vase from the photograph in Bothmer's archive). These rosettes do not have red petals. For this, see the large rosette painted between a rooster and two

men conversing on Copenhagen, N.M. 13536 (Beazley 1971, p. 32, no. 2 bis).

37. See Oenbrink 1996, passim, and Venit 2006, passim. For a fuller account of this hydria, see note 71 below.
38. A flying eagle may accompany either a chariot team or a rider, probably as a sign of victory. See Beazley 1986, p. 36: "as often, a bird flies beside the riders, this time with a serpent in its beak, doubtless a good omen." The reference is to two amphorae by the Painter of Akropolis 606: Berlin 4823 (Beazley 1956, p. 81, no. 4; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 22); Tübingen S/10 1298, ex D 4 (Beazley 1956, p. 81, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 22). For a discussion of birds, especially eagles, as omens, see Pollard 1977, pp. 116–24; also Schmidt 1983. See, for example, Rhodes 15370, a Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter dating ca. 560–550 B.C.: a pair of confronted eagles fly above each of two racing chariot teams (Brijder 1991, p. 451, no. 372, pls. 124 d, e; not very clear in the photographs). I do not know a parallel for confronted eagles in this context, but see Homer, *The Odyssey* 2.146–74 (Murray and Dimock 1995, pp. 57, 59), where two eagles attack one another, perhaps foretelling that Odysseus is near and will soon kill the suitors (Pollard 1977, p. 119). See also Naples 81292, ex 2770, by Lydos, dating ca. 540 B.C., showing a mounted hoplite and his squire (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 23; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 23; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); two by painters from Group E, each ca. 540 B.C.—Athens, NMAcr. 821, depicting a warrior in a chariot leaving home (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 51), and Berlin 1716, a chariot in battle (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 62).
39. Oenbrink (1996, p. 101) does not mention the hooves of the horses or the wheel of the chariot, only the foreparts of the team, and he remarks that the appearance of the missing parts is unsure: "Eine weitergehende Rekonstruktion der Gespannszene hinsichtlich des Wagenslenkers und Kriegers bleibt allerdings unsicher."
40. For a tentative reconstruction of this area as well as the one between the Hephaistos group and the figures at the right handle, see below.
41. This hairstyle is a simpler version of one of the Moirai and two of the Muses in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase (as in note 8 above)—the left Moira (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 76; Torelli 2007, p. 98 above); Stesichore (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 79; Torelli 2007, p. 99); and Ourania (*Vaso François* 1981, fig. 81; Torelli 2007, p. 100). These hairstyles are more ornate than that of our nymph. They are bound with a ribbon and held by a narrow fillet, but the general result is the same.
42. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135. She restores two letters so the name reads: Φιλοποσία, love of drinking ("liebe zum Trinken"). For a commentary on this name, see ibid., p. 145n8. She also remarks that Philoposia is not a known name for a nymph, but it is one suited to the subject on the krater. Kossatz-Deissmann (ibid., p. 188) notes that Φιλοποσώ (Philoposo) is also a possiblity, a less convincing one.
43. Ibid., p. 135. The name is not known among the names of satyrs, but μολπή, a variation on it (ibid., p. 185), means dance or rhythmic movement with song (Liddell and Scott 1937, p. 1142) and μολπαῖος means "tuneful" (ibid.).
44. The vertical area of glaze on the far side of the mule and the inebriated satyr is unclear to me. It is shaped like the tail of a satyr, but it cannot belong to Molpaios, and the glaze is thin in places (it should have been applied more thickly).
45. Preserved measurements of fragment l: 12.8 x 18.8 cm. Most of the white for the nymph's flesh has flaked. By mistake, the painter drew each foot of the dancing satyr as a right foot. The glaze is pitted on the inside.
46. The position of the bull's horn and part of its neck and back in the frieze below would fit the space available behind the bull on fragment b+g+h (Figure 2).
47. Athens, NMAcr. 632: see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pl. 25.
48. In the scenes of the Birth of Athena, Hephaistos seems particularly proud of his role, cleaving the head of Zeus so Athena could be born from it. Often, spectators are present, including the Eileithyia (goddesses of childbirth), who place comforting hands on Zeus's head. A good example is the image of Hephaistos in the Birth of Athena on Louvre CA 616, the tripod pyxis attributed to the C Painter, ca. 570 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 58, no. 122; Beazley 1971, p. 23, no. 122; Carpenter 1989, p. 16). Two others are from the Tyrrhenian Group, both ca. 560 B.C.—one by the Kyllenios Painter, Berlin F 1704 (Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 14; Beazley 1971, p. 36, no. 14; Carpenter 1989, p. 25), and the other, Louvre E 852, unattributed (Beazley 1956, p. 96, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 25). In each of these, Hephaistos leaves the scene looking back, one arm raised triumphantly. Especially lively and spirited is Hephaistos on the Phrynos Painter's cup in London, also ca. 560 B.C.: London, BM 1867.5-8.962, ex B 424 (Beazley 1956, p. 168, —; Beazley 1971, p. 70; Carpenter 1989, p. 48).

    Whether to call Hephaistos's attribute an ax or a hammer depends on the context in which the object appears as well as its shape, at least in the better-drawn scenes. The head of an ax is symmetrical with sharp edges, features of the ax on fragment b+g+h and on the Akropolis fragment (Figure 15). The heads of hammers usually have dull edges and may or may not be symmetrical. For Hephaistos carrying an ax and a satyr with two hammers, see Cambridge, Mass., Harvard 1960.236, a calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 500–490 B.C., that depicts the Return of Hephaistos (Beazley 1963, p. 185, no. 31; Carpenter 1989, p. 187; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermary], pp. 643 no. 159, 642 [illus.]). For hammers, see those on the name vase of the Foundry Painter, Berlin 2294, ca. 490–480 B.C. (Beazley 1963, p. 400, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 370, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 230).
49. I noted this detail and traced this part of the fragment when it and the others were on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum, where I saw them during a visit in March 1995. For a double line for the cheek strap and the throatlatch, see Athens, NMAcr. 632 (Figure 15, and as in note 47 above). See also the double line for the cheek strap on a fragment of a column-krater dating ca. 560 B.C. that depicts the Return of Hephaistos, the god holding a large kantharos: Rome, Antiquario del Foro (Hedreen 1992, p. 102n163; good photograph: Coarelli 1986, p. 176, fig. 48; attributed to the Painter of London B 76 by Paribeni [1956–58, pp. 5–6, no. 9, pl. 2]; not in Beazley 1956).
50. The brow band, throatlatch, and noseband appear like this on the chariot team incised on the volute-krater (Figure 1). Most of the lower part of the muzzle of the mule on MMA 31.11.11 is missing and filled in with plaster painted black, so there is no way to know whether the entire noseband was included, but probably it was not. For a well-preserved example of a bridle in the work of Lydos, see Naples 81292, ex 2770 (as in note 38 above). The only painter I know who often draws all four straps is the Princeton Painter; see Moore 2007, p. 41, for examples.
51. For the inscription, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 145n5 for bibliography, especially Josef Wiesner (1969), in a lecture about the god on the donkey ("Gott auf dem Esel") given in Freiburg, Germany on July 9, 1968. For the association of a donkey or mule with Hephaistos, see Hedreen 1992, p. 17.

    A few words about the difference between a donkey and a mule: a donkey is small and fertile; a mule is large and a cross between a male donkey and a mare, thus it is a hybrid and infer-

tile. Mules are more horse-like with refined heads, short upright manes, and tails furnished with long hairs. Donkeys have coarser heads, sometimes with light tan muzzles, and thin tails ending in a prominent tassel. They have a dark stripe across their withers at the base of the neck and rings or bars on their legs. The last two features seldom occur on donkeys in Attic black figure, though the right hind leg of the donkey ridden by Hephaistos on Munich 1522 by a painter near the Group of Toronto 305, ca. 510 B.C., has three white rings painted on its right hind leg and four incised rings on each foreleg (Beazley 1956, p. 283, no. 1; *Kunst der Schale* 1990, p. 360, fig. 63.1). Finally, mules wear bits, donkeys usually do not. Sometimes the painters include the cheek piece of the bit but draw it above the corner of the donkey's mouth, making clear that no mouthpiece rested on the bars of the animal's jaw. This position of the cheek piece vertical to the mouth might have been useful in guiding the donkey to turn right or left, for it would exert pressure on one side of the muzzle when the rein on the opposite side was pulled. Kleitias observed these differences and painted a good example of each animal on the François Vase: a mule in the scene of the Return of Hephaistos (Figure 6) and a donkey in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, best observed in the drawing by Karl Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32, pl. 2. See also Torelli 2007, p. 105 for the mule, and p. 97 for the donkey. Beazley (1986, p. 29) also recognized the distinction in his description of the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase. See also Wiesner 1969, pp. 532–34.

52. Kossatz-Deissmann (1991, pp. 131, 135) thinks this is the hoof of a deer torn from the animal in the manner that frenzied maenads tear up animals. This animal part has not been torn off, but rather neatly cut off, as the double incision at the end of it indicates. It is probably intended for consumption.
53. See ibid., p. 135: "der sich um nichts kümmert." The inscription may not be his name, but a reference to his condition, though Kossatz-Deissmann (ibid., p. 165) notes that a Trojan elder bears this name (*Iliad* 3.148). He appears only once and is otherwise unknown. See also note 3 above.
54. Beazley 1986, p. 26 (1951 and 1964 eds., p. 28).
55. For a list of satyrs with frontal faces in Attic black figure, see Korshak 1987, pp. 45–51. Add these examples in other scenes of the Return of Hephaistos: Oxford 1920.107, by a painter from the Burgon Group, ca. 560 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 89, no. 2; Beazley 1971, p. 33, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 24; Hedreen 2009, p. 129, fig. 7a); Cracow 30 by the Amasis Painter, ca. 550–540 B.C. (Beazley 1956, p. 156, no. 84; Carpenter 1989, p. 46); London, BM 1914.3–17.6, an unattributed fragment of a band cup, ca. 550 B.C. (Beazley and Payne 1929, pl. 16, 9). For frontal faces in a variety of scenes, see Korshak 1987, passim; also Frontisi-Ducroux 1989; in more detail, Frontisi-Ducroux 1995, passim; Mackay 2001; most recently, Hedreen 2007, pp. 234–37, for satyrs with frontal faces.
56. Würzburg L 265 and L 282 (as in note 22 above). This vase dates ca. 540 B.C., and it may be the earliest example of an inebriated Dionysos. Carlo Gasparri (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos," p. 459, no. 415) thinks the god dances toward the satyr. Dancers have one foot raised well off the ground. Compare Carpenter 1986, pl. 19 A (Copenhagen, NM 5179, by the Heidelberg Painter [Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, pl. 109], where Dionysos *is* dancing) with pl. 19 B (Würzburg L 265). On the latter, he is clearly tipsy.
57. See, however, the satyr lying on the ground on an unattributed late sixth-century B.C. neck-amphora, Naples 86322, where Dionysos, holding a drinking horn and an ax, sits sideways on a bull followed by a satyr (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos" [Gasparri], p. 461, no. 436, pl. 350). It is unclear whether the satyr on the ground is drunk. Perhaps add Saint Petersburg B 1950, ex B 179, where a peculiar-looking creature squats on the ground alongside the mule. He is not a satyr because he lacks equine ears and tail. See *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hephaistos" (Hermary), p. 640, no. 139c (attributed by Gorbunova to the Painter of Berlin 1686), pl. 394 (not in Beazley).
58. Nonnos, a late Greek writer (fifth century A.D.?) who described the Indian Triumph of Dionysos, referred to wineskins made from "the dappled skins of fawns" in *Dionysiaca* 12.354–55 (Rouse 1940, p. 423). For Nonnos, see *OCD* 2003, p. 1048, s.v. "Nonnos" (Neal Hopkinson). For a dappled fawn skin, see the one held by a nymph on the famous pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (Munich 8732, ex 2344: Beazley 1963, p. 182, no. 6; Beazley 1971, p. 340, no. 6; Carpenter 1989, p. 186). For a good color photograph, see Arias 1962, pl. XXXI. For a wineskin that looks furry or hairy, see the one held by a satyr who pours wine into a column-krater on Munich 2919 A by the Epeleios Painter, ca. 510 B.C. (Beazley 1963, p. 146, no. 2; Carpenter 1989, p. 179).
59. Beazley 1963, p. 382, no. 183; Beazley 1971, p. 366, no. 183; Carpenter 1989, 227.
60. Berlin 3151 (Beazley 1956, p. 78, —; Beazley 1971, p. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 22; *LIMC*, vol. 7 [1994], s.v. "Oreios" [Madeleine Page-Gasser], p. 64, no. 1, pl. 49; Schlesier and Schwarzmaier 2008, p. 45, fig. 3; Hirayama 2010, pl. 44a).
61. Preserved measurements of fragment s: 9.7 x 11.1 cm. There are nicks here and there; the glaze is flaked on the right thigh of the satyr in front of Dionysos. Some of the glaze has a brownish cast. Reserved background is slightly reddish (wash?). There is good hard black glaze on the inside, pitted.
62. For Dionysos on the François Vase (as in note 8 above), see *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 132; Torelli 2007, p. 101 below. See also Dionysos on the unattributed amphora in Saint Petersburg (as in note 57 above) and Saint Petersburg 1524 (209), a column-krater, ca. 530–520 B.C., that is probably by the Swing Painter (Beazley 1956, p. 310; Carpenter 1989, p. 84; for the date, see Böhr 1982, p. 20).
63. Often the Heidelberg Painter included fringe on the garments of some of his figures. Here are some examples, all datable ca. 560–550 B.C.: Heidelberg S 5 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 449, no. 365, pl. 120 b); Louvre CA 576 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, pp. 449–50, no. 367, pl. 121 b); Cambridge, GR 4.1930, ex 30.4 (Beazley 1956, p. 63, no. 4; Carpenter 1989, p. 17; Brijder 1991, p. 450, no. 369, pls. 121 c, 122 c, e, f); Florence 3893 (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 26; Brijder 1991, p. 445, no. 346, pl. 111 c); Taranto, no number (Beazley 1956, p. 64, no. 23; Brijder 1991, p. 446, no. 350, pl. 113 d); Athens, NM 12667 (Beazley 1956, p. 65, no. 33; Brijder 1991, p. 446, no. 352, pl. 114 a); Basel art market (Brijder 1991, p. 447, no. 356, pl. 116 a). The Amasis Painter added fringe to garments. Here are four examples that may stand for many: Bloomington, Ind., 71.82, ca. 560–550 B.C., the cloaks of Dionysos and a man (Beazley 1971, p. 65; Carpenter 1989, p. 43); Berlin 1688, ca. 540 B.C., cloaks of Zeus and Hermes (Beazley 1956, p. 150, no. 9; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 9; Carpenter 1989, p. 42); London, BM 1849.6-20.5, ex B 471, ca. 540 B.C., Perseus's chiton and Hermes's cloak (Beazley 1956, p. 153, no. 32; Beazley 1971, p. 64, no. 32; Carpenter 1989, p. 44); Copenhagen, NM 14067, ca. 540 B.C., the cloak worn by a youth (Beazley 1971, p. 66; Carpenter 1989, p. 45).
64. For an exception, see Saint Petersburg B 1950, ex B 179 (as in note 57 above). There, Dionysos holds the drinking horn in his right

hand across his body. Two others, created near the end of the sixth century B.C. or a little later may be mentioned. On one, an unattributed column-krater, Dionysos sits on a campstool holding the vessel in his right hand and cradling it in the crook of his left arm (Louvre Cp 11283: *LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos" [Gasparri], p. 467, no. 519, pl. 359). The other is Athens, NM 581, a lekythos that is the name vase of a group of inept painters working during the time of the Persian Wars; Dionysos reclines on a couch holding the drinking horn so it overlaps his chest and left shoulder (*LIMC*, vol. 3 [1986], s.v. "Dionysos" [Gasparri], p. 470, no. 558, pl. 362).

65. Isler-Kerényi 2007, pp. 16, 33. See also Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 12.358–64; Rouse 1940, p. 423), who wrote: "the wine spurted up . . . pressed by the alternating tread the fruit bubbled out red juice with white foam. They scooped it up with oxhorns, instead of cups which had not yet been seen. . . ." Nonnos was describing how Dionysos taught the satyrs to make wine.
66. A particularly good example is the kantharos held by Dionysos on Munich 8732, ex 2344, by the Kleophrades Painter (as in note 58 above). The artist covered the vessel with diluted glaze that imitates a metal sheen, in this case bronze. For a good color photograph, see Arias 1962, pl. XXX. For the kantharos, see Moore 1997, pp. 59–62, with bibliography, especially Courbin 1953, and also Hirayama 2010, pp. 85–86. There are not very many kantharoi in either Attic black figure or red figure, probably because it was a fragile shape, especially when compared with the sturdy skyphos and some of the heavier drinking cups. See Caskey 1931, p. 14, paraphrasing Beazley: "it is certain that there were metal kantharoi, and that their forms influenced the clay examples."
67. Melos, Archaeological Museum, no number, ex British School of Archaeology at Athens. The identification of the man as Dionysos was made by John ff. Baker-Penoyre in the initial publication of the amphora (1902, p. 70; but he opted to identify the woman as a maenad, p. 72). Klaus Fittschen (1969, pp. 139–40) opted for Dionysos and Ariadne, as did Dimitrios Papastamos (1970, p. 56), who also noted that Hesiod (*Theogony*, 948; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 149) described Dionysos and Ariadne as man and wife. Angelika Schöne (1987, p. 49) also identified them as Dionysos and Ariadne, as did Hedreen (1992, pp. 88–89) and Isler-Kerényi (2007, p. 7), who remarked that this is the earliest representation of Dionysos in figurative art. The lone dissenter is Carpenter (1986, p. 1n1), who does not believe that on the Melian amphora "the kantharos is sufficient evidence for an identification of the man as Dionysos" and wrote that the kantharos did not become an attribute of Dionysos before the middle of the sixth century B.C. As we shall see (note 70), the latter conclusion is inaccurate.
68. KX Painter: Athens, NM 640 (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 7; Hirayama 2010, fig. 7k, detail of kantharos); Athens, Kerameikos, no number (Beazley 1971, p. 15); and Samos K 1280 a, b (Beazley 1956, p. 26, no. 28; Kreuzer 1998, pp. 169–72, pls. 37 above and 38 above, colorpl. 1). Connected with the Painter of the Dresden Lekanis: Agora P 334 (as in note 14 above); Isler-Kerényi 2007, p. 65, fig. 33. These vases date ca. 580–570 B.C. For early kantharoi and their Etruscan antecedents, see Brijder 1988, especially pp. 109–12, for the earliest examples in Attic black figure.
69. Sophilos: London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; good photo: Williams 1983, p. 23, fig. 26). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (*Vaso François* 1981, figs. 82, 83; Torelli 2007, p. 102 above).
70. Carpenter (1986, p. 117) remarked that "during the 540s the [drinking] horn is replaced by the kantharos, which is more common from then on." Hedreen (1992, p. 88) recognized correctly "that Dionysos is depicted with the kantharos . . . on several Attic vases that should date to the period 560–550." See the brief remarks by Shapiro 1989, p. 91.
71. For Munich 1447, see Beazley 1956, p. 81, —, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 30, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 22. For all the fragments of Akropolis 603, see Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 1, pp. 67–68, vol. 2, pl. 29; the subject may be the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Graef), because part of Peleus's name appears on fragment a and other Olympians are present. For the date, see *LIMC*, vol. 2 (1984), s.v. "Artemis" (Lilly Kahil), p. 711, no. 1163. On Florence 3809 (see *CVA*, Firenze 5 [Italia 42], pl. 11 [1875], 2), a satyr behind Hephaistos looks out at the viewer. Piera Bocci (1969, p. 6) compared the hydria with the cup by the Oakeshott Painter (Figure 8). Add here the example on a very fragmentary dinos in Chiusi (67371), which depicts the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and is attributed by Mario Iozzo (2009, p. 68, figs. 10, 11, p. 69) to the Painter of London B 76. There, all that remains of the kantharos is the foot and beginning of the stem. I thank Dr. Iozzo for allowing me to read his manuscript before publication.

    For Malibu 86.AE.113, see *CVA*, Malibu 1 (USA 23), pl. 53 (1163), 2. For the Cahn attribution, see Clark 1988, p. 56; he noted that "Bothmer has observed that the kantharos held by Dionysos is one of the earliest examples of a representation of a vase decorated with a picture." The identification of the woman as Amphitrite began with Herbert Cahn (*Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat., Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, May 6, 1967, p. 59, lot 122) and was accepted by Hedreen (1992 p. 88) and by Sophia Kaempf-Dimitriadou (*LIMC*, vol. 1 [1981], s.v. "Amphitrite," p. 728, no. 43). Clark (1988, p. 55) opted for Ariadne, but without discussion. Since this woman faces Poseidon instead of standing with him, I agree with the Ariadne identification.
72. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135 ("der Starke"). Another possibility she suggested might be ΚΡΑΤΑΙΜΕΝΗΣ (Krataimenes). Either one would fit in the space available.
73. Preserved measurements of fragment d+e+f: 33.3 x 38.3 cm. A large section is restored in plaster and painted. Chips are missing throughout. Some of the white for female flesh has flaked. To the right of the satyr is the area where the handle broke off. There are a hard dull glaze on the inside, nicks, and chips. At the very top of fragment d+e+f, above the foot of the amphora, is the red line marking the top of the shoulder where the neck sheared off.
74. These are examples I have been able to find of a satyr with a human ear, all but the first contemporary with MMA 1997.388: Agora P 334 (as in note 14 above); MMA 17.230.5 (as in note 10 above and Figure 8); Oxford 1920.107 (as in note 55 above); Vatican 316 (as in note 14 above); and Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 424, dating ca. 550 B.C. and attributed to Lydos by Michales Tiverios (1976, p. 130, no. 38; *CVA*, Basel 1 [Schweiz 4], pl. 28 [174], 2). The head of the satyr on Agora P 334 and on Vatican 316 is in profile; the other three are frontal.
75. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 152: its interpretation is difficult to determine, possibly an adjective (ἠοιος), meaning early morning, or of the morning ("morgendlich, zum Morgen gehörig"). The glaze directly above the preserved letters of his name between the amphora and the satyr's chest may be part of his right arm.
76. I think both Gaunt and Venit misunderstood what this composition looked like originally. Gaunt (2002, pp. 401–2) wrote: "Two satyrs are busy emptying wine from amphorae into the krater; although no hydriai are immediately apparent, the wine may have been diluted by water from a well, and thus raised in an amphora." To begin with, in the entire composition on the obverse of MMA 1997.388 a satyr alternates with a nymph, and there is no reason

to believe it was otherwise at this handle. Furthermore, a hydria is a water jar, and it is usually women who go to the fountain house to fill it.

Venit (2006, p. 32) also thought there were two satyrs in this scene, and she identified the hydria as an oinochoe. "Two satyrs (only the lip of the oinochoe and the stream of wine is preserved of the left-hand action) dump wine into the . . . krater."

77. See Hölscher 1972, especially pp. 69–99, for the subject on temples; Müller 1978, especially pp. 167–73 for architectural sculpture, and pp. 174–80 for vase painting. See also Oenbrink 1996, p. 101, and Venit 2006, p. 33, for the Near Eastern connection (both with bibliography). Ernst Buschor (1922, p. 101) may have been the first to recognize this association when he pointed out that already in the Greek geometric period there was an interest in lions attacking prey.
78. It was probably similar to the foot of the early amphora Type A, which has a slightly concave top side and flares downward to a reserved resting surface. For two good examples, see these from Group E, each dating between 540 and 530 B.C.: Berlin 1699 (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 53; Beazley 1971, p. 55, no. 53—the vase now believed lost; Carpenter 1989, p. 37); Berlin 1698 (Beazley 1956, p. 136, no. 54; Carpenter 1989, p. 37). For photographs of each depicting the foot, see Technau 1936, pls. 30 and 31, respectively.
79. Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, pp. 131, 135: "Fragment . . . zeigt eine Amphora, in die ein Satyr Wein hineinschüttet."
80. Oenbrink 1996, p. 100. For the Samos fragment, K 898, see Beazley 1956, p. 151, no. 18; Beazley 1971, p. 63, no. 18; Carpenter 1989, p. 42; for the date, see Beazley 1954, p. 96.
81. Gaunt 2002, p. 401.
82. After that, double rays appear infrequently except in the work of the Affecter and the Amasis Painter, neither of whom decorated kraters. For this ornament, see the list of examples compiled and discussed by Heide Mommsen (1975, pp. 28–31).
83. There are no column-kraters or volute-kraters in the list cited in note 82 above.
84. For the column-krater, see Bakir 1974, especially pp. 20–22 for a list of Attic column-kraters, and pp. 60–63 for Corinthian influence on them. Also Amyx 1988, pp. 304–11, for a brief discussion of the shape; he does not mention the rays above the foot in his description of decoration (pp. 305–9). For double rays on Corinthian vases, see Mommsen 1975, p. 29n153. Add these from Amyx 1988—a skyphos, Boston, MFA 49.403, by the Perachora Painter, dated ca. 630–620 B.C. (p. 64, no. A 10, pl. 20); a pyxis with lid, Brussels, Bibliothèque, no number, by the Royal Library Painter, dated ca. 620–590 B.C. (p. 127, no. A 7, pl. 51 a); Basel, formerly collection of Karl Vogler, the name vase of the Vogler Painter, dated ca. 590–570 B.C. (p. 185, no. 1, pl. 70, 2 b); and a cup, Moscow, Pushkin Museum II.1-b.7, the name vase of the Moscow Gorgoneion Kylix, dated ca. 590–570 B.C. (p. 198, no. 1, pl. 81, 1 b, c). For these dates, see ibid., p. 428.
85. There is not quite enough preserved of the rays to be absolutely certain, but it seems likely there was only a single row.
86. For a later column-krater with a more articulated foot, a torus above a torus, see an unattributed one dating ca. 540 B.C., MMA 24.97.95: Richter 1925, pp. 299 fig. 8, 300; Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 45.
87. See note 78 above. Also Gaunt 2002, chap. 3, "Late Attic Black-figured Volute-kraters. Introduction: Shape and Scheme of Decoration," pp. 61–72, especially pp. 61–62 for characteristics of the shape after the middle of the sixth century B.C. When Ergotimos made the François Vase, he opted for the simpler echinus foot probably because the shape of the body is so similar to that of the column-krater.
88. Oenbrink (1996, p. 102) and Venit (2006, p. 33) recognized this. Gaunt (2002, p. 401) thought that "two lions bring down a bull." For the subject on temples, see Hölscher 1972, pp. 68–76, and Müller 1978, pp. 167–73.
89. On the François Vase, the lion and bull appear on the obverse in the animal frieze below the Pursuit of Troilos, specifically beneath the figures of Apollo and Troon. Above the back of the bull is a very ornate rosette. See *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 101. See also a similar composition on one leg of a tripod-kothon in the manner of the KY Painter, Athens, NM 12688 (Beazley 1956, p. 33, no. 1), and the elegant rosettes as fillers on MMA 1977.11.2 by Sophilos (as in note 35 above).
90. Hesiod, writing ca. 700 B.C., is the earliest author to mention wine mixed with water: ". . . thrice pour an offering of water, but make a fourth libation of wine" (*Works and Days*, 594–95; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 47). The lyric poet Alkaios advocated "mix one part of water to two of wine" (Fragment 346; Campbell 1982, p. 381). His fellow lyricist Anakreon advised just the opposite: "pour in ten ladles of water and five of wine"; he later modified his remarks on drinking unmixed wine: "come again, let us no longer practice Scythian drinking with clatter and shouting over our wine, but drink moderately amid beautiful songs of praise" (Fragment 356; Campbell 1988, p. 55). For later authors, see Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 10.426–427, 429–430 (Gulick 1969, pp. 429–35, 447). For the drinking of unmixed wine associated with uncivilized behavior, not just Scythian, see Slater 1990. For Pholos and his companion centaurs served unmixed wine by Herakles from a pithos half sunk in the ground, see *LIMC*, vol. 8 (1997), s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides" (Lila Marangou), pp. 691–92, nos. 237–41, pl. 442.
91. See the general article by Friedrich W. Hamdorf (1990). See also Lissarrague 1990b, p. 202. Drinking unmixed wine caused men to become delirious, even to fall into a stupor. Originally, mixing wine with water was not an intentional practice, but an accidental occurrence. A rainstorm broke up a drinking party held at the seashore, and when the participants returned, they discovered that their partly empty wine bowls had filled with water, thus mixing the two liquids. See Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 15.675b (Gulick 1971, p. 115). Occasionally, if no krater or hydria is present, Dionysos is probably about to drink unmixed wine. These are two examples: a neck-amphora in Munich attributed to the Lysippides Painter and dated ca. 520 B.C. (Munich 1478: Beazley 1956, p. 255, no. 13; Carpenter 1989, p. 66; *Kunst der Schale* 1990, p. 392, fig. 69.6)—a satyr is about to pour wine from a skin into Dionysos's kantharos; a late sixth-century B.C. unattributed black-figured neck-amphora, Würzburg 208 (Lissarrague 1990a, p. 17, fig. 7)—a satyr comes up with an amphora full of wine to pour into the pithos and Dionysos sits opposite holding out his kantharos.
92. Lissarrague 1990b, p. 201. He noted (ibid., n. 31) that on Louvre F 227, a neck-amphora by the Swing Painter, two komasts (not satyrs) carry containers, one a hydria, the other a wineskin (Beazley 1956, p. 309, no. 86; Carpenter 1989, p. 83). Their contents are presumably intended for Dionysos, who sits on the opposite side of the vase holding out his kantharos by its stem; he is accompanied by two kneeling satyrs, one of whom grasps a handle of the god's vessel. There is no krater present for mixing the wine.
93. The same pertains to lion's-head water spouts in fountain houses, whose large, open jaws permit water to gush out. A good example may be seen on a hydria in London attributed to the Priam Painter, ca. 510 B.C. (London, BM 1843.11-3.17, ex B 332: Beazley 1956,

p. 333, no. 27; Beazley 1971, p. 146, no. 27; Carpenter 1989, p. 90). There, water pours from two spouts. See also MMA 06.1021.77, a late sixth-century B.C. hydria attributed to the Class of Hamburg 1917.77 (Beazley 1971, p. 148; Mertens 2010, p. 95, no. 18).

94. For a very good, if somewhat later, example, see the figure of Nike pouring water into a metal basin for a bull to drink, a victory scene on a stamnos in Munich attributed to the Hector Painter, a classical artist working in the middle of the fifth century B.C. (Munich 2412: Beazley 1963, p. 1036, no. 5; Beazley 1971, p. 443, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 318). In this representation, the pressure has eased and the water (painted white) empties out easily in a steady stream. The scene is best observed in the drawing by by Karl Reichhold in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32, pl. 19.
95. This is not an erotic pose, as implied by Kreuzer (2009, pp. 149, 152n47). For examples of nymphs lifting the skirts of their rather short chitons above their waists to expose themselves to satyrs, see two uninhibited ones on the Tyrrhenian amphora in the Villa Giulia attributed by Bothmer to the Castellani Painter (50631, ex M.453: Beazley 1956, p. 100, no. 73; Beazley 1971, p. 38, no. 73; Hedreen 1992, pl. 40 b; cited by Kreuzer [2009, p. 152n47] along with others). There, the skirts are lifted to shoulder level, much higher than the skirt of our nymph. Hedreen (1992, p. 126) wrote: "The repetition of the figures [on the Villa Giulia amphora] suggests that we are viewing an actual obscene choral performance." In that composition, the satyrs and nymphs alternate just as they do on MMA 1997.388, but this is the only similarity. For a detail of those two nymphs, see Kluiver 2003, p. 235, fig. 92. The nymph on MMA 1997.388 is very tame by comparison.
96. Würzburg Ha 166a: *CVA*, Würzburg 1 (Deutschland 39), pl. 44 (1926), 6.
97. For the name, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135: "The name relates (genetically) to the god Hermes and is thus far unknown" (Allerdings ist die Verbindung Hermothales ["der durch Hermes blühende"] bislang singulär). This of considerable interest because Hermes is the father of the satyrs. Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 14.105–14; Rouse 1940, pp. 479, 481) wrote: "And the horned satyrs [were] all sons of Hermes." For other literary evidence, see Moore 2006b, pp. 25–26.
98. Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above; see *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 89).
99. Athens, Agora A-P 1953 a (Roebuck 1940, p. 199, no. 134, fig. 31). Lydos: Athens, NMAcr. 607, fragment t (Beazley 1956, p. 107, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 29). On this fragment, Apollo's nebris is clasped with a rosette. The Heidelberg Painter: Athens, NMAcr. 2133 b (Beazley 1956, p. 66, no. 60; Carpenter 1989, p. 18; Brijder 1991, p. 406 and pl. 153 a). On a fragmentary unattributed neck-amphora of ca. 530 B.C. in Malibu, Artemis wearing a lion-skin and holding her bow sits on a throne facing a kithara player and another seated woman (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.45: *LIMC*, vol. 7 [1994], s.v. "Omphale" [John Boardman], p. 52, no. 82, with bibliography [Boardman, along with other scholars, rejects the identification of this woman as Omphale and opts for Artemis]). I have been able to find only two other nymphs wearing lionskins. They appear on each side of an eye-cup in Munich by a painter from the Group of Walters 48.42, dated 530–520 B.C. (Munich 2052: Beazley 1956, p. 206, no. 7; Beazley 1971, p. 95, no. 7; Carpenter 1989, p. 55; *CVA*, München 13 [Deutschland 77], pl. 24 [3884], 3–5). For rosettes as ties, see the one Nearchos used to fasten Hermes's nebris on Athens, NMAcr. 15156 a, ex Acr. 612 a (Beazley 1956, p. 83. no. 3; Carpenter 1989, p. 23).
100. Preserved measurements of fragment i+j: 29.1 x 18.5 cm.
101. Preserved measurements of fragment r: 29.1 cm x 18.5 cm.
102. See Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, p. 135: "The restoration of the name is uncertain since there does not seem to be a parallel" (Die Ergänzung ist hier unsicher, da bislang keine Personennamen belegt sind, die auf—πισιος ausgehen).
103. Preserved measurements of fragment k: 7.6 x 7.7 cm.
104. Preserved measurements of fragment t: 6 x 5.2 cm.
105. Preserved measurements of fragment u: 3.5 x 6.5 cm. The surface is chipped.
106. Preserved measurements of fragment v: 5.8 x 5.2 cm. The surface is abraded here and there.
107. Preserved measurements of fragment w: 3.8 cm x 3.5 cm. This is not from the same garment as the one on fragment v.
108. Preserved measurements of fragment x: 2.9 cm x 2.1 cm.
109. Preserved measurements of fragment y: 2.8 x 4.5 cm.
110. Preserved measurements of fragment aa: 8.2 x 9.4 cm.
111. See the bibliography in note 7 above.
112. For scenes of the return, see *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hephaistos" (Hermary), pp. 638–39, nos. 113–28; for Hera, *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hera" (Kossatz-Deissmann), pp. 693–95, nos. 306–20, pls. 423–24, and p. 695 for a brief commentary on the representations in Attic vase painting.
113. Sophilos: Athens, NMAcr. 15165, ex 587 (Beazley 1956, p. 39, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 10); London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (Beazley 1971, p. 19, no. 16 bis; Carpenter 1989, p. 10; Williams 1983, p. 23, fig. 26). See also the grandstand in the scene of the chariot race in the games for Patroklos on Athens, NM 15499, signed by Sophilos (as in note 13 above). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above; *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 83, and Torelli 2007, p. 102 below, for the wedding; *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 84, 87, 88, and Torelli 2007, pp. 106, 109, for Troilos). Obviously, in the Return of Hephaistos, if Hera is present, the location is Olympos.
114. Hedreen 1992, pp. 19–22, followed by Shapiro (1995, p. 9) in a few brief remarks. See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1971, pp. 25–27 (I thank Elizabeth Angelicoussis for obtaining a copy of this text for me). The commentary is on *Iliad* 23.92; for the text, see *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Page 1962, p. 123, no. 234), and for the translation, see Stewart 1983, p. 56. See also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Hephaistos" (Malten), vol. 8 (1913), cols. 315, 356–58. There is also a version that Hephaistos was sent to Naxos to apprentice with a metalworker named Kedalion (ibid., cols. 358–59), who taught him his craft, not only how to make arms and armor, but also vessels such as the golden amphora. Gantz (1993, p. 77) cites other objects made by Hephaistos. For Kedalion, see also *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Kedalion" (Gunning), vol. 11 (1922), cols. 107–9.
115. London, BM 1837.6-9.35, ex B 302 (Beazley 1956, p. 261, no. 40; Beazley 1971, p. 115, no. 40; Carpenter 1989, p. 68; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. "Hephaistos" [Hermary], p. 637, no. 107). See also the fragmentary calyx-krater by or near the Talos Painter that depicts Dionysos and Hephaistos as symposiasts, Würzburg H 5708 (Beazley 1963, p. 1339, no. 5; Carpenter 1989, p. 367).
116. Hedreen 1992, p. 20.
117. Athens, NM 16258: *LIMC*, vol. 4 (1988), s.v. "Hephaistos" (Hermary), p. 637, no. 110, pl. 390; Hedreen 1992, pl. 7.
118. The representation on a volute-krater by Polion, an artist active in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., combines the two scenes (Ferrara 3033, ex T 127: Beazley 1963, p. 1171, no. 1; Beazley 1971, p. 459, no. 1; Carpenter 1989, p. 338; *LIMC*, vol. 4 [1988], s.v. "Hera" [Kossatz-Deissmann], p. 694, no. 316, pl. 423). At the right of the composition, Dionysos and Hephaistos recline on a couch, and a satyr props up Hephaistos. At the left, Hera sits on her throne looking sullen. A siren fans her and there are satyrs and nymphs about. See Froning 1971, pp. 67–75.

119. Basic bibliography: Hesiod, *Theogony*, 286–92; Evelyn-White 1914, p. 101: "Him [Geryon] mighty Heracles slew in sea-girt Erythea by his shambling oxen on that day when he drove the wide-browed oxen to holy Tiryns, and had crossed the ford of Ocean and killed Orthus and Eurytion the herdsman." See also *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles" (Boardman), pp. 73–80, 84–85 for commentary; Gantz 1993, pp. 402–8.
120. London, BM 65.7-20.17, ex A 587 (*LIMC*, vol. 5 [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Boardman], p. 74, no. 2462); Samos, Vathy B 2518, a bronze pectoral—part of a horse's harness (ibid., pp. 75 [drawing], 76 no. 2476). For the latter, see Brize 1985, especially pp. 55–59, for a description.
121. See *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles" (Boardman), p. 80, nos. 2533–35a. No. 2533 is the lost throne of Apollo at Amyklai by Bathykles, whose dates are uncertain but thought to be around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The throne and its figural decoration are best known from the description by Pausanias, who remarked that "Herakles is driving off the cows of Geryones" (*Description of Greece* III.18.13; Jones and Ormerod 1926, p. 117); for Bathykles, see the commentary to *Description of Greece* III.18.9 by Frazer (1913, p. 351), who conjectured that the artist "would have flourished about 550 B.C." Pausanias implied that no other figures were present. The gender of the animals in this labor is usually considered male by the vase painters. The next two listed in *LIMC* (vol. 5, [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Boardman], p. 80, nos. 2534, 2535) are late-sixth century B.C. and very different from the one on MMA 1997.388. On these, Herakles appears in a panel with just one or two bovines, though on one a cow suckles a calf (no. 2535, Boulogne 476 by a Painter from the Leagros Group: Beazley 1956, p. 377, no. 245; Beazley 1971, p. 163, no. 245; *LIMC*, vol. 5, [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Boardman], pl. 90). On the last (no. 2535a, London, BM E 104 by the Painter of London E 105, dating ca. 430–410 B.C.), the hero drives three cows, one of which looks around (Beazley 1963, p. 1293, no. 1; *LIMC*, vol. 5, [1990], s.v. "Herakles" [Boardman], pl. 91). One may add the unattributed Attic black-figured plate in Heidelberg from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. that depicts on its rim an unidentified youth driving ten bulls (Heidelberg 68/2: *CVA*, Heidelberg 4 [Deutschland 31], pl. 64 [1503], 1, 3). The composition on MMA 1997.388 was probably similar.
122. Preserved measurements of fragment c: length at outer edge 20 cm; height of figures 8 cm. The plate sheared off from the mouth, which is not preserved. There is a red line around the edge of the plate continuing on to the side. Much of the accessory red and white is flaked.
123. Normally the handle plate contains very simple decoration, often a floral one, sometimes a Gorgoneion, as on MMA 31.11.11, or a feline. Fragment c of MMA 1997.388 is most unusual in depicting a war chariot. See Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 24.
124. Sophilos: London, BM 1971.11-1.1 (as in note 69 above); for illustrations, see Williams 1983, p. 25, fig. 29, p. 26, fig. 31, and p. 27, fig. 33, respectively; Hirayama 2010, fig. 21e, f, h; Athens, NM 15499 (as in note 13 above). Kleitias: Florence 4209 (as in note 8 above); for illustrations, see *Vaso François* 1981, fig. 70 for Hippothoon's chariot team, and figs. 75, 77, 78, 80, 81 for white horses in the wedding scene.
125. As in note 3 above.
126. See Beazley 1956, pp. 105–13; Beazley 1971, pp. 43–46; Carpenter 1989, pp. 29–32. His signature as painter is known from two vases—the big fragmentary dinos from the Akropolis, Athens, NMAcr. 607 (as in note 99 above): the signature is incised on the rim (see Beazley 1986, pl. 34, 1); and Louvre F 29, an amphora (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 21; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 21; Carpenter 1989, p. 30): Lydos painted the inscription in the space between Neoptolemos and Priam collapsed on the altar (Beazley 1986, pl. 33, 2, 3).
127. Munich 1681 (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 12; Carpenter 1989, p. 29); Berlin, Univ. no number (Beazley 1956, p. 108, no. 15; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); Louvre E 868 (Beazley 1956, p. 110, no. 30; Carpenter 1989, p. 30).
128. For the Akropolis dinos, Athens, NMAcr. 607, see note 99 above. Add Berlin 1685 (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 24; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); London, BM 1848.6-19.5 ex B 148 (Beazley 1956, p. 109, no. 29; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 29; Carpenter 1989, p. 30); Athens, NMAcr. 2424 (Beazley 1956, p. 111, no. 52; Carpenter 1989, p. 31); Athens, Kerameikos 1687 (Beazley 1956, p. 113, no. 81; Beazley 1971, p. 45, no. 81; Carpenter 1989, p. 32).
129. Heide Mommsen in a conversation with Joan R. Mertens; Kreuzer 2009, p. 149.
130. See particularly Athens, NMAcr. 607 (as in note 99 above), best observed in Graef and Langlotz 1925–33, vol. 2, pls. 33–35; Athens, NM 507 (Beazley 1956, p. 112, no. 56; Beazley 1971, p. 44, no. 56; Carpenter 1989, p. 31).
131. For Little-Master Cups, see Moore and Philippides 1986, p. 64, with bibliography, especially Beazley 1932, pp. 167–204, 167–85 for lip-cups.

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Epitome of National Disgrace: A Painting Illuminating Song–Jin Diplomatic Relations

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Narrative images with figures interacting in a landscape typify the earliest phase of Chinese scroll painting. As exemplified by the *Goddess of the Luo River* (Figure 1) attributed to Gu Kaizhi, its commonly acknowledged patriarch, works in this genre interpret a literary or historical theme through thoughtfully conceived imagery and composition to reveal the artist's or the recipient's perspective on the issues involved, be they political, philosophical, or moral.[1] The artistic caliber of the pictorial representation is crucial to the persuasive power of the message and its successful conveyance. A horizontal scroll in the Metropolitan Museum, *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin* (Figure 2), embodies an advanced stage in the development of Chinese narrative landscape painting, when the dominant palette had changed from the early red and black (*danqing*) to blue and green (*qinglü*) and the scale and spatial relationship of the motifs had become rationally defined. As usual, however, the painter's primary motivation and his intended recipient's relish of it lie beyond the rarefied realm of "art for art's sake."

The Metropolitan Museum scroll (hereafter the *Mission* scroll) bears no title, date, or painter's signature and seal. Though it lacks textual references, it appears to depict an event taking place at a specific site. The massive mountain ranges with angular, fissured rock formations and the steep-roofed building surrounded by trees near the scroll's center (Figure 3) are characteristic of China's northern landscape. Sinuous bands of mist drift across a river valley in the middle ground, making the mountains appear higher by blurring their baselines. The river runs toward a wide bridge near the left end of the scroll and then disappears into the distance (Figure 4). To the right of the bridge a fortified town with crenellated walls and prominent turrets guards the hilly terrain, most likely a mountain pass of strategic importance.

The painting's narrative focus is the scene in the right foreground (Figure 5), where three groups of people gather near a pine-sheltered pavilion. The middle group consists of four men on horseback wearing official apparel of the Song dynasty (960–1279). To their left are two equestrians in fitted uniforms, one, evidently a messenger, carrying a scroll on his back and the other turning to respond to the Song officials. To the right of the tall pines are five men in loose robes, three of whom hold musical instruments: a lute, a flute, and a zither (Figure 6). The conical hats worn by these five men and the two riders at the far left (Figure 7) identify them as nomadic Jurchen soldiers of the Jin, or Jurchen, dynasty (1115–1234), whose leaders kidnapped the last two Northern Song emperors, Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and his son Qinzong (r. 1126–27), and assumed sovereignty over northern China in 1127.[2] The rest of the Song imperial family fled south and established the Southern Song dynasty under Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62; son of Huizong and half-brother of Qinzong). The Song court, based in Lin'an (modern Hangzhou), continued the dynasty's mandate until 1279, when Khubilai Khan conquered the Southern Song empire and reunited China.

From the presence of the musicians and the empty table and wicker stools in the pavilion, it can be inferred that a repast hosted by the Jurchens has just ended, and the guests are ready to depart, guided by the Jin soldier and heralded by the messenger. The painting may thus be read as illustrating a stopover in a Song delegation's journey to the Jin court, one of many recorded diplomatic missions during the hundred years of Song–Jin relations between 1118 and 1218. The diplomatic relationship between the Song and the Jin began with the Northern Song emperor Huizong's sending Ma Zheng to the Jin in 1118 with the proposal that the two states join forces to expel the Khitan Liao. It officially ended

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1. Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406). *Goddess of the Luo River*. Section of a handscroll. China, 11th-century copy(?) of 4th-century original. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 10⅜ in. x 21 ft. 2⅜ in. (.26 x 6.46 m). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 1 (1997), pl. 46

2. Attributed to Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181). *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), ca. late 1150s. Ink and color on silk, 10½ x 60⅛ in. (26.7 x 152.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982 (1982.1.1)

in 1218 when the Southern Song barred the Jin emissary from entering their territory south of the Yellow River region. There were 190 missions in all, 15 in the Northern Song period and 175 in the Southern Song.[3]

In a colophon to the Metropolitan Museum scroll dated 1953 (see Appendix, Figure 34), the scholar and collector Chen Rentao first identified the subject matter as a Song diplomatic delegation to the Jin, a loyalist lament over the disgraced Song state. He also suggested Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181), a Jin official-artist, as the painter based on the work's stylistic similarity to a painting by Yang Bangji he had seen earlier.[4] Another scholar, Chiang I-han, examined the history of Song–Jin negotiations and warfare from 1111 to 1127 in a pioneering study of this scroll in 1979. He proposed that the painting depicts a special mission headed by four Song officials to Yanjing (present-day Beijing) to negotiate the return of six northern prefectures to the Song in 1123 and that it was painted by an unidentified Song artist in celebration of the recovery of the lost territory.[5] Although Chiang's conclusion is questionable, his methodology—drawing on primary historical sources to interpret pictorial imagery—was appropriate. In 1990 Yu Hui affirmed Chen





3. Detail of the center section of Figure 2



4. Detail of the left section of Figure 2



Rentao's attribution of the painting to Yang Bangji on the grounds that Yang followed Li Gonglin (ca. 1049–1106) in painting horses and Li Cheng (919–967) in landscape and that late in his career he held positions in transportation and the military in Shandong and Hebei under the Jin. In addition, judging from the titles of his paintings recorded in various writings and painting catalogues, Yang was fond of depicting mountain passes with travelers.[6]

Building on the earlier scholarship, this article aims at a comprehensive understanding of the *Mission* scroll, including its execution date, authorship, intended recipient, and most importantly, unique standing as a political painting. The inadequacy of the earlier studies was due mostly to the serious loss and fading of the vibrant colors that once distinguished the pavilion scene, the thematic focus of the scroll, from its somber backdrop. As a result, the ambivalent portrayal of the Song delegation, the key to the meaning of the painting, failed to engender serious inquiry.

The style of the *Mission* scroll corroborates earlier scholars' argument that this portrayal of twelfth-century Song–Jin

5. Detail of Figure 2, showing the pavilion scene





6. Detail of Figure 2, showing the group of musicians



7. Detail of Figure 2, showing the two riders at the left



8. Emperor Huizong (1082–1135). *Returning Boat on a Snowy River*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), early 12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 12 x 75⅛ in. (30.3 x 190.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: *Zhongguo lidai huihua* 1978–91, vol. 2 (1981), p. 85

diplomacy was a contemporary production. Except for the bright green ground and the figures' colorful robes, the painting exhibits a strong stylistic affinity to paintings of the late Northern Song period, the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Like Emperor Huizong's *Returning Boat on a Snowy River* (Figure 8) and other late Northern Song handscrolls, the *Mission* scroll represents expansive space by progressing leftward along a consistent horizon, without shifting perspective, and the composition features a distinct tripartite structure of foreground, middle ground, and distance.[7] And the sensitively rendered atmospheric effects of distant mountains in cloud and mist also find striking comparisons in paintings of the period.

Although the *Mission* scroll has suffered losses on the top, bottom, and right edges, still visible along the bottom are the upper part of a building and the tops of rocks and



9. Detail of the right section of Figure 2



10. Hu Shunchen (active first half of 12th century). *For Hao Xuanming on Being Dispatched to Qin*. Handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), dated 1122. Ink and light color on silk, 11⅞ x 43¾ in. (30 x 111 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Art. Photograph: *Chūgoku shoga meihin zuroku* 1994, pl. 13



11. Zhang Zeduan (active early 12th century). *Qingming Festival along the River*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), early 12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 9¾ in. x 17 ft. 4⅛ in. (.25 x 5.29 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 51, top image

trees that share a hidden common plane (see Figures 3, 9). This is a framing device used in early twelfth-century paintings such as Hu Shunchen's *For Hao Xuanming on Being Dispatched to Qin* and Zhang Zeduan's *Qingming Festival along the River* (Figures 10, 11). It distances the painter from his subject matter by setting up a boundary, however fragmented, between them. The implied detachment of the painter connotes the higher objectivity of his vision and the greater truthfulness of his work.

The *Mission* scroll seamlessly integrates the vocabulary of Northern Song court painting and monumental landscape painting with the aesthetic established by the poet and statesman Su Shi (1037–1101) and his circle of literati in reaction to court taste. The landscape is painted in the blue-and-green style that flourished at the Tang court in the mid-eighth century in the sway of father-and-son masters Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao and was revitalized in the late Northern Song period by Wang Shen (ca. 1048–after 1104), a scholar-artist and member of the imperial family.[8] Instead of filling crisply delineated contours with flat, bright mineral colors in the Tang manner, Wang Shen applied blue and green pigments over ink washes and textures to create volume from the mildly fluctuating colors and to minimize the decorative charm of the Tang mode.[9] After Wang Shen, the style continued to be favored until the twelfth century by Zhao Boju, Zhao Bosu, and other scholar-artists associated with the court. The painter of the *Mission* scroll juxtaposed the two different blue-and-green modes for a theatrical effect: while the mountains, rocks, and trees are rendered in subdued hues and naturalistic shading, the terrain of the plateau, where the pavilion scene takes place, is flat, pure green. Its fresh luminosity transforms the site into a stage for human intrigue, set against the backdrop of the more muted landscape.

Several motifs in the scroll were derived from Northern Song prototypes. The tall pines with straight, columnar trunks; angular, knobby branches near their tops; and clusters of needles rendered in delicate brush lines and color washes (Figure 12) recall the trees in *Intimate Scenery in a Hunan Countryside* by Zhao Shilei (Figure 13), a relative of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). The horses' anatomical proportions and their dark, bony legs recall the horses in Li Gonglin's *Pasturing Horses, after Wei Yan* (Figure 14). The massive, ponderous mountain ranges exude an austere grandeur, with the rugged profiles and parallel folds delineated with the emphatic broken contours that were Yan Wengui's stylistic idiom (see Figure 15). As Hu Shunchen's landscape scroll (Figure 10) demonstrates, Yan's influence remained strong in the early twelfth century. The textural patterns of the rock surfaces show a mixture of Fan Kuan's "raindrop" dots and Li Tang's slanted hatch marks (see Figures 16, 17), but rendered loosely, without the earlier masters' rigorous

12. Detail of Figure 2, showing the pines by the pavilion



tactility. The painter's apparent lack of interest in his models' pictorial dynamism or complexity suggests a temporal and perhaps cultural distance between them.

The stylized bands of mist that wind across the river valley in the *Mission* scroll, on the other hand, are prominent characteristics of the late works of Mi Youren, a major exponent of a new artistic sensibility who lived through the transition from the Northern to the Southern Song. In Mi's *Wondrous Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* of 1135 (Figure 18), for instance, the bands of mist that meander



13. Zhao Shilei (active ca. 1100). *Intimate Scenery in a Hunan Countryside*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), late 11th century. Ink and color on silk, 16⅝ x 92 in. (42.2 x 233.5 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 38, lower image



14. Li Gonglin (ca. 1049–1106). *Pasturing Horses, after Wei Yan*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), late 11th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 1 ft. 6 in. x 14 ft. 1 in. (.46 x 4.28 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 2 (1999), pl. 92



15. Yan Wengui (active late 10th century). *Buddhist Temple amid Streams and Mountains*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), 11th century. Ink and color on paper, overall scroll 12½ x 63½ in. (31.9 x 161.2 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Art. Photograph: *Chūgoku shoga meihin zuroku* 1994, pl. 8

along the river, obscuring trees and foothills, are rendered in intermittent, fluctuating dry brush outlines like those in the *Mission* scroll.[10] Constantly changing in tonality and width, the lines twist and turn to evoke volume and movement, which is lacking in the hard-edged, patterned mist-clouds in court paintings (see Figure 17) and the vaporous ribbons of mist in lakeside scenes by Zhao Lingrang (see Figure 19). Drawing on calligraphy, Mi's simple but expressive method of representing mist-clouds reflects the intellectual aesthetic initiated by Su Shi and his (Mi's) illustrious father, Mi Fu (1052–1107), in reaction to the high naturalism of Northern Song monumental landscape painting and the craftsmanlike polychromatic works traditionally favored by the court. That aesthetic valued the artist's inner character and creative impulse over verisimilitude and sensuous depiction of the physical world. A true artist, it held, revealed himself through freely, even playfully sketched natural imagery.[11] In both Mi's works and the *Mission* scroll,



16. Fan Kuan (active ca. 1023–1031). *Travelers among Streams and Mountains*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), ca. 1000. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 81½ x 40⅔ in. (206.3 x 103.3 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 2 (1999), pl. 58



17. Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s). *Wind in the Pines amid Ten Thousand Valleys*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1124. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 74¼ x 55 in. (188.7 x 139.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph: Lin 2006, no. 14

the vivacious mist that separates the foreground from the distant mountains and also makes them mutually responsive is fundamentally a subjective vision of the artist.

Mi Fu is known for creating rich, substantial, cloud-covered mountains with layers of wet, gradated ink dots.[12] The contoured bands of mist were Mi Youren's innovation in the 1130s, when he outgrew his father's influence and began working in a more personal style and aesthetic. His *Cloudy Mountains* of 1130 (Figure 20) marks the crucial transition: Mi Fu's stippling technique was still applied in the mountains, but the clouds were rendered with tentative, vague contour lines.[13] The fluid, kinetic linear patterns of the mist in Mi's 1135 scroll (Figure 18) bear witness to the maturity of his new technique.

Mi Youren's unique method for representing mist, developed in the south, may have traveled north via diplomatic channels. Southern Song envoys routinely brought works of art as gifts on diplomatic missions to the Jin. The Song scholar-official and renowned poet Yuwen Xuzhong (1079–1146), for instance, carried a number of paintings and calligraphies with him on such a mission in 1128.[14] Highly respected by Emperor Gaozong as a connoisseur of painting and calligraphy, Mi Youren also held high-ranking court offices from 1141 on.[15] Given his eminence at Gaozong's court and his father's national fame, his paintings would seem to have been a natural choice for gifts to the Jurchen elite. On a more personal level, Mi Youren's brother-in-law Wu Ji (1090–1142) was detained by the Jin on a diplomatic mission in 1127 and forced to serve in the Jurchen Hanlin Academy, the court's academic and administrative branch, until the last year of his life.[16] An accomplished painter and calligrapher in the Mi style, Wu Ji also eventually became northern China's leading composer of the lyric poetry known as *ci*. Although there is no record of direct correspondence between the two brothers-in-law, their family tie and Wu's luminary status in lettered circles must have raised interest in Mi Youren's art among northern artists in the early decades of the Jin regime.

The strong presence of Mi Youren–type mist in the *Mission* scroll, in a landscape that combines the Northern Song monumental landscape styles with the blue-and-green tradition of the Tang court, points to the early Jin period, when such stylistic syncretism was still possible. Early Jin painters were either unaware of or unconcerned with the aesthetic opposition between these representational modes and felt free to mix them in a given composition. Later, as they became more attuned to the sociopolitical implications



18. Mi Youren (1075–1151). *Wondrous Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1135. Ink on paper, overall scroll 7¾ in. x 9 ft. 6 in. (.2 x 2.9 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 3 (1999), pl. 109



19. Zhao Lingrang (active ca. 1070–after 1100). *Whiling away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* (detail). Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), dated 1100. Ink and color on silk, complete image 7½ x 63¾ in. (19.1 x 162 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Keith McLeod Fund, 1957 (57.724)



20. Mi Youren. *Cloudy Mountains*. Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1130. Ink, lead-white, and color on silk, 17¼ x 76 in. (43.7 x 193 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (1933.220)



21. Li Shan (active late 12th century). *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), late 12th century. Ink on silk, 12¼ x 31⅛ in. (31.2 x 79.2 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.: Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer (F1961.34)



22. Yang Wei (active ca. 1180). *Two Horses*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), dated 1184. Ink and color on silk, 10 x 31⅞ in. (25.2 x 81 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 3 (1999), pl. 76

of pictorial styles, most Jin artists took sides. Wang Tingyun (1151–1202), for instance, painted purely in the vein of Su Shi's and Mi Fu's principles, whereas Li Shan and Wu Yuanzhi, who both worked in the late twelfth century, along with the early thirteenth-century painter known as Taigu Yimin (Man from Antiquity), derived their styles solely from Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, and Yan Wengui, among other northern masters. Particularly relevant to the *Mission* scroll is Li Shan's *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines* (Figure 21). The shape of the thatch-roofed pavilion, the pines' imposing size and remarkably straight trunks balanced by gently drooping branches, and the central placement of the pavilion scene echo the *Mission* scroll. The artist pulled the mountains in the background much closer to the viewer, however, flattening the pictorial space by virtually eliminating the middle ground. The better-defined tripartite spatial structure of the *Mission* scroll reflects a stronger link to the Northern Song landscape tradition. The representation of the horses was also derived directly from the Li Gonglin prototype, before Jin art established the more distinct identity shown in such works as Yang Wei's *Two Horses* of 1184 (Figure 22). The *Mission* scroll can therefore be dated on stylistic grounds to the early decades of the Jurchen occupation of northern China.[17]

Diplomatic procedures are ritualized manifestations of political relations. The visits of foreign envoys provide the best occasions for asserting national prestige and power. Paintings commemorating these occasions can convey messages that are not explicitly articulated in fact-based historical writings. And by objectifying them in pictorial terms, the paintings invest such messages with the aura of an embodied truth.[18] As works of art, they are treasured by future generations as well as contemporary viewers. Aware of this potential for broad transmission, Chinese painters calculated how to fashion their idioms most effectively.

The presentation of the diplomatic procedures in the *Mission* scroll raises questions. In a departure from standard etiquette, the personnel of the two states clearly come from very different ranks. The Jin couriers and musicians are lowly soldiers in everyday uniforms, whereas the four Song delegates are officials in formal, color-coded robes. Song officials were divided into nine ranks. Starting in 1078, those in the top four ranks wore purple, ranks five and six wore red, the bottom three ranks wore green, and white robes could



23. Attributed to Xiao Zhao (active ca. 1130–60). *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival (Zhongxing ruiying)*. Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 1 ft. 1½ in. x 48 ft. (.35 x 14.63 m). Private collection. Photograph: China Guardian sale 2009, lot 1256



24. Detail of Figure 2, showing the Song officials and a servant boy descending the steps of the pavilion



25. *Welcoming the Honorable at Wangxian*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Ink and color on silk, 76¾ x 43⅛ in. (195.1 x 109.5 cm). Shanghai Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 5 (1999), pl. 60

be worn by any official regardless of rank.[19] In the fourth section of the Southern Song scroll *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival*, which has been attributed to Xiao Zhao (Figure 23), a group of officials and their entourage pass through a city gate.[20] Although none of the officials wear white, the Prince of Kang, the future Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62), wears a purple robe, and he is flanked by two officials wearing red and preceded by four horsemen in green.[21]

The three Song officials riding at the front of the group in the *Mission* scroll are dressed in red, white, and green, respectively (Figure 24). The pigments on the robe of the fourth equestrian are completely gone; only the ink underdrawing remains. Because those pigments have survived elsewhere on the scroll, his robe was not red, white, or green. It was therefore most likely purple, the only possibility left for an official robe. The purple plant pigment lac, or gum-lac (*zikuang* in Chinese), has been used in traditional Chinese painting since as early as the ninth century. Made from natural tree resin and insoluble in water, lac must be ground into a fine powder and mixed with glue before it is applied to the painting surface. As it is not absorbed into silk or paper, it can easily peel off, leaving no trace of color. This may be what has happened on the *Mission* scroll. (The purple that has survived on the *Auspicious Omens* scroll may be a water-based vegetable pigment or a blending of such pigments.)[22]

Other features of the official in a presumably purple robe distinguish him from his colleagues. He alone has an arc marked on the chest of his robe, the curvature and the position of which identify it as the upper edge of a circular ornament. This kind of pattern is used to indicate prestigious status in nondocumentary Song paintings, which sometimes take liberties with official apparel regulations. For instance, in the anonymous Southern Song painting currently entitled *Welcoming the Honorable at Wangxian (Wangxian yingjia)* (Figure 25), which presumably depicts an emperor welcoming his father to the capital, the emperor's red robe has such an ornament in gold, whereas the attire of his father and subordinates is unadorned.[23] Then too, the Song delegates in the *Mission* scroll wear different hats. The hats of the three in front have pairs of downward-curving tails, while the hat of the official riding behind them features straight tails that extend stiffly sidewise. Although the straight tails normally denote formal apparel and the curved informal,[24] the painter may have used the distinction to underscore the fourth figure's superiority over his three companions, who precede him in a hierarchical arrangement loosely comparable to that in the *Auspicious Omens* scroll (Figure 23). Rather than lowering his dignity by addressing the Jin couriers directly, he turns to talk to his own servant, the figure dressed in Han costume standing on the stairs of the pavilion, and in so doing displays the ornament on his chest, as if incidentally.

This dignified envoy in formal apparel would never have been received by lowly Jurchens, with no official present, during the early phase of Song–Jin relations, when the two states were equals.[25] Xu Kangzong detailed the protocol for emissaries in this period in his account of his mission to the Jin court's spring residence in Maoli (near present-day Harbin) in 1125.[26] Upon entering Jin territory, Xu was met by an official escort (*jieban shi*, literally "reception conductor") dispatched to receive him. The escort ushered him all the way to the Song embassy near the Jin court and was then replaced by an "ambassadorial conductor" (*guanban shi*) who accompanied him to all the activities at court. On his return, a "departure conductor" (*songban shi*) escorted him

from the Jin court to the Song–Jin border, where his Song colleagues were waiting. Once in Jin territory, Xu was never without an official escort of appropriate rank. The pavilion scene in the *Mission* scroll thus clearly violates diplomatic conventions observed prior to 1126.

The political equilibrium between the Song and Jin states collapsed early on. After the Jin laid siege to the Song capital, Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng, Henan), in 1125, the Song emperor Qinzong offered to change the relationship to that of uncle (Jin) and nephew (Song). When Bianjing fell on January 9, 1127, Qinzong formally relinquished his title as emperor and declared himself a minister (*chen*) to the Jin ruler, but he was still taken captive by the Jurchens. The succeeding emperor, Gaozong (r. 1127–62), tried without success to negotiate a peace treaty with the Jin, who were intent on conquering the south. It was not until the autumn of 1141, after the Song army had scored a few significant victories, that the two states began negotiating a peace treaty, which was completed in October 1142.[27] Although this Peace Treaty of the Shaoxing Era (*Shaoxing heyi*) ended the ravaging decade-long military conflict, the Song empire was degraded to a vassal state of the Jin in a hierarchical relationship defined as minister to ruler. Peace was broken in 1160 when the Jin ruler Hailing (r. 1149–61) led a military campaign against the Southern Song. His failed attempt encouraged the newly enthroned Song emperor, Xiaozong (r. 1162–89), to seek national and diplomatic equality in 1161. Wrenching disputes and tensions resurfaced as a result. A second peace treaty, in 1165, raised the Song–Jin relationship to that of nephew and uncle, though some of the highly humiliating terms, including the Song emperor's obligation to rise from his throne to receive the Jin ruler's letter, persisted. After repeated failures, the Song gave up their struggle for equality in 1175.[28] The second period of peace lasted thirty years, until conflicts resumed in 1206.

The change in Song–Jin relations had a direct impact on diplomatic procedures, from the choice of delegates to reception formalities. Northern Song envoys to the subordinate Liao or Jin were mostly officials of the fifth or sixth rank, and sometimes even the seventh or eighth. Once the Southern Song dynasty declared itself a vassal state of the Jin, its envoys were invariably selected from officials of higher rank than before.[29] This further supports the assumption that in the *Mission* scroll the Song envoy's robe with a chest ornament was originally purple, as would have befit an official of the highest rank.

Most peculiar in the pavilion scene on the *Mission* scroll are the attitudes the two parties manifest toward each other (see Figure 5). Though he is still engaged in a conversation with the Song delegation, the Jin courier-guide has started riding away, not even bothering to turn his horse around to face them. The musicians, too, talk among themselves in total disregard of the departing Song delegation. Their manners, as Chen Rentao and Yu Hui have observed, verge on insolence.[30] Nevertheless, the scene is notably serene, and no one appears tense or discontent. Song officials would more likely have tolerated such a slight during the two periods when they and the Jin were not disputing diplomatic formalities, from 1141 to 1161 and from 1175 to 1206. And since the Song–Jin relationship was that of minister to ruler in the first period and nephew to uncle in the second, this scene could more plausibly have taken place in the mid-twelfth century. The Song's greater humility during those years provides a better explanation for the Jin's disrespect of diplomatic decorum and the Song delegation's seeming acquiescence.

The portrayal of the group of musicians in the *Mission* scroll (see Figure 6) confirms the mid-twelfth century date. Although regular Jurchen attire featured narrow sleeves,[31] the musicians wear garments with wide, flowing sleeves and dark borders on the cuffs, bottom, and sides, which is



26. *Eight Immortals Offering Birthday Blessings*. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Tapestry, 15⅛ x 9 in. (38.3 x 22.8 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Yang Renkai 1983, pl. 10

characteristic of the informal dress of Song scholars and commoners alike (see Figure 26).[32] Han attire was prohibited in the early Jin dynasty, and violators faced the death penalty in 1129, during Taizong's reign (1123–35).[33] The succeeding emperors, Xizong (r. 1135–49) and Hailing (r. 1149–61), who ushered in the first florescence of the Jurchens' sinicization, reversed the policy.[34] Educated in the Confucian tradition, Xizong "chanted the classics with elegance and dressed himself as a Confucian scholar, . . . deviating from the old customs of his ancestors." He contemptuously called his conservative ministers "ignoramuses," while they wryly compared him to "a youngster of Han origin."[35] Brought up in the same way as Xizong, Hailing "adored the apparel, cultural artifacts, and ceremonial and official establishments of Jiangnan."[36] He adopted the Chinese emperor's sacrificial ceremony to heaven and earth (*jiaosi zhi li*), in which he wore the black-and-red ceremonial robe (*xuan yi xun shang*) and the regal crown (*gun mian*) and held a jade tablet (*gui*) as he rode through the countryside in a jade-ornamented carriage (*yu lu*) to the temple, a practice identical to its Song model even in terminology.[37]

As early as 1125, the year of a reception banquet described by Xu Kangzong, Jin musicians were playing Northern Song tunes with Chinese instruments.[38] The zither and the lute held by the musicians in the *Mission* scroll had been popular in China for centuries. One of them plays a flute, an indigenous instrument of the Jurchens,[39] but even that must be a Han version to fit into the ensemble. The Jurchen fascination with Han music and costume was criticized when Emperor Shizong (r. 1161–88) ascended the throne.[40] While continuing to promote Han culture, he never forgot the old Jurchen customs practiced in Manchuria and regretted that the voracious absorption of Han culture was driving those customs into oblivion. In 1173 he announced at court that he was displeased with the prevalence of Han-style music and ordered singers to sing Jurchen tunes. In 1187 wearing Han-style apparel was again made a criminal offense.[41] The Jin soldiers' Han-style attire and musical instruments in the *Mission* scroll, an uninhibited manifestation of Han fashion on the part of the state military, point to a time no later than the 1160s, which corroborates the dating of the execution of the scroll to between 1141 and 1161.

The style and the subject matter of the *Mission* scroll suggest that its creator was familiar with the landscape and horse painting of the Northern Song and technically accomplished enough to integrate the various motifs into a coherent whole. Unconcerned with the rivalry between the tastes of the literati and those of the court in the late Northern Song dynasty, he comfortably drew inspiration from both. His fair portrayal of the Jin soldiers as energetic equestrians and civil musicians reflects no ethnic bias against the Jurchens. He was familiar with the diplomatic formalities of the mid-twelfth century and may even have been personally involved in the reception of Song envoys, which suggests that he may have been a Jin military officer posted on a regular courier route.

The *Mission* scroll is a highly refined and sophisticated work. All four connoisseurs who wrote the extant colophons (see Appendix) claimed that it was painted by a great master between the eleventh and the early thirteenth century. It must have been treasured since its creation, as witnessed by the ten early collectors' seals that are no longer legible. It was owned by the renowned Ming artist Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) and authenticated by the leading early Qing painter Wang Hui (1632–1717). Qualified early Jin candidates for authorship of the scroll are extremely few, and Yang Bangji seems to have been the only one capable of such a feat. Yang was a scholar with literary and artistic talents. After earning his *jinshi* degree under the Jin in 1139, he took the position of military supervisor of Luanzhou (present-day Luan Xian, Hebei) and later served in Taiyuan (in Shanxi) before being summoned back to court in 1148. He stayed at court through the 1150s, when he was demoted to a post in Shaanxi.[42]

The unusual stylistic pluralism of the *Mission* scroll presupposes that its creator had access to a broad range of paintings and absorbed them despite the Han elite's aesthetic preferences and conflicts. In the chaotic early Jin society, few could rival Yang Bangji in his exposure to a broad range of artistic influences. There is no record of Yang's training as a painter, but he may have been exposed in his youth to private art collections and later to the imperial collection at the Jin court. A considerable portion of the Song imperial collection was dispersed during the yearlong siege prior to Bianjing's fall in 1127, as works of art were given away to princes and ministers or stolen by palace staff. Many of these works ended up in private collections in the north.[43] The best-known Jin private collector was Ren Xun (1133–1204), a native of Yizhou (present-day Yi Xian, Hebei), southwest of Yanjing. The Ren family collection must have begun with Ren Xun's father, Ren Gui, a known painter. By the time of Ren Xun's death, the collection amounted to several hundred scrolls of painting and calligraphy.[44] As his father served in Yizhou for many years until the city fell to the Jurchens, Yang Bangji may have known the Ren family since his youth. More important is his later experience in the Jin capital. After sacking Bianjing the Jurchens took the Song emperor Huizong's immense art collection to Huining (present-day Acheng, Jilin), in Manchuria. Between 1151 and 1153, when the capital was relocated to Yanjing, the collection was moved there. During his roughly decade-long service at court beginning in 1148, Yang Bangji's official distinction as secretary of the Ministry of Rites and

vice director of the Ministry of War may have won him easy access not only to the imperial collection but also to private collections in the capital region.

Yang was known to excel in landscape and figure painting as well as horse painting in the style of Li Gonglin, all of which are featured in the *Mission* scroll. The specificity of the depiction of the pavilion (Figures 6, 12) may relate to Yang's official career in the 1140s. The pavilion is elevated on a platform with a flight of stairs to the entrance and rails on four sides. A pointed crown tops its thatched roof. The building is not simply a generic accessory in a landscape painting. Rather, its unusual size and rich, sensitively characterized details, even down to the square table and wicker stools inside, give it a conspicuous presence. The domineering scale and dark tone of the three pines further enhance the significance of the site.

In 1124 the Jin emperor Taizong decreed that postal stations be established at regular intervals of fifty *li* (about seventeen miles) between the superior capital in Huining and Yanjing.[45] Because fresh horses had to be ready for dispatches, the route and stations in this courier system, which was exclusively for government use, were predetermined.[46] This was the route that both Xu Kangzong and the Song delegation in the *Mission* scroll took on their respective diplomatic missions. In the diary of his 3,150-*li* (ca. 1,000-mile) journey to the Jin court in 1125, Xu Kangzong recorded numerous important places but only one pavilion, the Zhuoqing Ting (Cleansed Pure Pavilion) in Luanzhou, a large prefecture of great strategic value located on the courier route to Huining:

> The prefecture sits on a flat plain with hills at its back and rock ridges in front. About three *li* to the east are layers of rugged mountains, very steep and topographically precarious. The [Luan] river, three hundred footsteps wide, runs through them. The place holds strategic advantage in terms of controlling the area. The water is very pure and deep. By the river stands a large pavilion named Zhuoqing. It is a most extraordinary spectacle at the northern frontier. The resident military commander receives me here. On my way back, a banquet is held in this prefecture.[47]

While serving as military supervisor of Luanzhou in the 1140s, Yang Bangji doubtless came to know the Zhuoqing Pavilion and its surrounding landscape well, and receiving Song envoys was within his official capacity. This makes him the strongest, in fact the only, candidate for authorship of the *Mission* scroll. It is likely that he painted the *Mission* scroll in the 1150s, when he served in Yanjing. The stylistic diversity and technical assurance demonstrated in the painting bespeak a mature artist who had benefited from exposure to a variety of sources. In addition, this painting recording the disgrace of the Southern Song was meant to please the Jin ruling elite. Such an adulatory act would have appeared presumptuous for an official posted to the provinces.

The painting's stylistic sophistication and subtlety of expression could only have been appreciated by someone versed in Han Chinese culture. The once brightly colored official robes were calculated to appeal to such an individual's fascination with Song bureaucratic rituals. And a political painting is effective only with an audience attuned to the political function of art. Emperor Hailing, who ruled through the 1150s, was therefore most likely the intended recipient of the *Mission* scroll. Hailing, whose reign saw the greatest proliferation of government offices and effectively transformed the Jurchen state from a tribal body politic into a Chinese-style government,[48] was the first Jin ruler to love Chinese art so much as to become a practitioner himself. He is known to have painted in the vein of Su Shi's and Mi Fu's "ink plays" and was particularly fond of rendering bamboo.[49] Nicknamed Boliehan (Aping the Chinese) by his fellow Jurchens,[50] he unabashedly assumed the role of guardian of the Chinese cultural heritage. In 1157 he implemented a policy that prohibited the exportation of antiquities to the south.[51]

In spite of, or rather because of, his love of Han culture, Hailing was determined to vanquish the Southern Song in order to rule all of China, and he used painting to pursue his goal. In 1151, less than two years after he ascended the throne, he initiated the relocation of the Jin capital from Huining to Yanjing, in China's heartland. In 1155 he made plans to move the capital farther south to Bianjing to facilitate his conquest of the Southern Song.[52] As a preparatory tactic, he hid a painter in a diplomatic delegation to the Southern Song in January 1160 to draw the topography of Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), the Song capital. Later, envisioning the glory of unifying the empires, he added his own image, on horseback on top of Mount Wu, to the painting of Lin'an.[53] He launched his southward campaign in the fall of 1161. Defeated within a few months, he was assassinated in Yangzhou that winter.

Underlying Hailing's aggressive act was his conviction of the Southern Song emperor Gaozong's unworthiness and his belief in his own superiority as ruler of China. He certainly had good reasons to challenge Gaozong's claim to Heaven's mandate. Ascending the throne when his elder half-brother, the rightful emperor Qinzong (r. 1126–27, d. 1161), was living in captivity under the Jurchens, Gaozong was deeply concerned with the issue of legitimate succession (*zhengtong*). Many of his court's artistic projects, the most actively programmed in all of Chinese history, were geared toward establishing dynastic legitimacy.[54] Most notably, the narrative scroll *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival* (Figure 23) illustrates Gaozong's life prior to his



27. Zhao Lin (active mid-12th century). *Six Steeds of the Tang Emperor Taizong.* Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), mid-12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 10¾ in. x 14 ft. 6⅞ in. (.27 x 4.44 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 63

becoming emperor, when several supernatural signs presaged his ordained destiny to sovereign power. The painting *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State* in the Metropolitan Museum illustrates the story of Prince Chong'er, who in the seventh century B.C. returned from exile to become Duke Wen, ruler of the state of Jin, a classic precedent of dynastic revival. By commissioning the painting, Gaozong affirmed the identification of himself with Chong'er in the official proclamation of his succession in 1127.[55] Another painting, *Welcoming the Imperial Carriage (Ying luan),* in the Shanghai Museum, commemorates the return of Gaozong's biological mother, the empress dowager Wei, and the remains of his father, Emperor Huizong, and his empress from the north to Lin'an in 1142.[56] The painting publicizes not only Gaozong's filial piety but also the legitimacy of his succession, for the proper burial of the former emperor was an act symbolic of the direct transmission of power that rendered the faraway existence of Qinzong inconsequential.

Throughout his long reign Gaozong consistently sought peace with the Jin, often at the expense of national and personal dignity. The return of the imperial coffins resulted from the Treaty of Shaoxing of 1142, which was phrased in terms extremely humiliating to the Song. The treaty declared the Song, "our insignificant fiefdom" (*biyi*), a vassal state of the Jin, "your superior state" (*shangguo*). In official correspondence with the Jin, Gaozong, whom the Jin did not recognize as emperor, referred to himself as "your minister" and used his personal name, Gou. The annual material compensation of the Song to the Jin was termed a tribute (*gong*). Each new border was considerably farther south than the previous one. Gaozong's acceptance of the Jin as ruler of the Song in a diplomatic document in the form of an edict (*zhao*) may be considered the gravest humiliation in Song history.[57]

Even more demoralizing, the Treaty of Shaoxing was negotiated when a few Song generals of extraordinary prowess, namely Han Shizhong, Zhang Jun, and Yue Fei, had just reached a military stalemate with the Jin forces, and for the first time in decades there was a glimpse of hope of recovering the lost northern territory. The sudden removal of the military command of those hawkish revanchists and especially the unjust execution of the most outspoken of them, Yue Fei, smoothed the way to peace, which Gaozong desperately needed to secure his sovereignty, however debased it may have become.[58] His conciliation-oriented policies in military and diplomatic affairs alienated the educated class.[59] From the perspective of the Jin emperor Hailing, an acknowledged master of statecraft, Gaozong's failure as a ruler justified his ambition to unify China. The *Mission* scroll was therefore a pictorial embodiment of the Jin's triumph and the Song's humiliation that catered directly to Hailing's political aspirations. Hailing was suspicious and ruthless by nature. Being a Jin official of Han origin, Yang Bangji might have felt the need to show his loyalty to the Jin ruler by demonstrating his support of the planned conquest of his own people that was in its preparatory stages in the late 1150s.[60]

Before the Jurchens, the Khitan rulers of the Liao dynasty (907–1125) had already learned from the Chinese the potential of painting as political propaganda. In 1018 Emperor Shengzong (r. 982–1031) commissioned Chen Sheng, a painter in attendance at court, to depict the Khitan army's victory over the Northern Song on a palace wall in the Upper Capital (present-day Chifeng, Inner Mongolia).[61] And in 1048, during the reign of the next emperor, Xingzong (r. 1031–55), a Jurchen envoy on a tribute mission to the Liao saw in the devotional temple of Emperor Taizu (r. 907–25) a wall painting showing the conquest of Liao emperor Taizong (r. 925–47) over the Jin region (roughly equivalent to modern Shanxi province).[62] These wall paintings celebrated dynastic pride. Placed in a palace or imperial temple, they served to strengthen the solidarity of the ruling elite. Emblematic of national prestige and military prowess, they inspired awe and fear in the envoys of vassal states.

With the Southern Song and the Jin competing for the claim of legitimate succession to the unified polity of the Tang and the Northern Song, the issue of dynastic legitimacy assumed greater importance. The *Mission* scroll was not the first politically motivated Jin painting. Early Jurchen leaders may have known about the Khitan wall paintings. The painting projects at the Southern Song emperor Gaozong's court must have intensified the interest of Jin emperors Xizong and Hailing in political art. One precious specimen of early Jin art, Zhao Lin's *Six Steeds of the Tang Emperor Taizong* (Figure 27), is distinctly political. Zhao Lin, a painter active during Xizong's reign, specialized in painting animals, horses in particular.[63] *Six Steeds* translates



into painting the reliefs of the six beloved horses of Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–49) that were carved on the wall of his mausoleum, Zhao Ling (near present-day Liquan, Shaanxi). Zhao's painting, enriched with transcriptions of Taizong's statement exalting military accomplishments and a eulogy for each horse, celebrates the founding of a great dynasty through the power of horses, a national pride that the Jin shared with the Tang.[64]

Self-conscious in their role as invaders, the Jurchen rulers took the issue of dynastic legitimacy seriously. In order to justify his invasion of the Song in 1125, the Jin emperor Taizong (r. 1123–35) invoked the righteous cause of eliminating the treacherous Song ministers who had persecuted the followers of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105). When Bianjing fell a year later, the Jurchens attributed the Song defeat to the disastrous politics of Prime Minister Cai Jing (1047–1126) and took special pains to collect the writings of Su, Huang, and their circle as a gesture of restitution and a display of their superior leadership.[65] The comprehensive Jin-sponsored compilation of official Song–Jin correspondence from the 1120s to the early 1140s is self-righteously entitled *Records of the Great Jin's Consoling (the People) and Punishing (the Evildoers)* (*Da Jin diao fa lu*) to euphemize their aggression.[66]

The concern with legitimacy, as Susan Bush has observed, might have lain behind Jurchen efforts to continue the Northern Song's restoration of Tang imperial tombs when they took control of the Xi'an region in 1129. In 1134 a stele was erected at Qian Ling, the mausoleum of the Tang emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83) and his empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704), with an inscription written in both Chinese and Jurchen.[67] Zhao Lin's painting of the Tang imperial horses indicates that the Jin rulers' interest in Tang mausoleums continued well into Xizong's reign. Emulating the Northern Song emperors, the Jin assumed the role of rightful successors to the Tang by conserving their imperial tombs. By the 1140s they had successfully cultivated their image as guardians of China's cultural legacy. It should come as no surprise, then, that the initial large-scale migration of the educated class from the north to the Chinese state of Song did not last beyond the late 1120s and 1130s.[68] By commissioning Zhao Lin's *Six Steeds* to invoke the glory of the Tang in the 1140s, Xizong insinuated a historical link to that prestigious dynasty and the legitimacy of his own state as its successor. His endeavor was carried on by Hailing and revived in 1194 in an off and on court debate that lasted for twenty years on the appropriate cosmological symbol for the Jin in the line of legitimate dynastic transmission.[69]

The *Mission* scroll addresses the legitimacy issue by illuminating the diplomatic inequality between the Song and the Jin. But it also refers to the Tang, because the subject of diplomatic procedures is particularly associated with Tang court painting. During Tang rule, China dominated its neighbors, and this bore directly on the depiction of diplomatic procedures. A mural in the tomb of the Tang prince Li Xian (654–684) near present-day Xi'an that was painted in 706 (Figure 28) may be the earliest known work on the subject. It shows an encounter between three foreign envoys and the Chinese delegation that receives them. Stereotypically, the Tang courtiers are endowed with fine facial features, elaborate apparel, and natural grace, while the foreigners, whose faces seem to be caricatures with animal features, approach clumsily in rustic outfits and either wearing outlandish headgear or hatless. The Chinese officials chat among themselves, ignoring the visitors who stare at them in a deferential manner, eager for recognition.

A similar intrigue in the diplomatic power game accounts for the seriously unbalanced composition of a short handscroll entitled *Emperor on an Imperial Sedan Chair (Bu nian tu)* attributed to Yan Liben (Figure 29). This painting commemorates the Tang emperor Taizong's audience in 641 with Ludongzan (d. 676), prime minister and chief general of the Tufan state (present-day Tibet), who had approached the Tang court on behalf of the Tufan leader to request a Chinese princess as his consort.[70] Sitting casually on a moving sedan chair amid elaborate imperial paraphernalia and lovely female attendants, the informally dressed Chinese emperor displays his superiority to the Tibetan envoy, the figure wearing an ornately decorated formal robe who stands respectfully between two other supplicants. This painting was well known among the Northern Song educated elite. Seventeen men of letters, most notably Mi Fu, wrote appreciative colophons between 1080 and 1086 that are still attached to the end of the scroll. Once in the collection of Zhao Zhongyuan (1054–1123), a member of the Song imperial family,[71] it remained in the north after the Jurchen conquest and entered the Jin imperial collection by the 1180s.[72] Given the painting's tremendous fame as



28. *Visit of Foreign Envoys*. Section of a wall painting in the tomb of the Tang prince Li Xian near Xi'an. China, Tang dynasty (618–907), datable to 706. Photograph: Zhang 2002, pl. 24

both a historical document and a work of art, there can be little doubt that someone of Yang Bangji's stature would have been interested in it and had opportunities to view it in person.

The psychology involved in diplomatic procedures is always central to pictorial representations of them. By the time the *Mission* scroll was created, the status of the Han and non-Han states had reversed, and so had the characterization of the figures and their manner in painting. Instead of degrading stereotypes, the Jurchens are now genteel musicians and energetic soldiers. By contrast, the Song delegates appear "low-spirited" and "submissive and ill at ease," as Chen Rentao described them in his colophon to the painting dated 1953.[73] And here it is the formally dressed Chinese officials who are slighted and ignored by the casual Jurchens.

The evocation of the Tang prototype and the reversal of its original connotation in the *Mission* scroll make its portrayal of the Song's disgrace all the more poignant. The Song envoys would no more have worn color-coded official robes on their long journey through an alien land than the Tang emperor would have received a foreign ambassador in the company of charming maids. Both paintings are "more an expression of a political idea than a record of an event."[74] The Song officials in colorful outfits and the vibrant green foreground stand out against the subdued, naturalistic landscape. The Tang chromatics spotlight the paradox, symbolizing as they do both the Song's cultural eminence and their national disgrace. Created by an educated Han Chinese to demonstrate his moral support of the Jin emperor Hailing's conquest of the south, the scroll shows how firmly the Jurchen sense of dynastic legitimacy had taken root among the northern Chinese intelligentsia by the mid-twelfth century. From an art historical perspective this illumination of Song–Jin diplomatic relations that revels in China's humiliation by drawing on well-established subjects and styles in Chinese painting is a unique anomaly. As such, it occupies a special place in the tradition of Chinese political art.



29. Attributed to Yan Liben (d. 674). *Emperor on an Imperial Sedan Chair*. Section of a handscroll (with detail). China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), copy of 7th-century original. Ink and color on silk, 15⅛ x 50¾ in. (38.5 x 129 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: *Zhongguo lidai huihua* 1978–91, vol. 1 (1978), pp. 36–37

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NOTES

1. For a thorough study on the versions of this painting, see Ch'en 1987.
2. It is recorded in Bi Yuan, *Xu Zizhi tongjian* (1801), that in 1129 five thousand mounted Jurchen soldiers approached the Huai River, all wearing metal armor and white conical hats made of felt (see Zhou 1984, p. 353, ill.). Only traces of white powder now remain on the hats of the soldiers in the *Mission* scroll.
3. The names of 359 envoys are recorded in *Song shi* and *Jin shi*. See Zhang 2006, p. 31.
4. On Yang Bangji, see Chen 1984, pp. 800–813.
5. Chiang 1979a, pp. 32–40. Chiang identified the mission depicted as the one that took place in the fourth lunar month of 1123 regarding the return of Yanjing and six northern prefectures to the Song because four delegates, namely Yao Pingzhong, Kang Sui, Wang Gui, and Zhao Liangsi, were recorded in historical documents on this particular mission and there are four Song officials on horseback in this painting. But the Song diplomatic delegation to the Jin routinely constituted nearly one hundred people (see Zhang 2006, p. 32). The painter had no intention of literally representing the number of people in the mission. Chiang argues that the painting depicts the four Song officials hosting a repast for the Jin envoy on their way to Yanjing to negotiate with the Jin leaders residing there at the time and that it was meant to commemorate the success of their mission to retrieve the lost territory. Both views were challenged by Yu Hui (1990, pp. 38–39). Yu correctly interpreted the scene as Jin representatives receiving the Song delegation at a courier station, stating that a painting intended to glorify the Song triumph would have focused on the celebratory activities at court, as in the court painting tradition of the Song, rather than on a minor event that took place in the mountains. Chiang also suggested that the site depicted is the Pine Pavilion Pass (Songting Guan). He erroneously located this pass in Jingzhou (present-day Jing Xian, Hebei), south of Yanjing. The pass was actually in Luanhe Xian (present-day Luanyang or Kuancheng, Hebei), northeast of Yanjing; see Chen 1988, pp. 86–89. Departing from Bianjing, the Song delegation on the 1123 mission could not have stopped at the Pine Pavilion Pass on their way to Yanjing.
6. Yu 1990.
7. See also Wang Shen's *Fishing Village after Light Snow* and Wang Ximeng's *Thousand Miles of Streams and Mountains* in the Palace Museum, Beijing.
8. See Barnhart 1984, p. 66.
9. This practice was probably originated by Dong Yuan (d. 962), a court painter of the interim Five Dynasties between the Tang and the Song (see Wang 1995, pp. 4–5). Dong Yuan was famous for his paintings in the blue-and-green manner, none of which has survived. Judging from *Subjects under Beneficent Reign* (*Long su jiao min*), a painting attributed to him that is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, his work in this manner relied heavily on the use of ink washes and textures. Wang Shen's blue-and-green landscape paintings, for example *Layered Peaks along Misty River* in the Shanghai Museum, exhibit the same method of applying color over ink. They confirm Mi Fu's statement that Wang Shen "used gold and green pigments to render textures of forms." See Mi Fu 1967, p. 25.
10. For a sensitive discussion of this painting and Mi Youren's painting style in general, see Sturman 1997, pp. 8–11.
11. Mi Youren once wrote of one of his own paintings, "It is truly my work of childish play that was successful" (recorded in Mi Fu, *Haiyue tiba*, translated and discussed in Bush 1971, p. 71).
12. Mi Fu produced very few paintings, and none has survived.
13. For the significance of this painting in Mi Youren's career, see Howard Rogers's comments in Ho et al. 1980, pp. 42–44, no. 24.
14. Yu 1992, p. 40. Yuwen was detained in the Jin empire for seventeen years, during which he impressed the Jin luminaries with his literary and artistic compositions.
15. According to Tang Hou's *Hua jian* (1329), whenever Emperor Gaozong found new paintings and calligraphies he would ask Mi Youren to authenticate and inscribe them (cited in Chen 1984, p. 584). Mi was appointed vice director of the Ministry of War (Bing Bu Shilang) in 1141 and promoted to the position of auxiliary academician of the Hall for the Diffusion of Literature (Fuwen Ge Zhixueshi) in 1145. See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, cited in Chen 1984, p. 560.
16. Ill equipped with administrative skills, early Jin rulers detained learned Southern Song envoys to help them deal with the large Han population in the north. On Wu Ji, see Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*JS*), *juan* 4, 125, 126.
17. In her discussion of an anonymous Jin landscape painting in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Bush (1965, pp. 163–72, in particular n. 4) rightly observed that the *Mission* scroll lacks recognizable Jin characteristics such as the sketchy calligraphic brushwork and certain types of landscape elements seen in later Jin paintings.
18. Cahill 1988, p. 15.
19. Tuotuo et al. 1345, *juan* 106.
20. This handscroll originally consisted of twelve sections, three of which are preserved in the Tianjin Museum. At least two different but complete versions have survived, but I have not been able to examine them to verify their authenticity. Four sections of one scroll are reproduced in black and white in Xie 1957, no. 18, pls. 65–81. The other is published in color in the catalogue of China Guardian sale 2009, lot 1256.
21. As a prince, he is wearing the same style of official hat and robe as his subordinates. Only the color purple reveals his superior status.

22. See Yu 1961, p. 8, and also the well-annotated translation, Silbergeld and McNair 1988, p. 12.
23. The painting bears a label strip by Yongxing, the Qing Prince of Chengqing (1752–1823), that identifies the subject matter as the Tang emperor Suzong (r. 756–62) welcoming his father, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56), back to the capital after a devastating rebellion, which took place at Wangxian in 757. The modern scholar Li Lin-ts'an, however, thinks that the painting depicts the Han emperor Gaozu (r. 206–195 B.C.) welcoming his father to the capital after his founding of the Han dynasty, which took place in Xinfeng. See Zhang Lei's comment on this painting in Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 5 (1997), p. 14, nos. 59–61.
24. See Zhou and Gao 1984, p. 176.
25. For a detailed account of the conflicts and negotiations between the Song and the Jin regarding diplomatic proprieties, see Zhao 1996.
26. Xu and Zhong 1125, sections 10, 39. Xu Kangzong has traditionally been regarded as the author of the account of the 1125 journey to the Jin court. Chen Lesu argued quite convincingly in 1936, however, that Zhong Bangzhi, the official in charge of gifts on this mission, was the actual writer. See Chen 1936, pp. 262–64. But as leader of the mission Xu Kangzong would certainly have been involved in the writing process. In the chapter on foreign envoys' activities in the *Jin shi* (History of the Jin Dynasty), there is a section detailing the reception of the envoys from Xi Xia that closely corresponds with Xu's account (see Tuotuo et al. 1344 [*JS*], *juan* 38).
27. For a detailed study on the diplomatic correspondence that led to this peace treaty, see Franke 1970, pp. 76–81.
28. On Emperor Xiaozong's failed attempts during the decade, see Zhao 1996, pp. 61–62.
29. Zhang 2006, pp. 32–33.
30. See Chen Rentao's 1953 colophon to the *Mission* scroll in the Appendix and Yu 1990, p. 38.
31. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*JS*), *juan* 43.
32. See also a scholar in the Song painting *Discussing the Dao under Pine Trees (Songyin lundao)* (Zhou and Gao 1984, pp. 165, 178).
33. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 5.
34. It was under Xizong and Hailing that the Jin morphed from a tribal polity into a Chinese-style autocratic state with a highly hierarchical bureaucracy (Franke 1994, pp. 265–66). For a summary of the evolution of the Jin leadership from a tribal council to a full-fledged government, see ibid., pp. 265–77. Due to his crimes of regicide and usurpation, among other atrocities, Emperor Hailing is always referred to as Prince of Hailing, Hailing Wang, in official histories of the Jin.
35. Xu 1194, *juan* 166.
36. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 13.
37. For a description of Hailing's ritual practice, see ibid., *juan* 33. The Song emperors' ceremonial costumes and paraphernalia are recorded in much more detail in Tuotuo et al. 1345, *juan* 151. For contemporary illustrations, with corresponding texts, of the emperor's ceremonial apparel and carriage, see Nie 962, 1: 3a–b, 9: 4a–5a, 10: 1a.
38. Xu and Zhong 1125, the 28th section of his journey to the Jin court. Most of the 200 musicians and singers at the Jin court were Khitans who had been captured by the Jurchens upon the loss of the Liao territory to the Jin between 1120 and 1125 (ibid., 39th section).
39. Originally the Jurchens had only drums and flutes for making music (Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 39, "Chuxing fengtu" [Native Customs]).
40. For a summary of Shizong's attempt to restore native Jurchen culture, see Yang Zhongqian 2005, p. 30.
41. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*JS*), *juan* 7.
42. On Yang Bangji's biography, see ibid., *juan* 90.
43. On the works in the early Jin collection, see Chiang 1979b, pp. 29–30.
44. Yang Renkai 2005. On Ren Xun, see Chen 1984, pp. 795–99.
45. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*JS*), *juan* 3.
46. Franke 1994, p. 297.
47. Xu and Zhong 1125, the 11th section of his journey.
48. Franke 1994, pp. 269–70.
49. Xia 1365, *juan* 4.
50. Franke 1994, p. 240.
51. Ibid., p. 299.
52. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 13, 14.
53. Yu 1992, p. 41.
54. There have been several in-depth studies on this topic. See, for instance, Murray 1985, Murray 1986, Shih 1987, and Murray 1989.
55. Gaozong was the ninth son of the former emperor Huizong, while Chong'er was the only one of his father's nine sons who survived to succeed the throne. And both faced multiple adversities drifting from place to place in early life. The coincidence prompted Empress Dowager Yuanyou (Madame Meng), the consort of Emperor Zhezong (r. 1085–1100), to identify the two men with each other in her official proclamation of Gaozong's succession in 1127 (Li 1211, 4: 30–31, vol. 1, p. 91).
56. For a detailed study of this painting, see Murray 1990–92.
57. Franke 1970, pp. 78–80.
58. For a succinct but lucid exposition of the complex situation during this period, see Tao 2009, pp. 677–89. On the complicated issues related to Yue Fei's execution, see Wilhelm 1962.
59. Liu 1995, pp. 43–44.
60. Yang Bangji was eventually demoted after a failed plea to Hailing on behalf of an in-law.
61. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*LS*), *juan* 16.
62. Ibid., *juan* 20.
63. In his colophon to this painting dated 1220, the eminent Jin scholar-official Zhao Bingwen (1159–1232) said that Zhao was a court artist under Shizong (r. 1161–89). Other later biographical sources, such as Zhu Mouyin's *Huashi huiyao* and Wang Yuxian's *Huishi beikao*, however, identify him as a painter during Xizong's reign (see Zhu 1958, pp. 332–33). He may have been active from the 1140s into the 1160s. Since this painting relates directly to the Jin government's restoration of Tang imperial tombs in the late 1120s and 1130s, it was most likely painted at Xizong's court.
64. For a concise and insightful study of this painting, see Bush 1995, pp. 188–94.
65. Franke 1994, p. 307; Toyama 1964, pp. 594–618.
66. For a well-annotated edition of this book, see Jin 2001.
67. Bush 1995, p. 194.
68. Franke 1994, p. 319.
69. See Chan 1984.
70. On the subject of the painting as related in the colophons attached to the scroll and in historical documents, see Su 1976.
71. Recorded in Mi Fu, *Hua shi* (History of Painting), cited in Su 1976, p. 25.
72. This painting bears three seals of the Jin emperor Zhangzong (r. 1188–1208).
73. See also Yu 1990, p. 38.
74. Cahill 1988, p. 15.

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTATION OF *A DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE JIN* (FIGURE 2)[1]

金 傳 楊邦基 聘金圖 卷
(*Pin Jin*)
Attributed to Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181)
No artist's signature or seals

Label Strip

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century), 1 column in standard script (Figure 30):
A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin by Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181) of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234)
聘金圖, 金楊邦基

Colophons

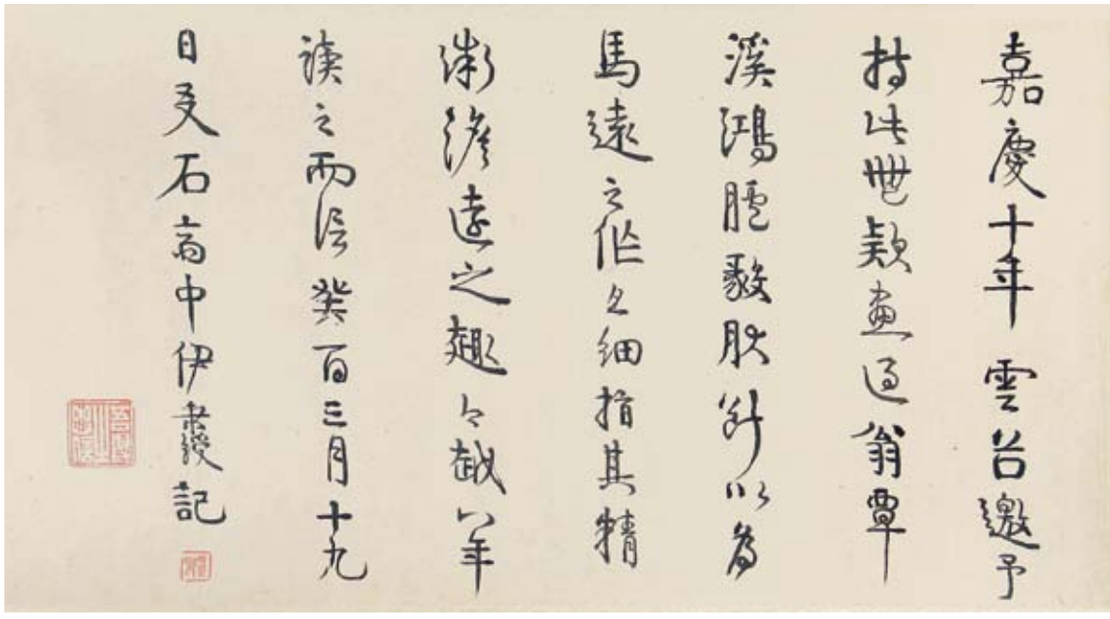
Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬 (1754–1815), 7 columns in running script, dated 1813 (Figure 31):
In the tenth year of the Jiaqing reign era [1805] Yungu [Ye Menglong, 1775–1832] invited me to take this anonymous painting to see Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial Weng Tanxi [Weng Fanggang, 1733–1818], who firmly identified it as a work of Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225). He also pointed out in detail its refinement and subtle depth. It has been eight years since then. Viewing it now, I am convinced. On the nineteenth of the third lunar month in the *guiyou* year [April 19, 1813] Yi Bingshou wrote this in the Youshi Zhai studio.
[seals]: *Moqing, Wu dezhi zhongxin*
嘉慶十年雲谷邀予持此無款畫過翁覃溪鴻臚, 毅然斷以為馬遠之作, 且細指其精微澹遠之趣。今越八年, 讀之而信。癸酉三月十九日友石齋中伊秉綬記。[印]: 墨卿, 吾得之忠信

Xie Lansheng 謝蘭生 (1760–1831), 4 columns in standard script, dated 1814 (Figure 32):
This painting must have been a longer scroll but lost part of its beginning and end due to damages. Examining its brushwork, I found lines sometimes thinner than a hair but all executed with the centered tip of a brush held from a suspended wrist, of which none but the Song masters were capable. Yungu bought it from a painting store at a low price. It has been identified as a work by Painter-in-Attendance Ma [Yuan] because its style was close to that of the Academy, and Ma was the best of the Academy painters. Xie Lansheng, Lifu, inscribed this in summer, the fifth lunar month, of the *jiaxu* year in the Jiaqing reign era [1814].
[seal]: *Xie Lansheng yin*
此圖當是長卷, 因剝蝕脫去前後矣。細玩用筆, 時或微於絲髮, 而皆懸腕中鋒, 非宋人高手不辦。雲谷向於畫肆以賤值得之, 論者指為馬待詔, 以畫近院體, 待詔則院中獨步故耳。嘉慶甲戌夏五里甫謝蘭生題。[印]: 謝蘭生印

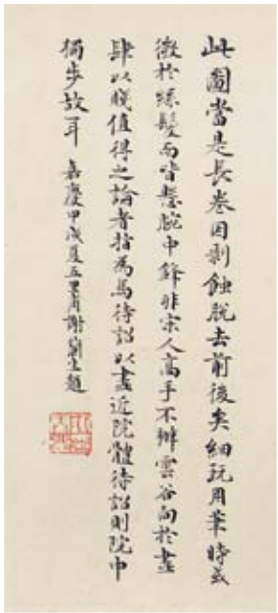
Luo Tianchi 羅天池 (1805–after 1856), 10 columns in running script (Figure 33):
In terms of brushwork, [this painting] is close to those by Yan Wengui (active ca. 970–1030) and Liu Songnian (active ca. 1175–after 1195). Ma Yuan's brushwork has comparable vigor and antique flavor, but not its purity and expansiveness.



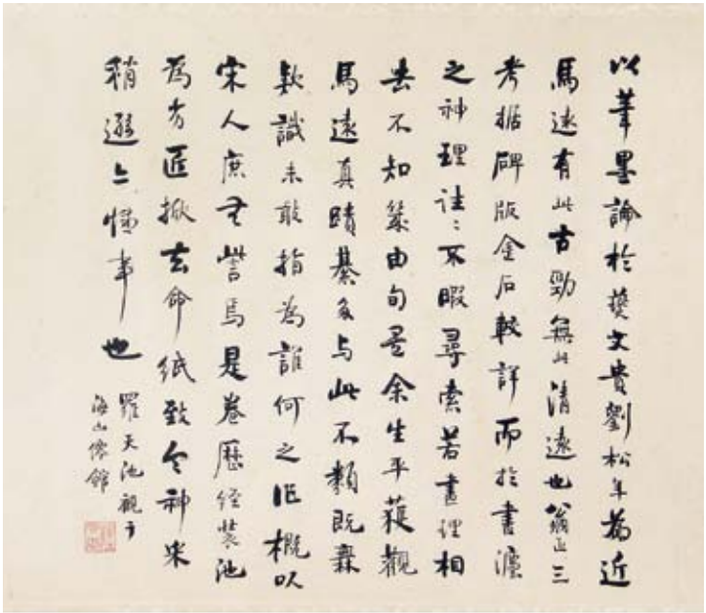
30. Chen Rentao, label strip attached to Figure 2



31. Yi Bingshou, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1813



32. Xie Lansheng, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1814



33. Luo Tianchi, colophon attached to Figure 2

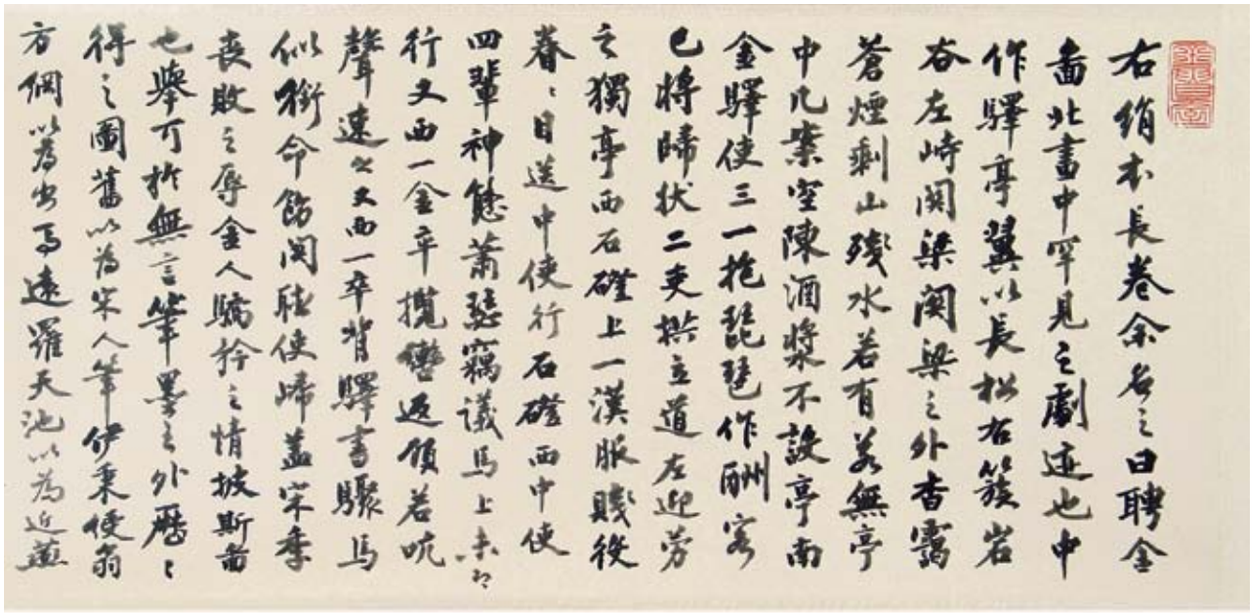
Weng Zhengsan [Weng Fanggang] did detailed research on stone and bronze inscriptions but seldom spent time probing the spirit and principle of calligraphy. On painting he was even farther from correct. I have seen many genuine works by Ma Yuan in my life, which bear no resemblance to this painting. Since it has no [artist's] signature, I dare not name anyone as the painter. No one should complain, though, if I categorically attribute it to a Song master. This scroll has been remounted several times. A certain bad conservator peeled off its original backing paper, and the painting lost some of its luster as a result. It is regrettable. Luo Tianchi viewed this in the Haishan Xianguan Studio [of the Pan family in Guangzhou].

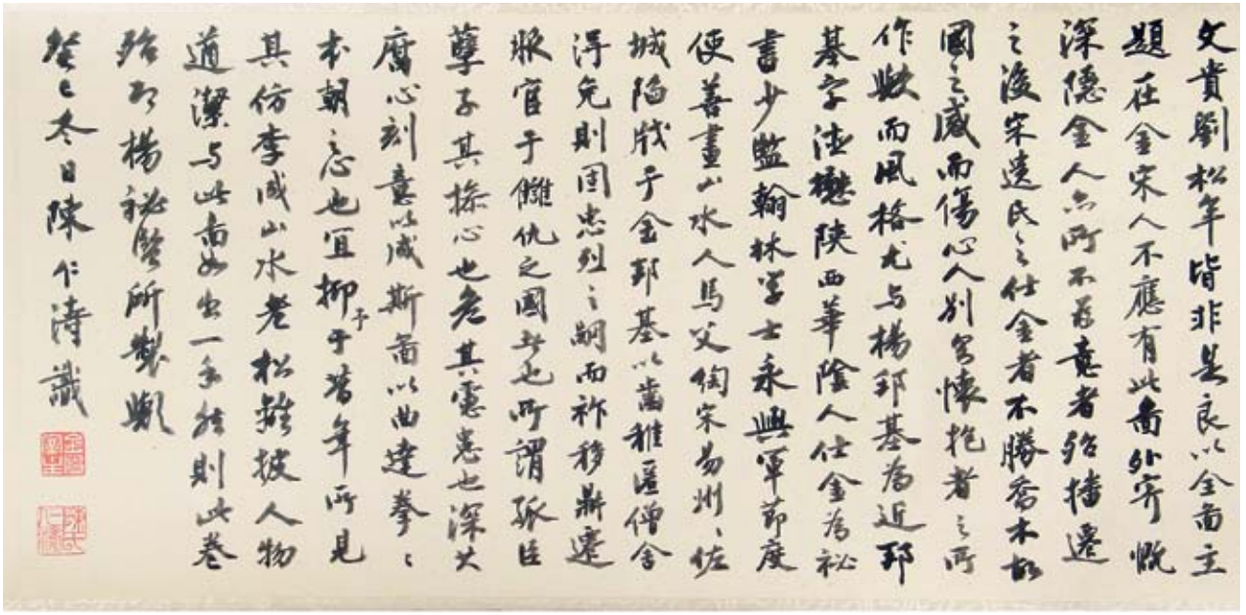
[seal]: *Luo shi Liuhu*

以筆墨論, 於燕文貴、劉松年為近; 馬遠有此古勁, 無此清遠也。翁正三考據碑版金石較詳, 而於書法之神理往往不暇尋索, 若畫理相去不知幾由旬矣。余生平獲觀馬遠真蹟恭多, 與此不類。既無款識, 未敢指為誰何之作, 概以宋人, 庶無訾焉。是卷歷經裝池, 為劣匠掀去命紙, 致令神彩稍遜, 亦憾事也。羅天池觀於海山僊館。[印]: 羅氏六湖

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century), 37 columns in running script, dated 1953 (Figure 34):

The long handscroll on silk to the right, which I entitled *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin,* is a rare masterwork among northern paintings. In it is a courier pavilion-station with tall pines on its sides. To the right stand clustered mountains and valleys; to the left is a pass with a bridge. Beyond the pass and the bridge, fragmented views of mountains and waters flicker in and out of distant clouds and dark mist. In the pavilion the table is empty without wine utensils. In front of the pavilion are three members of the Jin courier station. The one holding a lute seems to be bidding farewell to his guests before his return. To the left of the path stand two clerks with clasped hands expressing goodwill and gratitude. Alone on the stone steps to the left of the pavilion is a lowly menial in Han costume, reluctant to see the Chinese delegation leave. To the left of the stone steps are four Chinese emissaries on horseback. Looking low-spirited, they whisper among themselves rather than departing immediately. Farther left, a Jin soldier holds the reins and looks back, seeming to urge his horse forward with a command. Still farther to the left, a soldier with a courier's letter on his back spurs his horse on, seemingly on a mission to order the pass's gatekeeper to allow the emissaries' return. Spreading out this painting, one vividly senses the humiliation of the defeated Song regime and the arrogance of the Jin through the silent brush and ink. It used to be considered a Song work. Yi Bingshou and Weng Fanggang thought it was painted by Ma Yuan. Luo Tianchi thought it was close to Yan Wengui's or Liu Songnian's style. They were all wrong. Since the painting's subject is the Jin, it would not have been painted by a Song artist. But there is deep, hidden meaning beyond the painted images that a Jurchen artist would not have attempted either. In my opinion, after the court moved [to the south], a former Song subject who turned to serve the Jin may have painted it out of longing for the perished nation, a sad man with conflicting emotions.





34. Chen Rentao, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1953. Above: right side, below: left side

Its style particularly reminds me of Yang Bangji. Bangji, whose *zi* is Demao, was a native of Huayin in Shaanxi. Under the Jin, he served as Vice Director of the Palace Library, Hanlin Academician, and Military Commissioner of Yongxingjun [present-day Xi'an region]. He painted landscapes, human figures, and horses well. His father, Tao, served as Assistant Administrator of Yizhou [present-day Yi Xian, Hebei] under the Song. At the fall of the city, he was killed by the Jin army. Bangji, a young child, hid in a Buddhist temple and escaped death. He was, therefore, a descendant of a loyalist, who served his enemies after the dynastic change. He was the so-called "official of a perished ruler or son of a concubine who worries with a sense of urgency and fears disasters with deep apprehension."[2] It was only appropriate that he exhausted his mind and thought to paint this scroll to express obliquely his inner loyalty to his own country. Years ago I saw his landscape painting after the style of Li Cheng (919–967). In it old pines spread disarrayed branches and the human figures appear energetic and spirited. Both seemed to be painted by the same artist as this scroll. So should not this scroll come from the hand of Vice Director of the Palace Library Yang as well? Chen Rentao wrote in the winter of the *guisi* year [1953].
[seals]: *Jingui Shi, Jingui Shi zhu, Chen shi Rentao*

右绢本長卷, 余名之曰《聘金圖》, 北畫中罕見之劇跡也。中作驛亭, 翼以長松; 右簇巖谷, 左峙闕梁。關梁之外, 杳靄蒼煙, 剩山殘水, 若有若無。亭中几案空陳, 酒漿不設。亭南金驛使三, 一抱琵琶, 作酬客已將歸狀; 二吏拱立道左迎勞之。獨亭西石磴上一漢服賤役, 眷眷目送中使行。石磴西中使四輩, 神態蕭瑟, 竊議馬上未即行。又西一金卒攬轡返顧, 若吭聲速之。又西一卒, 背驛書, 驟馬似銜命飭闕聽使歸。蓋宋季喪敗之辱, 金人驕矜之情, 披斯圖也, 舉可於無言筆墨之外, 歷歷得之。圖舊以為宋人筆, 伊秉綬、翁方綱以為出馬遠, 羅天池以為近燕文貴、劉松年, 皆非是。良以全圖主題在金, 宋人不應有此。圖外寄慨深隱, 金人亦所不為。意者殆播遷之後, 宋遺民之仕金者不勝喬木故國之感, 而傷心人別具懷抱者之所作歟? 而風格尤與楊邦基為近。邦基字德懋, 陝西華陰人, 仕金為秘書少監、翰林學士、永興軍節度使, 善畫山水人馬。父綯, 宋易州州佐, 城陷戕於金。邦基以齒稚匿僧舍得免, 則固忠烈之嗣, 而祚移鼎遷, 服官於讎仇之國者也。所謂孤臣孽子, 其操心也危, 其慮患也深。其腐心刻意, 以成斯圖, 以曲達拳拳本朝之心也宜。抑予于昔年所見其仿李成山水, 老松離披, 人物道潔, 與此圖如出一手。然則此卷殆即楊祕監所製歟? 癸巳冬日陳仁濤識。[印]: 金匱室, 金匱室主, 陳氏仁濤

Collectors' Seals

Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)
- *Zhengming jianding* 徵明鑑定

Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717)
- *Shigu jianshang* 石谷鑑賞

Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797)
- *Qiufan shi jiacang* 秋帆氏家藏

Ye Menglong 葉夢龍 (1775–1832)
- *Yungu jiacang* 雲谷家藏
- *Ye shi Liujie? Zhai shuhua yin* 葉氏六皆□齋書畫印

Meng Jinyi 孟覲乙 (active first half of 19th century)
- *Litang jianding* 麗堂鑑定

Xu Xiang 許鯗 (Qing dynasty)
- *Qi'an xinshang* 屺庵心賞
- *Qi'an bingchen fan Yun hou suode* 屺庵丙辰返雲後所得

Chen Kuilin 陳夔麟 (1855–1928)
- *Baoyu Ge shuhua ji* 寶迂閣書畫記

Song Qi 宋岐 (1878–1943)
- *Song Qi siyin* 宋岐私印
- *Shanyin Song Shouyao zi Tiyun hao Zhishan hang shiwu jiancang jinshi tushu* 山陰宋壽堯字梯雲號支山行十五鑒藏金石圖書
- *Tiyun guomu* 梯雲過目
- *Xiao Song shending* 小宋審定

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century)
- *Jingui Shi* 金匱室
- *Rentao* 仁濤
- *Jingui baocang Chen shi Rentao* 金匱寶藏陳氏仁濤
- *Rentao qiyuan* 仁濤奇緣
- *Jingui baocang* 金匱寶藏
- *Jingui Shi jingjian xi* 金匱室精鑒璽
- *Jingui Shi cang shenqi miaoyi wushang guyi* 金匱室藏神奇妙逸無上古藝
- *Jingui miji* 金匱秘笈
- *Wushuang* 無雙

Ma Jizuo 馬積祚 (b. 1902)
- *Ma Jizuo jianshang zhang* 馬積祚鑑賞章

Unidentified
- *Fang shi Shi* 方氏適
- *Yunpu shi jiacang shuhua ji* 芸浦氏家藏書畫記
- *Lu Gui zhi yin* 盧貴之印
- *Qianling Shanqiao* 黔靈山樵
- *Pan shi Suyun zhencang shuhua yin* 潘氏涑筠珍藏書畫印
- *Tiehua jianding* 鐵華鑑定
- *Jingxiu xinshang* 敬修心賞
- *Guomu* 過目

Ten additional seals are illegible.

Notes to the Appendix

1. References: Chen 1956, vol. 1, pp. 79–81, vol. 2, pl. 16; Chiang 1979a, pp. 25–53, pl. 1; Alfreda Murck in MMA, *Notable Acquisitions, 1981–1982*, pp. 74–75; Suzuki 1982–83, vol. 1, A17-088; Yu 1990, pp. 30–41; Fong 1992, pp. 187–91, pls. 24, 24a; Lin 1998, pp. 1–10, ill. p. 2.
2. The quotation is from the chapter "Jinxin" of *Meng zi (The Book of Mencius)*. See Zhu 12th c., *juan* 7.

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Sparse Trees and Pavilion, a Fan Painting by Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385)

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Sparse Trees and Pavilion (Figure 1), Wang Meng's only extant fan painting, now mounted as an album leaf, entered the Metropolitan Museum in 1991.[1] It has since been joined by one of Wang's most impressive large vertical paintings, *The Simple Retreat* (Figure 2).[2] Painted in monochrome ink on silk (now significantly darkened), this landscape combines and unites a conventional "literati" scene[3] of a recluse in a hut under a pair of protecting trees with inscriptions by the artist in standard script and seals on both right and left sides.[4]

The equal importance of calligraphy, poetry, and painting was emphasized in China as early as in the eighth century, when the term "Three Perfections" came to refer to the inclusion of all three art forms in one work.[5] Wang Meng's small fan painting from the late Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) extends this integration further, however, presenting an early example of an innovative dualism of "painted" poem and "written" painting, in which picture and poem are mutually dependent in style and content. The pictorial component can and should be read as part of Wang's poem,[6] which describes the scene as follows:

> In the empty forest, the leaves are dancing with themselves to the whistling sound of the wind
> In the thatched pavilion [I am sitting] alone under the noonday sun.
> In the southerly breeze green waves ripple all day long
> Wearing a cotton cap and coarse cloth [I feel] no summer heat.
> This country man's home is located near Yellow Crane Peak
> In the evening [I will] enter the empty grotto, and listen to the mountain rain.
>
> Shuming, inscribed [this] for Weiyin.[7]

Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385), one of the most influential painters and later designated as one of the Four Masters of the late Yuan dynasty, is well known for his large, narrow, vertical works, which became particularly expressive in his later years. Wang, whose style name was Shuming, was born to a culturally prominent family in present-day Wuxing, Zhejiang Province. He was a grandson of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), the paragon artist and statesman serving the Mongol government in the first half of the Yuan dynasty. Wang, too, initially pursued an official career. Early in the 1340s, however, he retired to Yellow Crane Mountain, northeast of modern-day Hangzhou, where he enjoyed literary gatherings, the company of literati friends, and traveling around Lake Tai. Wang may have started his painting career at this time, yet his earliest extant dated work that is generally accepted as genuine, *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Summer Mountains* (see Figure 4), is from 1354. In 1368 he accepted office under the newly established Ming dynasty (1368–1644), reentering the government bureaucracy.

In the preceding Song dynasty (960–1279) "literary men" (*wen shi*) or scholar-gentlemen (often translated as "literati"), began to strive to express their inner feelings directly and unpretentiously, in contrast to the professional academic painters working for the court, who sought to reproduce nature as realistically as possible. Although all literati artists composed poetry, it was only in the Yuan dynasty that they started to inscribe their paintings with their own poems.[8] These Yuan literati artists, all well-known calligraphers, committed themselves to "writing" paintings in just the same way they practiced calligraphy; their brushwork became calligraphic and expressive. Zhao Mengfu was the first to state that, from a methodological point of view, painting and calligraphy were equals and that his paintings were "written."[9] Eventually, painting, poetry, and calligraphy appeared integrated, at times to the point where each component breathed the sense of the others and was essential to the spiritually expressive whole, as in Wang Meng's fan painting.

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1. Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385). *Sparse Trees and Pavilion*, ca. 1361. Inscribed by Wang Meng. Fan mounted as an album leaf. Ink on silk, 9⅞ x 11⅛ in. (25.1 x 28.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, From the P. Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family Collection, Gift of Oscar L. Tang, 1991 (1991.438.2)



2. Wang Meng. *The Simple Retreat*, ca. 1370. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on paper, 53¾ x 17⅝ in. (136.5 x 44.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Promised Gift of the Oscar L. Tang Family (L.1997.24.8)

The round-fan format confines the painter to a small area, requiring sure calculations to avoid aesthetic imbalance. Round painted silk fans on long handles appear in eighth-century Chinese paintings, indicating their existence by that time.[10] Commonly produced either for the court or for the art market, the fans, in contrast to European ones, were used by women and men of all social strata.[11] Their mounting as album leaves, usually for collections, appeared in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) and enjoyed great popularity during the Southern Song (1127–1279). The small fan format could be used for reduced or cropped views of larger compositions—including landscapes, figures, and birds and flowers—as well as for intimate and personal works.

Inscriptions, especially by the artist, are rare on extant paintings from before the fourteenth century, and they are especially rare on small works and fans.[12] A few Southern Song fans by court artists bear short poems, nearly all inscribed by members of the royal family, for whose use and delight those academic works were produced.[13] Such paintings often also bear signatures, and occasionally titles and dates. These inscriptions are usually supplementary to the painting rather than an integral part of it. Wang Meng's *Sparse Trees and Pavilion* is therefore an exceptional example in which the painting and calligraphy are not only by the same hand but also complement each other and are interdependent, thematically and, especially, compositionally—responding to each other spatially and stylistically.[14]

In his fan painting Wang creates a dense view of tall trees framing a pathway to the recluse's hut. The work is dedicated to an absent friend, Weiyin, to whom Wang may have sent the fan as an intimate gift. The composition of the painting is dominated by two imposing trees, covering much of the fan's surface but set off by an equal amount of space at either side. The dark receding ground plane and Wang's signature and seal on the left side are juxtaposed with the long inscription on the right.[15] A slightly brighter vertical division is a remnant of the fan's original central spine. A path leads from the lower left between the two groups of trees directly into a hut,[16] empty but for a robed figure at the far right. His gaze to the right has no visible object.[17] Instead, the narrative focal point of the composition appears to be the area immediately in front of him, where the calligraphy is set as if resting on blades of grass and is framed by branches of the tree (Figure 3). There seems to be an interactive force between the figure and the writing, suggesting an intangible yet strong link between the scene depicted and the abstract medium of the calligraphy. A leaning tree shields the hut;[18] its foliage touches the inscription. The tree's leaves resemble Wang's blunt characters, which are written in a stubby form of standard script and almost appear as long hanging branches, establishing yet another correspondence between writing and painting.

3. Detail of Figure 1, lower right



The pictorial content of *Sparse Trees and Pavilion*—trees, a pavilion, and a figure in a shallow foreground space—appears generic, since the composition lacks a middle ground or distant vista. The scene resembles a close-up detail from Wang Meng's vertical painting *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Summer Mountains*: the pavilion with two interacting figures in the center, set in a grand landscape (Figure 4). But in contrast, the pavilion in *Sparse Trees and Pavilion*, in spite of the presence of a lone figure, appears virtually deserted, and the vast surrounding landscape of the vertical painting is absent, here substituted by Wang's poem.

Poem and painting describe the same scene, yet the poem extends and enlivens the pictorial imagery. While the painting appears static, the poem conveys a vivid sense of the summer breeze blowing through trees, grass, and pavilion.[19] Though the poem tells us it is noon, the hottest part of the day, Wang, "the country man" in the pavilion, feels comfortable in his loose garment. In the evening he will return to the "grotto" (a metaphor for the wilderness retreat of a Daoist recluse), perhaps his retirement place near Yellow Crane Mountain,[20] and will listen to the steady and monotonous mountain rain, which may express Wang's nostalgic or melancholic sentiment.[21] Wang may be looking out toward Yellow Crane Mountain, but his gaze is almost level with the dedication at the end of the poem, suggesting that his inner thoughts are with Weiyin.[22] The poem inflects this tranquil and contemplative pictorial scene with a distinctly gloomy and lonely mood: Wang describes his environment as "empty," without sound or signs and bereft of other living beings, and himself as being "alone." This interdependence of poem and painting sheds new light on the



4. Wang Meng. *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Summer Mountains* (with a detail of the pavilion), dated 1354. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk, 85⅛ x 21¾ in. (216.1 x 55.2 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase (F1959.17)

classical theme of eremitic retreat, which achieved great popularity in the fourteenth century.[23] It stresses the tension between movement and stillness, the sounds of nature and emptiness, thoughts and loneliness.

It is the poem that brings to life the otherwise undetermined picture, conveying Wang Meng's innermost feelings, which only Weiyin, the recipient of the painting, might comprehend fully.[24] Perhaps Weiyin knew the place Wang depicts. It is tempting to think that the two groups of different-sized trees stand perhaps for two persons or families, or two different generations or ages. Not only do they frame the way to the pavilion, but one of the trees shields the poet and reaches out to Weiyin's name in the dedication. The inscription, part poem and part dedication, suggests that the fan was an intimate gift. The mention of a cooling breeze that animates the leaves and grass may even point to the fan's practical use.

Weiyin (the artist's style name) may be identified as the well-known poet Chen Ruzhi (1329–1385), some twenty years Wang Meng's junior. He and his younger brother, the famous painter Chen Ruyan (1331?–1371), were prominent figures in artistic and literary circles in Suzhou. Both were close friends of Wang's.[25] As Richard Vinograd has pointed out, the two brothers had very different personalities. Chen Ruzhi was indifferent to official service, whereas his brother Ruyan served the Mongol government. In the autumn of 1361, Chen Ruzhi and Wang Meng seem to have spent some time together, traveling, visiting friends, and composing poems.[26] *Sparse Trees and Pavilion* may either reflect nostalgic thoughts about this experience or express Wang's anticipation of his friend's visit to his retreat. A painting date of about 1361, consistent also with Wang's painting style at that time, therefore seems likely.[27]

The viewer's interaction with *Sparse Trees and Pavilion* will likely begin with trying to access the work.[28] Wang Meng offers at least two accesses, one conventionally pictorial and the other calligraphic, thereby establishing a bidirectional narrative. The beginning of the path at the lower left and the orientation of the pictorial elements (such as the leaning tree and the figure in the hut) toward the poem on the right open an entrance on the left and trace a walk along

the path toward the person in the pavilion—the very route Wang himself had followed—yet extended into the space beyond, perhaps as a reflection of his inner self. The long poem at the right, on the other hand, represents the other interface between the viewer and Wang's world.[29] If read first (from right to left), the poem would guide the reader into the painting, reversing the way through the pavilion, to the "gate" of trees (which eventually will take Wang to the invisible "grotto"), and finally to the left margin, where Wang's second signature, "Shuming," brackets the pictorial content at that side. Thus, the image is "read" as a continuation of the written lines, and the poem's spirit is woven into the painting's narrative.[30]

Wang Meng's *Sparse Trees and Pavilion*, at first glance a conventional inscribed literati fan painting of the late Yuan, extends the integration of calligraphy, poetry, and painting found in earlier Yuan works. Whether Wang's dualistic composition of "painted" poem and "written" painting is the result of a deliberate effort or governed by the constraints of the small size remains the artist's secret. He certainly seems to have composed his work to intimate his ideas: placing himself at the margin of the pictorial image, where he looks straight into his thoughts in the form of his poem, he expresses his inner self while honoring a friend, and matches painting and calligraphic style as well as composition to create a narrative path through the picture. Moreover, a number of Wang's later large paintings reveal a similarly sensitive and intricate interplay between writing and painting.[31] In any case, Wang's small work illuminates the prodigious ideas discernible in paintings of the late Yuan.

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NOTES

1. The work was originally untitled. See Fong 1992, pp. 458–59, pl. 107.
2. "Picture of the Simple Retreat" (*Su An Tu*) is dedicated to a Daoist master whom Wang Meng refers to by the same name, Su An. See Hearn and Fong 1999, pp. 118–24. Dedications "acquired a succinct form" in the early Yuan dynasty, comprising both the "dedicator's and the dedicatee's names in signature" (Zhang 2005, p. 619). Some of these dedicated works were used for expressing social relationship, or *yingchou*. See Zhang 2005, p. 619. James Cahill (1980, pp. 337–44) lists 113 works attributed to Wang Meng. He regards 25 of these as genuine, including *The Simple Retreat*. He lists *Sparse Trees and Pavilion* as a minor work, possibly genuine.
3. On the literati class in China and its transition in the Tang and Song dynasties, see Bol 1992. Literati painting is here understood not just as painting by literati (as in the Song) but as an art form, which only started in the Yuan dynasty, that integrates the equally important parts of painting, calligraphy, and poetry into one entity. See also Jonathan Hay's consideration (2009, p. 103) of Yuan literati painting as a distinct art form. For the most recent scholarship on Yuan painting in general, see *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007, published 2009), which contains papers of which earlier versions were presented at the conference "New Directions in Yuan Painting," held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia on December 2, 2006. In that volume, see especially Harrist 2007, on Yuan literati painting, and Chang 2007, on a work by Wang Meng.
4. The fan bears a total of five seals: one artist's seal at the end of each inscription and three collector's seals.
5. The "Three Perfections" (*sanjue*) denotes not only the matching of poetry, calligraphy, and painting in one work (Sullivan 1974) but also the ability of the artist to excel in all three fields (Qi Gong 1991, p. 11).
6. Although the concept of contextual integration of inscriptions in paintings had already developed in the early fourteenth century, during the Yuan dynasty a further significant evolution took place that went beyond the combination found in earlier Yuan works and also differed from the praise of the Tang dynasty poet-painter Wang Wei (699–761) by the Song literati Su Shi (1037–1101), whose statement that Wang's paintings are poems and his poems are paintings did not refer to the integration of picture and writing. A complete "dissolution" and interchangeability of pictorial and idiographic elements takes place, for instance, when characters assume the function of image parts, as in the painting *Mount Baiyue* (ca. 1360) by the Daoist Leng Qian (active second half of the fourteenth century), where a mountain surface incorporates an inverted Chinese character. A later example is *Buddha* (1760), by Jin Nong (1687–1763), where the characters of a "nimbus"-like inscription in "archaized" calligraphy surround and meld with the figure.
7. Author's translation based on that of Wen C. Fong (1992, p. 460), with kind suggestions added by James C. Y. Watt.
8. The first major artist who consistently inscribed his paintings with his own poems seems to have been Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307). Shou-chien Shih (1984) emphasizes the interdependence of painting and poetry in the work of Qian Xuan, who seems to have favored the horizontal format. Two exquisite paintings by Qian Xuan are in the MMA: *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* and *Pear Blossoms*. John Hay (1991, p. 193) states that the unification of painting and poetry by artists such as Qian Xuan and Zhao Mengfu was motivated by "the search for expression of the self."
9. See, among others, Hearn 2008, p. 80. Zhao Mengfu often used the verb *xie* (write) in his inscriptions and dedications, emphasizing that he "wrote" both the calligraphy and the painting. Wang Meng, however, uses *ti* (inscribe) in the dedication of his fan painting. While literati favored paper over silk as the optimum medium for self-expressive brushwork, many continued to use silk for more formal pieces. Compare Hay 1994, p. 132, on the transition from silk to paper in the Yuan, and Hay 1985, for the painter's "discovery of surface."
10. Brinker 1979, p. 28.
11. Ibid., p. 7. Banneret-shaped bamboo fans have been found in Chinese tombs. An example is that of Margravine Dai in Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan Province, of the second century B.C., excavated in 1972 (ibid., p. 23, pl. 8).
12. The history of inscriptions starts with signatures on paintings in the tenth century; see Zhang 2005. Round fans inscribed exclusively

with calligraphy seem to have existed by the fourth century. The Sage of Calligraphy, Wang Xizhi (307–365), is said to have inscribed fans with his calligraphy (Ledderose 1979, p. 22). A few contemporary fan paintings—such as *Recluse Fisherman, Autumn Trees,* by Sheng Mao (active ca. 1310–60), in the MMA—bear the date, the title of the work, and the signature of the artist but no poem or dedication.

13. Also, fans entirely inscribed by Southern Song emperors sometimes formed a pair with painted fans. A pair of fans in the Cleveland Art Museum includes one painted by the court painter Ma Lin (ca. 1180–after 1256) and another inscribed with a Tang poem by the emperor Lizong (r. 1224–64), collaborative works that are believed to have been "originally mounted together, back to back, as a single functioning fan" (H. Lee 2001, pp. 104–5, pls. 23, 24). See also S. Lee 1964, pp. 30–31, pls. 5, 6; and Harrist 1999.
14. The handscroll *Fisherman*, by Wu Zhen (1280–1354), also in the MMA, is another good example of the successful integration of calligraphy and poetry into painting, yet in Wu's work it seems less developed than in Wang's. The inscription appears blocklike, set apart from and subordinated to the painting (acting more as a caption). There is no exchange between the rowing fisherman and the inscription, and it is unclear whether Wu identifies himself with the person in his work. In Wang's painting this subordination is not only compositionally dissolved, but "these few millimeters of white, the calm sand of the page" (Foucault 1983, p. 28) are omitted in favor of an incipient melding of picture and characters. Regarding subordination, see Hay 1985, p. 117. A certain "cartoon-like simplicity and directness" has been observed in Wu's painting style (Hearn 2008, p. 94). See also Cahill 1976, p. 73.
15. On the right side Wang left a space between his courtesy name (Shuming) and the character *wei* (meaning "for") above and the dedicatee's name and his seal below. Not only does this echo his signature (Shuming) and his seal on the left, but the three characters (Shuming and *wei*) on the right are written at the same height as the two characters (Shuming) on the left.
16. This recalls the truly sparse and austere paintings by Ni Zan (1306–1374), but Ni's inscriptions appear less integrated than Wang's. For examples of his works in the MMA, see Hearn 2008, pp. 98–105, pls. 22, 23.
17. In other paintings the gaze is usually directed at something. For example, the protagonist in Qian Xuan's short handscroll *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* observes geese swimming in the lake, as does the figure in *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, a handscroll painting by Huang Gongwang (1269–1354) in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. In Wang Meng's *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Summer Mountains* (Figure 4) the master in the pavilion looks toward the attendant. See also Jonathan Hay's discussion (1989) of the groom's gaze in Zhao Mengfu's painting *Horse and Groom* in the MMA and John Hay's discourse (1994, pp. 137–38) on "Who is gazing in Ni Zan's poem? . . . It is a hut that gazes."
18. The depiction of trees with an exaggerated tilt is not unusual in Chinese painting and can be seen in other formats. For instance, in his horizontal work *Twin Pines, Level Distance* in the MMA (Hearn 2008, pp. 78–83), Zhao Mengfu depicts one of the two pines leaning leftward toward the center of the picture. Such trees may be read in a number of ways: as bearing symbolic significance, fulfilling a compositional function, pointing toward something important, creating a sheltering frame for the narrative focus, or suggesting space. Other Yuan dynasty fan paintings of this kind include *Angling in the Autumn River* by Sheng Zhu (active late fourteenth century) and *Recluse Fisherman, Autumn Trees* by Sheng Mao (ca. 1310–1360), both in the MMA (Fong 1992, pp. 457, 455, pls. 106, 104). The former is not inscribed; the latter bears only a signature and date.
19. A breeze generally alludes to virtuous men. According to the *Analects of Confucius (Lunyu)* (12.19), "the moral character of those in high position is the breeze, the character of those below is the grass. When the grass has the breeze upon it, it assuredly bends" (translation from Sakanishi 1939, p. 90).
20. Here the pavilion looks more like a public one in a scenic spot, as opposed to the one in *Dwelling in Seclusion in the Summer Mountains* (Figure 4), which appears to be attached to a private residence.
21. The term "mountain rain" often expresses melancholia or nostalgia. Zhao Mengfu uses it in one of his poems together with "sighing." According to a saying, "before the mountain rain starts, wind has already arisen"—signifying an omen that can be noticed before difficulties have surfaced.
22. Jonathan Hay (1989, pp. 132–33) cites Richard Barnhart in mentioning Gu Kaizhi's alleged statement "In real life a person never bows or stares when there is nothing in front of him." Hay hypothesizes that the groom's gaze in *Groom and Horse* indicates Zhao's self-image, returning "our gaze as he would have returned his own."
23. Images of hermits in landscapes go back to the Six Dynasties period (220–589). It is usually said that the *locus classicus* for those hermit scenes is the poetry of Tao Yuanming (365–427), one of the most influential Chinese poets. He is best known for his poem "Peach Blossom Spring," about a utopian land hidden from the outside world—a model for escapism and retirement. In the late Yuan "the wilderness hermitage or pavilion sheltered by old trees became the metaphorical shorthand for the scholar-recluse's retreat, where traditional values were treasured and sustained" (Hearn 2007, p. 100).
24. The expression of "desire" in painting has been discussed by John Hay (1994).
25. Vinograd 1979, pp. 95, 152–55.
26. Ibid., p. 152.
27. Richard E. Vinograd (ibid., pp. 153, 330) puts *Sparse Trees and Pavilion* in the artist's first phase of artistic development, which lasted until 1362.
28. The "entrance" into a Chinese painting depends on the format. In horizontal scrolls it is naturally on the right, and in vertical scrolls it is very often one of the lower corners. The end of the composition in the former is usually at the left end of the scroll, though in some examples the movement goes back to the beginning. After having roamed in a vertical painting, one can "exit" it at the "entrance" point. The "arboreal gate" as the geometrical center of the painting will not be discussed here.
29. In contrast, Zhao Mengfu's *Twin Pines, Level Distance* is a horizontal scroll that opens only from the right. It bears two inscriptions. The title and signature next to the two pines on the right offer an intimate opening image, whereas the long inscription at the far left of the painting does not provide contextual access.
30. The fan's mounting, with the spine bisecting the work, enhances the message of the poem-painting. In the right half, both names are written and Wang is shown looking at the inscription, expressing a momentary sense of nearness to Weiyin. This contrasts with the "lonely" left side, bearing only Wang's style name Shuming and the past and future loneliness in the "grotto."
31. These include *Bamboo and Rocks* (dated 1364; Suzhou Museum), which was painted for and dedicated to Zhang Deji; *Reading in Spring Mountains* (undated; Shanghai Museum); *Writing Books under the Pine Trees* (undated; Cleveland Museum of Art); and

Small Retreat on the Foot of Mount Hui (Indianapolis Museum of Art). *Bamboo and Rocks* has a close correspondence of pictorial and written image, a "contextual entry," and framing by inscriptions. Three poems, the date, and a dedication are written consecutively, from right to left, from the right side to the center. The columns of the writing seem to be extensions of the bamboo leaves, and the bottom characters follow the contour line of the right rock. *Reading in Spring Mountains* has an inscription (poem) that rests on the mountain, nestling against its silhouette. The brushwork of the characters and the uneven, slightly inclined columns of the writing match the texture and appearance of the background mountains. *Writing Books under the Pine Trees* further exemplifies the use of two inscriptions as "brackets" and access points for a narrative path: a poem, written in seal script at the upper right, leads down into a small glade with the protagonist's hut. Continuing toward the left, the "reader" finds more buildings behind trees and, at the middle left on a mountain slope, the author's signature with a dedication in standard script. *Small Retreat on the Foot of Mount Hui* has a nicely integrated inscription, comprising title, dedication, and poem, that leads into the picture from the right. The style of the seal script is echoed in the painting style of the trees, some of which lean toward the inscription as if attracted, establishing a link between written and pictorial image across the blank water surface.

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"The great Dragon rifeth vp with a straight ftalke": A Possible Model for the Unicorn's Tree

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The Unicorn Tapestries in The Cloisters are remarkable for their realistic and stylized depiction of plants. E. J. Alexander and C. H. Woodward discussed the woven flora in a two-part paper originally published in *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* in 1941; this was revised and reprinted as a booklet, *The Flora of the Unicorn Tapestries*.[1] Alexander and Woodward's work informed Margaret B. Freeman's account of the plants in the chapter of her book *The Unicorn Tapestries* entitled "The Groves of Trees, the Flower Fields, and the Gardens."[2] Yet much in these splendid tapestries remains enigmatic, especially those plants that can be identified with certainty but are essentially out of place among vegetation dominated by oak and holly that is typical of temperate northern Europe: the orange, the pomegranate, the date palm, and the strawberry tree, to name just four.[3]

The last of the series of seven tapestries that portray the allegory of the Hunt of the Unicorn shows a unicorn within an enclosure and chained to a tree (Figure 1). Alexander and Woodward commented: "It is a strange looking tree which catches the eye in the seventh tapestry, with flat rosettes of pointed leaves at the ends of the branches and a big red-orange fruit set in the center of each. It resembles no tree on earth, but the fruit is a perfect pomegranate, offering an excellent example of how a designer tried to cope with a subject with which he was only half familiar."[4] In his recent book *The Natural History of Unicorns*, Chris Lavers makes no attempt to identify the tree, noting that "no one has managed to identify which species of tree this is. Probably no one ever will."[5] How could one ignore such a challenge?

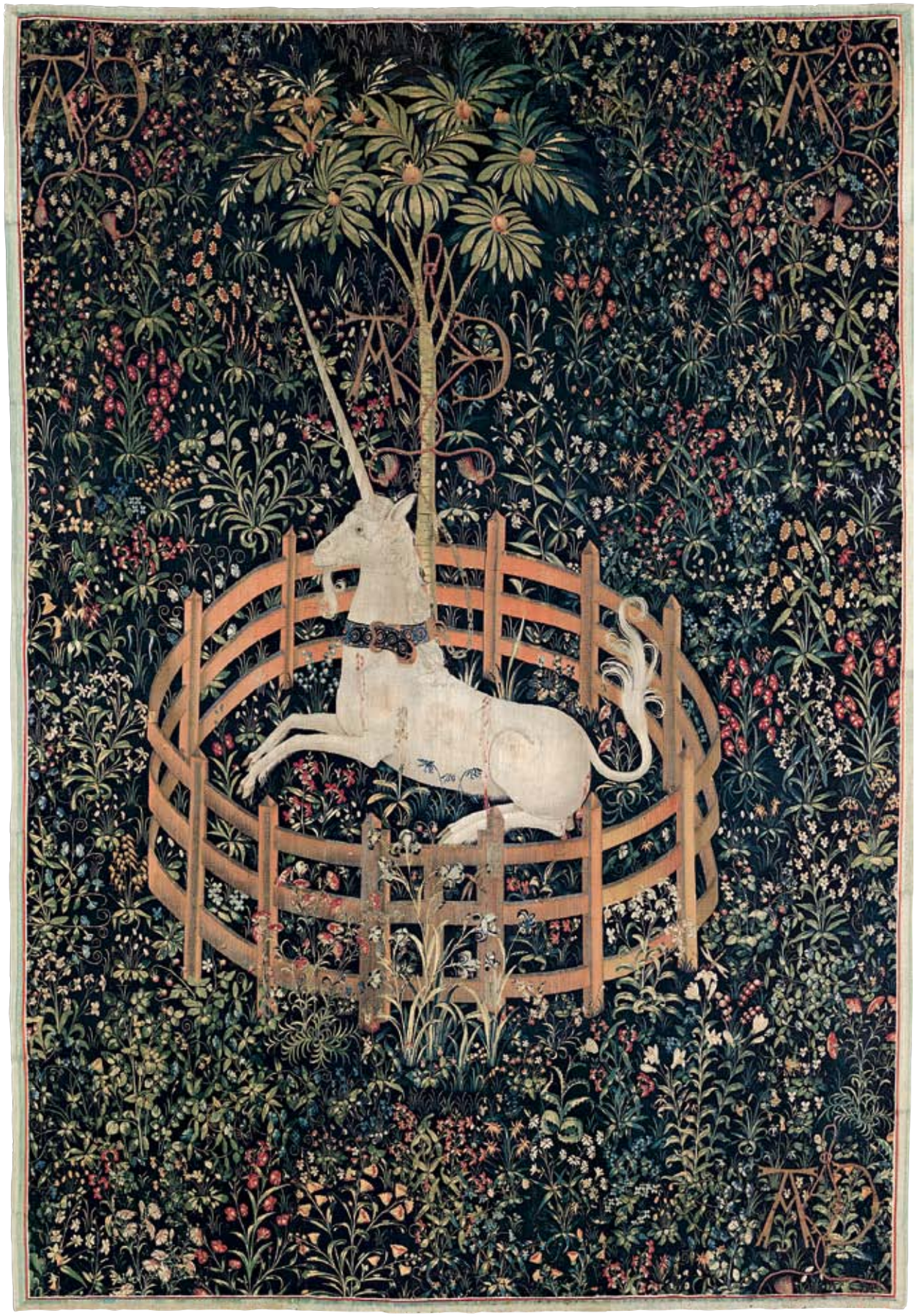
Since I read Lavers's book, the tree to which the unicorn is chained in the seventh tapestry has niggled at me, not least because it seemed quite familiar. There is no reason not to suppose that it was based on a real plant, or more than one. The unicorn in the tapestry clearly had a goat in its "parentage"; note the beard and the cloven hooves, even though the eye does not have a goat's rectangular pupil. It goes without saying that the unicorn is a figment of imagination, a partial chimera (without the bits of lion and serpent) with an unwieldy spike stuck on its head (for which a narwal's tusk sufficed).[6]

Could not the tree also be a chimera? Part of it has been identified, and I need not discuss the merits of the case because there is nothing to add: the fruits it bears are perfect pomegranates, as Alexander and Woodward stated. Yet they are imperfect and unreal, too, for they sit on the leaves in impossible ways.[7] I suggest that the rest of the "tree" (now in quotation marks) is modeled not on a real woody tree but on a deciduous herb.

Two characteristics of the "tree" stand out: the irregular mottling or banding on the "trunk" and "branches" and the unusual asymmetrical branching pattern.[8] Both are distinctive and both can only be found in one European plant that I know of: the aroid, which today is given the scientific name *Dracunculus vulgaris* (Figures 2, 3). The dragon arum, to employ one of its English names, is a common springtime sight in the hinterland of the eastern Mediterranean. I am especially familiar with it in Crete, but it is also not a difficult plant to cultivate, and it thrives in our garden in eastern England (see Figures 3, 6).

Although pomegranates are certainly not its fruits, the mottled stem and asymmetrical branching of *Dracunculus vulgaris* are certainly mimicked in the unicorn tapestry. Its deeply divided, digitate leaves are similar to the foliage in the tapestry, though not identical (Figures 4, 5). What is missing from the "tree" in the tapestry is the remarkable inflorescence of the aroid, which comprises a spathe that is usually very dark blackish red inside and a similarly colored, blatantly phallic spadix (Figure 6). When the inflorescence is in its prime it exudes a powerful, thoroughly disgusting (to human tastes) aroma, the smell of putrid flesh.

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45
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1. *The Unicorn in Captivity,* ca. 1495–1505. South Netherlandish. Wool warp, wool, silk, silver, and gilt wefts; 12 ft. 1 in. x 8 ft. 3 in. (3.68 x 2.52 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1937 (37.80.5)



2. A plant of *Dracunculus vulgaris* (dragon arum) in the early spring in the gorge near Gouverneto, Hania, Crete. This plant, about 18 in. (46 cm) tall, has yet to flower. Photograph: E. Charles Nelson



3. The stem of *Dracunculus vulgaris* (dragon arum) cultivated in Outwell, England. Photograph: E. Charles Nelson

Alexander and Woodward commented that the Unicorn Tapestries "stand alone for their magnificence, their perfection. To those of us who have closely studied the plants depicted in them, that perfection reaches its height in the flowers, shrubs, and trees. . . . . In the accurate representation of plant life, the weavers' skill in these tapestries represents the highest art form of the period."[9] But not everything was accurate. If the subject itself, a unicorn, is a concoction, why not also the "tree"?

If this identification is correct, and the designer did use *Dracunculus vulgaris* as the model for the unicorn's tree, there will arise in some nonscientific circles an overwhelming desire to interpret the plant and its depiction in terms of medieval symbolism. Freeman described many instances of the symbolic associations of the plants portrayed in the Unicorn Tapestries. She cautioned, however, that it would be unwise to assume that all those many meanings "were in the minds of the seigneur who commissioned the tapestries, the designer who drew the patterns, and the weavers who wove them so expertly and so lovingly. But it would be equally unwise to assume, as some have done, that except for a very few symbolic plants, the trees and flowers were to be enjoyed by the medieval viewer for their decorative values only."[10]

John Williamson mentioned the dragon arum accidentally, because he confused several scientific names. About *Arum dracunculus* (*Arum dracunculus* L. is a synonym of *Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott), he wrote: "As we shall see, because of the antiviperous properties of this plant, its image was symbolically used in one of the panels of the Unicorn Tapestries."[11] Williamson should have referred, however, to *Arum maculatum*, commonly called cuckoo-pint or lords-and-ladies, which belongs to a quite separate, although related, genus.[12] The cuckoo-pint is woven between the middle and upper runners of the fence enclosing the unicorn, directly under the beast's rump (Figure 7).[13] It has a small spadix enclosed within the spathe, both of which are pale cream in color, suggesting that the model for it may have been *Arum italicum*, Italian cuckoo-pint (or Italian lords-and-ladies), and not *Arum maculatum*,[14] but it is certainly not the dragon arum, *Dracunculus vulgaris*.

Could the "tree" represent the dragon arum, perhaps drawn from memory rather than from a living specimen? Although medieval craftsmen would not have known this,



4. A leaf of *Dracunculus vulgaris* (dragon arum), photographed in 2008 in Imbros Gorge on the southwest coast of Crete. Photograph: E. Charles Nelson



5. Detail of Figure 1, showing a leaf of the "tree" with a central pomegranate



6. *Dracunculus vulgaris* (dragon arum) in full bloom in Outwell, England, June 2010. The pointed, phallic spadix is about 12 in. (30 cm) long. Photograph: E. Charles Nelson

Dracunculus vulgaris was the model for motifs painted on sarcophagi by the ancient inhabitants of Crete, the people archaeologists have named Minoans. Hellmut Baumann, noting that fact, added that because of the mottled stems "the ancients associated [dragon arum] with snakes in a mystical chthonic concept."[15] The plant thus has long had associations not only with snakes but also, aided by its "penetrating stench," with death. Add an impossible and incongruous sprinkling of pomegranate fruits, symbols of fecundity and life to the ancient Greeks and mentioned in the Bible and in the Qur'an,[16] and this becomes the "tree" of death with a promise of fertility and life.

Does this seem familiar? I return to Lavers's commentary: "The artist depicted not *a* tree, but *the* tree, most obviously in the present context, symbolizing Christ's cross, the tree of redemption. Less obviously it symbolizes the tree of life, which was denied to Adam and Eve because they partook of the fruit of that other tree in the Garden of Eden, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."[17] The description fits: pomegranates ("good") on a dragon arum ("evil"). As John Gerard wrote, "The great Dragon rifeth vp with a straight ftalke."[18]



7. Detail of the fence directly under the unicorn's rump in Figure 1, showing a plant that might be modeled on the cuckoo-pint (*Arum maculatum*) or, more likely, the Italian cuckoo-pint (*Arum italicum*)

NOTES

1. Alexander and Woodward 1969.
2. Freeman 1976, chap. 5, pp. 109–53.
3. I am not aware of any attempt to explain the origins of a small number of essentially subtropical plants among the flora of the Unicorn Tapestries. Grigson (1978) commented that Alexander and Woodward had "hoped the collocation of species might be some clue to the where, the by whom, and the for whom of the tapestries; and in this—though wrongly, I think—they were disappointed. . . . Yet most of the species, which include such a peculiar plant as *Cucubalus baccifera* [panel 6; berry catchfly], occur in the country of sand, clay and chalk north of the Loire." Later in the same article he remarked on the "frequent include of bluebells. Here is a plant of Atlantic distribution, which on that account hardly figures in medieval cognizance, which is uncommon in the dry chateaux lands, and which in the tapestry context would speak more of Normandy and Brittany." Oddities of more southern, Mediterranean origin include, as well as the strawberry tree and the pomegranate, the date palm and *Biserrula pelecinus* (*Astragalus pelecinus*), the fruits of which were identified by Crockett (1984), suggesting that the "by whom" was also familiar with the plants that inhabit the periphery of the Mediterranean Sea. Of course, they could have been cultivated in northern European gardens, but keeping such subjects as seedling palms alive would have been difficult at the time the tapestries were created (see, for example, Harvey 1981, p. 67).
4. Alexander and Woodward 1969, p. 4.
5. Lavers 2009, p. 90.
6. See Freeman 1976, p. 29, fig. 8. For further discussion of the relationship between unicorns and narwals, see Lavers 2009.
7. Crockett (1984, p. 22) stated: "Its fruit is both superbly designed and accurately depicted, but the remainder of the tree is fictitious."
8. I acknowledge that some of the other trees portrayed in the Unicorn Tapestries, especially in the first of the panels, also have banded markings on the trunks.
9. Alexander and Woodward 1969, p. 18.
10. Freeman 1976, p. 153.
11. Williamson 1986, pp. 47–48.
12. Grigson 1955, pp. 429–31. In fact, Williamson (1986, pp. 212–13, 238–39) also gave the "correct" names for this plant: in the diagram providing a key to the plants in the seventh tapestry (p. 238), it is numbered 14.
13. See Williamson 1986, pp. 212–13, fig. 78. Williamson's text is clearly derived from Grigson 1955, pp. 429–30.
14. Boyce 1993. Although *Arum maculatum* can have a cream spadix, it is more usually purple. There can be no absolute certainty, however, about the identity of the model for the tapestry, and the ranges of the two species more or less coincide throughout Europe.
15. Baumann 1993, pp. 181, 184, fig. 361.
16. Ibid., p. 50; Musselman 2007, pp. 231–34.
17. Lavers 2009, p. 90.
18. Gerard 1633.

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Three Fragments of the *Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* Tapestry

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The tapestries illustrating the Hunt of the Unicorn at The Cloisters, woven in the Southern Netherlands between about 1495 and 1505, include six complete panels and three fragments (Figure 1). Shortly after their acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum in 1938, the fragments were hung next to the Unicorn Tapestry panels that had been given to the Museum by John D. Rockefeller Jr. the previous year and were displayed in a gallery designed for them (Figure 2). When the galleries at The Cloisters were renovated in 1998, the tapestries and the three fragments were taken down, providing the opportunity for close examination and study, as well as some conservation work. In 2004, the fragments were again removed from the galleries and analyzed further for identification of the weave, yarns, and dyes. Upon completion of this survey, fragile areas were reinforced and then the three fragments were remounted and reinstalled, rejoining the six complete tapestries. These haunting hangings are among the most celebrated and cherished works of art from western Europe, and their conservation is therefore of considerable importance.

The fragments, collectively titled *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn*, entered the Museum's collection under fortuitous circumstances. While the previously acquired unicorn tapestries, which John D. Rockefeller Jr. had purchased in the 1920s, were being prepared for exhibition, The Cloisters' curator, William Forsyth, carried out further research on their history. He learned from the former owner, Comte Gabriel de La Rochefoucauld, whose family had owned the tapestries for generations, that he still had in his possession fragments from a unicorn tapestry that he had used to plug drafty crevices in the walls.[1] Their purchase was negotiated. In early 1938, the fragments arrived at the Metropolitan nailed to a backboard. Quickly prepared for exhibition, they were installed for the opening of The Cloisters in May 1938 (Figure 3).

The Unicorn Tapestries—including the fragments—have long been studied by art historians, with considerable debate about their iconography, place of manufacture, designer, and patron.[2] One central question is whether or not the tapestries, and the fragments, are from a single ensemble. Adolfo Salvatore Cavallo, in the catalogue raisonné of the Metropolitan Museum's medieval tapestry collection, argues that the works may be from as many as four different ensembles.[3] He suggests, in particular, that the fragments are from a separate tapestry or group of tapestries.[4] Thomas Campbell is more cautious, however: "We simply do not know enough about late medieval workshop practices and the contemporary perception of uniformity and consistency of style to assume that what strikes us as stylistic disjunction would necessarily have appeared so to medieval viewers."[5] Campbell believes that the fragments of *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* are probably from the same series as the Metropolitan's six complete tapestries depicting the Hunt of the Unicorn.[6] Similarly robust debates continue about the iconography of the tapestries.

The tapestry fragments form the upper left corner of a larger lost tapestry, which could have measured 15 by 12 to 13 feet (4.6 by 3.7–4 m), representing about a quarter of the original tapestry.[7] Comparing what remains of the design in the fragments to the complete tapestries, it is possible to speculate on the layout of the tapestry to which these fragments belonged. In the majority of the complete tapestries the monogram *AE* is tied to a tree or a fountain, and so forms a vertical center line. Additional *AE* monograms are placed in each corner. In the fragments, an apple tree with the *AE* monogram tied to one of its branches would have been at the center of the tapestry. *AE* monograms would also have been placed in each corner of the whole hanging.[8]

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45

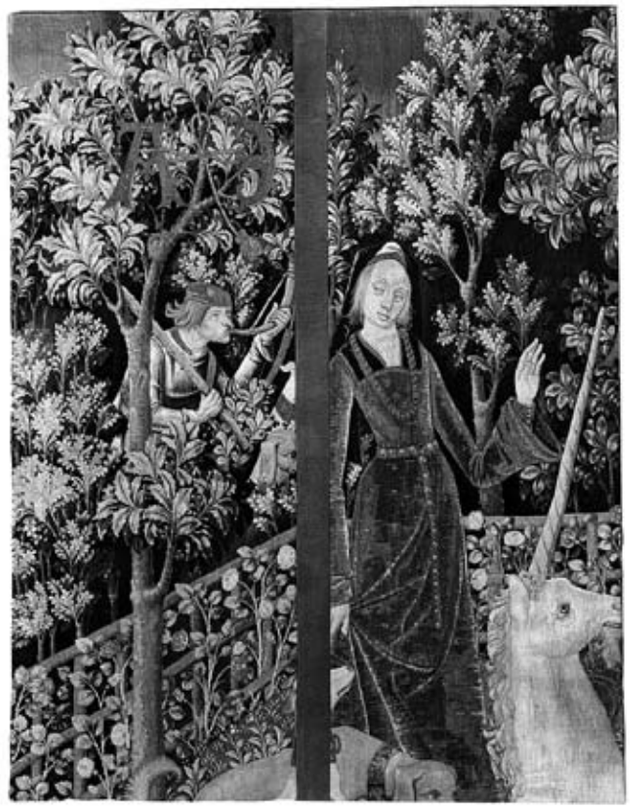
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1. The three fragments of the tapestry *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* after conservation in 2007, mounted onto a handwoven fabric that complements the texture of the original weaving. Woven in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1495–1505. Tapestry weave in wool, silk, and gilt-silver-wrapped thread; fragment with hunter (left): 67¾ x 25¾ in. (172 x 65.5 cm), fragment with maiden's companion and unicorn (below right): 59½ x 26 in. (151 x 65.9 cm), fragment with sky (above right): 18 x 25¾ in. (45.8 x 65.4 cm); overall dimensions of fragments: 80 x 57¾ in. (203.2 x 146.7 cm); mount: 80¼ x 58⅛ in. (203.8 x 147.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1938 (38.51.1, 2). The place where the two fragments on the right have been joined is visible in Figure 11.



2. The Unicorn Tapestry Room at The Cloisters, 1938. The gallery was designed to display the six complete tapestries and three fragments illustrating the Hunt of the Unicorn. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1937 (37.80.1–6) and 1938 (38.51.1, 2)



3. For the opening of The Cloisters in May 1938, the fragments were squared off, hiding some of the original weaving, including part of the unicorn.

Although they have losses, the three fragments collectively constitute a pictorial image of a unicorn in an enclosed garden. The woman dressed in a red velvet gown has been identified as the companion of the maiden who succeeded in taming the unicorn. All that is present of the maiden herself is her right sleeve, part of what was once an elaborate brocaded gown, and her graceful hand, which strokes the locks of the unicorn's mane. The natural tones chosen let these intricate features (the fingers and mane) merge. Behind the enclosed garden, a hunter sounding his horn gazes through the spiky leaves of a holly tree. In the back, on the right, the crown of an apple tree remains.[9] The initials *A* and *E* are located in the upper left corner (Figure 4), and the remnants of the letter *A* appear along the right edge. These initials contribute to the conclusion that the fragments form the upper left quadrant of a tapestry.[10]

The left fragment shows the hunter. To his right is the fragment depicting the maiden's companion and the unicorn; two hounds are perched over the unicorn's back, having already drawn blood. Above this piece is a small fragment depicting the foliage of various trees against a vivid blue sky (Figure 5). While there is a diminutive loss between the two



4. Detail of the fragment on the left in Figure 1, showing the *AE* monogram



5. Detail of the fragment at the upper right in Figure 1, showing the well-preserved area of sky

smaller fragments, a gap of 2⅜ to 5¼ inches (6 to 13.4 cm) lies between them and the piece depicting the hunter. It is believed that the upper parts of the complete tapestries were removed during the French Revolution.[11] In four of the tapestries (37.80.2–5) the original sky was replaced with a modern fabric during a restoration project when the tapestries entered the Metropolitan's collection.

The fragments were woven with dyed wool, dyed silk, and gilt-silver-wrapped thread on an undyed wool warp.[12] The wool weft represents roughly 60 percent of the tapestry fragments, and the silk weft about 35 percent; the gilt-silver-wrapped thread represents the smallest amount, about 5 percent. The gilt-silver-wrapped threads were used sparingly to highlight such areas as the initials *A* and *E* (see Figure 4), the brocaded dress, the collars on the dogs, and the apples on the tree.[13]

All three fragments are in comparable condition, which can be classified as fairly good. The silk weft is fragile. Broken warp and warp and weft losses are evident. The metallic threads have tarnished, and their brilliance is thus

6. Detail of the obverse and reverse of the fragment on the left in Figure 1, showing the hunter. The colors on the obverse (left) have faded, and the deep green foliage appears blue. The colors on the reverse (right) retain their rich tones.







7. Detail of the obverse (left) and reverse (right) of the fragment on the lower right in Figure 1, showing the head of the unicorn. The placement of slits creates texture in the mane of the unicorn. Dovetailing and double interlocking features were used to bridge color junctures.

reduced.[14] Some damage is the result of degradation; in other cases an unsightly mark or stain has been cut out, leaving holes. Past restoration is noticeable in some small areas, including a patch placed behind a hole in the lower part of the tree trunk in the fragment depicting the hunter and small weft replacements in the left shoulder of the maiden's companion and in the collar of the hound perched over the unicorn's back. These restorations are well integrated into the original weaving. There is puckering in several areas, such as in the hair and the hat of the hunter, the unicorn's mane, and the tree trunk. Puckering was caused by warp shrinkage during wet-cleaning.

The color preservation presents no surprises. The original colors are still vivid on the reverse, retaining much deeper and richer tones than those on the front, where all colors are subdued and some have faded (see Figure 6).[15] Deep purple wool weft, used to create the texture of the hunter's hat, has faded to olive green, losing the original fine modeling, which is still vivid when examined from the reverse. The yellow dye component, the most fugitive dye employed, has faded to a large degree so that areas originally woven in green now appear blue. Blue and black are the most stable dyes; the bright blue sky, woven with indigotin-containing dye (probably woad), has barely faded over the centuries. To achieve brown or black, a combination of madder, weld, and an indigotin-containing dye such as woad was used. This practice has helped to preserve the fragments and also testifies to their high quality. Brown-dyed yarns used in the pictorial images or for outlining design elements are frequently dyed with tannins and iron mordant and usually disintegrate, contributing to the fragility of a textile.[16] In addition, long slits were closed with overcast and blanket stitches, and dovetailing and double interlocking features were used to bridge color junctures (see Figure 7).[17] These joins are still intact, contributing to the fragment's integral condition and providing further evidence of the high quality of the weaving.



8. Detail of the fragment on the left in Figure 1, showing the remnant of a start or finish border along the left edge

Along the left edge of the hunter fragment, a narrow band 59½ inches (151 cm) high survives (Figure 8). The width of the band is uneven, varying from ⅛ to ½ inch (3 to



9. Detail of the fragment on the left in Figure 1, showing examples of dropped warps

11 mm). The band, in fragmentary condition, is fragile and fraying, but the color preservation is good. This left edge is recognizable as the remnant of a start or finish border. It is woven with wool weft threads in four colors. The color sequence from inside to outside—at the widest area—is red (8 weft threads), orange (3 weft threads), pale brownish purple (6 weft threads), and beige (10 wool weft threads). The number of weft threads determines the width of each stripe, but the width of the original band cannot be established. The weft yarns of orange and light brownish purple wool in the border do not recur in the pictorial imagery of the tapestry fragments.[18] The start and finish borders did not serve a decorative purpose but, rather, were turned to the back after removal of the tapestry from the loom. Frequently, tapestries were woven from the back with the image positioned sideways to the weaver. Once removed from the loom, the tapestry would be rotated 90 degrees so that the image would be in the desired orientation. The start and finish borders then resembled the right and left edges of the tapestry. In fortuitous cases, these borders survive. It is often the top and the bottom edges that suffer the most from handling and display.

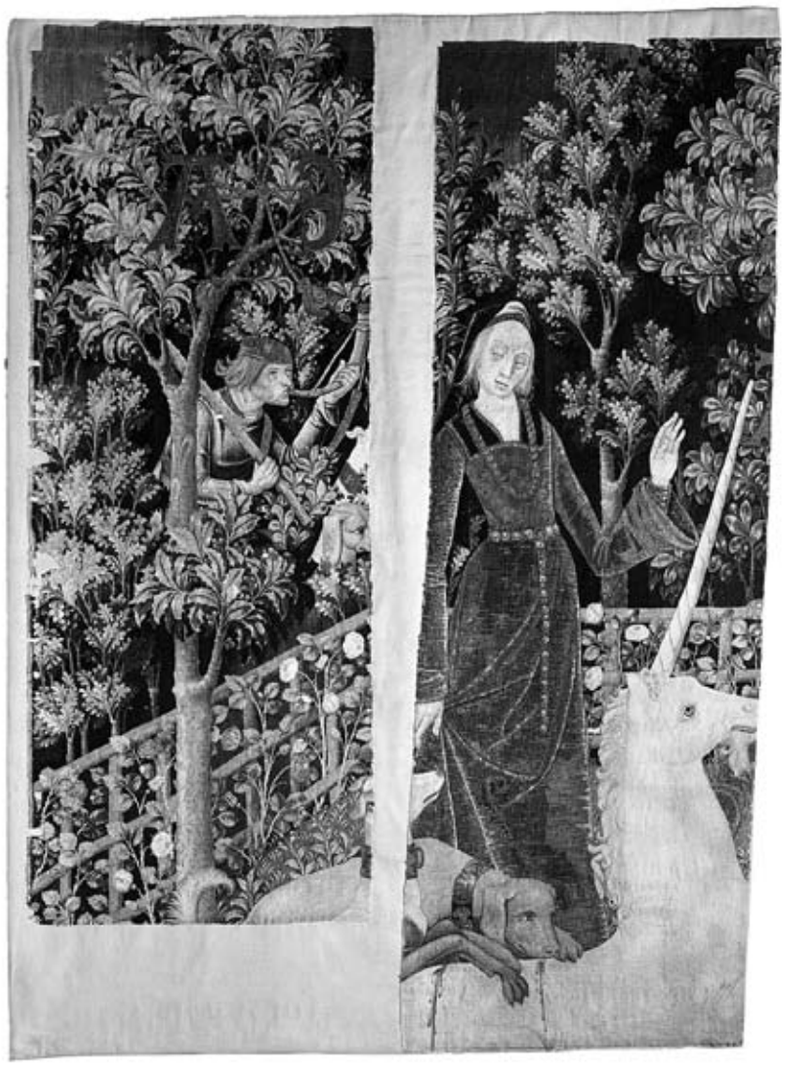
In examining a tapestry, it is often difficult to determine the side from which it was woven. Technical examination of *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* suggests that the tapestry to which the fragments belong was woven from left to right (when seen from the reverse with the image in the desired orientation). Throughout the fragments, nineteen areas can be found where either four warp ends merge into two or three warp ends merge into one warp. When facing the fragments from the reverse in hanging position, the number of merging warps increases from the left to the right edge: six merging warps are present on the fragment depicting the maiden's companion, and thirteen are found on the fragment illustrating the hunter (see Figure 9). None is visible on the smallest fragment.

When the warp concentration was too high, warp threads would abrade from the friction created during the weaving process and could eventually break. The weaver would not necessarily incorporate the broken warp back into the weave: the warp would be "dropped." In the fragments the location of these dropped, or merging, warps appears random. If the tapestry is viewed from the reverse, however, it can be seen that "dropped" warps increase toward the (suggested) end of the weaving. In tapestry weaving additional warp was commonly added for the weaving of a delicate passage, such as a face or a hand, but this is not a significant factor in the fragments, where the warp count increased by one warp only in the face of the maiden's companion, changing from seven to eight per inch.

The colored band on the left edge of the fragment depicting the hunter is not even, and the weft threads are not



10. The three tapestry fragments of *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* (Figure 1) as they arrived at the Museum in 1938, nailed to a backboard



11. During a 1974 treatment the three fragments (see Figure 1) were remounted, exposing all of the original weaving. The finished piece measured 78½ x 57⅞ in. (199.4 x 147 cm).

perpendicular to the warp. With the loom furnished with newly strung warp threads, the weaver began the hanging by inserting continuous threads in different colors to create a band, called the starting band. At the completion of the weaving, the weaver created the same striped band, the finishing band. The finishing band can pose a challenge, especially after weaving a complex pictorial design. Some unevenness could also occur from warp shrinkage, however, after removal of the finished tapestry from the loom. As the tapestry is cut off, the tension is released and the once-taut surface becomes pliable.

If indeed these observations support the suggestion that the tapestry to which these fragments belong was woven from the left side to the right, the maiden (of which only the right hand and sleeve survive), dressed in her richly brocaded cloth of wool, silk, and metallic threads, would have been woven before anything else in these fragments.

The fragments had undergone treatment prior to entering the Metropolitan's collection. A handwoven rectangular piece in tapestry weave measuring 9½ by 25¾ inches (24 by 65.3 cm) had been joined to the upper edge of the fragment depicting the hunter, completing the missing top of the foliage. A narrow tapestry-woven strip of 1 by 16¼ inches (2.5 by 41.2 cm) was joined to the small fragment, straightening its ragged edge. The fragments arrived at the Metropolitan nailed to a backboard (Figure 10). When removed from the backboard, nail stains remained, as can be observed in photographs taken at that time.

During 1937 and 1938, the conservation of the set of Unicorn Tapestries was in the hands of Baroness Wilhelmine von Godin.[19] She and four assistants prepared the six newly acquired tapestries for exhibition in the course of one year. Under her supervision, the tapestries were wet-cleaned in the Cloisters courtyard and fragile areas were consolidated.[20] The delicate top edges—the tapestries had once been carefully trimmed around the landscape and treetop lines—were supported by being placed on pieces of blue fabric, which were deliberately dyed unevenly to resemble the missing sky. A note in the files warns that if these modern additions were exposed to water the dyed fabric would "bleed out black." In addition, gallons (narrow woven strips, usually found on the outermost edges of tapestries)—assembled in many smaller strips—were handwoven by the baroness and her assistants, duplicating the originals. These gallons were sewn around the sides of each tapestry, covering what had survived of the fragile original borders.

The fragments were remounted by the baroness onto a new support. In an effort to exhibit a piece with even sides, the fragments were squared off: the later addition joined to the left fragment was turned to the back, and 9⅞ inches (25 cm) of the original weaving depicting the maiden's companion was turned under, hiding a large part of the unicorn's body. The outermost perimeter was wrapped around the sides of the frame, hiding part of the original fragment, including the narrow band on the hunter fragment. To fill the vertical gap between the fragments, a dark fabric was placed on top of the inner edges of the fragments, slightly covering part of the original. In this configuration, *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* was on display for nearly thirty-five years (see Figure 3).

Further conservation was undertaken in preparation for the exhibition "Masterpieces of Tapestry from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," mounted in 1973–74 at the Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais and the Metropolitan Museum. Included were the famed tapestries The Lady with the Unicorn, from the Musée de Cluny, Paris, and sections of the Apocalypse Tapestry housed in the tapestry museum in the Château d'Angers.[21] Among the Metropolitan's twenty-two contributions to the exhibition were the seven Unicorn Tapestries.

In preparation for the exhibition, the fragments were taken down from the walls of The Cloisters. A departmental memorandum dated November 10, 1972, from Curator Margaret Freeman to Director Thomas Hoving proposed a change in the mounting:

> It has long seemed to me a great pity that such a large section of the right hand fragment should be turned under in order to make a pleasing rectangle. Would you consider keeping it intact and adding a blank piece of rep [ribbed fabric] (similar to the strip between) to square things off? The top of the left fragment could remain turned under since it is a restoration.

Hoving quickly responded. His memo dated November 22, 1972, to Curator Timothy Husband simply said: "Let's do it. Please return photo to Peg Freeman." Husband then contacted Nobuko Kajitani, the conservator responsible for the textile collection. His memo dated December 6, 1972, stated:

> Attached are the photograph and memoranda relating to the Unicorn fragment. The upper left restored area should remain turned under and the blank area below filled with a neutral material similar to what is presently used in the vertical strip. Would you kindly send the photograph to Miss Freeman in the Medieval Department when you are finished with it.

A memorandum from Kajitani dated May 24, 1973, states that in preparation for the exhibition, the fragments required the following work: "Remove existing lining, straps, and webbing. Cleaning. Reweave missing areas. Apply lining, straps and webbing."[22]

The 1938 mounting was removed, and further discussions led to the removal of all the later additions.[23] The goal was to expose only what had survived from the original work, a practice then current in the field of textile conservation. Following wet-cleaning,[24] the fragments were placed onto a cotton cloth in rep weave. The texture of the cloth was pleasing, but it did not provide either a good color match or a good support. Acrylic paint was applied to areas on the mounting fabric that the fragments did not cover. Both were backed with a cotton muslin fabric. The narrow vertical gap between the two fragments on the right was closed by inserting a dark blue, plain-woven fabric in cotton underneath the loss. Mercerized cotton embroidery floss was used to affix the fragments to their support fabrics. A lining of polished black cotton was attached, and a Velcro band attached to webbing was sewn along all four edges for mounting on an aluminum frame.[25]

The completed work (Figure 11) had straight top and bottom edges. The highest point of the hunter fragment was the upper point of the mount; the lowest point of the fragment with the maiden's companion reached the lower edge of the mount. The right edge of the original served as the turning point for the mounting fabric, exposing the tapestry in an uneven shape. Along the left edge a margin of mounting fabric measuring about 2 inches (5 cm) was exposed.

In 2004, the fragments were again removed from the walls at The Cloisters and their condition was evaluated. Although their condition had held up, the 1974 support had long appeared unsuitable, having discolored from years of display, and no longer met Metropolitan Museum standards.

It was decided to remove the fragments from the support. Careful documentation and detailed photography followed. Samples for a new support were prepared, with the goal of producing a fabric that resembled the weaving of the original. Finally, three shades of beige wool yarns were dyed in the Metropolitan's laboratory and plied in various combinations to serve as the weft. Unlike commercially available fabric, the handwoven fabric in discontinuous tapestry weave creates a lively texture. Its warp is made of undyed wool, consisting of three yarns with a Z-twist, plied into an S-direction. The weft consists of two yarns with a Z-twist, plied into an S-direction.[26] For additional support, this fabric was joined to a heavyweight beige cotton fabric. The assemblage was then placed on a roller table and the fragments were aligned.

After the fragments were basted onto the new support, they were stitched onto it with DMC cotton embroidery floss. Because of the fragility of the hunter fragment, especially the tapestry's delicate border, selected areas were reinforced with dyed rep fabric before being attached to the main support. In addition, losses in the upper left and right corners were substituted with dyed wool rep. The narrow open space between the two fragments on the right was filled by embroidery stitches in colored wool yarn. This work was done on a roller, which allowed for the sewing to be done with one hand above the roller and the other underneath.

To provide optimum reinforcement, the fragments were mounted onto a rectangular fabric support, allowing at least a one-inch border around all four edges (see Figure 1). The fragments were finished with four straight edges (in contrast to the previous mounting, in which they were finished in an uneven shape). Thus, it was possible to stitch the hanging system (consisting of a Velcro strip sewn onto cotton webbing) through the modern material. This procedure allows for the tapestry to be attached to the solid support for installation on the wall (see Figure 1). The piece was lined with a beige cotton sateen fabric. A band of Velcro 2 inches (5.1 cm) wide was used along the top edge, and another band 1 inch (2.5 cm) wide along the remaining edges. The fragments were returned to their home in The Cloisters Unicorn Room.

Since the fragments of *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn* entered the Metropolitan's collection, their conservation has been guided by existing state-of-the-art principles and techniques. As in other fields, however, textile conservation is ever evolving. The most recent conservation of the fragments began with a study of their composition and manufacture. The conservation of the fragments respected the surviving originals, but with a willingness to reverse previous conservation treatments. Drawing on the close study of the fragments, great effort was made to use supporting materials that were close to the original materials in both composition and appearance. The most unobtrusive backing possible was employed, and the fragments were placed in proper relation to one another. The recently completed conservation of the fragments attempts to make the image easier to read while at the same time providing additional support. The intention is both to protect the fragments and to suggest, to the extent imagination will allow, a sense of the original tapestry, surely an equal to the other masterpieces that illustrate the Hunt of the Unicorn.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Forsyth 1992.
2. See Rorimer 1938; Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, pp. 88–90; Freeman 1976; Salet 1978; and Williamson 1986.
3. Cavallo 1993, pp. 313–18, 325.
4. Cavallo 1998, p. 45.
5. Campbell 2002, p. 78.
6. Ibid., p. 74. In fact, there is no consensus on the title of the fragments. The name given at The Cloisters is *The Mystic Capture of the Unicorn*. Some scholars prefer *The Mystic Hunt* or *The Unicorn Is Tamed by the Maiden*. Cavallo (in 1993, p. 297) divides the title into two, one for each larger fragment: *A Hunter Sounds the Capture of the Unicorn by the Maiden* and *The Maiden's Companion Signals to the Hunters*.
7. The approximate dimensions of the tapestries were listed in an inventory made in 1680. It also lists a short description of their condition. See Freeman 1976, p. 221.
8. The meaning of the *AE* cipher remains unresolved. See Campbell 2002, pp. 78–79.
9. The tapestries illustrating the Hunt of the Unicorn depict a large variety of plants that have symbolic meaning. Almost all of the 101 different species have been identified. See Alexander and Woodward 1941.
10. Helmut Nickel (1982) made an attempt to reconstruct the tapestry fragments, drawing on *Sight*, one of six tapestries in the series The Lady with the Unicorn at the Musée de Cluny in Paris.
11. Geneviève Souchal (1974, p. 78) suggests that the upper parts of the tapestries, which she believes must have borne coats of arms, were removed at the time of the French Revolution, when the Société Populaire of Ruffec urged the Société Populaire of Verteuil to destroy any tapestries with royal arms. Images that have survived showing the tapestries on display in the château of the La Rochefoucauld family at Verteuil about 1890–1900 indicate that the tops had been cut around the tree and landscape lines on four of the tapestries (MMA 37.80.2–5).
12. In 2007, Mark Wypyski, research scientist in the MMA's Department of Scientific Research, analyzed the composition of three different metal-wrapped thread samples using energy-dispersive

X-ray spectrometry in the scanning electron microscope (SEM-EDS). He concluded that the metal strip wrapped around the silk core is gilt-silver.

13. For an explanation of how a tapestry was woven, see Campbell 2002, pp. 5–6.
14. For a discussion on medieval gilt-silver-wrapped threads, see Járo 1998.
15. Dye analysis was performed in 2007 by Nobuko Shibayama, associate research scientist in the MMA's Department of Scientific Research, using high performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) with a photodiode (PDA) detector. Shibayama identified the following dyes: weld, dyer's broom, a madder-type dye (probably *Rubia tinctorum*), and an indigotin-containing dye such as woad.
16. See Masschelein-Kleiner 1979, p. 38, and Schweppe 1993, pp. 81–82.
17. For a definition of the stitches, see Thomas 1935, pp. 10–11, 156.
18. Bands survive on four other hangings: *The Unicorn Is Found* (MMA 37.80.2), *The Unicorn Leaps out of the Stream* (MMA 37.80.3), *The Unicorn at Bay* (MMA 37.80.4), and *The Unicorn Is Killed and Brought to the Castle* (MMA 37.80.5). The color sequence from inside to outside is white, red, and pale purplish brown. The bands are fragile. Shortly after the tapestries entered the collection, the remnants of the original border were covered with a modern gallon. A small fragment on the lower left edge of the tapestry *The Unicorn Leaps across the Stream* (MMA 37.80.3) has been left exposed. It is discolored and soiled.
19. Maloney 1939.
20. The wet-cleaning procedure is described in Kajitani 1987, pp. 56–57.
21. Souchal 1974.
22. This was proposed by Kajitani in consultation with Knud Nielsen, head of the Conservation Department. All of the cited memos are preserved in the departmental files at the MMA.
23. The later additions were placed in storage mounts and are housed in the Antonio Ratti Textile Center.
24. The fragments were last wet-cleaned in 1972; see Kajitani 1987, p. 57.
25. The occasion of the 1973–74 exhibition prompted the use of frames that were lightweight and easily assembled, and could also be used for displaying the tapestries at The Cloisters. The frames are constructed of aluminum. Similar frames are used for other tapestries at The Cloisters.
26. This yarn was custom-spun by Allen A. Fannin to Nobuko Kajitani's specification. Since 1982 it has been used in the department as warp and weft replacement in the restoration of tapestries.

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Organic Patinas on Small Bronzes of the Italian Renaissance

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Small bronzes of the Italian Renaissance were in general deliberately patinated, but the actual nature of these patinas has been given surprisingly little attention.[1] This scholarly neglect must be attributed to the silence of the literary sources. Except for a bare handful of citations such as those of the Paduan Pomponius Gauricus in *De sculptura* of 1504 and a single sentence in Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* of 1550, contemporary documents yield no information as to how organic patinas—frequently called "lacquers" or "varnishes"—were actually created.[2] And although virtually every modern discussion of small Renaissance bronzes sooner or later makes reference to patinas, especially in the contexts of condition and attribution, the actual composition or production of these varnishes is seldom mentioned. This omission is not surprising, given that the patinas are notoriously difficult to describe in words and that even high-quality color photographs can sometimes be very deceptive.[3] The patinas' usual range of colors is quite narrow (whether opaque or translucent, they are usually somewhere between brown and black), and most if not all of them have been altered either by time or by design.

Other issues have posed obstacles to research. First, there is the unavoidable fact that one can seldom be absolutely sure that the patina seen on a bronze is in its original condition. Small bronzes have frequently been considered little more than household furniture and have been routinely waxed and polished like bric-a-brac or even repatinated if they appeared worn or shabby. Other examples leave little doubt that bronzes were systematically repatinated to suit a collector's tastes. There is also the possibility of deliberate deception.

Studies of patination inevitably lead to the problems posed by repatination. Any serious connoisseur of bronzes comes to know what the surfaces of a familiar sculptor's bronzes look like, but an unexpected patina can raise many questions. A careful examination of a bronze's surface, aided by magnification and a truly strong light, when possible, yields important evidence. When bronzes were repatinated, the old patinas were seldom entirely stripped off; many genuine organic patinas are, as will be discussed below, amazingly tough and insoluble. Thus it is often but not always possible to see telltale dark patches of an older patina lurking beneath a newer, more translucent one. These patches generally indicate only that the present patina is not original, and thus have no bearing on a proposed attribution.

The patinas to be discussed in this article, based on research conducted in 1990 and in subsequent years, are entirely organic in nature—that is, composed of natural oils and resins. Most, if not all, Renaissance patinas are organic.[4] In 1990, along with Norman Indictor and Raymond White, both organic chemists, I published a purely technical article on a select group of sixteen small bronzes of the Italian Renaissance in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[5] We chose bronzes whose patinas—the "lacquers" or "varnishes" so frequently mentioned in the literature—were probably organic, in our judgment, and had a reasonable chance of being original.

The chemical analysis of organic patinas is quite demanding and poses certain difficulties. In order to preserve the integrity of the bronze, samples taken must be minute—micrograms—and merely physically manipulating and storing such samples without loss or contamination requires extreme care. All too frequently, these organic coatings are so oxidized and insoluble that any attempt at chemical manipulation required for their study destroys them. Consequently, the intractable nature of these patinas means that any single analysis may or may not yield useful results. This frequently leads the researcher to pool analytical results from a group of bronzes that appear to have identical

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1. Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (Italian, active by 1496, died before 1543). *Saint Christopher*, 1495–1505. Bronze, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1410)

2. Attributed to Camelio (Vittore Gambello) (Italian, ca. 1460–1537). *Hercules Shooting the Stymphalian Birds,* ca. 1515–20. Bronze, H. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1964 (64.304.2)

patinas and are all believed to be by the same hand. The hope is that what eludes detection in one example will be found in another, although this goal is not always realized.[6]

The most common color for Italian Renaissance patinas is probably black or near-black. Both the 2001 exhibition *Donatello e il suo tempo* in Padua and the 2008–9 exhibition *Andrea Riccio: Renaissance Master of Bronze* at the Frick Collection demonstrated just how fond the sculptors of the Paduan school were of opaque black patinas (as were, apparently, most sculptors of sixteenth-century Italy north of the Apennines, especially the Venetians).[7] This is not to say that all black patinas were necessarily produced in the same way or that all northern Italian patinas were black.

Both Vasari and Gauricus specifically mention black patinas. The sculptor Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, who worked in Padua and apparently knew Gauricus, also chose black. Upon visual examination, Severo's *Saint Christopher* (Figure 1) in the Metropolitan Museum shows the remains of a rather glossy black original patina. It is quite thin, not very durable when handled, and consequently has only survived in the deeper recesses of the modeling. This unassuming patina seems to be the rule for Severo's bronzes and is apparently just a simple drying oil or varnish pigmented with carbon black.[8] Another northern Italian example, also in the Metropolitan Museum, is the *Hercules Shooting the Stymphalian Birds* (Figure 2), frequently attributed to the Venetian sculptor Camelio (Vittore Gambello). It has a similar but more attractive surface. Here we detected a varnish medium composed of walnut oil and a conifer resin.[9] The most common and presumably the least expensive varnish of the Renaissance, referred to as *vernice commune*, seems to have been a drying oil, most likely linseed,[10] which was cooked down with a conifer pitch, probably pine, the most readily available.[11] This addition of pine pitch improved

the gloss, but at the expense of durability. Presumably, the typical black patina of the Veneto consisted of some similar mixture, with the addition of a black pigment, probably mostly lampblack, which has very little bulk and consequently great tinctorial strength. The patina of the Severo *Saint Christopher* may very well be such an inexpensive mixture, although it has not been analyzed.

Severo has an exceptional place in the history of Renaissance bronzes, since he was, along with Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, ca. 1460–1528), one of the first sculptors who unquestionably practiced indirect casting and produced replicas of their own models.[12] These replicas provide the opportunity to compare a large group of essentially identical bronzes with one other. At first glance, both Severo and Antico seem to have played similar pioneering roles in the history of patination, since both clearly patinated their statues and in a systematic manner. This data may be misleading, however, since these sculptors' preferred styles of patination are more readily apparent because of the multiple replicas of their work. There were, no doubt, earlier organic patinas on indoor bronzes (which would include the small bronzes under discussion here), as the documents hint, but virtually none have been systematically investigated.[13]

The black paint patina, frequently rather heavily applied, remained the Veneto-Paduan standard. The Metropolitan Museum's *Madonna and Child* by Niccolò Roccatagliata (Figures 3, 4) is more or less representative of the group. The surface appears somewhat crusty and without any appearance of transparency. Closer examination reveals typical paint film defects such as incipient cleavage and apparently retouched flaking. There is a palpable sense that the patina is an applied layer of fairly irregular thickness that is physically separable from the surface of the metal. Hence, the patina looks just like what it is: a coat of paint. The finish might be appropriate to a larger-scale work, but here, instead of enhancing the piece, it just hides the raw bronze surface, flaws and all, under an opaque film.

This rather indifferent effect was not the case with all black paint patinas, however. The Metropolitan Museum's glorious *Saint Sebastian* (Figure 5) by the Venetian Alessandro Vittoria also has a northern Italian–style black patina, but one that is rich and glossy with hints of transparency that enhance the modeling. The coating seems inseparable from the surface of the bronze, like a taut, elastic skin. Vittoria's manner of patination, if not the color, is certainly parallel to the exquisite patinas of Giambologna (1529–1608) and his school and was probably directly influenced by them. The Giambologna patina was the finish that served as a paradigm for Florentine and much other bronze sculpture well into the eighteenth century.

In our 1990 study we were highly fortunate that the bronzes with the finest, often richly colored patinas—the well-documented bronzes of Giambologna and his circle—yielded the most interesting and revealing data. These included three small bronzes: *Saint John the Evangelist*, *The Risen Christ*, and *Saint Matthew* (Figure 6). All were from a Carthusian monastery south of Florence, the Certosa del Galluzzo, and were firmly documented as being by the hand of Antonio Susini and dating to 1596.[14]

The analytic methods used for detecting the organic components of patinas have distinct limitations.[15] If a specific organic substance is detected, it is almost certainly present, but the converse is not true. If a substance is not detected, it can nevertheless be present. One case in point, among many, is the patina on the handsome bust of Francesco I de' Medici (Figure 7) in the Metropolitan Museum, which was modeled by Giambologna and probably cast by Pietro Tacca (1577–1640). It has a magnificent organic patina of a striking color like that of a very old burgundy wine, but chemical analysis only detected "traces of an uncharacterized drying oil."[16] Resins must be present, and quite possibly an organic colorant (given the patina's unusual color), but none of these were found by the analytical instrumentation.[17] Again, more recent analyses have demonstrated that what we considered pine resin in 1990 could be at least two different resins: one true pine (the genus *Pinus*), and the other Burgundy pitch.[18] Burgundy pitch comes not from a pine but a spruce, in this case *Picea abies*, the so-called Norway spruce.[19] (This distinction proved to be of major significance with translucent patinas, as will be discussed below.) Mastic resin—so frequently mentioned in Renaissance sources—continues to be very difficult to detect, especially if previously heated, and larch resin (so-called Venice turpentine from *Larix decidua*) is even more so.[20] Although we found larch resin in the patina of the Susini *Risen Christ* in 1990, the resin was not identified as such in any of the recent analyses of a much larger group of bronzes.[21]

One insistently puzzling fact is that sources of the period frequently do not mention by name varnish ingredients one certainly might expect that they knew. For example, in his *Vocabulario toscano dell'arte del disegno*, written in 1681, Filippo Baldinucci is explicit in his definition of pitch: "Pitch . . . pine resin drawn from its wood by fire, a black and tenacious substance. . . . There is however an other sort that is called Greek pitch, and is straw colored."[22] Baldinucci unequivocally states that pitch is black pine resin, and *pece greca* merely the paler, higher-quality variety of it. His definition of the *abeti* (fir trees) says nothing about their producing any resin, but he does make an interesting observation about the trees themselves: "They may be found in great abundance at Falterona in the Apennines, and on other mountains in Tuscany."[23] One of the more common trees in the very area he names is the silver fir (*Abies alba*),

3. Niccolò Roccatagliata (Italian, active 1593–1636). *Madonna and Child,* 1600–1615. Bronze, H. 22½ in. (57.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.185)



4. Detail of Figure 3





5. Alessandro Vittoria (Italian, 1525–1608). *Saint Sebastian*, 1566. Bronze, H. 21⅝ in. (54.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1940 (40.24)



6. Models and casts by Antonio Susini (Italian, active 1580–1624), possibly after designs by Giambologna (Giovanni Bologna; Italian, ca. 1529–1608). Left: *Saint John the Evangelist*, 1596. Bronze, H. 10⅞ in. (27.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1957 (57.136.1). Center: *The Risen Christ*, 1596. Bronze, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1963 (63.39). Right: *Saint Matthew*, 1596. Bronze, H. 10⅝ in. (27 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1957 (57.136.2)

which is the source of the frequently mentioned resin *olio di abezzo*.[24] With regard to larch, which Baldinucci likewise includes among the *abeti*,[25] he again says nothing about its resin but does make the teasing observation that the larch is considered miraculously flammable simply because "this tree is bituminous and ignites quite readily."[26] If Baldinucci was ignorant—or indifferent—to the use of larch turpentine and even Tuscan *olio di abezzo* (today called Strasbourg turpentine) in the arts, others were not. For example, the anonymous author of the Marciana manuscript of the first half of the sixteenth century gives a recipe for "a varnish of 'olio di abezzo' which dries both in the sun and the shade" and even warns that the material is subject to adulteration, a sure sign that it was valued.[27]

Numerous analyses suggest that—with the exception of the rare chemical patinas—mineral pigments such as ochers or umbers were not present in significant amounts, if at all, in the patinas of the Italian Renaissance. Since the 1990 study, this author has further analyzed numerous Renaissance bronzes using X-ray fluorescence (XRF). While XRF performs only elemental analysis, it does so quite reliably. No more than trace amounts of iron and manganese were ever detected, even in quite darkly colored patinas. Since the two most common transparent earth pigments—burnt sienna and burnt umber—contain iron, and iron plus manganese, respectively, the XRF findings seem to indicate that deeply colored patinas were produced without these pigments.



7. After a model by Giambologna, probably cast by Pietro Tacca (Italian, 1577–1640). *Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici*, modeled 1585–87, cast ca. 1611. Bronze, H. 30½ in. (77.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of Irwin Untermyer and Bequest of Ella Morris de Peyster, by exchange; Edith Perry Chapman Bequest; Robert Lehman Foundation Inc. Gift; Edward J. Gallagher Jr. Bequest, in memory of his father, Edward Joseph Gallagher, his mother, Ann Hay Gallagher, and his son, Edward Joseph Gallagher III; and Harris Brisbane Dick, Rogers, Pfeiffer, Louis V. Bell and Dodge Funds, 1983 (1983.450)

For further confirmation of this hypothesis, microsamples of typical brown translucent patina were carefully removed from an individual bronze from the Giambologna studio, the Metropolitan Museum's *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (Figure 8), for analysis by energy-dispersive spectroscopy in the Museum's scanning electron microscope. Only minute quantities of iron and no manganese whatsoever were detected.[28]

Put simply, there seem to be no mineral pigments present in sufficient amount to provide any more than a faint modifying tint, at most, on all the bronzes in the circle of Giambologna, and apparently on Italian bronzes in general.[29] This paucity of mineral pigments leads to a major question: how, in fact, were the warm, dark, but translucent patinas of the Renaissance actually produced?

Vasari's one sentence on patination in the *Vite* is curious, especially regarding "black" patinas: "Some make it black with oil; others with vinegar make it green, and others give it a black color with varnish."[30] Why is black the only color mentioned besides green? Since Vasari, writing in 1550, probably had monumental, frequently-exposed sculpture foremost in mind, one cannot help but think that he meant *oscuro* (dark) rather than *nero* (black). For example, Italians still frequently speak of wine as being *nero*, not red but black. One thing is certain. Vasari refers to oil and varnish, but like Gauricus, he does not mention *colori* (paints), an omission that tallies well with the hypothesis that inorganic mineral pigments were not used in Italian bronzes in general. Contemporary sources may yield only limited evidence, but recent investigations by this author suggest a very plausible explanation of how a variety of lustrous, dark, translucent patinas ranging from rich warm browns to almost black were produced, at least in the late sixteenth-century circle of Giambologna and his followers in Florence.

The Metropolitan Museum is fortunate in having a number of well-documented bronzes from the Giambologna circle with well-preserved original patinas, all of which are a rich, translucent brown. The most artistically outstanding of these are the three above-mentioned Certosa del Galluzzo bronzes (see Figure 6). As noted, they are from the hand of Antonio Susini, who by 1580 was a major assistant to Giambologna and, by 1600, a sculptor with a studio of his own. Susini was arguably the most skillful bronze chaser and finisher of the Italian Renaissance. *Saint John the Evangelist*, *The Risen Christ*, and *Saint Matthew,* all of 1596, remained in the Certosa del Galluzzo until the end of the eighteenth century. Their documentation has never been questioned, and all are in excellent condition. Even under careful microscopic inspection, I could not find the slightest evidence of subsequent intervention or any more than a moderate degree of wear. For striking proof of just how pristine these patinas are, one may look at the underside of Saint Matthew's book—usually hidden by the angel supporting it—and discover what house painters call a "holiday," a spot missed when the patinating varnish was applied (Figure 9). The bare metal is untouched and only lightly tarnished.[31] A fourth bronze designed by Giambologna was also examined: an exceedingly fine *Pacing Horse* (Figure 10). Its patina, while somewhat more worn than the previous three examples, is otherwise unaltered and absolutely typical.

It was already apparent in the 1990 analyses that all the bronzes studied must contain a drying oil, which was positively detected as linseed. The patinas also contained resins. Mastic resin, an exudate from a tree closely related to the pistachio, was detected in the *Pacing Horse*. The horse's patina also contained conifer pitch, then identified as pine, as did *The Risen Christ*, along with the rarely detected larch resin, so-called Venice turpentine. Maddeningly, nothing at all could be found in the patina of the *Saint Matthew*. Despite this apparent heterogeneity, it is clear that all the bronzes have some sort of oil-and-resin varnish—that is, a



8. After a model by Giambologna. *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar*, 1630–65. Bronze, H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.100)



9. Detail of Figure 6 (right), showing the "holiday" below the angel's hand and forearm where the patinating varnish was not applied



10. After a model by Giambologna. *Pacing Horse*, 1587–91. Bronze, H. 9⅝ in. (24.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ogden Mills, 1924 (24.212.23)

varnish made from a resin that had been heated in oil until it dissolved. When traditionally prepared, such a varnish is typically quite dark—sometimes virtually black—and very viscous. Yet if thinned with spirits of turpentine (*aqua di ragia*), or simply more oil, the varnish can be painted onto a surface in a thin layer that is surprisingly pale—no darker than light amber—and nothing like a dark brown Renaissance patina.

How might the color have turned from light amber to dark brown? As paintings conservators know, thin, pale oil-and-resin films, when sufficiently aged over many decades

or even centuries, may turn quite dark. Thus, it might be thought that patinas, like picture varnishes, were very much lighter when first applied than they are now. This is exceedingly improbable. When Vasari says that the patinas were made to be "black," surely he does not mean that it would take centuries for them to darken to that color. By the time Giambologna and his circle were fully active in Florence in the late sixteenth century, methods of patination were certainly being consciously chosen not only for their color but also for their translucency and for their uniform appearance throughout whole suites of bronzes. The Certosa del Galluzzo bronzes are all identical in color, deep chestnut brown in the wear-protected areas, while the *Pacing Horse* is only slightly darker in shade. Brown is probably the most common choice for Giambologna school patinas, but there are certainly others: a richer golden brown, a strikingly original clear red, and even a more or less "neutral" amber, among others. The colors, while varied, are not haphazard. Standard formulas and application procedure were obviously used, since strikingly similar patinas could be achieved whenever desired. It is extremely likely, for instance, that the Certosa del Galluzzo bronzes, all from the same commission and of identical color, were all patinated in the same way.

We generally regard patinas as more or less decorative afterthoughts, sometimes chosen with artistic care but otherwise merely a necessity to hide the inevitable patches and repairs subsequent to casting. On at least one occasion, however, the tables were turned, and it was the method of patination that encouraged a major innovation in the mechanical finishing of the cast bronze surface. Patinas, if sufficiently translucent, have not only an aesthetic advantage but an important drawback: especially when new, they can hide little. Consequently, the finish on the underlying bronze surface must be virtually perfect if the final bronze is to appear truly flawless. The use of these translucent patinas in the Giambologna circle eventually led to such innovations as the use of precision screw plugs in the finishing of bronzes, allowing repairs that were essentially invisible even prior to patination. Although the principle of the screw was known from antiquity, no use of screws is known in metal sculpture before Severo da Ravenna, and then only as rather coarsely threaded screws useful only for mechanical joins.[32] In fact, it was not until the last quarter of the sixteenth century that screws could be cut with sufficient accuracy to permit their use in precision instruments such as clocks or even micrometers.[33] With such a precision technology available, the Giambologna studio began to use finely cut screw plugs, made of the same alloy as the statuette itself, to repair small defects in bronzes such as the holes left by core supports or random porosity. These repairs are almost invariably so well executed as to be perfectly invisible except through radiography, with which it is usually easy to detect the threaded plugs screwed into their threaded holes. Although translucent patinas were certainly in use before screw plugs became practicable, the plugs eventually became a virtual signature of Giambologna and his followers. These champions of the "faultless" bronze employed the plugs to help them mend any flaws invisibly, thus allowing the freer use of translucent patinas. On the other hand, translucent patinas made exquisite crafting of these bronze surfaces all the more visible, thus helping to elicit favorable comparisons to enameled gold, certainly a desired intent.

Many of our original patina analyses of 1990 were too ambiguous, and the number of patina samples tested too small, to do more than suggest how these translucent patinas were produced.[34] Consequently, I resorted to a simple empirical program of experimentation, using materials that we detected in the patinas we analyzed or those that were known by documentary evidence to have been available in sixteenth-century Italy. Some of the materials found by analysis were probably not of the period, such as shellac—still the favorite touch-up medium for bronzes but seemingly not in use until after the sixteenth century. Others, like beeswax and nondrying fats, were definitely in use at the time but only as superficial polishes, since their direct addition to a varnish would only severely impair its quality.

Numerous recipes for historical varnishes are known today, and many more probably lurk in such sources as the exceedingly popular sixteenth-century (and later) books of collected recipes for everything from curing plague to removing grease spots.[35] Even serious collections of recipes, however, such as the early seventeenth-century de Mayerne manuscript on the materials of painting, are far more striking for their repetition than their variety.[36] In any one epoch only a small number of varnish materials are mentioned with regularity. Drying oils (such as linseed and walnut), resins such as mastic, juniper (*sandaraca*) and other conifer resins and pitches, as well as mineral bitumen (*pece di giudea*), are some of the materials that appear most often; others are only occasionally mentioned or are obviously fanciful and inappropriate to varnish making. This limited range of oils and resins suggests that the translucent patinas of Giambologna are more likely to have been achieved through the ingenious manipulation of familiar materials than through the use of any unique ingredients.

As important as the ingredients of a varnish is its method of application. It is well known that heat speeds the drying of a varnish film. (In fact, during the Renaissance varnished paintings were routinely exposed to sun to speed their drying.[37]) This simple principle was eventually exploited commercially to create what are now called stoving varnishes for metal objects. The piece was given a coat of an oil-and-

resin varnish, fairly similar to those discussed above, and then baked in an oven. The varnish cured rapidly to give a hard, tough, and very adherent film. Since rapid, high-temperature curing severely darkened the films, these varnishes were usually pigmented to hide that fact.

Although the process was well known by the nineteenth century, this author has not, so far, been able to find a sixteenth-century reference that explicitly describes patinating bronzes by stoving them. Nevertheless, there are some early precedents. Theophilus Presbyter, writing about 1100, describes the sgrafitto decoration of copper blackened by a burnt-on coating of oil.[38] Later in the Middle Ages, linseed or walnut oil was applied to gold surfaces and heated under milder conditions to form thin, russet-colored films that permitted delicate sgraffito decoration—a technique known as *brun émail*. Much later, Pomponius Gauricus describes a black patina made by applying a varnish of liquid pitch to the bronze and then exposing it to the smoke of burning damp straw.[39] This certainly could produce a black, but not very durable, coating. The recipe is nevertheless pertinent because it involves the heating of a bronze surface previously coated with an organic material in order to darken it.[40]

The above-mentioned Marciana manuscript provides an interesting recipe for the application of a varnish to metal subsequently heated to darken and harden it.[41] The varnish recipe, while specifically recommended for protecting ferrous metals (that is, those subject to rust)—namely "arquebuses, crossbows and iron armor"—could just as well been applied to bronze.[42] The varnish is made from a mixture of linseed oil, *vernice in grana* (juniper resin, the so-called *sandaraca*), and "clear Greek pitch" all cooked together.[43] The piece is first scraped and polished, and then heated "in a hot oven since that is a better place to heat it than anywhere else."[44] The varnish is subsequently spread with a piece of wood on the hot metal, until the coating adheres well and gives the piece a "beautiful variegated color."[45] Since the Marciana author also warns against heating the metal too hot and "frying" the varnish, the temperature need not have been any hotter than the use of a baker's oven suggests, about 200° C. The author also notes that if you replace the Greek pitch with "naval" pitch, *pece navale*—no doubt the *pece nere* of Baldinucci, the byproduct of the production of charcoal from a coniferous wood—he believes it would make the work black (*nero*). As in the reference in Vasari's *Vite,* no pigment is mentioned, and it seems likely that by *nero* the author only means dark, since even the most "cooked" samples of oil-and-resin varnishes produce only a dark and not a true black color, unless actually carbonized by heat as described by Theophilus.[46] Another intriguing, if somewhat later, source refers to a very similar varnishing procedure. In 1645, Abraham Bosse (1602–1676), the prolific and well-known engraver, published the *Traité des manieres de graver en taille douce*, the first book on the art of etching.[47] The etching ground he recommends consists of heating either linseed or walnut oil with various resins until the mixture forms what he describes as transparent reddish syrup.[48] This varnish, which thickens when cooled, must consequently be spread hot—with the palm of one's hand, no less—onto a copper etching plate.[49] The horizontally supported plate is then further heated by carefully surrounding it with burning coals until the varnish is hard.[50] This is clearly a recipe for a stoving varnish, if on copper rather than bronze.

There was thus sufficient historical evidence, even if indirect, to justify my empirical trials. These included many false starts and blind alleys, as well as the more fruitful and informative experiments that will be described here. I experimented with baking varnishes of known composition onto thinly rolled, rectangular test pieces, so-called coupons, most of which were a genuine 8% tin bronze. The baked varnish samples were shared with Václav Pitthard, conservation scientist at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, who conducted analyses of them. The information from this investigation increased our knowledge to the point of warranting publication: a joint study of these patinas of known composition is currently in press.[51]

In one instance I prepared a varnish by cooking together equal weights of linseed oil and mastic resin until the resin totally dissolved. I then diluted it with spirits of turpentine and applied it to a coupon of tin bronze. After it was allowed to dry to tackiness (to prevent it from running or frilling when subsequently heated), the sample was placed in an oven at 130˚ C (266˚ F) for three hours. The resultant stoved varnish film was a clear pale amber (rather than dark in color) that was hard, tough, and adherent. It was also resistant to solvents, swelling but not dissolving when soaked in commercial paint stripper, and even the solvent-swollen varnish film could only be removed by rather vigorous scraping. The sheer physical durability of these stoved varnishes is certainly one of the reasons for their use as bronze patinas. The next varnish trial was similar to the first but with the addition of a conifer resin, in this case Burgundy pitch, chosen in the hope of producing a darker color. After a number of trials with the Burgundy pitch it became apparent that the best color was developed after six hours at about 150˚ C (302˚ F). In tone and luster the resulting patina was strikingly similar to the handsome translucent brown ones of the Giambologna circle discussed above, especially if a little lampblack was added (Figure 11).[52] It should be pointed out that whereas Burgundy pitch worked well, trials with various other resins, especially ordinary pine resin, did not yield colors resembling Giambologna's patinas or, indeed, those of any Renaissance bronzes.[53]



11. Three coupons of stoved varnish containing Burgundy pitch. From left to right: no carbon black, some carbon black, more carbon black

Other trials with this varnish combination of mastic and Burgundy pitch revealed that more pitch and high temperatures favor darker colors, but too much pitch gives a brittle film of inferior quality and a tendency to frill and run during stoving. Linseed and walnut oil seem to work equally well, and the larch resin (Venice turpentine) detected in the Certosa del Galluzzo *Risen Christ* can at least partially replace mastic, though to no striking advantage. The possibility of an addition of bitumen is somewhat more problematic. Bitumen, also called asphaltum, is a natural petroleum mineral, brownish black to black in color and with a glassy fracture.[54] It was well known in the Renaissance as *pece di giudea*, Judean pitch, so called because lumps of it were found floating in the Dead Sea. It was routinely confused, and is sometimes still, with *pece greca*, "Greek" pitch, a very different resinous material extracted from various species of pine. Bitumen can be obtained from a great variety of sources and with differing qualities, but only a few types are now available commercially in small quantities. Of these, the easiest to obtain today is the mineral pitch called Gilsonite™, which comes from Utah and was hardly accessible in Renaissance Italy. I did, however, try making a varnish of it with oil, mastic, and pine pitch. The results were unsatisfactory. The Gilsonite, though fairly soluble when hot, rapidly came out of solution as the varnish cooled. Seeking to find a sample of bitumen more geographically appropriate, I managed to track down a sample of genuine Dead Sea pitch, the true *pece di giudea*.[55] The results were scarcely more successful. Bitumen appears in a large number of old recipe collections as both a varnish and a colorant. If dissolved in spirits of turpentine, it gives a dark but perfectly transparent brown lacquer of an attractive shade. Unfortunately, although bitumen appears to be a glassy solid, it actually behaves more like an exceedingly viscous liquid and flows slowly, even in the cold. This cold flow produces traction fissures in the varnish film with frequently disastrous results. Although we found bitumen associated with varnish films, I suspect that some of it was applied later, and if any patinas did originally contain substantial amounts of bitumen, they simply have not survived. Adding just a small amount of it to the basic resin mixture, however, even to the simple oil-mastic varnish, produces an interesting range of warm brown colors after stoving, without seeming to impair the quality of the film (Figure 12).

Two other conspicuous patination types are found among later Florentine bronzes: clear red and golden brown. Unfortunately the Metropolitan Museum does not own typical examples of either, so no samples were analyzed in 1990, but more recently I conducted trials to reproduce both colors. A translucent red patina, which first appears in the Giambologna shop, could only have been produced by an organic colorant that was either soluble in the varnish or introduced as a transparent lake, since there were no inorganic pigments available with both the right color and sufficient transparency. In the old sources, two organic materials are routinely cited as producing clear deep-red varnishes. One is "dragon's blood," which despite its fanciful name is merely a wine-red resin obtained from a species of palm, *Calamus draco*, and the other is alkanet, a root extract from a common herbaceous plant, *Alkanna tinctoria*. In my trials both dissolved in the pale mastic varnish but almost immediately faded on stoving. Since both materials are known to fade rapidly when exposed to light, even at room temperature, they were hardly serious candidates to begin with.

The color of the Florentine red patina most strongly suggests the presence of the dyestuff madder, *Rubia tinctoria,* which, after indigo blue, was the most light-stable organic colorant known in the Renaissance.[56] Madder is also very stable when heated. Although the synthetic equivalent of the major component of madder is still widely available as alizarin crimson, I prepared a genuine madder lake from dried madder roots and alum, and then ground the lake in pale mastic and oil varnish. The dry alumina lake proved extremely difficult to disperse in varnish, but after low-temperature stoving, the color was surprisingly convincing, if slightly too bright. Using modern alizarin lake, I obtained an even better match, possibly because the less light-stable component of madder, purpurin, has faded away since the Renaissance.[57] Even more likely, the difference in color change was owing to a deliberate addition of a black pigment as one modern trial using madder and a little lampblack suggests. Figure 13 shows four samples of red patinas,



12. Five coupons of stoved varnish containing bitumens

13. Four coupons of stoved mastic varnish containing madders



all prepared with the mastic varnish and stoved at 130° C. The sample on the far left is the pure madder lake I prepared, applied somewhat too thickly. The next is the same madder lake more thinly applied with a bit of lampblack added, while the third is synthetic alizarin crimson tinted with lampblack. Even minimal amounts of essentially transparent pigments such as lampblack could make noticeable differences in tonality while barely affecting clarity. Speculating that the secret of the rich patina of the Giambologna Medici bust discussed earlier (see Figure 7) might similarly be the addition of Burgundy pitch to a madder varnish that was subsequently stoved at higher temperatures, thus making the color darker and browner, I used this protocol to make a sample that was surprisingly convincing (see Figure 13, coupon on far right). Unfortunately, madder has persistently escaped detection in chemical analysis of all red patinas, even in the samples that I prepared myself from genuine madder root.[58]

The golden brown patina, as seen on the signed *David with the Head of Goliath* by Giovanni Francesco Susini in Vienna (Figure 14), to give but one example, has so far eluded my attempts to reproduce it. Stable yellows, especially transparent ones, were notoriously deficient in the Renaissance palette, and the few transparent yellows that were available, such as aloes,[59] or even gamboge, proved useless in the trials. The golden brown patina otherwise may be a varnish tinted with a small amount of some variety of bitumen, but only further analysis will tell.

Varnishes applied cold to paintings definitely darken with time, frequently severely; why not those on bronzes? Indeed, patinas on bronzes do apparently darken, but seldom very severely. My research leads me to propose an explanation. Consider a small group of Giambologna bronzes that do not have any of the typical Giambologna patina colors—namely, those in Dresden. One is the *Mercury* (Figure 15), well documented as having been sent by Francesco I, grand duke of Tuscany, to the Dresden court in 1586.[60] The patina is in superb condition, as one might expect of a bronze that has been in the same collection for more than four hundred years. It certainly appears to be original. Furthermore, the color seems to be deliberate; other Giambolognas in Dresden have the same hue. The color of this patina is not brown—neither chestnut nor



14. Giovanni Francesco Susini (Italian, 1585–after 1653). *David with the Head of Goliath,* 1625–30. Bronze, H. 11¾ in. (30 cm). Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna (SK565)

golden—nor is it red, but a clear, now darkish amber. I suspect—granted, without chemical analysis—that it is a stoved varnish of the typical type but prepared without the addition of either a labile conifer resin such as Burgundy pitch or an organic colorant such as carbon black or madder. It appears quite similar to the clear varnish I prepared using only linseed oil and mastic resin, which when stoved produced a pale amber shade. If my speculation is correct, the patina has darkened somewhat on aging but certainly not dramatically. A similar varnish applied cold would have darkened far more: apparently, the heating of a fresh varnish film during stoving speeds up the oxidation and polymerization of the film so much that very little unreacted material is left to darken with time.

The pale amber patina of the *Mercury*, like those on the other Giambologna bronzes in Dresden, seems to have been intended as a relatively colorless, protective varnish designed to display the luxuriously chased metal surface underneath it to the greatest effect. In bronzes with such a patina, the



15. Giambologna. *Mercury*, before 1587. Bronze, H. with base 28⅝ in. (72.7 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gift of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I de' Medici, to Elector Christian I of Saxony (IX 94). Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York



16. Giambologna. *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar*, 1575–80. Bronze, H. 17¼ in. (43.9 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 5846)



17. Giambologna. *Hercules and Antaeus*, 1578–80. Bronze, H. 16⅛ in. (41 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK 5845)

need for near-invisible screw plugs is evident. If baking bronzes to patinate them seems a little far-fetched, there is convincing analytical proof of stoving. Mastic, a very common and versatile resin, is usually easy to detect in aged oil paint films and picture varnishes, all of which were obviously applied cold. It does not appear to be readily detected in organic patinas on bronzes, however, even on the bronze coupons that I prepared and stoved with a varnish containing at least 25 percent mastic resin. Since mastic resin can be detected readily in unstoved picture varnishes while the heated mastic in stoved patinas only can be detected with difficulty, if at all, it is reasonable to assume that many organic patinas on bronzes were indeed stoved. The discovery that many of the conifer resins previously thought to be pine might equally well have been Burgundy pitch similarly argues for stoving. In some of the stoved samples that I sent to Vienna for analysis, Burgundy pitch could be distinguished from mere pine resin, but as discussed above, this is not invariably the case. Apparently the major detectable components in both pine resin and Burgundy pitch are quite similar, and it is only the accessory components that distinguish them. If for some reason only traces of unaltered resin are left on a bronze, it may be impossible to detect those accessory compounds, so that the Burgundy pitch remains analytically invisible. Burgundy pitch may well be undetectable for the same reason that mastic is: stoving at high temperatures.

Nevertheless, Burgundy pitch can unquestionably be detected in the dark brown patinas of at least five of the Giambologna and Susini bronzes in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. These include such Giambologna masterpieces as *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* and *Hercules and Antaeus* (Figures 16, 17).[61] Thus whether or not Italians verbally distinguished between pine resin and Burgundy pitch Giambologna and his circle clearly used the latter in their brown patinas. While we cannot detect Burgundy pitch in all of them, this may be simply due to the limits of the analytical methods employed.

Apart from the question of *how* the typical Giambologna brown patina was actually produced, one may ask *why* Renaissance sculptors evolved a special technology for patinating their bronzes. They could easily have used the same paints that contemporary artists were using and produced the same range of color and translucency. The simplest answer is that they did use paint, in most cases. There is absolutely no evidence that large indoor sculpture was given anything more than what was essentially a coat of paint. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that most of the small bronzes with opaque black patinas ever saw the inside of an oven, to judge from their usual condition. Why, then, were the complex stoved-varnish patinas necessary at all?

For the answer, one may look to the fact that small bronzes were intended to be touched and handled as part of the experience of collecting them, viewed within the context of the aspirations of the Medici. Ordinary oil-based films take a certain time to dry to the touch, but they can require months to harden sufficiently to resist the constant handling that Renaissance bronzes received. Before the routine use of modern drying agents—siccatives such as manganese and cobalt—thorough drying (even of relatively thin films) inevitably took much longer.[62] Stoving allowed a bronze to be patinated and leave the studio as soon as a day after it was cast and chased. Perhaps this is how stoving originated—simply as a method of speeding the drying of an oil or varnish film on a metallic surface. It may have been realized only later that, with the appropriate choice of varnish resins, temperatures, and accessory colorants, one could produce a range of especially attractive and extremely durable patinas.

Some tentative general conclusions can be drawn from the research presented here. The majority of Italian small bronzes had patinas based on oil-and-resin varnishes or simply a drying oil, possibly with some varnish added. On those of northern Italy the varnish was apparently applied cold and commonly pigmented to the point of opacity with carbon black. These patinas are frequently not very durable, since they are essentially only paints. Colored translucent patinas were apparently developed and certainly more favored in central Italy, especially in the Florence of Giambologna. These too were oil-and-resin varnishes but were heated after application. This heat treatment greatly improves the durability of patinas. They may gradually wear, but generally do not chip or flake. Furthermore, by selecting the proper resins one could obtain patinas ranging from a relatively uncolored transparent film to richly translucent browns, without the use of any mineral pigments. Carbon black could be added in relatively small amounts to adjust the shade, and also a red transparent pigment, very likely madder lake. Otherwise, the usual painter's palette was ignored.

In contrast to Florentine practice, the materials used for the opaque black patinas of northern Italy did not have to be chosen with much discrimination, nor, in fact, were they. As seen in the bronzes by Roccatagliata and Vittoria (see Figures 3, 5), the results in the north were highly variable. Translucent Florentine-style patinas were much more demanding because specific resins were needed. It remains a puzzle how Burgundy pitch was distinguished from pine pitch, since the materials are close in appearance and little if any verbal distinction seems to have been made between them in the Italian literature; in fact, they both may have been considered *pece greca*.[63] It is worth noting that whereas Baldinucci, writing as late as 1681, makes no mention of any resin being extracted from the *abeti*, Bosse in 1645 mentions *poix de Bourgogné* as a possible substitute for Greek pitch.[64] The fact that Burgundy pitch was unquestionably known and used in France but apparently not even mentioned by Baldinucci more than thirty-five years later suggests that Giambologna may have learned of Burgundy pitch and its properties either when he was still in France or while being trained in Antwerp, years before his Florentine career.

Although the scientific tools now at our disposal are at least occasionally able to reveal that the Florentines used Burgundy pitch, in most cases it remains impossible to distinguish Burgundy pitch from other conifer resins. The most plausible assumption is that all of the translucent chestnut browns of the Giambologna circle, with their striking consistency of color, were patinated in the same way using Burgundy pitch, but this question will only be firmly resolved when scientific methods are found to detect this resin infallibly.

Most sculptors, at least those satisfied with black, essentially opaque patinas, probably used whatever resin was at hand, even if only out of ignorance of precisely what was being sold to them. After all, virtually any sort of paint vehicle would do, even a simple drying oil. It was quite a different matter if one was aiming for translucent patinas of a specific, reproducible color. Then, apparently, the resin used mattered very much, and likewise the specific means of color development through stoving. I believe I produced a convincing imitation of an unpigmented chestnut brown patina in the Florentine manner by using a specific resin, Burgundy pitch, in a varnish that was applied and then stoved. Although I tried a great many other resins, oils, and heating schedules, I certainly did not try them all, nor could I; there are simply too many possible combinations. Other methods may very well exist, but it is unlikely that they will be found without further analytical advances. Considering the present analytical situation, where Burgundy pitch and mastic can only be fitfully detected and larch resin hardly ever, further progress remains unlikely without an analytic breakthrough.

Nevertheless, the research described here has shown that major thought and experiment were devoted to patinating bronzes in a rich variety of colors. While such a patina may simply have been an aesthetic choice, it certainly also added to the effect of the bronze as a precious object, as if to make it especially worthy of princes. It is not surprising that ever-ambitious Medicean Florence was the home of these truly deluxe bronzes, distinguished not only by their inherent sculptural qualities but also by their flawless yet durable patinas, which enhanced their beauty and social prestige. Although time has dimmed some of their luminosity, the patinas of Giambologna's most exquisite works still frequently display some of the brilliance of gold glimpsed through richly colored enamel. This visual parallel with goldsmith's work is unlikely to be accidental. Frequently intended as gifts to other princely collectors, bronzes were conceived as tangible representatives of Medicean courtly ideals, taste, luxury, and royal largesse. A Giambologna bronze was exquisitely finished to meet the demands of Medici ambitions, and because of the fortunate durability of their patinas, some of these sculptures remain well preserved today as lasting reminders of the court's splendor and munificence.

NOTES

1. *Bronze* is not used here solely in its strictest sense as an alloy of copper and tin: instead, for convenience and by longstanding convention, it denotes all of the alloys containing varying mixtures of copper with tin, zinc, and lead that were used for sculpture in the Renaissance. As far as I have observed, the actual composition of a "bronze" appears to have little influence on the formation of organic patinas, either in their intrinsic color or in their ease of application. Of course, since the color of the substrate metal varies considerably, from ruddy bronze to brassy yellow, it certainly can influence the overall color of the *bronzetto*. Nevertheless, this influence is usually not very dramatic unless the patina was pale and translucent to begin with or, much more commonly, if the patina has worn away.
2. Gauricus (1504) 1969, pp. 232–33; Vasari (1550) 1966–76, vol. 1 (text), p. 103 (see note 30 below).
3. For example, as the opaque black patina wears away on a bronze, the metal is gradually exposed and subsequently tarnishes. This tarnishing, plus the accumulated debris of centuries of handling, produces the dark brown color frequently referred to as a "natural" patina. Obviously, there is never any substitute for direct inspection.
4. A small but significant group of bronzes was chemically patinated, namely those of Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi of Mantua, ca. 1460–1528) and his circle. The author hopes to write about these chemical patinas in the near future.
5. Stone, Indictor, and White 1990.
6. Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming).
7. *Donatello e il suo tempo* 2001 and Allen et al. 2008.
8. "Carbon black" here simply means any traditional pigment whose major colorant is carbon—in most cases either lampblack (the soot from burning oil or resin) or so-called "ivory black" (well-charred bones, ground fine). Modern carbon black is actually thermally decomposed natural gas.
9. Stone, Indictor, and White 1990, p. 570.
10. Usually either linseed or walnut oil was used, but the more expensive walnut oil seems to have been considered superior because it yellowed less, or at least so Vasari said ("il noce è meglio, perchè ingiallo meno"). Vasari (1550) 1966–76, vol. 1 (text), p. 103. Of course, yellowing would have been an irrelevant problem in a black varnish.
11. The Marciana manuscript describes a "common" varnish of clear Greek pitch and linseed oil cooked with alum as being the best (*vernice ottima commune*) and clearly implies it is being made specifically for sale, since instructions are given for cheapening it (*per vendere con più guadagno)*. Furthermore, if made with black pitch—no doubt cheaper still—it would be good for "sword pommels, spurs and such" (*pomi di spade et speron e similai*)—i.e., metals, especially ferrous. See Merrifield 1967, vol. 2, p. 637, no. 405. The significant Marciana manuscript was originally published by Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, in 1849, but she only included the recipes pertaining to painting and varnishes. As Merrifield notes (1967, vol. 2, pp. 603–6), the manuscript was written in Tuscan dialect by an author familiar with artists active in Florence and also in Rome at least until the sack of 1527.
12. See Stone 2006.
13. For instance, in 1442, those in charge of the fabric of Florence Cathedral decided to "varnish" Ghiberti's bronze reliquary chest of Saint Zenobius. See Krautheimer and Krautheimer-Hess 1956, p. 416, doc. 226.
14. The bronze commission was actually given to Giambologna, but with the stipulation that Susini was to do the actual work.
15. All of the chemical analyses mentioned in this article were done by gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (GC/MS) and/or pyrolytic GC/MS.
16. Stone, Indictor, and White 1990, p. 570.
17. We originally proposed in 1990 that the red was the result of an inorganic colorant, but now I am not nearly so sure. It is quite difficult to imagine any inorganic colorant then available that could have produced that shade and also be translucent. In any case the color can be quite closely matched by adding madder lake to standard Burgundy pitch, mastic and drying oil varnish before applying it to a bronze coupon and baking it. (see Figure 12, first coupon from right).
18. Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming).
19. The common Italian name for this species is *abete rosso* thus misleadingly suggesting that it belongs among the firs.
20. The terms *resin*, *turpentine*, and *pitch* are used rather loosely. A "turpentine," as in the Venice or Strasbourg varieties, is more properly an oleoresin, a semifluid exudate containing both a volatile fluid component and a solid resin. Thus, pine oleoresin is usually referred to simply as "turpentine," the volatile component as "spirits of turpentine" (Italian *aqua di ragia*), and the resinous portion as "rosin". (In popular usage, however, spirits of turpentine—until recently a common paint thinner—is often confusingly referred to merely as "turpentine.") Pine pitch is a tarry substance obtained by strongly heating pine wood and is dark in color, the so-called *pece nera* or *navale*, while *pece greca* seems, in general, to have been simple pine oleoresin—turpentine in the strict sense—or even solid pine rosin.
21. Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming). This publication also describes many more technical details of how I prepared the varnish coupons otherwise irrelevant to my present argument.

22. Baldinucci 1681, p. 119: "Pece . . . Ragia di pino tratta dal suo legname col fuoco, e material nera, e tenace. . . . Eccene d'una altra sorta, che si chiama pecegreca, é di colori capellino."
23. Ibid., pp. 1–2: "Se ne trovano in gran copia della Falterona negli Appenini, e in in altre montagne di Toscana."
24. See, for example, Merrifield 1967, vol. 2, p. 635, no. 45. Merrifield gives all of the recipes relating to painting and varnishes in the Marciana manuscript, both in the original Italian and in English.
25. It is actually related to cypress. Larch apparently does not grow in the Apennines but in the Italian Alps—hence the term Venice turpentine, presumably because that city is the natural outlet for such Alpine products.
26. Baldinucci 1681, p. 80: "questo albero bituminoso, e perciò prontissimo ad ardere."
27. Quoted in Merrifield 1967, vol. 2, p. 634.
28. Not only is this bronze, formerly in the Linsky Collection, a fine example of the subject, but it has an especially well preserved patina without any signs of subsequent intervention. Mark Wypyski of the MMA's Department of Scientific Research has analyzed the two samples. His internal report states: "The first one, from the left index finger, contains large amounts of copper, sulfur and chlorine, presumably from corrosion products, as well as small amounts of magnesium, aluminum, silicon, potassium, calcium and iron. The second sample, from the hog's bristles, contained much less copper, sulfur and chlorine, and appears to be mainly organic material (carbon and oxygen). I did also see some magnesium, aluminum, silicon, potassium, calcium and iron in this sample, but I do not think these are present in large enough concentrations to qualify as an intentional additive to the patina. I also checked for the presence of manganese [in the patina] but did not detect it in either sample."
29. This cannot be true of every Renaissance bronze, since there must be at least some original mineral-pigmented organic patinas among the multitude of bronzes I have not examined, even after excluding all the ones that have clearly been repatinated. But it certainly seems to be a reliable generalization.
30. Vasari (1550) 1966–76, vol. 1 (text), p. 103: "Alcuni con olio lo fanno nero, altri con l'aceto lo fanno verde, ed altri con la vernice gli danno il colore di nero."
31. It should be pointed out that the Giambologna *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* mentioned above has an identical sort of "holiday" directly behind the head of Hercules. If, as will be discussed, Giambologna's patinas were essentially colorless varnishes when applied, these lapses in patination would not have been obvious. Even now, when covered with dust and tarnish, these patches of bare metal surface hidden in obscure corners are easy to miss.
32. Stone 2006, pp. 817–19, figs. 14–16.
33. For early precision-cut screws, see Vincent 1989.
34. For instance, we originally identified virtually all conifer resins as pine—there was a single occurrence of larch—but now Burgundy pitch can sometimes be distinguished, as will be discussed below. See Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming)
35. Probably the best known of these is the *Segreti* of "Alessio Piemontese" (apparently the pseudonym of the humanist Girolamo Ruscelli), first published in 1555 and in sixteen further editions by 1599. For these, see Eamon 1994, pp. 134–51. There are no doubt pertinent recipes to be found in this vast accumulation of heterogeneous material, but its bulk and inaccessibility (no modern reprints exist of the original texts) have prevented investigation.
36. Théodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), "Pictoria Sculptoria et quae Subalteream artem, 1620," British Library, MS Sloane 2052, reproduced in its entirety by Ernst Berger (de Mayerne 1901, pp. 92–365). De Mayerne was a highly distinguished physician who, among others, served the Stuart kings and was a friend of Rubens.
37. Certain varnishes are specifically mentioned as being capable of drying in the shade. All of these appear to be so-called spirit varnishes, solutions of a resin in a volatile solvent (such as gum benzoin in alcohol) that dried simply by evaporation. Merrifield 1967, vol. 2, pp. 628–29, no. 394.
38. Theophilus 1963, pp. 147–48.
39. The recipe comes from Pliny, but was apparently somewhat misunderstood; Gauricus confuses pine pitch with Pliny's bitumen. See Gauricus (1504) 1969, p. 228n38.
40. Nineteenth-century sources describe other methods of patinating bronzes by smoking them. In fact, one method is even described as "the true Florentine patination" ("le veritable bronzé florentin"); Garnier and Chouarzt 1978. The bronze is exposed to the fumes of horn filings. The authors specify stag horn, but I tried this method using ox horn, heated to smoking. It indeed produces a lustrous, adherent, varnishlike layer of a very dark brown to black color. The colored layer turns out to be a copper sulfide, the mineral chalcocite, as identified by X-ray diffraction. Totally opaque yet exceedingly thin, the patina is quite unlike any actual Renaissance patina I have ever seen. Various other methods are described in the nineteenth century as being specifically "Florentine." The most common involves painting the bronze with a suspension of an iron oxide such as ocher—frequently mixed with graphite—and then heated to about 150° C. Presumably this method produces a layer of metallic oxides that remains thin and thus adherent. See, for instance, Hiorns 1920, pp. 99–104. Conceivably any of these processes—exposure to smoldering straw or sawdust, sulfiding with the smoke from horn (or leather, which works just as well), controlled heating under a layer of ocher—might have been known in the sixteenth century, since they are all within the range of Renaissance technology. Examples may yet be identified, perhaps previously mistaken for "natural" patinas.
41. Among the artists named by the author of the Marciana manuscript as sources for various recipes, the latest in date is Jacopo Sansovino.
42. Merrifield 1967, vol. 2, p. 637: "archibusi et balestre et armadura di ferro."
43. Ibid.: "olio di seme di lino libre 2. vernice in grana libre 1, pece grecha chiara oz 2" ("Two pounds of linseed oil, one pound of varnish in grain [juniper], two ounces of clear Greek pitch") Even assuming a twelve-ounce pound, there would still be only one part of "clear Greek pitch" to six of juniper resin, a rather small amount.
44. Ibid.: "un forno caldo perche fa meglo che scaldarlo altrove."
45. Ibid.: "un bello colore cangiante." *Cangiante* is here perhaps best translated as "variegated" or even "mottled," considering that the varnish is applied with a stick.
46. I heated a heavy layer of varnish made of linseed oil, Burgundy pitch, and mastic for more than three hours at 200 C° and produced a very deep, clear, ruddy color, quite handsome but certainly not black. Of course, if heated to virtually the point of combustion, it would have charred to black, but probably no one today would describe the results as a "patina."
47. For the original Bosse text of 1645, with considerable added comments and annotations, see Bosse 1758.
48. Ibid., p. 3. It should be noted that in the recipe Bosse writes that *poix de Bourgogné* (Burgundy pitch) may be substituted for *poix greque* (Greek pitch).
49. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
50. Ibid., pp. 17–18. Bosse was describing what he called *vernis dur*, a hardened oil-resin ground presumably long in use for executing

etchings in the manner of burin engraving. Modern "hard ground" etching resist is a softer wax-resin mixture frequently attributed to Rembrandt or Callot, each of whom certainly used but did not invent it.

51. Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming). I must especially thank Claudia Kryza-Gersch of the Kunsthistorisches Museum for first suggesting, and then arranging, this collaboration.
52. Lampblack is pure carbon with an exceedingly small particle size that renders it quite transparent at low concentrations and difficult to detect by technical means.
53. I could scarcely try every possible combination. Besides the sheer number of trials necessary, I was deterred by the fact that trustworthy samples of many of the natural resins are no longer commercially available. After finding genuine Judean pitch and reliable juniper resin, I was stymied by *olio di abezzo* (Strasbourg turpentine). The difficulty of finding unadulterated genuine materials is not a new one: many of the old recipes warn of the problem.
54. It is not to be confused with coal tar or even the petroleum pitch produced artificially as a residue from the distillation of crude oil.
55. I thank Dr. Jacques Connan of Elf Exploration Production, France, who years ago supplied me, a total stranger, with genuine Dead Sea pitch merely on the basis of an e-mail request.
56. There are actually two colorants in madder: alizarin and purpurin. Alizarin is the more light-stable and is available as "alizarin crimson," a synthetic but otherwise chemically identical dye precipitated with alumina hydrate to form a so-called "lake." Natural madder lake can usually be distinguished from alizarin crimson since purpurin, only present in madder, fluoresces a bright orange under ultraviolet light. Curiously, the natural madder lake—prepared by the author from genuine madder roots and alum—fluoresced typically, but when dispersed in mastic-and-oil varnish and stoved, it did not.
57. See note 56 above.
58. Pitthard et al. n.d. (forthcoming)
59. Aloes resin is quite frequently mentioned in early sources for making varnishes golden yellow. The sample of aloes I tried simply darkened the varnish, but since there are many varieties of aloes, a single test is scarcely significant.
60. Syndram and Scherner 2004.
61. Václav Pitthard, personal communication to the author. Besides the two Giambolognas mentioned above, Pitthard also found Burgundy pitch in Giambologna's *Morgante* (KK 10001) as well as in Antonio Susini's *Lion Attacking a Bull* (KK 5837) and his *Nessus and Deianira* (KK 5849).
62. Vasari, in his technical introduction to the *Vite*, never suggests any method for making an oil medium dry faster. When discussing the composition of grounds for oil paintings, however, he suggests deliberately using a mixture of pigment—"lead white, lead-tin yellow and the earth used to cast bells" ("biacca, giallolino e terre da campane")—to decrease the drying time (Vasari [1550] 1966–76, vol. 1 [text], p. 134). Various later recipes (such as that in the de Mayerne manuscript; see note 36 above) suggest making "siccative" oils by boiling a drying oil with lead pigments (generally known to be effective), alum (generally regarded as ineffective) or other nostrums of varying efficacy.
63. Nor was larch resin specified, at least in Italy, unless it was included as *olio di abezzo*. Mastic and juniper resin were, however, identified as such.
64. Bosse 1758, p. 3: "poix greque, ou à défaut á icelle, de le poix grasse, autrement de Bourgogné," in the recipe for *vernis dur* (see note 48 above). Here it should be pointed out that Burgundy pitch does not come from Burgundy or even, apparently, from anywhere in France. This is scarcely surprising, since neither Strasbourg nor Venetian turpentine comes from its respective city. All of these misleading names quite likely originated in previous routes of trade, just as Panama hats come from Ecuador. The issue is not where Strasbourg turpentine comes from but that it unquestionably was used in France under that name in the seventeenth century while this was not the case in Baldinucci's Florence.

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A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg

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In 1922 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a fine late sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century German tournament book (*Turnierbuch*).[1] Not much is known about the manuscript's earlier history except that it came from the collection of Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890) and, while in his possession, appears to have been shown in Paris at the Musée Historique du Costume at the fourth exhibition of the Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie in 1874.[2]

At present the manuscript consists of a total of 112 double-sided leaves of paper, including two leaves for a frontispiece and endpaper, and a body of 220 pages.[3] Although often referred to as a tournament book, the Museum's manuscript is actually a compilation of five individual parts, with a total of 126 full-page illustrations in watercolor recording tournaments and parades held in Nuremberg from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, accompanied by three additional pages of explanatory texts. According to recent examination undertaken in the Metropolitan's Department of Paper Conservation, the paper comes from three different batches, each bearing a slight variation of a watermark in the shape of the city arms of Nuremberg: *per pale, dexter, Or a dimitiated imperial Eagle Sable langued Gules, beaked and armed Or, sinister, bendy of 6, Argent and Gules* (divided vertically, in the first field in gold a halved black eagle with golden beak and claws and a red tongue, the second with six diagonal stripes of alternately silver and red).[4] The watercolor illustrations use a variety of pigments, some metallic and all typical for the period; most were applied rather opaquely and have preserved a strong vibrancy. The underdrawing and text were mainly executed in pen and brown ink.

The first three sections of the volume are copied from older sources and depict participants in tournaments held in Nuremberg between 1446 and 1561, as well as a costumed parade for a carousel that must have taken place in the late sixteenth century.[5] The fourth section presents designs for extravagantly fanciful pageant sleighs, while the fifth is a record of an actual sleigh parade held in the winter of 1640. The three batches of paper, together with subtle differences in the style and execution of the illustrations and text, indicate that the various sections of this manuscript were produced either at slightly different times or, more likely, over a period of time, probably by a main artist and at least one additional hand. Nonetheless, all sections of the manuscript appear to have been bound into their present form at the same time. Although more reminiscent of Italian examples from that period, the manuscript's blind and gold tooled leather binding (Figure 1) is probably original, dating from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.[6]



Figure 1. *Turnierbuch* (Tournament Book). Nuremberg, mid-17th century. 220 pages, including 126 full-page watercolor illustrations, from three batches of paper, in a blind and gold tooled leather binding (shown here). Cover: 10⅜ x 14⅛ in. (26.3 x 36 cm), pages: each ca. 9⅞ x 13⅝ in. (25 x 34.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.229)

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Figure 2. Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519), Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (ca. 1460–1494), and workshop. *The City of Nuremberg.* Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik* (Chronicle of the World, or the Nuremberg Chronicle; Nuremberg, 1493). Woodcut, 18½ x 13¼ in. (47 x 33.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, transferred frm the Library (21.36.145)

Tournaments were the most lavish and exciting spectator sport of the Middle Ages. Participation was reserved for knights, and in time it became a jealously guarded privilege to be considered *turnierfähig*, or a member of a noble family that could prove to have participated in tournaments for generations. Lists of participants and score records were kept by heralds, the professional organizers and masters of ceremonies of tournaments.

After the invention of the printing press, these tournament documents became available in print. Family pride led members to excerpt these official records and adapt them for their libraries, commissioning luxuriously illuminated manuscript volumes. For both the nobility and the city-dwelling patricians these manuscripts played an important role as part of the memorial culture (*Erinnerungskultur*) of individual families within the context of their surrounding society. Codifying legends, oral tradition, and personal research as family history, they served to legitimize a family's social status and social aspirations.[7] There is good reason to believe that the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book is just such a family edition, because the caption to Plate 43 points out that the second prize in a 1446 tournament was awarded to Berthold Volckamer, without even bothering to mention who won the first prize. This theory is further supported by the fact that Berthold Volckamer apparently placed such importance on his victory that, according to a period document, he had the tournament commemorated in a fresco painted in the "great chamber" of his house. The fresco survived for generations and appears to have left a considerable impression on fellow Nuremberg patricians. Nearly two centuries later the same subject was even selected to decorate the interior of Nuremberg's newly built city hall.[8]

Being a knight carried great prestige (indeed, almost a mystique). The code of chivalry created an elite class culture with its own rules of conduct and its own art forms. Among architectural structures a knight's castle is still seen as the most romantic of buildings; in decorative arts heraldry made the coat of arms a distinguishing mark of the prestige of nobility; and the knightly class culture brought forth an entire branch of literature, the romances of chivalry, which celebrated the Knights of the Round Table and their pursuit of the loftiest of spiritual goals in the Quest of the Holy Grail. These ideas and ideals were united in the glittering art form and spectacle of the tournament.

Originally a knight held the land that supported him and his men-at-arms as a fief from an overlord, in exchange for military service. The rise of cities with their money-based manufacturing and merchandising enterprises gradually eroded the agrarian-based economy of the feudal system, only too often leaving a knight with not much more than an old and proud coat of arms on the wall of his great hall, sadly in need of repairs.

The mystique of chivalry proved irresistible, nonetheless, to the upper strata of the city burghers, who strove to become nobility and participate in their events, many of which they could witness on a regular basis: tournaments were usually held in or near large towns and cities, which could furnish the food, drink, lodgings, and stables needed for the sizable gatherings. As relative newcomers, however, patricians were rarely welcome in prestigious "world league" tournaments organized by *Turniergesellschaften* (tournament societies), some of which were formed as early as the fourteenth century in order to forestall just this kind of intrusion by the nouveaux riches. In consequence, this new urban nobility had to organize their own tournaments, and they did so with gusto in their civic squares.[9]

In the Holy Roman Empire, which covered not only what is now Germany, Austria, Czechia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Switzerland but also parts of Poland, France, and northern Italy, there were several hundred *reichsfreie Städte*, or city-states with no allegiance to any overlord except the emperor himself. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the most important of these flourishing free cities in southern Germany were Nuremberg (see Figure 2) and Augsburg, both centers of commerce and industry. Nuremberg's wealth was such that a well-traveled Italian cardinal wryly remarked after a visit to southern Germany, "The kings of Scotland would wish to live like moderately well-to-do burghers of Nuremberg!"[10] Naturally, this high standard of living created considerable civic pride, and Nuremberg's patrician families, whose ranks also provided the members of the city government, saw to it that





Figure 3. Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531). Jousters Armed for the German *Gestech. The Triumph of Maximilian I* (Augsburg, ca. 1515), pl. 46. Woodcut. Photograph: Appelbaum 1964, pl. 46

Figure 4. Hans Burgkmair the Elder. Jousters Armed for the *Schweifrennen. The Triumph of Maximilian I,* (Augsburg, ca. 1515), pl. 55. Woodcut. Photograph: Appelbaum 1964, pl. 55

public festivals were held on a regular basis, both for the greater glory of the city and for the profits generated by these tourist attractions.

The most prestigious of these events were *Gesellenstechen,* jousts held in the market square and performed by junior members of the patrician families.[11] In order to moderate the expenses for the participants, the Worshipful City Council kept a number of jousting armors in the *Zeughaus,* the city armory or arsenal, to be rented out to the jousters; they, in turn, had to supply all the other paraphernalia, such as horse trappings, fancy crests, and costumed attendants, at their own expense. Seven of these armors are still in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg; an eighth is now in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (see Figure 5).

In Germany, tournaments fought between two single combatants on horseback, as exemplified by the participants illustrated in this manuscript, were classified as either a *Gestech* (joust of peace, or joust *à plaisir*) or a *Rennen* (joust of war, or joust *à outrance*). They were distinguished by the type of lance used: blunted with a three- or four-pronged head (the coronel) for the *Gestech* and sharp lances with pointed heads or lances similar to those used in war (but not quite as sharp) for the *Rennen* (Figures 3, 4).

The origins of specialized armor for the tournament (where safety was more of a concern than mobility), such as the *Stechzeug* (Figure 5) and the *Rennzeug,* can be traced back to the fourteenth century. The head defense of a



Figure 5. Valentin Siebenbürger (1510–1564), and others. *Stechzeug* (armor for the joust of peace). Nuremberg, ca. 1480–1540. Steel, leather, and copper alloy; as mounted, h. 29¾ in. (75.5 cm), wt. 60 lb. 5 oz. (27.36 kg). Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (2580.a–l)



Figure 6. *Stechhelm* (helmet for a *Stechzeug*). Probably Nuremberg, ca. 1500. Steel and copper alloy, 18 x 11 in. (45.5 x 28 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1929 (29.156.67a)



Figure 7. Targe (horseman's shield). Probably Austria, ca. 1400–1425. Wood, leather, gesso, silver foil, polychromy; 26¾ x 21¼ in. (67.9 x 50.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Clarence H. Mackay, 1930 (30.101)

Stechzeug was the *Stechhelm* (called somewhat irreverently a "frog-mouthed helmet" by Victorian antiquarians). Resting firmly on the shoulders of the jouster, the *Stechhelm* (Figure 6) was buckled or bolted to the breast- and backplate of the cuirass. This rigidity, together with the helmet's thickly padded lining that firmly enclosed the jouster's head, was designed to minimize whiplash.

From about 1420 to about 1450 it was fashionable, mainly in German-speaking regions, to wear breastplates that displayed a distinctly angular and boxed outline; when this vogue disappeared after the middle of the fifteenth century, breastplates of the *Stechzeug* took on an asymmetrical shape, with a rounded left side but retaining a boxed right side. The large and heavy jousting lance was supported by a sturdy hook, the lance rest, which was riveted to the boxed right side. The butt end of the lance was held in position by the *queue,* a long counterhook extending to the rear behind the right shoulder of the jouster. With the lance thus fixed in position and his head totally immobilized inside his *Stechhelm,* the jouster had to aim his lance by swiveling his entire upper body from the hips.

For maximum safety, the frontal plates of jousting armor were more than double the thickness of battle armor. Thus, the front plate of a *Stechhelm* was about one-half-inch thick, and an entire *Stechzeug* might weigh as much as ninety pounds. In order to reduce the overall weight, armor for less-exposed parts, such as backplates, was whittled down to not much more than sturdy braces, and jousters in the *Gestech* wore no leg defenses of metal. Instead, they tucked legs and knees under a big bumper cushion (a *Stechkissen*, or *Stechsack*) tied around the horse's shoulders. Because of the weight and restricted range of motion imposed by this particular type of tournament armor, it was not unusual for a knight in *Stechzeug* to use a short stepladder when mounting his horse (or to don the heaviest part of his outfit, the *Stechhelm*, when already seated in the saddle). Contrary to a common misconception, it would have been out of the question to hoist a knight into his saddle. Not only was such a practice unnecessary, but any man-at-arms, especially a knight, would certainly have regarded the mere suggestion as utterly undignified.[12]

Although the shield had become all but obsolete in battle by about 1400 (owing to the gradual introduction of plate armor for the entire body), it continued to be vitally important equipment for the formal tournament, where safety mattered more than mobility. It had to cover the vulnerable left armpit, where an opponent's lance might slip through and break the arm.

Tournament shields for the *Gestech*, called *targes* (see Figure 7), were more or less square: there was no need for the lower point, meant to protect the knee, that was found on older battle shields, since it was considered unsporting



Figure 8. Attributed to Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532). *Rennhut* (helmet for the joust of peace) of Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia. Augsburg, ca. 1525. Etched and gilt steel, 10 x 15 in. (25.3 x 38 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander McMillan Welch, 1929 (29.153.1)



Figure 9. Matthes Deutsch (recorded 1485–1505). Vamplate for the *Scharfrennen*. Landshut, ca. 1490. Steel, 16⅜ x 11⅜ in. (41.5 x 28.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.756)

to hit below the belt. Targes usually had a cutout, the *bouche*, in the upper dexter (right) corner to serve as an additional support for the lance. As a safety feature targes were concavely curved, in order to contain the point of the opponent's lance and make it snap.

Unlike the joust with blunted lances—which was universally popular throughout Europe—the joust with sharp lances, the *Rennen,* was almost exclusively limited to countries east of the Rhine. The *Rennzeug,* the equipment used in the *Rennen,* was based on the field armor of German light horsemen of the late fifteenth century. It differed from the *Stechzeug* mainly in its type of helmet, the *Rennhut* (Figure 8). Instead of a targe held by the left arm, a *Rennzeug* had the *Renntartsche* (later called a *grandguard* in English), a special defense shaped anatomically to cover the left shoulder as well as the left side of the chest and chin up to the vision slit of the *Rennhut* (see Figure 4). The pointed lance was set into the same combination of lance rest and queue as in the *Gestech,* but it also had an oversize handguard, the *vamplate,* that fitted with its straight side against the *Renntartsche* to form a solid defense for the upper body from shoulder to shoulder (see Figure 9). Again, because of its weight, *Rennen* armor usually did not have leg defenses. To cover and protect the thighs and knees in accidental collisions, shell-shaped steel elements, *Dilgen*, were attached to the saddle.

SECTION I
After *The Triumph of Maximilian I*
Plates 1–16 (on pages 135–37)

Title page (manuscript page 3; Figure 10)

> *Hereafter are following, dedicated to the Most Worshipful memory of the late Most Illustrious and Great Mightiest Prince and Lord, Maximilian First of his Name, Holy Roman Emperor, etc., sundry knightly games that were in part invented and regulated by His Majesty himself and every so often made use of by His Majesty for pastime and entertainment.*

The introductory title of the first section of the manuscript refers to Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519), also known as *der letzte Ritter* (the Last of the Knights), who as a tournament enthusiast codified the various types of tournaments and set the standards for proper equipment. His achievements were celebrated in the monumental early sixteenth-century woodcut series *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (see Figures 3, 4). The *Triumph* was originally intended to comprise more than two hundred images, the designs for which were sketched by the court artist Jörg Kölderer from Innsbruck in the Tyrol, but only 137 individual plates were completed. The execution of this ambitious project was entrusted to the best graphic artists of Maximilian's time: Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and his pupils Hans Schäufelein (ca. 1480–1540) and Hans Springinklee (ca. 1490/95–ca. 1540) from Nuremberg, Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) and Leonhard Beck (ca. 1480–1542) from Augsburg, Albrecht Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) from Regensburg, and Wolf Huber (ca. 1485–1553) from Passau.

The most famous section of the *Triumph* is by Burgkmair and represents "knights" on parade equipped for the various types of tournament. In the descriptive text for the cycle, dictated in 1512 by the emperor himself to his secretary, Marx Treytzsaurwein, eighteen different kinds of equipment are mentioned, but only fifteen of them came to be published as woodcuts. The unfinished project was abandoned at the death of the emperor, in 1519.

In spite of the incomplete state of the series, these woodcuts instantly became textbook examples of how a knight should be properly attired for various types of the tournament. The first section of the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book is an adaptation of the authoritative *Triumph*. In comparing the illustrations of the manuscript with the woodcuts, however, it is easy to see that the illuminator did not work directly from Burgkmair's prints. In the *Triumph* woodcuts the figures are parading from left to right, five abreast, while in the Museum's manuscript they proceed in the opposite direction, two by two. This difference and a number of misunderstood details in the tournament equipment leave no doubt that the illustrator was working from an adapted or later copy, perhaps even the copy of a copy. This first section of the tournament book is a piece of nostalgia. By the time it was painted, at the end of the sixteenth century, tournaments had not taken place in Nuremberg for nearly three generations, the last one having been held in 1561.



Figure 10. Title page for Section I of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1, manuscript page 3)

Plate 1 (manuscript page 5). Herr Anthoni von Yffan, Imperial Master of Tournaments

The first equestrian figure shows a man in full armor on a barded, or fully armored, horse, bearing an empty tablet on a pole (for which the page had to be extended with a fold-out). It is a reversed and simplified version of woodcut number 41 of the *Triumph*, representing the Imperial Master of Tournaments, Herr Anthoni von Yffan (actually Antonio de Caldonazo, baron of Ivano).[13]

In the original sketch for the woodcuts the tablet was inscribed with a praise of Maximilian's achievements in the field of tournaments:

> Much of his time was nobly spent
> In the true knightly tournament,
> A source of valor and elation;
> Therefore, upon his instigation,
> With knightly spirit and bold heart
> I have improved this fighting art.[14]

In the woodcut, however, the tablet was left blank. In manuscript copies the empty tablets were retained, perhaps to provide space for the name of the book's owner.

The copyist, who reversed the image, has omitted the knight's sword.

Plate 2 (manuscript page 7). *Herr Wolffganng von Polhaim, Renn Vnnd Stechmaister* (Herr Wolfgang von Polhaim, Master of *Rennen* and *Gestech*)

This knight in *Rennen* armor and bearing a banner (again requiring a foldout) is identified as Herr Wolfgang von Polhaim, master of *Rennen* and *Gestech*. In number 44 of the woodcut series, he carries a tablet on a pole that was to bear the inscription:

> Always promoting new advances
> In jousting with blunt and pointed lances,
> Thanks to His Highness, I unfurled
> Skills never seen in all the world.
> These jousts in novel styles and ways
> Have earned for me great fame and praise.

In a copy probably painted in 1553 in Augsburg by Hans Burgkmair the Younger (ca. 1500–1559), son of the chief artist of the woodcut series, the tablet has been exchanged for a banner showing the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. This version became the model for the picture of Herr Wolfgang in the Museum's manuscript; the multiquartered shield on the eagle's breast displays the arms of Maximilian's grandson, Emperor Charles V, as king of Spain.

For greater ease during the parade, Herr Wolfgang has exchanged his *Rennhut* for a wreath of roses and has discarded his *Renntartsche* in favor of showing off his fashionably puffed and slashed sleeves. Unfortunately, the painter—working without firsthand knowledge of the real thing—has drawn the hook of the queue bent the wrong way.

Herr Wolfgang's charger has its eyes and ears covered by the caparison to prevent shying and bears a collar with bells to drown out the roaring of the crowd.

Plate 3 (manuscript page 9). *Das Torniern Zu Roß* (The Tourney on Horseback)

The first pair of participants is equipped for the *Feldturnier*, or *Freiturnier*, performed in basic battle armor in the open field, with two courses, as an approximation of actual battle conditions. The first course was a joust with lances; after these were broken, the combatants fought the second course with swords.

One of the distinguishing features of the *Freiturnier* was the fact that the equipment had to be changed and adapted between the two courses. While the large *grandguards* were essential during the joust, affording further protection for the left shoulder and the left side of the chest, neck, and chin, the elements seriously restricted movement and had to be discarded before the sword fight.

When the painter of the Metropolitan Museum's tournament book reversed the direction in which the pairs are marching, it became apparent that he had no clear idea of how grandguards (which are only partially visible in the woodcut) would extend over the men's left sides. In this picture they cover only breast and chin, and leave a dangerous gap between chest and arm exposed. The reversal of the images also caused the painter to forget to provide each figure with the sword needed for the second course.

Plate 4 (manuscript page 11). *Der Turnier Zu fueß auff einem Saal* (Foot Combat Indoors in a Great Hall)

Not all tournaments were fought on horseback. Foot combat employed a variety of weapons: swords, spears, or poleaxes. As the caption for this picture indicates, foot combat was especially prized as a diverting floor show at banquets. Originally the combats were rather rough-and-tumble affairs, and thoughtful organizers had stalwart attendants with quarterstaffs standing by to pry the combatants apart before serious damage could be inflicted in the heat of the fight. By the mid-sixteenth century, foot combats had become more formalized, with a given and agreed-upon number of blows and/or thrusts to be exchanged, often delivered across a separating barrier.

In addition to the regular field armor shown here, there was specially designed foot-combat armor. In order to allow free and nimble footwork, it came in two basic shapes: either with a knee-length flaring steel skirt, the *tonlet,* or with cunningly fitted "tights" of steel that encased legs and hips so flexibly as to allow even rolling falls. The knee-length



Figure 11. Attributed to Konrad Seusenhofer (d. 1517). Tonlet. Innsbruck, ca. 1510–15. Etched steel with traces of gilding, wt. 12 lb. 14 oz. (5.48 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.790)



Figure 12. Attributed to Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532). Backplate, vambraces (sleeves), and hoguine from a costume armor probably commissioned for Duke Jerzy Herkules Radziwill. Augsburg, ca. 1525. Embossed, etched, and gilt steel, as mounted, H. 27 in. (68.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, backplate with hoguine: Gift of Bashford Dean, 1924 (24.179); vambraces: Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness Fund, 1926 (26.188.1, 2)

tonlet (see Figure 11) was a direct transformation of the pleated coat or skirt often worn over armor. The "tights," or *hoguine*-armor (see Figure 12), one of the best preserved examples of which is the foot combat armor of Henry VIII in the Tower of London, were a triumph of the armorer's art, although Shakespeare whimsically and somewhat disrespectfully dubbed them "hog-in-armor."

Plate 5 (manuscript page 13). *Das Rennen mit fest angezogenen Wultzen Unnd Krenntzen* (*Rennen* with Firmly Fixed Bolsters and Wreaths)

This *Rennen* armor consists of only a large anatomically shaped shield with eye slits that was secured to a body armor with lance rest and queue and a pair of shell-shaped *Dilgen* suspended from the saddle to cover the knees and thighs. This particular composition of armor had probably been improved on, if not actually invented, by Maximilian himself. It was named for the thickly padded bolster (*Wulst*) tied around the jousters' brows as a shock absorber. These had to be tied or wrapped very tightly (*anziehen/angezogen*, in German), and the armor was therefore also called the *Anzogenrennen* (according to another theory the term may refer to the tightly fastened screws by which the grandguard was secured to the armor). The thrilling aspect of this course lay in the courting of very real danger by leaving the jousters' heads without the protection of a helmet.

Again, the painter deviated from reality by making the shield too narrow, thus leaving the left shoulders unprotected, and by turning the hook of the queue the wrong way.

Plate 6 (manuscript page 15). *Das Schwaiff Rennen* (The *Schweifrennen* or *Scharfrennen*)

The most popular form of the *Rennen* was usually called the *Scharfrennen* for its use of sharp lances. Its alternate name, the *Schweifrennen* (from *Schweif*, or tail), refers to the rear hook or queue that held the lance in position. For special effect the shield could be attached to the body armor in such a way that it flew off when hit in the right spot. The helmet, a *Rennhut,* had a special shell-shaped brow reinforce, snapped on just above the eye slit. See also Figure 4.

The device on the striped trappings of the first knight's charger is an old woman carrying a basket on her back. Above her is a scroll, inscribed "MERGRAGEN" (a backpack of tales).[15] This device refers to the custom of having elderly but hardy women make the rounds of farms and villages carrying merchandise and, more important, local tidings and gossip. One of the small scrolls spilling out of the woman's basket bears the words "NEV O" (News, Oh), which makes her a wryly sardonic embodiment of how fame is spread.

Plate 7 (manuscript page 17). *Das Bund Rennen* (The *Bundrennen*)

The armor for the *Bundrennen* differed from that for the *Schweifrennen* in its lack of a *bevor*, the element protecting the throat, chin, and lower face, underneath the detachable shield. Instead, there was an open H-shaped contraption of two curved bars connected by a brace that held the top of the shield at a safe distance from the jouster's face by locking into the *Rennhut*. Because the bevor was missing, this type of joust was almost as dangerous as the *Anzogenrennen*.

Plate 8 (manuscript page 19). *Das Pfannen Rennen* (The *Pfannenrennen*)

The *Pfannenrennen* (from *Pfanne*, or pan) was so called for the skilletlike steel plate, about twelve inches square, that was bolted to a minimal harness of suspender straps.

This plate's thick raised rim and deep parallel grooves were meant to catch the point of the lance, ensuring that the lance would snap and not slip off the "pan." Understandably, Hans Burgkmair the Younger, in his copy of 1553, captions this course as "gar besorglich" (extremely dangerous).

Protocol insisted that for the *Pfannenrennen* an open coffin (no doubt as much for the titillation of the spectators as for practical purposes) should be placed in the tiltyard. There is, fortunately, no evidence that the *Pfannenrennen* was ever actually performed. Most likely, it was a purely theoretical example of utter daredeviltry in the context of the *Triumph*.



Plate 5 (manuscript page 13). *Rennen* with Firmly Fixed Bolsters and Wreaths

The emblem of an owl perched on top of a heart tortured by flames was surely an amorous or sexual pun: *Auf*, an old name for the Eurasian eagle owl (*Bubo bubo*), is a homonym of *auf* (up).

Plate 9 (manuscript page 21). *Das Teutsch gemäin Gestech* (The Common German *Gestech*)

As its name implies, the common German joust was the kind most often performed. It was fought with blunted lances, and its armor, the *Stechzeug*—in contrast to foolhardy contraptions such as those used for the *Wulstrennen* or the *Pfannenrennen*—was designed for maximum safety.

The *Gestech* was run in the open field, and in order to protect the horses in collisions thickly padded *Stechkissen,* or U-shaped straw-stuffed bolsters, were hung around the horses' necks and shoulders. These bolsters served also as a protection for the tucked-under legs of the jousters and made leg armor superfluous. See Figure 5.

Plate 10 (manuscript page 23). *Das Welsch Rennen in den Armentin* (The Italian *Rennen* with *Armet* Helmets)

Italian-style armor for jousts with sharp lances was quite different from *Rennen* armor in Germany. (The obsolete term *Welsch* refers to speakers of Latin-derived languages, specifically Italian.) It consisted of full field armor with visored *armet* helmets and special reinforcing elements, such as a prow-shaped chin defense, the *bevor*, fixed to the top of the breastplate, and a targe to cover the left shoulder

and upper arm. The fixed bevor immobilized the head, and the jouster therefore had to swivel his entire body from the hips in order to aim his lance. The targe was attached to the left side of the breastplate; a steel disk in its center covered and protected the point of attachment. The lances had conical handguards (vamplates) and were much lighter than those for the German-style *Rennen*; they could be handled with ease, supported only by the lance rest. The queues shown here were mistakenly included by the painter.

Since the *Welschrennen* was fought across a separating barrier, it was necessary for the jouster to wear leg armor, in case his horse accidentally swerved against the plank.

Plate 11 (manuscript page 25). *Das Feldrennen* [*in*] *den Bund mit Stahlen gliegern* (The *Feldrennen* with Full Horse Armor of Steel)

The equipment for the *Feldrennen* was full field armor, including complete armor made from steel plates and mail for the horses (known as a *Gelieger*, or *bard* in English). As a reinforce, the *Renntartsche,* reaching up to the eye slit of the *Rennhut,* is attached to the breastplate by a system of braces with rollers that allow the targe to fly off when properly hit. The lances were of the same lighter type as those for the *Welschrennen* and did not require a queue, again erroneously added here by the painter.

Plate 12 (manuscript page 27). *Das gestech in dem hohen Zeuch* (The *Gestech* in High Saddles)

The *Hohenzeuggestech* was already an archaic type of joust in Maximilian's time. It was named for the tall saddle, which had only a thin elevated support, instead of a proper seat, that forced the jouster to stand in his stirrups. This *Hohenzeug* had a saddle bow that came up to the rider's abdomen and wide downward extensions to cover the unarmored legs. Since there was no comparable rear support, it required great skill and stamina to control one's horse and lance and not to become unseated. The saddle's frontal extensions usually also secured a chest defense for the horse,[16] which took the same U-shape as the *Stechkissen* but had a stiff inner support frame of wood instead of straw padding.

Plate 13 (manuscript page 29). *Das Tartschen Geschift Rennen* (The *Rennen* with "Exploding" Targes)

The feature that distinguished the *Geschifttartschenrennen* from the *Feldrennen* (Plate 11) was its targe with a cover of steel segments, the *Geschifte,* held in position by a central knob and designed to fly away in all directions after a direct hit on the release. This created a spectacular special effect but was also a rather oversophisticated and artificial refinement. It probably was one of Emperor Maximilian's inventions proudly mentioned in the introductory text panel of this section.

Plate 14 (manuscript page 31). *Das gestech in Bein Harnischen und ledern Decken* (The *Gestech* in Leg Armor and Leather Bards)

In the regular *Gemeine Gestech* the breast and shoulders of the horse, as well as the unarmored legs of the jouster, were protected against accidental collisions by the huge padded *Stechkissen* (Plate 9). In the archaic *Hohenzeuggestech* (Plate 12) the oversize saddle with protective extensions kept the jouster safe without the need for leg defenses.

In the *Gestech im Beinharnisch* leg armor was worn, and the horse was protected by a bard of stiff leather. This material, especially when it was hardened, afforded good protection but was lighter than steel plates.[17] The round bosses on the *peytrel*, the chest defense of the horse, served as additional protection, a kind of bumper, in collisions.

Plate 15 (manuscript page 33). *Das Welsch Gestech Vber die Thillen* (The Italian *Gestech* over the Barrier)

In Germany jousts were usually performed in the open field, but in western Europe and Italy a barrier (*pallia*, or *till*) separated the jousters and kept them from colliding. This barrier was an effective safety device, but a swerving horse might crush the rider's leg against the planks; therefore, leg armor was essential for this type of joust. As in the *Welschrennen in den Armentin*, the term *Welsch* refers to the fact that this *Gestech* across the barrier was originally introduced from Italy (see Plate 10).

The crests of the jousters—a bishop's miter and a broken (ostrich?) egg—are presumably obscure Shrovetide jests, now incomprehensible to us. On the other hand, the blindfolded Cupid bound to a tree carries an obvious message.

Plate 16 (manuscript page 35). *Das geschifft Scheiben Rennen* (The *Rennen* with "Exploding" Disks)

The armor for the *Geschiftscheibenrennen* was the same as for the *Geschifttartschenrennen* (Plate 13), except for a small circular disk (*Scheibe*) in place of the more protective targe. If properly hit, the disk's segments flew apart, but if missed, there was danger that the opponent's lance would break an arm. For this reason Burgkmair the Younger again labeled this joust as "gar besorglich" (extremely dangerous).

The anchor on the striped trappings of the near horse was a symbol of steadfast hope.



Plate 1 (manuscript page 5)



Plate 2 (manuscript page 7)



Plate 3 (manuscript page 9)



Plate 4 (manuscript page 11)



Plate 5 (manuscript page 13)



Plate 6 (manuscript page 15)



Plate 7 (manuscript page 17)



Plate 8 (manuscript page 19)



Plate 9 (manuscript page 21)



Plate 10 (manuscript page 23)



Plate 11 (manuscript page 25)



Plate 12 (manuscript page 27)



Plate 13 (manuscript page 29)



Plate 14 (manuscript page 31)



Plate 15 (manuscript page 33)



Plate 16 (manuscript page 35)

Plates 27 and 28 (manuscript pages 54–55)



SECTION II
Costumed Parade for a Carousel Course
Plates 17–36 (on pages 140–43)

The carousel course was an equestrian game of skill that developed from a practice exercise for jousters-in-training: the running, or tilting, at the ring. In this drill a ring about two inches in diameter was suspended between two posts at eye level of a man on horseback, who was to spear it at a full gallop with a needle-pointed lance.

In Europe this nonviolent form of tournament survives today as an entertainment during folk festivals. In the United States it continues not only as the brass ring to be caught on the merry-go-round but also in its original form as the Joust at the Ring, which by law has been Maryland's state sport since 1962.

The Bohemian affinity of Plates 32–36, together with the crown and orb carried by the little girls, might refer to the fact that in 1423, under the threat of the Hussite rebellion, Emperor Sigismund, who was also king of Bohemia and Hungary, entrusted the empire's regalia to Nuremberg "for safekeeping in perpetuity." The regalia had been kept at Karlstein, the castle south of Prague that had been built by Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–78) specifically as a repository for the imperial crown. The regalia remained at Nuremberg until 1796, when, under the threat of invasion by Napoleon, they were removed to Vienna for greater safety. The empire itself was dissolved by Napoleon in 1806 and the regalia stayed in Vienna.

Plate 17 (manuscript page 44). Two horsemen in tall hats carry batons as umpires of the game: they are followed by a kettledrummer on horseback. The drums bear decorative skirts emblazoned with griffins.

Plate 18 (manuscript page 45). Two trumpeters on horseback, their trumpet banners emblazoned with griffins, are followed by three men on foot carrying slender carousel lances.

Plate 19 (manuscript page 46). Two horsemen carry lances, and a third appears to be the captain of the team.



Plate 20 (manuscript page 47). Two squires on horseback bear oval shields emblazoned with griffins, and a groom leads a white parade horse fancifully dyed with red.

Plate 21 (manuscript page 48). Two grooms lead saddled horses as remounts.

Plate 22 (manuscript page 49). A groom leads a saddled horse, and a page boy leads a saddled pony.

Plate 23 (manuscript page 50). Four men—three of them playing musical instruments—are costumed as Bajazzi from the Italian commedia dell'arte: they include a drummer, a shaker of rattles called "bones" (the "tongs and bones" that, in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream,* Bottom wants to hear when he lies in Titania's arms), and one playing a *Bumbass*, a homemade stringed instrument with a pig's bladder as sound amplifier.[18]

Plate 24 (manuscript page 51). Two horsemen dressed as Venetian noblemen are followed by a mounted official in old-fashioned German garb carrying a baton of command.

Plate 25 (manuscript page 52). A fifer and a drummer wear the puffed-and-slashed costume of the *Landsknechte,* German mercenary infantrymen, and a young man is dressed as a dandy.

Plate 26 (manuscript page 53). Two horsemen are dressed as German noblemen. Above the bearded rider on the white horse, a faint inscription, "HENRY VIII," has been penciled in by a later hand.

Plate 27 (manuscript page 54). A drummer boy on horseback is followed by two trumpeters on horseback. Their segmented hats, the skirts of the kettledrums, and the trumpet banners are striped rose, silver, and lavender. In Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes), published in





Figure 13. Jost Amman (1539–1591). *Nobilis anglvs* (English Gentleman), woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577)

Figure 14. *Ein Bohemin von Prag* (A Bohemian Woman from Prague). Jost Amman, *Frauentrachtenbuch* (Book of Women's Costumes; Frankfurt am Main, 1586). Woodcut, 7½ x 5¾ in. (19 x 14.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941 (41.138)

Nuremberg in 1577 (Figure 13), these segmented hats are attributed to Englishmen (perhaps explaining the later commentary on the previous plate).[19]

Plate 28 (manuscript page 55). Two horsemen carrying their lances at the ready are followed by three boys with quarterstaffs. All wear the "English" segmented hats in the team colors.

Plate 29 (manuscript page 56). Three "Roman" horsemen wear classically inspired armor, their plumes in the team colors.

Plate 30 (manuscript page 57). Four "Arcadian" shepherds carry cudgels and play shawms as they march before a richly clad lady on horseback.

Plate 31 (manuscript page 58). A Spanish *caballero* on horseback, carrying a lance, is followed by his page boy on foot and by two deeply veiled ladies on horseback, all dressed in black.

Plate 32 (manuscript page 59). A woman in Bohemian costume, as documented in Amman's *Frauentrachtenbuch* (Book of Women's Costumes) of 1586, with a typical bell-shaped hat (Figure 14), carries a lance and a black "Bohemian" *pavese*.[20] She leads a procession of six girls, two by two. All the girls wear little bonnets with a huge ostrich feather; of the smallest girls, one carries on a red cushion a crown, and the other an orb. These regalia are probably for the crowning of the "king," or winner, of the tournament.

Plate 33 (manuscript page 60). An old "Bohemian" woman carries on her back a large kettledrum, beaten by a young girl wearing a bonnet with an ostrich feather. The drummers are followed by a lady on horseback, wearing half armor and a tall Bohemian man's hat.

Plate 34 (manuscript page 61). An old "Bohemian" woman riding a donkey dressed in a speckled cowhide holds a pyrotechnical contraption on a pole. She is followed by another "Amazon" on horseback, in armor, with plumed helmet, shield, and lance.

Plates 35 and 36 (manuscript pages 62 and 63). Each plate shows two saddled horses, each of which is led by a woman in Bohemian dress.



Plate 17 (manuscript page 44)



Plate 18 (manuscript page 45)



Plate 19 (manuscript page 46)



Plate 20 (manuscript page 47)



Plate 21 (manuscript page 48)



Plate 22 (manuscript page 49)



Plate 23 (manuscript page 50)



Plate 24 (manuscript page 51)



Plate 25 (manuscript page 52)



Plate 26 (manuscript page 53)



Plate 27 (manuscript page 54)



Plate 28 (manuscript page 55)



Plate 29 (manuscript page 56)



Plate 30 (manuscript page 57)



Plate 31 (manuscript page 58)



Plate 32 (manuscript page 59)



Plate 33 (manuscript page 60)



Plate 34 (manuscript page 61)





Plates 35 and 36 (manuscript pages 62 and 63)

SECTION III

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Jousts)

Gesellenstechen offered a sporting pastime for Nuremberg's *jeunesse dorée,* the bachelor sons of patrician families. These patricians were divided into twenty "old families" and seven "new families," with fifteen more new families added in 1440. In the hierarchy of the city there were also the "honorable families," who were quite often even wealthier than some of the old or new patricians but were distinctly seen as one rung lower on the social ladder. By 1521 the city's social register was closed, when in the so-called Dance Statute the number of families that could be invited to balls at the city hall was fixed once and for all.

The old families were Behaim, Dörrer, Ebner, Geuder, Groland, Gross, Grundtherr, Haller, Holzschuher, Koler, Mendel, Muffel, Nützel, Pfintzing, Schopper, Schürstab, Stromer, Tetzel, Tucher, and Volckamer. The older "new" families were Paumgartner, Imhoff, Kress, Pirckheimer, Pommer, Rieter, and Rummel, while the new families admitted in 1440 were Fürer, Fütterer, Harsdörfer, Hegner, Hirschvogel, Löffelholz, Meichsner, Prunsterer, Rehlinger, Reich, Topler, Welser, Wolf, Zingel, and Zollner.

The very last of the *Gesellenstechen* was held in 1561.

SECTION IIIA

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Joust) of 1446
Plates 37–60 (on pages 154–57)

Foreword (manuscript pages 64–65; Figure 15)

In the year after the birth of Christ our Lord and Savior, 1446, on Monday after Herrenfastnacht,[21] *which then was the 28th of the month of February, with permission granted by the Worshipful Magistrate of the City of Nuremberg an honorable Gesellenstechen in the Hohenzeug was held by several heirs of old families of long ancestry and bachelor sons of noble houses at Nuremberg, with their coats of arms and crests, such as were borne on shield and helmet, and were equipped as well, as should be, with their own horses, harness, and accoutrement.*

And there were permitted in the lists four persons for each jouster, who were: two men on horseback, as an assisting armorer and a squire to hold the lances ready, and two men on foot dressed in jester's garb, who had to assist their masters, and each one had their master's escutcheon and coat of arms emblazoned and sewn on in front on his breast and on his back also, and those on foot were dressed in the same colors as their master's horse trappings, which were emblazoned with those escutcheons sewn on in front and on either side.

In the aforesaid Gesellenstechen there showed up nine and thirty jousters with their Hohenzeug harness, armorial trappings, and crests. Also, there was done many a good joust, and there was good order kept and obeyance of the rules in all things, as it is only proper in such knightly games, and there was impartial judgment meted out, in such way that nobody was slighted or that anybody had cause to complain about another's unfair advantage.

There were in each course five jousters against five, and each one of them had his own harness and saddle gear.



Figure 15. Introduction to Section III of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1, manuscript pages 64–65)

And there was one man trampled to death in the throng in the lists, and there was one horse of Wilhelm Hirschvogel's left dead too.

At the aforementioned Shrovetide Monday, the 28th of February of the year 1446, was the wedding of Wilhelm Löffelholtz, son of Hans Löffelholtz born by Lady Haydin, with Kunigunde, the daughter of Conrad Paumgartner, and the bride had donated three jewels as prizes in honor of the tournament. To wit, the first prize was a brooch worth twelve guldens, the other a golden ring for eight guldens, and the third a golden wreath in the value of four guldens.

These said jewels and prizes were handed out according to merit in the aforesaid tournament at the dance that was held afterward in the city hall.

Plate 37 (manuscript page 67). Six attendants carry lances and stepping boards as mounting aids for their jousters. Besides assisting their masters in mounting and dismounting, and handing them a new lance, when needed, they also had the job of crowd control. To avoid spoiling the happy holiday mood they were dressed in jester's garb, a parallel to the clowns in today's parades, and were selected for their sharp wits and tongues, to keep the crowds amused and to offer quick repartee, preferably in rhyme, to any heckler or unruly drunk. An indispensable tool was a club of sausage skin stuffed with wool, used to mete out impressive-looking but harmless beatings to troublemakers.

The coats of arms borne by the jesters in this picture are Haller (repeated twice): *Gules, a Pile Argent in bend, with an inset Sable* (in red a diagonal silver pile with a black inset);[22] Waldstromer (repeated twice): *Gules, two Oven Forks Argent in saltire* (in red two silver oven forks diagonally crossed);[23] Rummel: *Or, two fighting Cocks Sable addorsed* (in gold, two black fighting cocks back to back);[24] and Schopper: *Gules, a Fess Argent, charged with three Links of a Chain Sable* (in red a silver horizontal stripe, charged with three black chain links).[25]

Plate 38 (manuscript page 68). Two horsemen carry lances, followed by a fifer and a drummer. The horsemen are labeled *Stangenführer,* officials in charge of the lances (*Stangen*). The German expression "jemandem die Stange halten" (literally, to hold the lance ready for someone), meaning to be a faithful helper in need, derives from this office of *Stangenführer.*

Plate 39 (manuscript page 69). A pair of trumpeters are on horseback, their trumpet banners emblazoned with the city arms of Nuremberg.[26]

Plate 40 (manuscript page 70). Two horsemen with batons of command, labeled *Ristmaister* (modern German: *Rüstmeister*), were officials in charge of armor and equipment (*Rüstung*) and responsible for its compliance with rules and regulations.

Plate 41 (manuscript page 71). The first pair of jousters in the tournament of 1446, in *Hohenzeuggestech* armor. Left: *Conrath Haller Conrath Hallers vnd der Dandörfferin Sohn*; right: *Herr Hanß Waldtstromer Hanssen Waldtstromers Sohn von der Grundtherrin geborn*

Conrad Haller, son of Conrad Haller and his wife, née Dandörfer, bears the family arms (see Plate 37) on shield, saddle, and horse trappings. On his helmet he bears the family crest: a blackamoor girl's torso robed in red, with a long braid and a headband of red and white. In typical German heraldic custom, the figure's robe blends into the helmet mantling.

Hans Waldstromer, son of Hans Waldstromer and his wife, née Grundtherr, bears the family arms (see Plate 37). His crest is a pair of wings charged with the oven forks of the shield.

Plate 42 (manuscript page 72). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Herr Frantz Rummel Ritter Hainrich Rummels Sohnn von der Köpffin*; right: *Lorenz Rumell Wilhelm Rumels Sohn von der alten Pfinzingin*

Herr Franz Rummel, knight, son of Heinrich Rummel and his wife, née Kopff, bears the Rummel family arms (see Plate 37) on shield and saddle. As his crest he has a single golden wing charged with the two cocks. Because Franz Rummel had been actually knighted (*Ritter* means "knight"), he was entitled to the honorific prefix *Herr*.[27]

The caption identifying the second jouster as Lorenz Rummel is a later addition in a different scribe's hand, and clearly in error. The coat of arms on the shield, saddle, and horse trappings is that of the Schopper family (see Plate 37). Also the crest of a man's torso, dressed in red with a foolscap with donkey's ears, is that of the Schoppers.

Plate 43 (manuscript page 73). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Bertholdt Volckamer Petter Volckamer vnd der Hallerin Sohn. Diesem ist der ander danck vnd Cleinot, Nemlich ein Ring verehrt wordten*; right: *Lamprecht Groß Philips Grosen vnd der Schürstäbin Sohn*

The arms of Berthold Volckamer, son of Peter Volckamer and his wife, née Haller, are *Per fess, in chief Argent, a halved Wheel Gules, in base Azure, a Fleur-de-Lis Argent*



Plate 43 (manuscript page 73). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*

(divided horizontally the upper field of silver containing a red halved wheel, the lower field of blue with a silver fleur-de-lis);[28] his crest is the halved wheel topped by a plume of black cock's feathers.

The fact that the caption records him as the winner of the second prize, the ring, without mentioning the first- or third-prize winners, might be an indication that this book was made for a member of the Volckamer family.

The arms of Lamprecht Gross, son of Philipp Gross and his wife, née Schürstab, are *Argent, on a Mount Vert a Crosslet Gules surmounted by a Linden Tree proper* (in silver on a green mount a red crosslet surmounted by a naturally colored linden tree),[29] and his crest is a pair of silver horns edged with green linden leaves.

Plate 44 (manuscript page 74). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Leopoldt Haller Ulrichen Hallers Sohn von der Forstmaisterin oder Kolerin sohn*; right: *Hannß Schürstab Leboldten Schürstab vnd der forstmaisterin oder Kolern Sohn*

Leopold Haller, on the charger with blue trappings, bears the red shield of the Haller family with its silver-and-black pile. Its crest of the blackamoor maiden is on his helmet.

Hans Schürstab's arms are *Or, two Ragged Staffs Sable in saltire, their tips aflame* (in gold two black ragged staves, crossed, with burning tips).[30] These are canting (punning) arms, playing on *schüren* (to stoke a fire) and *Stab* (staff or stick). The Schürstab crest is a red-gowned blackamoor wearing a bishop's miter.

The late sixteenth-century writer of the captions was apparently uncertain about the finer details of mid-fifteenth-century Nuremberg patrician genealogy. The identification indicates that he was unsure whether Leopold Haller's mother was a Forstmeister, and Hans Schürstab's a Koler, or vice versa.

Plate 45 (manuscript page 75). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Herr Sebaldt Pfintzing Ritter Sebaldt Pfintzings vnd der Hallerin Sohn*; right: *Erckeprecht Koler N. Kolers Sohn von der Füchslin geborn*

As a dubbed knight (*Ritter*), Sebald Pfintzing, son of Sebald Pfintzing and his wife, née Koler, is titled *Herr*. His arms are *per fess, Or and Sable* (divided horizontally of gold and black); his crest, a pair of horns, is equally tinctured of gold and black.[31]

Erckeprecht Koler bears the arms *Gules, a Ring Argent* (in red a silver ring). His crest is a red ring fringed in white swan feathers. The caption indicates that the first name of Erckeprecht's father has been forgotten over time, but it was still known that his mother's maiden name was Füchsl.

Plate 46 (manuscript page 76). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hanß von Locheim Hannsen von Lochaim Sohn geborn von der Graserin*; right: *Steffen Haller Leopoldten Hallers vnd der Stromerin Sohn*

Hans von Locheim, son of Hans von Locheim and his wife, née Graser, bears the arms *per bend sinister Or and Sable, two Rings counterchanged* (divided diagonally toward the left of gold and black, in each field a ring in the color of the other field).[32] His crest is a single wing *bendy* (striped diagonally) of gold and black. The *bend sinister* was considered a sign of illegitimacy in France and England, but it did not have this ominous meaning in Germany, where bends (diagonal stripes to the right) and bends sinister could be used interchangeably, often for strictly decorative reasons.

Steffen Haller's horse trappings are green, in order to differentiate him from his kinsmen, Conrad Haller in crimson (see Plate 41), and Leopold Haller in blue (see Plate 44).

Plate 47 (manuscript page 77). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hieronimus Kress Konrad Kressen Sohn von der Waldtstrommerin*; right: *Michael Grundtherr Ulrich Grundtherr vnd der Rützin Sohn*

Hieronymus Kress, son of Konrad Kress and his wife, née Waldstromer, bears the arms *Gules, a Sword proper in bend, with the grip Sable* (in red a sword positioned diagonally, with silver blade, gold guard and pommel, and a black grip).[33] His crest is the figure of a bearded man, dressed in red and wearing a red beret with upturned white brim, clenching a sword in his teeth.

Michael Grundtherr bears the arms *Gules, a demi-Lion Argent, crowned Or* (in red a silver demi-lion wearing a golden crown).[34] His crest repeats the crowned demi-lion of the shield; as is typical of German crests, the lion's fur blends into the mantling.

Plate 48 (manuscript page 78). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Steffan Tetzel Jobsten Tetzel vnd der Hallerin Sohn*; right: *Lorentz Rummel Wilhelm Rummels Sohn geborn von der Pfintzingin*

Stefan Tetzel, son of Jobst Tetzel and his wife, née Haller, bears the arms *Gules, a Cat rampant Argent* (in red a silver cat rearing up). His crest is the cat *issuant* (emerging from the helmet).[35] The cat is a witty hint at the family name (*Tätzel,* in modern spelling), which means "little paws."

Like his kinsman, Herr Franz Rummel, in Plate 42, Lorenz Rummel, son of Wilhelm Rummel and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears the family arms of the addorsed fighting cocks.

Plate 49 (manuscript page 79). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Petter Riether Hannsen Riethers vnd der Behaimin Sohn*; right: *Bertholdt Nützel Petter Nützels vnd der Schopperin Sohn auff welchem der Nützlische Stamm allein gestanden*

Peter Rieter, son of Hans Rieter and his wife, née Behaim, bears the arms *per fess Sable and Or, a double-tailed Mermaid vested Gules, crowned Or* (divided horizontally of black and gold, over all a red-robed double-tailed mermaid wearing a golden crown).[36] The mermaid is also the Rieter crest.

As the caption states, Berthold Nützel, son of Peter Nützel and his wife, née Schopper, was the only member of this "old family" living at the time. He bears the arms *Gules, three Fleurs-de-Lis conjoined in pairle Argent* (in red three silver fleurs-de-lis joined in triangular formation).[37] His crest is a silver fleur-de-lis set on a red pillow with silver tassels.

Plate 50 (manuscript page 80). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hordegen Tucher Hannssen Tuchers Sohn von der Faltznerin geborn*; right: *Cristian Haller Petter Hallers vnd der Rietherin Sohn*

Hördegen Tucher, son of Hans Tucher and his wife, née Faltzner, bears the arms *per fess, in chief bendy of Argent and Sable, in base Or a Blackamoor's Head proper* (divided horizontally, the upper field striped diagonally of black and silver, the lower field containing in gold a blackamoor's head in natural colors).[38] The Tucher crest is a blackamoor's

figure, robed gold, with a pair of horns as arms, *compony* (colored alternately) gold, black, and silver.

Blackamoors or blackamoor's heads, or both, are frequently found in German heraldry. They represent the very popular Saint Mauritius. He was the patron saint of German infantry, as Saint Sebastian was the patron saint of archers and Saint George the patron saint of cavalry and of knights in particular.

Christian Haller, son of Peter Haller and his wife, née Rieter, bears the Haller arms on black horse trappings (see Plate 37).

Plate 51 (manuscript page 81). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Pertholdt Haller Ulrichen Hallers vnd der Forstmaisterin Sohn*; right: *Hannß Hördegen eins E Raths Soltadt auff etliche Pferdt*

Berthold Haller, son of Ulrich Haller and his wife, née Forstmeister, bears the Haller arms and crest (see Plate 37). Like Leopold Haller (see Plate 44), who apparently was his brother or half brother, he rides a horse caparisoned in blue.

Hans Hördegen was, as the caption states, captain of a troop of cavalry in the service of Nuremberg's Worshipful City Council. His arms are *Or, a Pale Sable charged with a (Short-)Sword proper* (in gold a black vertical stripe on which is shown a shortsword (so-called *Schweizerdegen*) with silver blade and golden hilt).[39] The arms are canting, a rebus for his name and profession that plays on *Heer* (army) and *Degen* (rapier or thrusting sword).

Plate 52 (manuscript page 82). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Wilhelm HirschfVogel Ulrich Hirschfogel vnd der Köpfin Sohn*; right: *Hannß Starck, N. Starcken Sohn von der Trachtin erzeugt*

Wilhelm Hirschvogel, son of Ulrich Hirschvogel and his wife, née Kopf, bears canting arms: *Sable, on a stepped Mount Argent a Bird Or* (in black a golden bird [German *Vogel*] on a silver stepped mount).[40] As mentioned in the foreword to this section, Wilhelm Hirschvogel had the misfortune of having one of his horses killed in the tournament of 1446.

Hans Starck, son of (first name unknown) Starck and his wife, née Tracht, bears the arms *Argent, issuant from a Mount Sable, the demi-figure of a Bearded Man, vested Gules, wearing a Beret Gules lined Sable, and tearing asunder a barbed spear proper* (in silver the half figure of a bearded man, wearing a red robe and beret, the latter with upturned black brim, emerging from a black mount and tearing asunder a barbed spear).[41] This is another example of canting arms: *stark* translates as "strong," and a man who can tear a spear in two, lengthwise, must be a strong man indeed.

Plate 53 (manuscript page 83). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Wilhelm Rummel Wilhelm Rummels vnd der Pfintzingin Sohn*; right*: Sebaldt Kreß Conradten Kreßen Sohn von der Hallerin geborn*

Wilhelm Rummel, son of Wilhelm Rummel and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears the Rummel arms and crest of the addorsed fighting cocks (see Plate 37).

Sebald Kress, son of Konrad Kress and his wife, née Haller, must have been a half brother to Hieronymus Kress (see Plate 47). He bears the Kress arms and crest.

Plate 54 (manuscript page 84). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Carl Holtzschuer Carl Holtzschuer Sohn von der Pfintzingin*; right: *Hanß Vlstat Hannßen Ulstat Sohn geborn von der Knöblin*

Carl Holzschuher, son of Carl Holzschuher and his wife, née Pfintzing, bears his family's canting arms *Or, a wooden Shoe, Sable on top and lined Gules* (in gold a wooden shoe with black top and red lining [*Holz* means "wood" and *Schuh* means "shoe"]).[42] His crest is a figure of a blackamoor in a red robe and a peaked hat with golden brim.

Hans Ulstat, son of Hans Ulstat and his wife, née Knöbl, bears the arms *Argent, three Lion's Heads Gules* (in silver three red lion's heads in profile).[43] The same three lions' heads are on the single wing of his crest.

Plate 55 (manuscript page 85). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Sebaldt Haller Enderes Haller vnd der Seckendörfferin Sohn*; right: *Wilhelm Löffelholtz Hannßen Löffelholtz Sohn von der Haidtin geboren*

Sebald Haller, son of Enderes (Andreas) Haller and his wife, née von Seckendorf, bears the Haller arms and crest (see Plate 37). His mother's family, the *Freiherren* (barons) von Seckendorf, was of the old Franconian nobility, *turnierfähig* in its own right as members of the exclusive *Gesellschaft in der Fürspang von Franken* (Tournament Society of the Buckle).

Wilhelm Löffelholz, son of Hans Löffelholz and his wife, née Haidt, bears his family's arms: *Gules, a Lamb passant Argent* (in red a silver lamb walking dexter/to the [heraldic] right).[44] His crest is the lamb on a red wing spangled with silver linden leaves. The Löffelholz were one of the "new families" admitted to the patriciate only in 1440, and Wilhelm Löffelholz was the groom at the wedding celebrated by this *Gesellenstechen*.

Plate 56 (manuscript page 86). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Petter Zolner Gerhart Zolners Son von der Grundtherrin*; right: *Sebaldt Elbannger Sebaldten Elbanngers Sohn von der Pömmerin*

Peter Zollner, son of Gerhart Zollner and his wife, née Grundtherr, bears the arms *per fess, in chief Or, a demi-Lion Sable crowned Gules, in base Argent, a Blackamoor's Head proper with a floral wreath Or and Gules, a Fess Gules overall* (divided horizontally of gold and silver, in the upper field a black demi-lion wearing a red crown, in the lower field a blackamoor's head with a wreath of red and gold flowers, a red horizontal stripe overall).[45] His crest is the black demi-lion.

Sebald Ellwanger, son of Sebald Ellwanger and his wife, née Pommer, bears the arms *Sable, a Lion's Head guardant Or, langued Gules* (in black a golden lion's head turned frontally to the observer, with a red tongue).[46] His crest is a pair of golden horns.

Plate 57 (manuscript page 87). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Conrath Baumgartner Conrath Baumgartners Sohn von der Ochsenfürerin*; right: *Sebald Pömmer Stefan Pömmers vnd der Behaimin Sohn*

Conrad Paumgartner, son of Conrad Paumgartner and his wife, née Ochsenführer, bears the arms *per fess Argent and Sable, in chief a Popinjay proper, in base a Fleur-de-Lis Argent* (divided horizontally of silver and black, in the upper field a green popinjay with red beak, in the lower field a silver fleur-de-lis).[47] His crest is the fleur-de-lis with the popinjay on top.

Sebald Pommer, son of Stefan Pommer and his wife, née Behaim, bears the arms *per bend sinister, bendy sinister Argent and Gules above, Sable below* (divided diagonally to the left, the upper field of leftward diagonal stripes of silver and red, the lower field black). His crest is the figure of a blackamoor, robed in red and wearing a headband of red and white.

Plate 58 (manuscript page 88). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Görg Derrer Anthoni Derrer vnd der Schnöttin Sohn*; right: *Ulman Hegner Ulman Hegners vnd der Elwangerin Sohn*

Georg Dörrer, son of Anton Dörrer and his wife, née Schnott, bears the arms *Argent, a Bend sinister Sable, charged with three Chess Rooks Argent* (in silver, a black diagonal stripe to the left on which are shown three silver chess rooks).[48] The Dörrer crest is the figure of a bearded man, robed in white and wearing a white beret with an upturned black brim.

Ulman Hegner, son of Ulman Hegner and his wife, née Ellwanger, bears the arms *Azure, a Chevron Or, charged with three Roses Gules* (in blue a golden chevron on which are shown three red roses).[49] His crest is a blue wing charged with the chevron and the roses.

Plate 59 (manuscript page 89). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hannß Volckamer Hainrich Volckamers Sohn von der Schürstäbin geboren*; right: *Sebaldt Baumgarttner Conrathen Baumgartners Sohn von der Kreßin geborn*

Hans Volckamer, son of Heinrich Volckamer and his wife, née Schürstab, bears the Volckamer family arms of the halved wheel and the fleur-de-lis (see Plate 43).

Sebald Paumgartner, a son of Conrad Paumgartner and his wife, née Kress, was probably a half brother of Conrad Paumgartner the Younger (see Plate 57). He bears the Paumgartner family arms of the popinjay and fleur-de-lis.

Plate 60 (manuscript page 90). Two jousters armed for the *Hohenzeuggestech*. Left: *Hanns Rieter Hansen Rieters Sohn von der Harstörfferin*; right: *Endres Strommer, Görgen Strommers Sohn von der Eÿslingerin geborn*

Both these captions are in error. Furthermore, the first one is not inscribed in the same hand as the previous ones in the manuscript.

The first figure bears the Tetzel arms and crest (see Plate 48), and the second figure bears those of Nützel (see Plate 49). Apparently the painter of this parade of the thirty-nine participants in the wedding tournament of 1446 did not want to have the last jouster riding alone and therefore gave him a companion. Unfortunately, he did not pick this supernumerary from one of the families with multiple representatives, such as the Haller or Rummel; instead he chose for this duplication a figure bearing the arms of Nützel, despite the fact that the caption on Plate 49 explicitly identifies Berthold Nützel as the sole surviving issue of that family. A possible explanation for identifying the second knight as Andreas Stromer could be the similarity of the crests of the Nützel and Stromer families. The Stromers had three fleurs-de-lis as their crest, while the Nützel crest was a single fleur-de-lis.

SECTION IIIB
Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Jousts) of 1539 and 1546
Plates 61–68 (on pages 158–59)

Plate 61 (manuscript page 91)

Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech*. Left: *Joachim Tezell. Ao. 1539*; right: *Wolff von Camerer Ritter*

The first figure has his black shield and horse trappings emblazoned with a naked mermaid; the same mermaid tops his helmet as his crest. A double-tailed mermaid, crowned and robed, was the charge in the arms of the Rieter family (see Plate 49). In Plate 60, the jouster bearing the Tetzel coat of arms is labeled as Hans Rieter, while the figure with the mermaids here is identified as Joachim Tezell. Since the flowing handwriting of these captions is the same, this is clearly a simple mix-up in the compiler's files.

The second jouster, Wolff von Cämmerer, is labeled as a knight and sits on a horse clad in blue trappings strewn with golden flames.[50] His rather complicated crest combines that of his family (a crescent tipped with black cock's feathers) with a figure of Lucretia stabbing herself, as the embodiment of female virtue, in a tribute to the Renaissance spirit of the time.

The jousters' attendants, one for each participant, are dressed in jesters' garb matching the colors and emblems of the jousters' trappings.

Plate 62 (manuscript page 92). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by two attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Hannss Starcks. Ao. 1539*; right: *Reinhard Rech*

The first figure bears on his helmet the crest of the Starck family (see Plate 52). His shield does not show the Starck coat of arms but is charged with a flaming golden sun.The pale crimson horse trappings are *semy* (strewn) with golden suns and silver raindrops.

His partner bears the canting crest of the Rech family, a golden rake (*Rechen*). His black shield and horse trappings do not show the family arms but are overlaid with a net of golden chains.[51]

Plate 63 (manuscript page 93). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Sigmund Pfinzing Ao. 1539*; right: *Hanns Stromer*

The first participant bears on his shield the Pfintzing arms (see Plate 45); instead of a crest he has only a twisted wreath of yellow and black. His horse's trappings are striped yellow and black.

The second figure bears the crest of the Stromer family—three silver fleurs-de-lis—but his shield and his horse's trappings, instead of showing the family arms,[52] are striped in many colors: red, green, blue, black, and yellow.

Plate 64 (manuscript page 94). The *Gesellenstechen* of 1546. Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Albrecht Scheürl*; right: *Wolff Münzer. Ao. 1546*

The first figure, identified as Albrecht Scheurl, does not bear his family's coat of arms (see Plate 70) but shows on his shield and as his crest the amorous device of three hearts, arranged palewise (in a vertical row) as in German playing cards. This is a rebus meaning "loyal hearts": *drei* (three) sounds like a dialect pronunciation of *treu* (loyal).

The second figure's crest of a bagpiper is also a whimsical device fit for a Shrovetide joust, but his shield bears the full arms of the Münzer family: *per chevron, Gules and Argent, the chevron point shaped as a Fleur-de-Lis, in base a Rose Gules* (of red and silver divided chevronwise with a fleur-de-lis at the point, or "im Liliensparrenschnitt," in the lower field a red rose).[53] The rose-colored horse trappings bear a honeycomb pattern in silver, filled alternately with roses and fleurs-de-lis.

Plate 65 (manuscript page 95). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (with their attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Geörg Közell. Ao. 1546*; right: *Wilhelm Schlißelfelder*

The first figure, labeled as Georg Kötzel or Ketzel in somewhat arbitrary spelling, bears a globular birdcage as his crest. His shield and horse trappings do not show the family arms but are boldly striped in red, white, and green.[54] The birds represent a bawdy German pun referring to extramarital intercourse.

Wilhelm Schlüsselfelder here adopts a flimsily clad bathmaid (an attendant of a public bathing house) as his shield device and crest instead of his family coat of arms.[55] The image also hints at pleasures of the flesh and would have been a highly appreciated Shrovetide jest.

Plate 66 (manuscript page 96). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Hieronymus Im Hoff. Ao. 1546*; right: *Gramlieb Waldstromer*

Like the previous contestant, Hieronymus Imhoff has abandoned his family arms, choosing instead a blue sun (sun in eclipse) on his silver shield and blue suns and stars strewn all over his horse's white or silver trappings; his helmet is adorned with a crest in the shape of a golden star and even his lance is spangled with stars.[56]

His companion, Gramlieb Waldstromer, bears two crossed ragged staffs in silver on his shield, a quotation from the Waldstromer family arms (see Plate 37). On the blue trappings of his horse the crossed staffs are augmented by firesteels emitting flames; an imitation of the famous badge of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, the image also alludes to Gramlieb Waldstromer's family arms proper, which show the tips of the ragged staves aflame.

Plate 67 (manuscript page 97). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (with their attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Balthasar Baumgartner. Ao. 1546*; right: *Sigmund Fürrer*

The green parrot or popinjay on Balthasar Paumgartner's helmet is part of the Paumgartner family crest (see Plate 57), but it must have been deemed funny enough to be appropriate for a Shrovetide joust. The gray (*aschenfarben*) stripes on shield and horse trappings are forebodings of Ash Wednesday to come.

The foolscaps on Sigmund Fürer's shield and horse trappings bear no resemblance to his family arms but are unmistakable Shrovetide symbols, just like the bird shown on his horse's caparison: a wagtail.[57] The shoe on top of his helmet is a self-deprecating jocular device: a henpecked husband is called a *Pantoffelheld* (literally, hero under the slipper), and although *Gesellenstechen* were the privilege of bachelor patricians, this detail probably was meant as another wry prognosis of things to come.

Plate 68 (manuscript page 98). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Paulus Beheim. Ao. 1546*; right: *Wolff Endres Lincks*

Paul Behaim chose as his crest the alluring figure of Lady Love, with a red heart in her right hand and the barbed arrow of Cupid in her left. His family arms have been abandoned in favor of a shield that is half blue, semy with silver stars, and half golden, while his horse trappings are green (the color of *Minne,* the courtly love of the Middle Ages) and yellow (the color of jealousy).[58]

Wolf Andreas Lincks has as his crest another birdcage, containing an owl mobbed by small birds. The owl, surrounded and pestered by other birds, is repeated on his multistriped horse trappings.[59] This avian group was a symbol of defiance and rugged individualism, or "one against all."



Plate 69 (manuscript page 99). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech*

SECTION IIIC

Gesellenstechen (Bachelors' Joust) of 1561

Plates 69–72 (on page 159)

The last *Gesellenstechen* ever to be held in the Hauptmarkt, the market square of Nuremberg, took place in 1561. It was held on March 3, "the Monday after *Herrenfastnacht,*" the Sunday Estomihi preceding Mardi Gras. This Monday was also known as *Geiler Montag* (Wanton Monday); today it is, more tamely, *Rosenmontag* (Rose Monday). The event was sponsored by the patrician Gabriel Paumgartner; the Worshipful City Council graciously granted permission, including the loan of jousting armors kept in the city's armory for just such a purpose.

Two patricians were appointed to be umpires. Four trumpeters were to give the signals; fifty-six jousts, or courses, were fought altogether. An important part of the festivities was the dance held in the city hall in the evening, although admission to these dances was strictly limited to the families privileged by the Dance Statute of 1521.

A watercolor recording this *Gesellenstechen*, attributed to the renowned illustrator Jost Amman (1539–1591), is preserved in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen, Munich. The Metropolitan Museum's manuscript deviates in several minor details from this picture, which was evidently painted by an eyewitness.

Plate 69 (manuscript page 99). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by two attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Moriz Fürrer. Ao. 1561*; right: *Wilhelm Trainer*

Moritz Fürer von Haimendorf, as his full name would be, bears a silver swan in his shield (where only its head shows behind Wilhelm Trainer's horse) and as his helmet crest; his horse trappings are semy with silver rain- or teardrops.[60] Moritz Fürer won the first prize of the tournament, having participated in twenty-five jousts that included four unhorsings.

Wilhelm Trainer bears his family crest of a standing wolf in a white (shepherd's?) smock on his helmet but has a pair of silver wings as a fictitious device on his shield.[61] The red trappings of his horse are semy with wings and also bear a large silver laurel wreath. The above-mentioned painting by Jost Amman shows within the wreath the enigmatic letters *OGBN*, omitted in the Museum's manuscript. The lances of both contestants are in their respective colors, black and red, and semy with their devices of silver drops or wings. Wilhelm Trainer won the second prize, having completed twenty-four jousts, including four unhorsings.

Plate 70 (manuscript page 100). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (with their two attendants in jesters' garb). Left: *Christoff Scheürl Ao. 1561*; right: *Philip Sieder genant Lux*

Christoph Scheurl von Defersdorf bears as his helmet crest the nude figurine of Fortuna on her golden ball, holding aloft her billowing sail. In striking contrast to this playfully allegorical crest he bears on his shield the Scheurl family arms *quarterly, in 1 and 4 Gules, a Panther Argent, in 2 and 3 Azure, a Bend Or* (divided into four fields, the first and fourth showing in red a silver panther, the second and third containing in blue a golden diagonal stripe).[62] Christoph Scheurl's horse trappings display an eye-dazzling pattern of blue, white, and red lozenges; the written accounts of the event mention little silver stars in the red lozenges, omitted here. Christoph Scheurl won the third prize, with seventeen jousts completed including four unhorsings.

Philipp Sieder, called Lux, chose as his crest a white dove; his shield and horse trappings are diagonally striped in yellow and black.[63] Philipp Sieder placed fourth, with twelve jousts which included two unhorsings.

Plate 71 (manuscript page 101). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (with their attendants in jesters' costumes). Left: *Matthes Löffelholz Ao. 1561*; right: *Philip Geuder*

Matthes Löffelholz von Kolberg bears the full family arms (compare with Plate 55):[64] *quarterly, 1 and 4 Gules a Lamb Argent, 2 and 3 Argent a Bend Azure charged with three Conical Hats Argent* (divided into four fields, in the first and fourth in red a silver lamb, in the second and third in silver a blue diagonal stripe on which are shown three silver conical hats, or *Spitzhüte*. The Löffelholz crest is a blue *Spitzhut* with white brim, topped by a blue and white plume issuant from a golden coronet; the hat is set between a pair of red wings charged with the lambs of the shield and spangled with silver linden leaves. The horse trappings were patterned in lozenges of rose color, ash color, and yellow on one side, and blue and yellow on the other. Matthes Löffelholz placed fifth, with twelve jousts, including one unhorsing.

Philip Geuder von Heroldsberg bears his family crest, a star halved of silver and blue, with blue and white tufts at its points, but his shield charge of a fierce lion's face is a fictitious device.[65] His blue horse trappings are semy with lion's faces and silver stars; on the *crupper* (the horse's rear defense) are depicted two white fighting cocks facing each other under a silver laurel wreath. While the silver stars on the blue trappings are clearly derived from the blue-and-silver star of the family crest, the lion's faces and cocks probably derive from the medieval belief, lent credence by the authority of the bestiaries, that a lion is not afraid of anything except a white rooster. Philipp Geuder placed last in the competition, with only two jousts.

Plate 72 (manuscript page 102). Two jousters armed for the *Gemeine Gestech* (accompanied by their attendants dressed as jesters). Left: *Balthasar Gugell. Ao. 1561*; right: *Endres Schmidmer*

Balthasar Gugel von Diepoltsdorf bears golden fleurs-de-lis in blue on his shield and horse trappings, and a golden fleur-de-lis as his crest. These charges are taken from the Gugel family arms: *Or, a Bend Azure charged with three Fleur-de-Lis Or* (in gold a blue diagonal stripe on which are shown three golden fleurs-de-lis).[66] Balthasar Gugel placed sixth, with eleven jousts but no unhorsings.

Andreas Schmidmaier von Schwarzenbruck was a member of one of the "honorable families" qualified for the city's courts. His shield of gold and red bears an owl perched on a green twig. In Jost Amman's painting there is a scroll above the owl, inscribed "EIN NIT GVT" (a good-for-nothing). His crest of a rose, halved diagonally, of gold and red, is derived from his family arms: *per bend Or and Gules, charged with three Roses in bend counterchanged* (divided diagonally of gold and red, along the diagonal division three roses, each of alternating colors to the shield's two halves).[67] Master Andreas's horse trappings are red, semy with golden roses, with the defiant device of a silver owl on the crupper. Andreas Schmidmaier came in seventh in the competition, with eight courses run but no unhorsings accomplished.



Plate 37 (manuscript page 67)



Plate 38 (manuscript page 68)



Plate 39 (manuscript page 69)



Plate 40 (manuscript page 70)



Plate 41 (manuscript page 71)



Plate 42 (manuscript page 72)



Plate 43 (manuscript page 73)



Plate 44 (manuscript page 74)



Plate 45 (manuscript page 75)



Plate 46 (manuscript page 76)



Plate 47 (manuscript page 77)



Plate 48 (manuscript page 78)



Plate 49 (manuscript page 79)



Plate 50 (manuscript page 80)



Plate 51 (manuscript page 81)



Plate 52 (manuscript page 82)



Plate 53 (manuscript page 83)



Plate 54 (manuscript page 84)



Plate 55 (manuscript page 85)



Plate 56 (manuscript page 86)



Plate 57 (manuscript page 87)



Plate 58 (manuscript page 88)



Plate 59 (manuscript page 89)



Plate 60 (manuscript page 90)



Plate 61 (manuscript page 91)



Plate 62 (manuscript page 92)



Plate 63 (manuscript page 93)



Plate 64 (manuscript page 94)



Plate 65 (manuscript page 95)



Plate 66 (manuscript page 96)



Plate 67 (manuscript page 97)



Plate 68 (manuscript page 98)



Plate 69 (manuscript page 99)



Plate 70 (manuscript page 100)



Plate 71 (manuscript page 101)



Plate 72 (manuscript page 102)

Figure 16. Title page for Section IV of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1; manuscript page 105)



SECTION IV
Pageant Sleighs[68]
Plates 73–97 (on pages 167–71)

Title page (manuscript page 105; Figure 16)

> *Hereafter follow sundry pageant displays that can be used for sleigh parades, [and] more of them that have been done here before.*

The inscription that opens this section is enclosed in a medallion with an elaborate frame that consists of jeweled scrollwork overlaid with a neck strap studded with bells (of the type used for sleigh horses). At the top of the frame a groom, with a whip in either hand, is whimsically looking out from a winged horse collar; he is flanked by two prancing horses (without regard to respective sizes). Integrated into the scrollwork of the frame are horse bridles, tassels, and plumes. Two small parade sleighs rest on the lowermost scrolls of the frame.



Figure 17. Sleigh with the Goddess Fortuna for a Ladies Tournament (*Damencaroussel*), Germany (probably Franconia), ca. 1650. Wood, iron, textile, polychomy, oil gilding; 59 x 35⅜ x 120 in. (150 x 90 x 305 cm). Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (Gr.Kat.XII.013)

Sleigh parades were favorite winter pastimes not only at princely courts but also in the cities, where well-to-do burghers took pride in owning and parading fancifully styled sleighs (Figure 17). The main event of *Kleider machen Leute*, an 1856 novel by the Swiss author Gottfried Keller (1819–1890), set in the Biedermeier period of the early nineteenth century, is an outing in parade sleighs by the good burghers of the archetypal but fictitious Swiss town Seldwyla. Charming examples of such vehicles have survived in several European collections, notably those of the Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg, housed in a castle of the grand dukes of Saxe-Coburg.

The illustrations in the fourth section of the tournament book are suggestions for such parade sleighs.[69] Many of their subjects are taken from classical mythology, as might be expected of objects made for most people of the Renaissance, but others represent motifs drawn from all walks of life, with emphasis on the humorous and even scurrilous, as befitted Shrovetide festivals.

Plate 73 (manuscript page 109). The Chariot of the Sun

Drawn by a pair of white horses, this parade sleigh is a gilded wagon set on sleigh runners. On a pedestal in back of the chariot's driver, who is attired in classical garb of tunic and sandal buskins, is a golden face of the Sun, surrounded by a glory of golden rays (probably gilded wires). The horses have huge white wings attached to their collars.

Their humanist education notwithstanding, the people of the Renaissance were not aware that chariots in antiquity were two-wheeled, and therefore this chariot and all the others in this manuscript are four-wheeled wagons.

Plate 74 (manuscript page 111). The Chariot of Minerva

The elaborately carved four-wheeled chariot is set on sleigh runners. It bears in front a small statue of a winged Cupid, with the palm of Victory in one hand and a laurel wreath held aloft in the other.

The chariot's driver is costumed as Minerva, the Roman goddess of war, wearing a long-skirted gown and armor all'antica (armor as it was thought to have looked in classical Rome). She is seated under an umbrella canopy held up by a curving support arching from the backrest. The sides of the wagon-box are painted with trophies of arms. Placed on the collar of the richly caparisoned white horse is a trophy assembly of miniature arms and armor.

Plate 75 (manuscript page 113). The Ship of Odysseus

The body of this sleigh is an extravagantly shaped ship, floating on a sea of carved waves, in which two mermen are battling with clubs and shields of turtle carapaces. At the



Plate 77 (manuscript page 117). Orpheus Taming the Wild Beasts

prow of this ship, in place of a figurehead, is propped up the plumed helmet of the fiercely bearded and mustachioed driver, who is dressed in classical armor with lion masks on its shoulder defenses. He sits in the elevated stern of the ship, his embroidered cloak draped casually over the backrest of his seat. Two shields—one bearing a blazing flame and the other an arrow—hang from the gunwales. The entire composition rests on two carved lions crouching on the runners. An arrow-shooting triton is poised on the collar of the black horse pulling the sleigh.

The maritime and classical motifs of this sleigh indicate that the hero is meant to be the returning Odysseus. The flame and arrow on the shields would be recognized by those with the humanist education of the day as suggestive of the burning of Troy and of Odysseus's homecoming test, whereby he shot an arrow through the eyeholes of twelve axe heads set in a row.

Plate 76 (manuscript page 115). The Chariot of the Grand Turk

The representative of the fairy-tale lands of the mysterious East—the Sultan, or Grand Turk, in turban and brocaded gown—is enthroned in stately fashion on his golden chariot. He sits under a tent canopy topped by the crescent, generally understood as the armorial and religious symbol of Turkey. Hanging down from the backrest of the Sultan's chariot-throne is an oriental carpet meant to lend an authentic note. Since it would be an imposition on the majesty of the Sublime Porte to let him drive his own chariot, the designer of this sleigh thoughtfully supplied it with a driver, a boy dressed as a blackamoor with a belled slave collar around his neck. In order to enhance the exotic splendor of the potentate, the horse is dyed in two striking colors, giving it an appearance similar to that of the parade horse in the costume pageant for the carousel course in Plate 20, in Section II.

Plate 77 (manuscript page 117). Orpheus Taming the Wild Beasts

Orpheus, playing his fiddle, is perched above the box of the sleigh, which is sculpted in relief with a throng of animals. The vehicle illustrates the story of Orpheus's taming wild beasts with his music. The animals include an elephant, an ibex, a lion, a leopard, a unicorn, and a wild boar; the box

itself rests on a stag and a bear crouching on the runners, which are shaped as tree limbs, with a squirrel perched at the front. Next to Orpheus sits a large black dog at rapt attention. Only the monkey on the horse collar is totally unimpressed.

The driver of the sleigh is a woman in alluring "classical" attire with daringly kilted skirts and exposed breasts. She is guiding the horse from behind the box while standing up, her feet planted on the runners.[70] She could represent one of the maenads who killed Orpheus at one of their orgies and tore him to pieces in their frenzy; his music, which could still the wild beasts, had an adverse effect in that case. To judge by the relative sizes of the figures, it seems that this Orpheus represents not a statue but more likely a real boy who played a merry tune in the parade; the attentive dog next to him probably likewise represents a live dog, his adoring loyal friend.

Plate 78 (manuscript page 119). Aristotle and Phyllis

Among the favorite themes of moralizing artists were the *Weiberlisten,* the ruses used by clever women to ridicule pompous men. Especially popular was the story of Aristotle and Phyllis (Figure 18). It is said that one day Alexander the Great grew tired of the incessant exhortations by his tutor, Aristotle, and decided to put his teacher's willpower to the test. A mischievous lady of the court, Phyllis, was easily persuaded to promise her favors to Aristotle, if in the privacy of a secluded garden court he would let her put a bridle in his mouth and ride him like a horse. Aristotle agreed, and wickedly, Phyllis paraded him before Alexander, who had been waiting on the spot. The story was especially well known in Nuremberg through a Shrovetide play by the inexhaustible shoemaker-poet and *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs (1494–1576).



Figure 18. *Aristotle Ridden by Phyllis* (aquamanile). Southern Netherlands, late 14th century. Bronze, h. 13¼ in. (33.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1416)

The body of the sleigh itself, carved as Aristotle on hands and knees, serves as the seat for the driver, Phyllis, in classically inspired costume, with whip in hand and spurs at her heels. The sleigh is pulled by a unicorn, a symbol of chastity endangered. As its cloven hooves indicate, it is represented not as a disguised horse but as a "real" unicorn.

Plate 79 (manuscript page 121). Io and Argus

When Juno, wife of Jupiter, discovered that her husband had had an affair with a mortal named Io, she transformed the hapless girl into a cow. The enraged goddess also appointed Argus, the One-Hundred-Eyed, as the cow's guardian against interference from Jupiter. Argus was particularly suited to be a watchman; because his one hundred eyes took turns sleeping, he was awake and alert without interruption. At long last Mercury, the wily messenger of the gods, on orders from Jupiter, managed to lull Argus to sleep by playing soothing music. As soon as Argus's last eye closed, Mercury killed him. Before Io could be delivered from her enchantment, however, Juno sent a gadfly to torment her, chasing the poor maddened cow through many lands. Finally, in Egypt, she was returned to her human form, just in time to give birth to Jupiter's son, Epaphus, who later married Memphis, daughter of the river god Nilus, and founded the city named after her.

The sleigh illustrated here is shaped like a brindled cow, coquettishly adorned with a wreath of flowers and a jeweled necklace, both sad relics from her former state as a beautiful maiden. Argus, with eyes painted all over his face, neck, and chest, carries a herdsman's crook and scrip and stands behind the cow on the runners. A small figure of Mercury playing his flute is seated on the horse collar, facing Argus and evidently watching attentively for his lullaby to take effect.

Plate 80 (manuscript page 123). Hercules and a Centaur

The body of this sleigh is a centaur as archer, its equine part an elegant dapple gray but its human part a shapely blonde woman. Hercules, clad in his lion skin, is the driver of the sleigh and sits on the rump of the centaur maiden. The black horse pulling the sleigh is covered with a leopard skin as its caparison.

Hercules's life was packed with adventures, among them several brushes with centaurs, and one of his famous twelve labors was to capture the golden belt of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons. Most likely the centaur of the sleigh was turned into a female in an attempt to present these different mythological episodes in one easily recognizable image.

Plate 81 (manuscript page 125). The Ship *Argo*

This particularly splendid sleigh is shaped as a ship, floating on painted waves. Its mast, complete with rigging and crow's nest, carries a billowing sail as well as a proud pennant. Somewhat anachronistically, cannon are placed in the gunports of the ship's forecastle. A series of brightly painted armorial shields is lined up along the railings.[71] The driver, in classical armor, is positioned at the ship's stern, straddling the rudder, with his feet firmly planted on the painted waves that are the runners of the sleigh. Because the stern is thus occupied by the driver, the ship's lantern could not be put in its usual place and had to be transferred to the ship's prow, where it is supported by an extension of the runners.

The horse bears on its collar a globe, indicating the far travels this ship undertook. It seems clear that this pageant sleigh is meant to represent the most famous of all ancient ships, the good ship *Argo*, which carried Jason and his Argonauts to the end of the known world in their quest for the Golden Fleece.

Plate 82 (manuscript page 127). Wild Man and Dragon

A fearsome dragon with bat's wings and barbed tongue crouches on the runners of this sleigh, and a wild man sits on the monster's back. Both creatures were favorites of medieval folklore. The wild man's body is covered with shaggy fur, and a wreath of leaves on his head and a leafy garland around his loins are his only pieces of clothing. With one hand he holds the reins and with the other he brandishes a knobby tree limb as a club.

The sleigh's horse is dressed with green leaves instead of plumes and bears a pair of wings on its collar.

Plate 83 (manuscript page 129). Bacchus

The god of wine, Bacchus, was particularly appropriate for the revelries of Shrovetide. Here he drives a sleigh decorated with grapevines and cornucopias; as a figurehead, goat-footed Pan is playing his pipes in an arbor of vines.

A huge *Krautstrunk* (literally, cabbage stem) drinking vessel of green glass is placed in the box within easy reach of the driver. A *Bocksbeutel* (billy goat's scrotum) carafe—a favorite container for *Frankenwein*, the good local wine—perches precariously on the front tip of the runners; it has a pair of wings attached, and is surmounted by a pennant charged with three more *Krautstrunk* glasses. Bacchus displays his classical nudity with aplomb; like the wild man in the preceding plate, he wears only wreaths of vine leaves on head and hips. His horse is also caparisoned in vine leaves with bunches of grapes as pendant tassels. A goat's head on the horse collar alludes to the proverb of the billy goat guarding the vineyard.

Plate 84 (manuscript page 131). Neptune and Fortuna

Neptune, trident in hand, guides his shell-shaped sleigh as he stands on the rear ends of its runners. On the front of the huge scallop shell that forms the sleigh's body stands a statuette of Fortuna. In classical nudity, she raises her sail to billow in the wind while balancing on a winged rolling ball. The shell is supported by a couple of massive sea snails; in front, a small sea horse sits on the curling tip of the runners. Whimsically, the horse that pulls the sleigh is shown as rearing up in the same posture as the little sea horse.

Plate 85 (manuscript page 133). Pluto and Cerberus

Cerberus, the hound who guards the gate to the underworld by allowing all to enter but no one to leave, is appropriately portrayed as a triple-headed Rottweiler, chained to the dragon's head at the front of the runners. Behind him stands the driver—Pluto, lord of the underworld. Pluto wears a spiked crown and a version of classical armor; instead of *pteryges*, the hanging straps on a cuirass protecting shoulders and groin, he bears jagged flaps, suggestive of the decay of the underworld.

The horse is decorated with spouts of flame instead of plumes. A small figurine of a Fury with snakes for hair sits on top of the horse collar waving a burning torch and a snake whip.

Plate 86 (manuscript page 135). America

Although the driver is painted coal black, his feather headdress and skirt unmistakably identify him as an American, as understood in Europe at the time. Carrying bow and arrows as the typical weapons of American "savages," he rides on the tail of a huge golden griffin, the fabulous four-legged creature with the forepart of an eagle and the hindquarters of a lion. Notwithstanding the Greek historiographer Herodotus's assertion that griffins were inhabitants of the farther reaches of Scythia, where they guarded gold nuggets in their nests, we have testimony of no less an authority than Christopher Columbus that a griffin was sighted at the southern coast of Cuba in May 1493.

The parrot perched on the forepart of the runners is of course another symbol of the lush tropical world of the New Indies. A model for the elaborate feather ornaments on the horse could have been the portrait of an "Indian nobleman" brought to Spain by Hernando Cortés that a traveling artist from Augsburg, Christoph Weiditz, drew from life in 1528 (Figure 19). This image in Weiditz's sketchbook, with many other drawings he made of costumes from Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, and England, was copied into a comprehensive volume of costume drawings commissioned by the Nuremberg collector



Figure 19. *Indian chief ("Noble")*. Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch* (The Book of Costumes; probably Augsburg, 1529), pl. 22. Watercolor over pen and ink drawing. Photograph: Weiditz 1927, pl. 22



Figure 20. Title page of Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577). Woodcut, 11⅜ x 6½ in. (28.8 x 16.5 cm). British Museum, London (1850,0511.283). ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Sigmund Hagelsheimer, known by the name of Heldt, between 1548 and 1581, and would have been accessible to a serious researcher. It is also possible that the feather ornaments were based on original objects that had made their way into the curiosity chambers, or *Kunstkabinette,* of collectors in Nuremberg, a center of international commerce.

Plate 87 (manuscript page 137). Africa

Fascination with the costumes and customs of people in faraway places had burgeoned in Europe ever since the Crusades. Tales about the realm of Prester John and about the wonders of Cathay and Xanadu, brought back and spread by travelers such as Marco Polo and the elusive Sir John Mandeville, had stirred the curiosity of western Europeans.

Turks, as the representatives of the mysterious East situated at Europe's very doorstep, held a special fascination and were regarded with a mixture of admiration and fear. The driver of this sleigh is dressed in Turkish costume, with turban and scimitar. Because he is seated on a lion, however, it is likely that he is meant to represent the continent of Africa, whose entire northern coast was Turkish domain in the sixteenth century. Indeed, among the personifications of the four continents (Europe, Asia, America, and Africa) depicted on the title page of Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* of 1577 (Figure 20), the figures of Asia as well as Africa are in Turkish dress. (Chinese, East Indians, and sub-Saharan Africans were largely beyond Europe's ken at that time.)

The crescents on the horse's caparison are in keeping with the Turkish outfit of the driver, but the tall ostrich plumes were probably meant to suggest Africa.

Plate 88 (manuscript page 139). Three Men and a Tub

In what looks very much like a float in a Shriners' parade, a big metal bathtub has been set on sleigh runners, with two men relaxing in the water. A third—in briefs and just a towel wrapped around his shoulders—stands on the runners behind the tub and guides the skittish horse that apparently is displeased with the total weight of this contraption.

The two men in the tub have bleeding cups attached to their shoulders—the period's routine practice for drawing out the body's impurities—while they play for stakes. All three men, and the figurine of a bathmaid with her pail depicted on the horse collar, wear the straw caps used in public bathhouses (Figure 21). Card games were a pleasant pastime during communal baths. Here the card played out on the board—*drei Herzen* (three of hearts)—makes a German pun on love. *Drei* is a near-homophone of *treu,* meaning "loyal" (see Plate 64). Since promiscuity and gambling were condemned by the church (in Germany a deck of cards was proverbially known as the Devil's Prayerbook), this scene with its ambiguous wordplay and the flimsily clad bathmaid (see Plate 65) in her chemise are broad hints at what supposedly went on in these bathing establishments.



Figure 21. Jost Amman. *Der Bader* (The Bathing House Operator). Woodcut from Jost Amman and Hans Sachs, *Das Ständebuch* (The Book of Trades; Frankfurt, 1568), fol. 53



Plate 88 (manuscript page 139). Three Men and a Tub

Plate 89 (manuscript page 141). Swan Sleigh

In marked contrast to the subjects of most of the preceding sleighs, the appearance or theme of this example does not appear to be deeply steeped in classical mythology. Lacking any additional or explanatory accessories, this sleigh simply presents a beautiful swan, which forms the main body of the sleigh; it is accompanied by two small snails.

Plate 90 (manuscript page 143). The Italian Comedy (Commedia dell'Arte)

The driver of this sleigh wears the costume of Pantalone, the cuckolded rich old man who is one of the stock characters of the commedia dell'arte. The box of the sleigh is shaped like a lavishly decorated ship's hull, reminiscent of the Venetian ship of state, the Bucintoro. Its figurehead is a statuette of a Venetian courtesan in a sumptuous gown with a low-cut neckline and a long train who holds a plumed mirror-fan in her hand. In front of her, on the curling top of the runners, is a figurine of Bajazzo (see Plate 23), merrily dancing to the tune of his mandolin. Another figurine—a torchbearer—is perched on the horse collar. These guides, or linkboys, could be hired to guide visitors safely home from late theatrical performances.

Plate 91 (manuscript page 145). The Stag Hunt

The horse pulling this sleigh is bedecked with a caparison of oak leaves and acorns as tassels and bunches of leaves instead of plumes on headstall and tail. On its collar the kneeling figurine of a green-clad hunter aims his rifle at the lifesize stag emerging from the cover of lush verdure that forms the sleigh's body. The runners are shaped like fallen tree limbs. The driver, dressed as a hunter with a broad-bladed *Waidplötze* (hunting knife) at his side, blows a hunting call.

Plate 92 (manuscript page 147). The Basilisk

The sleigh itself and the caparison of the horse are studded all over with mirrors. The kneeling figurine of a boy holding a large mirror is positioned on the horse collar to face the basilisk that is standing on the elevated front of the sleigh.



Figure 22. Jost Amman. *Coat of Arms of Melchior Schedel* (ex libris). Nuremberg, ca. 1570. Woodcut, 14¼ x 9¾ in. (36.2 x 24.7 cm)



Figure 23. *A Hungarian on Horseback*. Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577). Woodcut, 9 x 6⅜ in. (23 x 16.1 cm). British Museum, London (1871,1209.3202). © The Trustees of the British Museum

According to the lore of the bestiaries, the basilisk was the king of the reptiles. The beast was thought to have been hatched by a toad from an egg laid by a rooster when it reached the age of seven years. The basilisk was supposed to be so venomous that its mere glance would kill instantly. The only way of combating a basilisk was to let it look into a mirror, so that its own reflection would rebound and slay it.

Plate 93 (manuscript page 149). Orion

The figure standing on the front board of this sleigh—clad in classical costume, equipped with spear and hunting horn, and with a dog at his feet—is probably meant to be Orion. He was the son of Neptune, who gave him the gift of walking on water. The mermaid placed on the horse collar hints at this ability.

Plate 94 (manuscript page 151). Eagle and Sun

According to medieval bestiaries, "when an eagle grows old and his wings become heavy and his eyes become darkened with a mist, then he goes in search of a fountain, and he flies up to the height of heaven, even unto the circle of the sun; and there he singes his wings and at the time evaporates the fog of his eyes, in a ray of the sun. Then at length, taking a header down into the fountain, he dips himself three times in it, and instantly he is renewed with a great vigor of plumage and splendor of vision." In illustration of this belief, the eagle here gazes at the sun mounted on the horse collar. As the sacred bird of Jupiter in classical mythology, he clutches a bundle of flames, the god's thunderbolt.

The sleigh's decoration of crossed ragged staves and sparking flints and firesteels introduces a contemporary political context. The eagle was the heraldic symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, which was ruled by the Habsburg dynasty from the fifteenth century until its dissolution in 1806. By marriage to the heiress of Burgundy in 1478, a Habsburg prince, the future emperor Maximilian I, became the sovereign of the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece. The heraldic panoply of this chivalric order included the personal device of the flint-and-firesteel of its founder, Philippe le Bon (1396–1467), and a cross of ragged staves, the badge of Burgundy's patron saint, Saint Andrew. The combination of all these devices suggests an allegorical comparison between Jupiter and the House of Habsburg.

Plate 95 (manuscript page 153). Half and Half

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statuette of a strangely composite military man, comically halved. His right side is

dressed in the exaggerated puffed and slashed costume of a *Landsknecht,* the swaggering mercenary pikeman of the first half of the sixteenth century, but his left side is clad as a light cavalryman of the same period, in half armor and one thigh-high riding boot. His breastplate is absurdly cut in half down its middle in a technically impossible way. This bizarre motif, perhaps illustrating a proverb, must have been well understood at the time. The depiction of a hen and rooster copulating on the horse collar suggests that this figurehead may have had a bawdy meaning. Strangely, the very same half-and-half figure appears in the bookplate of Melchior Schedel, grandson of Dr. Hartmann Schedel, the author of the famous *Weltchronik* (Chronicle of the World) of 1493. This enigmatic ex libris was executed between 1560 and 1570 by the prolific graphic artist Jost Amman (Figure 22).

In placing the sleigh at a slight angle, this composition deviates from the usual pattern of showing the sleighs strictly in profile. This angle affords a view into the sleigh box, with its passenger seat. In addition, the driver's face is drawn in a highly individualistic manner that suggests it is a true portrait, perhaps a self-portrait of the designer of the sleigh himself.

Of particular interest for historians of costume is the driver's fashionable suit, which shows pockets as integral features of not only the doublet but also the pants. In fact, we see here one of the earliest examples of true pants pockets.

Plate 96 (manuscript page 155). Half and Half

The driver of this sleigh is dressed in red, and accordingly the horse collar is fitted with a rack of stag's antlers. The sleigh itself is painted in an "eye-dazzler" pattern. The sleigh's figurehead is a statuette, in another absurd—and rather risqué—coupling of contrasts. It is dressed as a dour Protestant minister on its right side and as a jolly carouser on its left. While the right hand—the minister's—clutches the Good Book to his breast, the left hand—that of the happy tippler—joyously waves aloft a tall *Humpen* glass, presumably full of wine.

Although making fun of the clergy was quite popular, it was not without risk, even in places beyond the reach of the Inquisition. In 1539 the float that was the main part of the annual *Schembartlauf* parade was a type of ship of fools on wheels, named *Hell*. The ship's captain was costumed as a Protestant minister with a gaming board in his hand instead of the Gospels. This so outraged the leading local clergyman, Dr. Andreas Osiander, that he prevailed on the Worshipful City Council to have the *Schembartlauf* banned in perpetuity.[72]

Plate 97 (manuscript page 157). The Hungarian

Though the figurehead statuette of this sleigh is an elegant lady in a fashionable dress of western European style, the driver wears the distinctive costume of a Hungarian nobleman. His frogged coat is rakishly draped over one shoulder in the way that became familiar to all Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the signature *pelisse* of hussars' uniforms, which were based on traditional Hungarian folk costumes. Other details of his outfit, such as the plumed cap, the boots with pointed shafts, and the scimitar, correspond to those in the woodcut illustration *Ein Unger zu Ross* (A Hungarian on Horseback) in Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* of 1577 (Figure 23). The Hungarian drivers wear scimitars; all the other gentlemen drivers wear rapiers.



Plate 73 (manuscript page 109)



Plate 74 (manuscript page 111)



Plate 75 (manuscript page 113)



Plate 76 (manuscript page 115)



Plate 77 (manuscript page 117)



Plate 78 (manuscript page 119)



Plate 79 (manuscript page 121)



Plate 80 (manuscript page 123)



Plate 81 (manuscript page 125)



Plate 82 (manuscript page 127)



Plate 83 (manuscript page 129)



Plate 84 (manuscript page 131)



Plate 85 (manuscript page 133)



Plate 86 (manuscript page 135)



Plate 87 (manuscript page 137)



Plate 88 (manuscript page 139)



Plate 89 (manuscript page 141)



Plate 90 (manuscript page 143)



Plate 91 (manuscript page 145)



Plate 92 (manuscript page 147)



Plate 93 (manuscript page 149)



Plate 94 (manuscript page 151)



Plate 95 (manuscript page 153)



Plate 96 (manuscript page 155)



Plate 97 (manuscript page 157)

SECTION V
Sleigh Parade of Winter 1640
Plates 98–126 (on pages 179–83)

Title page (manuscript page 158; Figure 24)

> *In the year . . . here at Nuremberg by a Worshipful, Honorable, and Wise City Council during the then prevailing wintertime has been given permission to the Honorable Families to perform a sleigh parade, as has not been held in many years, but to mind that they should be finished when the Great Bell should strike 2 o'clock. On the given Day they then gathered together and assembled in considerable numbers and it was good to see. Also, the Austrian gentlemen exulants, who were here at the time, did enjoy themselves greatly on that occasion and participated in driving around with their ladies.*

Though the date is missing in the text (the small section of the page that contained it has been torn out) this special event "as has not been held in many years" is most likely the one that took place in the winter of 1640, because the Austrian exulants—Protestants driven out by the Counter-Reformation—are probably the group that came to Nuremberg in 1636.[73]

Not surprisingly, the sleighs shown in the following plates—supposedly representing actual examples—have a generally more realistic look compared to some of the exuberantly fanciful suggestions depicted in the preceding section. Their drivers are also altogether more sensibly clad than those others, who are sometimes dressed in extremely scanty costumes.

Plate 98 (manuscript page 159). Street Scene

A crowd of warmly dressed gentlemen watches a parade sleigh (closely resembling the one shown in Plate 97) being driven around a city square whose shops are closed and shuttered for the holiday. Several of these gentlemen are

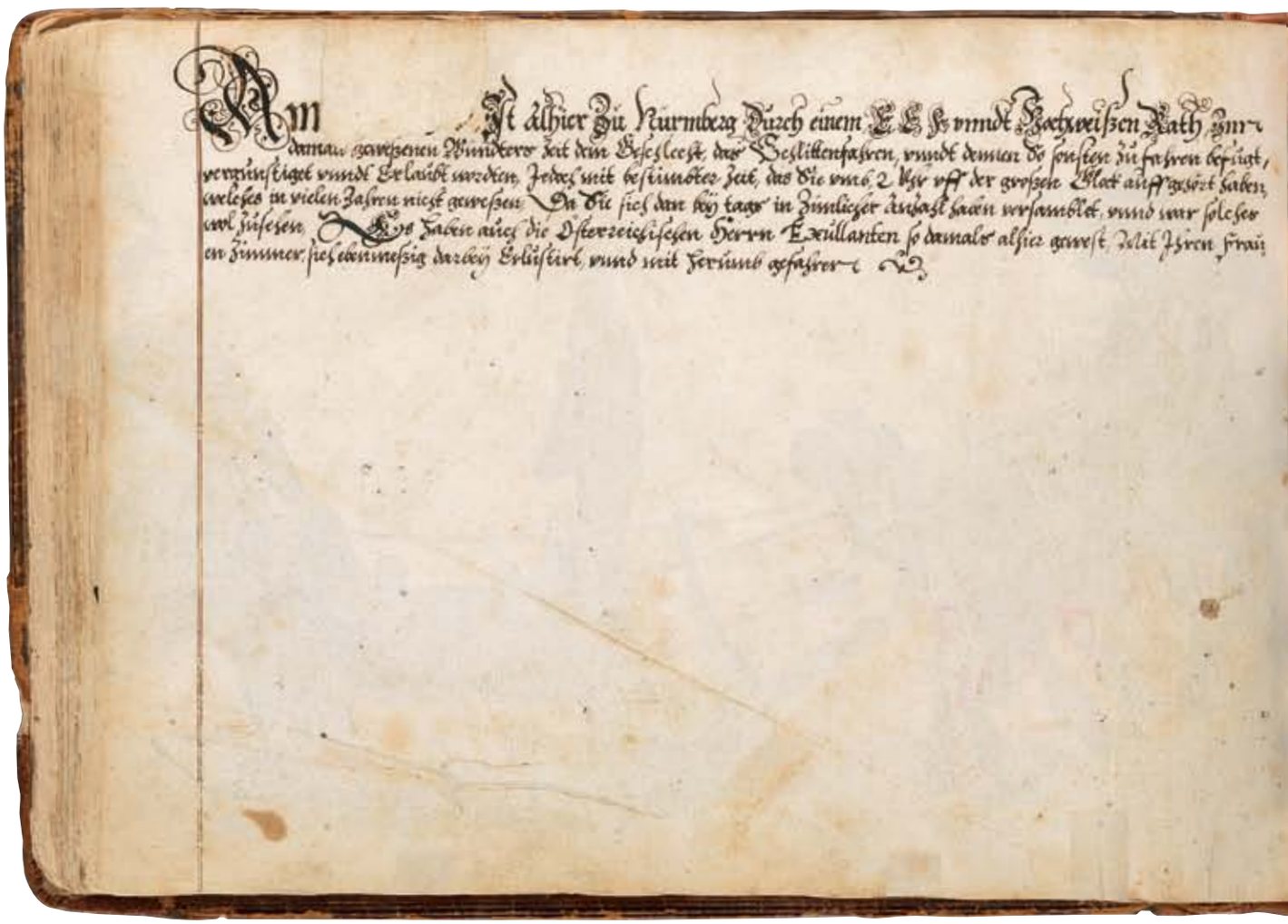


Figure 24. Introduction to Section V of the *Turnierbuch* (Figure 1, manuscript page 158)

wearing eastern European–style furs and frogged coats. These are probably the Austrian guests mentioned on the opening page, although none of their female companions are in evidence. Farther back two plainly dressed men—one in a fur cap and Hungarian boots and the other leaning on a long sword—must be servants in attendance on their masters. In the foreground, two boys—one of them an apprentice wearing the apron and the pillbox hat assigned to copper-founders and braziers in Jost Amman's woodcuts for what is popularly known as the *Ständebuch* (Book of Trades) of 1568—are presumably fighting for a good place to see the show. Their fun seems to be coming to an end, though, since an older man, probably the master of the truant apprentice, is wrathfully closing in on them. Another realistic touch is the little dog enthusiastically barking at the circling sleigh.

Plate 99 (manuscript page 161). The Realm of Birds

Of standard form, this sleigh is painted all over with birds, such as a swan, a rooster, a crane, an eagle, a stork, a falcon, and many smaller songbirds, including a pair happily copulating. This last detail represents the strongest and most unmistakable example in the tournament book of the bawdy German pun on extramarital intercourse (see Plate 65), emphasized by its location immediately in front of the driver's crotch. On the front board of the sleigh box stands a peacock in its pride, probably a prized stuffed specimen in full plumage. The peacock, a well-known symbol of vanity, is confronted by a mirror mounted on the horse collar.

Plate 100 (manuscript page 163). The Sphinx

The entire body of this sleigh is sculpted in the shape of a sphinx, although she is not the enigmatic guardian of the pyramids of Gizeh. Instead, she is the alluring monster of Greek mythology who waylaid wanderers on the road to Thebes and killed them if they failed to solve her riddle: "What goes on four legs in the morning, on two at midday, and on three in the evening?" This Theban sphinx committed suicide by throwing herself into a ravine when Oedipus solved her riddle: "It is Man, who crawls on all fours as a baby, walks erect as an adult, and supports himself with a cane as an oldster."



Plate 98 (manuscript page 159). A crowd of warmly dressed gentlemen watches a parade sleigh

The sphinx of this sleigh has the torso of a beautiful woman with streaming blond hair. She is naked except for some jewelry and emerges from the body of a lioness that sprouts two pairs of wings.

Plate 101 (manuscript page 165). Venice

The sleigh is shaped like a Venetian gondola, with the driver seated under its canopy. The horse is ingeniously disguised as the Lion of Saint Mark, with a lion skin, wings fixed to its collar, and a golden halo on its headstall.

Plate 102 (manuscript page 167). The Hunter of Hearts

German folksong abounds with imagery of the lover pursuing his heart's desire as a hunter chasing game. The *Herzensjäger* (hunter of hearts) motif is the theme of this sleigh decorated all over with flaming hearts and with a somewhat wistful hunter as its figurehead. Its amorous theme is made emphatically clear by the blindfold Cupid with bow and arrow aiming at the heart mounted on the horse collar. This heart is bursting into flames and is already pierced by an arrow to indicate love's burning desire and sweet pains. The horse's caparison is made up of heart-shaped elements, and heart-shaped wreaths are attached to its headstall and tailpiece.

Plate 103 (manuscript page 169). Loyal Hearts

The number *3* and the three of hearts, as in the German-style playing cards painted all over this sleigh, represent a pun on "loyal hearts" (see Plates 64, 88). The struts of the sleigh body are pairs of clasped hands emerging from clouds. The figurine of the young man points to his exposed heart inscribed "leben – tod" (life – death) and has written on his forehead "nachet – fern" (near – far). Supporting the symbols of true love and its everlasting hope are the pelican feeding its young with its heart's blood on the tip of the runners and the phoenix rising from fire and ashes on the horse collar.

Plate 104 (manuscript page 171). The Wily Bird Catchers

Owls found in the open at daylight are bound to be mobbed by smaller birds (see Plate 68). This instinctive behavior is exploited by bird catchers, who set up a captive owl as a decoy. The figurehead of this sleigh is a bird catcher's blind with a tethered owl on top and perches smeared with birdlime to snare unwary feathered attackers. The picture in the medallion on the side panel of the sleigh box makes an even stronger point; it shows a woman watching from behind a leafy screen as "birds" with human faces and foolscaps flock into her invitingly spread nets.

This sleigh is drawn not by a single horse like most of the others but by a team of two. Mounted on the lead horse collar is the figurine of a bathhouse attendant shouldering his coal shovel, and attached to its tailpiece is a "mirror" with a woman's face peering out. Mirrors, decoys intended to imitate watering holes, were another device used in bird catching, but these motifs are also fraught with racy innuendo, because public bathhouses were seen as places of loose living.

Plate 105 (manuscript page 173). Apollo and Daphne

The double statuette that forms the figurehead of this sleigh illustrates the classical myth of Apollo and Daphne. Apollo once fell in love with a wood nymph, Daphne, who was a hunting companion of Diana, his virginal twin sister. Determined to keep her maidenly purity despite Apollo's stormy wooing, Daphne appealed to her mistress for protection. Diana came to the rescue and turned Daphne into a laurel tree at the critical moment, just as Apollo was about to embrace her.

Plate 106 (manuscript page 175). The Realm of Neptune

The body of the sleigh, resting on pairs of entwined sea serpents, is decorated with carved dolphins and huge seashells. It has as its figurehead a kneeling statuette of Neptune, waving his trident in one hand while guiding the reins of a prancing sea horse mounted whimsically on the tips of the runners. The sleigh horse is harnessed in a caparison studded with seashells and carries on its collar a seductive mermaid playing her siren song on a lyre.

Plate 107 (manuscript page 177). Mermaid Queen

A golden-crowned and lyre-playing mermaid is the figurehead of this sleigh, which is decorated with more aquatic symbols, among them shells, dolphins, sea snails, a minute sea serpent, and, on the painted side panels, tritons and nereids frolicking in the waves. Mounted on the horse collar is the figure of a swan.

Except for the added detail of the lyre, the modestly clothed, double-tailed mermaid is identical to the charge in the coat of arms of the patrician family Rieter von Kornburg (see Plate 49).

Plate 108 (manuscript page 179). Orion

This sleigh has as its theme another representation of the legend of Orion, the mighty hunter, who arrogantly boasted that he would kill all animals on the face of the earth (see Plate 93). Here, Orion is shown defiantly brandishing his hunting javelin; his closed eyes indicate his blindness (the

punishment for his haughty boasting, meted out by Diana, the goddess of hunting and mistress of the animals). In front of him sits his patient dog. In a bush mounted on the horse collar is a figure representing Cedalion, the boy whom Orion hoisted on his shoulder to guide him to the place where the sun rises. The rays of the rising sun then restored Orion's eyesight.

Plate 109 (manuscript page 181). Fame

The winged statue of Fame with her double trumpet is the figurehead of this sleigh covered with eyes. According to Virgil's *Aeneid*, Fame possessed many eyes and mouths and flew swiftly all over the world. From her palace at the center of the world every word spoken was broadcast, much amplified, with the help of her attendants: Credulity, Error, Sedition, Intimidation, Unfounded Joy, and False Rumor.

Fame's negative associations would have been counterbalanced by the eagle, the bird of Jupiter, on the horse collar. Jupiter, supreme among the gods, was the lord of daylight and the open sky.

Plate 110 (manuscript page 183). Flora

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statue of Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers and vegetation. She is clad in a flowing dress of classical derivation and holds a long-stemmed iris like a scepter in her right hand while with her left hand she clutches a cornucopia overflowing with flowers to her bosom. Set on the front tip of the runners is a vase containing a rose and two tulips; continuing the floral theme, a large fleur-de-lis is mounted on the horse collar.

On the side panel of the ornately sculpted and painted sleigh box is an oval medallion bearing the intertwined monogrammatic letters *CR*. Most likely these are the initials of the sleigh's owner, who might have been a gardener by profession or a flower fancier.

Plate 111 (manuscript page 185). Mercury

The Roman patron deity of merchants (and thieves), Mercury is one of the figures from classical mythology one would expect to find represented in a parade held at Nuremberg, a center of worldwide trade. Here the statuette of Mercury bears a winged helmet crested by the head of a rooster (Mercury's sacred bird) and holds aloft the caduceus, his magic wand entwined with a pair of snakes. As the messenger of the gods who "flies swift as thought," he wears winged sandals and stands on one foot ready to take off in flight. Wings also decorate the body of the sleigh. The moose antlers mounted on the horse collar, on the other hand, have no discernible connection with Mercury.

Plate 112 (manuscript page 187). Jupiter and Semele

Another mythological love story, that of Jupiter and Semele, is told by the decoration of this sleigh (see also Plates 79, 105). Jupiter, the Thunderer, had many love affairs with mortal maidens that usually had dire consequences for them, owing to the jealousy of Juno, his divine consort. Falling in love with Semele, Jupiter promised to grant her every wish. Jealous, Juno slyly suggested to Semele that she ask Jupiter to make love to her as he did to Juno. Reluctantly, but bound by his promise, Jupiter descended upon poor Semele with the full power of his thunderbolts and thus burned her to death.

Jupiter, as the figurehead of this sleigh, is seated upon his soaring eagle and brandishes one of his thunderbolts. Flames and thunderbolts are scattered all over the sleigh and its runners. A more contemporary version of the thunderbolt—an exploding cannonball—is mounted on the forward tip of the runners. On the horse collar cowers the figure of Semele, naked in expectation of Jupiter's lovemaking and engulfed in flames.

Plate 113 (manuscript page 189). Athena

The figurehead of this sleigh is a statuette of Athena, the Greek goddess of war and wisdom. Armored in a plumed helmet and an antique-style cuirass worn over a long trailing gown, with her hair cascading down her back, she holds a lance with a streaming pennant in her right hand and her shield, emblazoned with the head of Medusa, in her left.

The owl perched on the horse collar is, in this case, not the defiant symbol of rugged individualism seen elsewhere in the manuscript (see Plates 8, 9, 12, 68, 72, 104) but the bird sacred to the goddess and emblematic of her city Athens.

The driver of this sleigh wears Hungarian dress, with a frogged coat rakishly thrown over one shoulder and a tall plume in his cap. The painter's keen sense of observation manifests itself in the detail of the driver's slipperlike shoes, with their typical Hungarian-style heels. Most likely the driver of this sleigh was one of the foreign exulants, wearing his native costume.

Plate 114 (manuscript page 191).[74] Frenchman

The driver is dressed in the most elegantly raffish French fashion, in peasecod doublet with nipped-in waistline, very short trunks, and long, tight-fitting hose to show off his well-turned legs. To make its theme absolutely clear, the obviously Francophile owner of this sleigh has hoisted at its prow a blue flag with three golden fleurs-de-lis, the royal arms of France, and has made up the caparison of the horse from huge fleurs-de-lis.



Figure 25. *The Savage People from Brazil or the New Islands*. Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577), pl. 181. Woodcut, 11⅛ x 6⅝ in. (28.2 x 16.9 cm). British Museum, London (1850,0511.463). ©The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 26. *A Man from Brazil in America*. Woodcut from Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch* (Book of Costumes; Nuremberg, 1577)

Plate 115 (manuscript page 193). American

Another example of the period's keen interest in outlandish people and costumes, this sleigh's figurehead is a black man in what were then considered the characteristic accoutrements of an American "savage": bow and arrows, club, and feathers. Feathers were understood to be the main ingredients of the costume of the "Savage People from Brazil or the New Islands," shown in a woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Figure 25). The long-handled club is an exact copy of the one carried by "A Man from Brazil in America" in another illustration in the same book (Figure 26). The eagle perched on the horse's collar and the black hearts and flames that pattern the sleigh box and runners may refer to the sacrifices of Aztec Mexico; the first map of Mexico was published in Nuremberg, in 1523.

Plate 116 (manuscript page 195). Fools

Embodying a theme that would have been perfectly appropriate for the rambunctious days of Shrovetide, this sleigh sports a group of gamboling fools as its figurehead and has an overall decorative motif of jester's bells on the box, runners, and guide poles. Mounted on the horse collar is the figure of an ape holding up a mirror between his legs. This somewhat crude way of symbolizing the contortions that seekers of knowledge might have to perform is paralleled by the two fools pounding each other with wooden mallets (alluding to the German saying that common sense cannot be imparted to some people, even by hammering it in with a mallet, or *Holzhammer*). The driver's strange hat of inverted-funnel shape may be a reference to the *Nürnberger Trichter* (Nuremberg funnel) of German folklore, a fictitious device for pouring knowledge directly into a brain without the tedious bother of study.

Plate 117 (manuscript page 197). Marcus Curtius

The Roman hero Marcus Curtius was a well-known symbol of self-sacrifice for the common good. According to legend, during the early days of the Republic a huge chasm opened in the middle of the Forum. Attempts to fill it in with earth were to no avail. The desperate Romans consulted an oracle, who advised them to throw in their most prized possessions. Marcus Curtius, proclaiming that Rome's most precious possession was its youth and their military prowess, mounted his battle charger in full armor and leapt into the abyss, which immediately closed over him, leaving only a little lake. It became customary to throw coins into this lake, named Lacus Curtius (and now a small basin in the Forum), as an offering to the spirit of the place.

On the sleigh's box, within a frame of elaborate scrollwork, is a medallion inscribed with the monogram *AV* (or *VA*), together with the date 1597, which suggests that the sleigh was made for one of the last parades before the long hiatus and was being reused some four decades later.

Plate 118 (manuscript page 199). Woodsman as Hunter

The figurehead of this sleigh is a strange creature with the torso of a man growing out of a tree trunk and the bristling branches of a pollard willow sprouting from his head instead of hair. This half-human, half-vegetal being is armed with a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He has just shot an arrow that brought down a stag, which is mounted as a figurine on the horse collar. Though cast into a classical disguise, obviously inspired by the metamorphosis of Daphne (see Plate 105), this figurehead likely represents another German play on the words *Waid* (hunt) and *Weide* (willow tree), turning a *Waidmann* (huntsman) into its homophone *Weidemann* (willow man). The sleigh box is heavily ornamented with garlands and floral scrolls. In its center is a circular medallion with the monogram *AM* (or *MA*), presumably the initials of the owner of the sleigh. The driver is dressed in a Hungarian-style frogged fur coat and a fur hat. He, too, may be one of the guests from Austria who participated in the parade (see Plate 113).

Plate 119 (manuscript page 201). Merry *Landsknecht*

This sleigh's figurehead is that of a *Landsknecht,* one of the renowned infantry soldiers of sixteenth-century Germany. This *Landsknecht* is clad in the exaggerated puffed-and-slashed costume affected by these swaggering fighting men

(see Plate 95). (The doublet of the driver picks up the slashed style of the *Landsknecht* costume, though in a more subdued way.) Aside from their fondness for flashy dress, the soldiers also had a reputation for hard drinking, as shown by the tall *Stangenglas* this figure merrily waves in his hand.

Painted on the side panel of the sleigh box is a group of marching *Landsknechte*, including standard bearer, drummer, fifer, musketeer, and two pikemen.

Plate 120 (manuscript page 203). Dovecote

The *Taubenhaus*, the dovecote where birds fly in and out, is a popular metaphor for the promiscuous lover's heart, always open to swarms of girls coming and going. The amorous significance of the dovecote, and the painted decoration of stars (indicating evening, when the pigeons come to roost), is made quite clear by the pair of copulating pigeons on the tip of the runners.

The bunches of flowers (presumably artificial, considering the wintry season) decorating the horse's harness instead of plumes evoke a garden. The boy on the horse collar who waves a stick with a foxtail is supposed to protect the garden from raiding birds by shooing them away.

Plate 121 (manuscript page 205). Half and Half

In a ribald political satire, which could be safely presented in a Protestant city like Nuremberg, the figurehead of this sleigh is clad half as a mitered bishop, with chasuble and crozier, and half as a visitor to the public baths, naked except for tiny bathing breeches and a bathing cap.

Bathing was a much more widespread practice in the Middle Ages than is generally assumed today. Because of the problem of insufficient water supply—in the days before water pipes, private households had to carry every bucketful from a public fountain—bathing was done in communal bathhouses. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, bathing, and personal cleanliness in general, became suspect. The Spanish Inquisition, established by Queen Isabella, was determined to stamp out all deviations from the True Faith and regarded bathing as a heretical practice because the Moors of Spain, like all Muslims, performed five ritual washings a day before their prayers. In Protestant countries of northern and central Europe, where there was no direct contact with Islam, the attitude was more relaxed, but bathhouses became increasingly frowned upon as potential places of loose behavior.

Plate 122 (manuscript page 207). Half and Half

The fool's head with a cockscomb and the belled ears of an ass mounted on the horse's collar and the peacock feathers decorating the harness indicate that this sleigh's theme is the vanity and foolishness of fashion. The figurehead is a man whose right side is dressed in rugged and comfortable Dutch-style clothes while his left half is clothed in the formal Spanish fashion. The driver, by contrast, is clad in the snappy puffed breeches and elegant long hose of the refined French court fashion (see Plate 114).

This image illustrates the witticism, repeated over and over again in the introductions to contemporary treatises and handbooks on the costumes of all nations, that all parts of the world have their own distinctive and traditional styles but only the Europeans cannot make up their minds which style to chose (see Figure 20).

Plate 123 (manuscript page 209). Traveling Sleigh

In every event that calls for a special effort to create a spectacular effect, there is always someone who refuses to cooperate. Strikingly different from the rest of the sleighs in the parade, this one is unadorned, just as it would be for riding around town or for traveling a short distance to visit a friend's country estate. Thus, the illustration shows the basic sleigh from which the other fanciful theme vehicles in the manuscript were lovingly created.

Plate 124 (manuscript page 211). Traveling Coach

This one-horse wagon would have served the same purpose for short travels overland as the sleigh in the preceding plate. Though not a sleigh proper, it seems to have been admitted to the sleigh parade.

Plate 125 (manuscript page 217). Peasant Sleigh

Though at first glance similar to the utilitarian vehicles in Plates 123 and 124, this peasant sleigh is in fact carefully composed entirely of agricultural tools and farm household items. The body of the sleigh is a wooden trough, propped up by butter churns and hung with sickles and a flax comb. The "figurehead" is an assembly of a wooden bucket, a basket, and a beehive. The guide poles of the sleigh are a pair of rakes, tied with cattle ropes to the collar of the skewbald nag. A rooster is perched on top of the horse collar, and rooster feathers serve as plumes to decorate the braided forelock and tail of the horse. The driver is garbed as a peasant, and his wife, bundled up against the cold and holding a goose in her lap, is seated in the trough as the passenger.

The sly ridicule expressed in this parody of a peasant sleigh pointedly reflects the superior attitude of city dwellers toward the "dumb peasants" of the surrounding countryside.

Plate 126 (manuscript page 219). Memento Mori

The theme of the final sleigh of the parade is an adaptation of the Triumph of Death. It is a memento mori, a reminder

Plate 126 (manuscript page 219). Memento Mori



of human mortality. Drawn by a sorry nag hung with a caparison made of crosses, this funeral sleigh has as its driver Death himself, a grisly skeleton in a burial shroud. The sleigh box is shaped like a bier draped in a black funeral pall and rests on supports shaped like bones. A skull and rows of crossbones decorate the runners. In the mixture of classical motifs and Christian iconography typical for the period, the bearded figurehead standing above the pall is a statue of Chronos as the Grim Reaper wielding his scythe. His wings indicate the fast flight of time, as does the pair of bat wings flanking the hourglass on the horse collar. On top of the hourglass is the escapement of a clock, a more up-to-date reminder of the passage of time (Nuremberg was famous for the introduction of the spring-driven pocket watch). Finally, omitting no significant iconographical element, the designer of this eerie vehicle of Death even used a pair of gravediggers' shovels for its guide poles, which are tied to the horse collar made out of bones. Since this sleigh parade took place during the Thirty Years War (1618–48), one of the most chaotic and devastating events in the history of modern Europe, the final sleigh must have been regarded as particularly apt by its contemporary audience.

NOTES

1. According to MMA Department of Arms and Armor files, the manuscript was acquired through Édouard Rouveyre, 102 rue de la Tour, Paris, in October 1921.
2. See Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 2, p. 360, no. 4; Spitzer Collection sale 1893, vol. 2, p. 226, no. 3036; and Paris 1874, p. 58: "Deux volumes d'aquarelles, . . . le second des costumes de cavaliers allemands, de tournois et joutes, de la même époque [XVI^{e} siècle]." (Two volumes of watercolors, . . . the second [containing] the attire of German knights for tourneys and jousts, of the same period [sixteenth century]).
3. Many of the pages appear to be single leaves of paper, not folios; for this reason, the overall count is given in leaves (112); discounting frontispiece and end paper, the two sides of the body of leaves provide 220 actual pages. In this article, for ease of reference—since there are numerous blank pages—actual manuscript page numbers are given in parentheses for illustrations or text. We are grateful to Rebecca Capua, MMA Department of Paper Conservation, who conducted a thorough study of the manuscript's technical aspects, providing all the infomation cited in these paragraphs.
4. Each mark shows a crowned shield with the Nuremberg city arms, with the distinguishing feature of two small circles in the crown's base or tines. Very similar watermarks may be found in Briquet 1985 (vol. 1, p. 67, no. 925) and Mosser and Sullivan 1996– (ARMS.267.1); paper with similar marks was apparently produced in many areas



Plate 98 (manuscript page 159)



Plate 99 (manuscript page 161)



Plate 100 (manuscript page 163)



Plate 101 (manuscript page 165)



Plate 102 (manuscript page 167)



Plate 103 (manuscript page 169)



Plate 104 (manuscript page 171)



Plate 105 (manuscript page 173)



Plate 106 (manuscript page 175)



Plate 107 (manuscript page 177)



Plate 108 (manuscript page 179)



Plate 109 (manuscript page 181)



Plate 110 (manuscript page 183)



Plate 111 (manuscript page 185)



Plate 112 (manuscript page 187)



Plate 113 (manuscript page 189)



Plate 114 (manuscript page 191)



Plate 115 (manuscript page 193)



Plate 116 (manuscript page 195)



Plate 117 (manuscript page 197)



Plate 118 (manuscript page 199)



Plate 119 (manuscript page 201)



Plate 120 (manuscript page 203)



Plate 121 (manuscript page 205)



Plate 122 (manuscript page 207)



Plate 123 (manuscript page 209)



Plate 124 (manuscript page 211)



Plate 125 (manuscript page 217)



Plate 126 (manuscript page 219)

of western and central Europe and may be dated to the third decade of the sixteenth century. For the Nuremberg city arms, see Siebmacher (St), p. 87, pl. 120 (this and all further references to what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and authoritative work on German heraldry, today known simply as "der Siebmacher," are cited according to its general index: Jäger-Sunstenau 1964).

5. Carousels were elaborate and extravagant courtly festivities that evolved during the second half of the sixteenth century out of the tournaments of earlier periods. They usually began with a costumed parade and continued with demonstrations of equestrian skill such as running at the quintain (attacking a dummy—often shaped to resemble a "Turk" or other "exotic" warrior—with a lance) and running at the ring (an exercise during which participants, at a gallop, attempted to catch small suspended rings with the points of their lances).
6. The binding was rebacked, probably sometime during the nineteenth century. We are grateful to the MMA's book conservator Mindy Dubansky, as well as to Philippa Marks of the British Library, London, for their assessment of the binding.
7. Zotz 2000.
8. Ibid., pp. 145–47.
9. For a comprehensive survey of the relations between patricians and the nobility (with several references to Nuremberg), see Zotz 1985.
10. "Cuperent tam egregie Scotorum reges quam mediocres Nurnbergae cives habitare." This cardinal, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), would later become Pope Pius II (elected 1458); for the quote, see Anders 1960, p. 110 and n. 28.
11. Endres 2001.
12. Breiding 2009, especially pp. 174–80.
13. Leitner 1880–82, vol. 1, p. CII.
14. This translation and the translation of inscription in Plate 2 are after Appelbaum 1964, p. 7.
15. In German "MER" (*Mär* or *Märe*) means "tale," "story," or, as in this case, "news" (then as now, the three are not always distinguishable from one another), while "GRAGEN" probably refers to a *Kraxe* or *Krage*, a wooden support for carrying objects on one's back.
16. During the fifteenth century this device was known as a *hourt*; see Breiding 2005, p. 14.
17. Often referred to as *cuir bouilli* (or, erroneously, as "boiled leather"), such defenses were made by submerging the leather in water and then shaping and drying it with the use of controlled heat.
18. For identifying the musical instruments, I (H.N.) thank my colleague and friend Laurence Libin, formerly curator in the Department of Musical Instruments, MMA.
19. Weigel 1577, after page Qiij.
20. Amman 1586, p. 65.
21. The term *Herrenfastnacht* (literally, gentlemen's carnival) refers to the fact that this day was celebrated particularly by the local gentlemen, or *Herren*.
22. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 38, pl. 36.
23. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 59, pl. 60.
24. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 54, pl. 56; also Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 122, pl. 125.
25. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 91, pl. 90.
26. For the heraldic description, see p. 125 above.
27. See also Plates 41, 45, and 61.
28. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 121, pl. 149.
29. Siebmacher (Bg2) p. 40, pl. 66.
30. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 92, pl. 89.
31. The heraldry of the Pfintzing or Pfinzing family is somewhat confusing; as shown here, the shield actually shows the coat of arms of the Geuschmid family, which was also borne by members of the Pfintzing/Pfinzing family; for the difficult history of these arms, see Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 52, pl. 52.
32. Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 123, pl. 77 (Siebmacher depicts the von Lochheim arms as *per bend,* not *per bend sinister*).
33. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 43, pl. 42.
34. Ibid., p. 80, pl. 92.
35. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 94, pl. 92.
36. Ibid., pp. 106–7, pl. 105.
37. Ibid., pp. 82–83, pl. 82.
38. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 61, pl. 65.
39. Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 70, pl. 45; also Siebmacher (BayA3), p. 182, pl. 129.
40. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 75, pl. 74.
41. Ibid., p. 109, pl. 108.
42. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 40, pl. 38.
43. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 95, pl. 94 (Siebmacher depicts the Ulstat arms as the three lion's heads in profile but with an additional *triple Mount in base*).
44. Siebmacher (Bay), pp. 45–46, pl. 45 (see also Plate 71 below).
45. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 64, pl. 64.
46. Ibid., p. 69, pl. 68 (according to Siebmacher, the horns of the crest were lined with feathers on the outside).
47. Ibid., p. 51, pl. 52.
48. Ibid., p. 33, pl. 29.
49. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 43, pl. 44.
50. The von Cämmerer arms are *Azure, two Crescents adorsed Or* (in blue two golden crescents back to back); see Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 32, pl. 29.
51. The von Rech arms are *Sable, on a triple Mount Or a Rake Or* (in black on a golden triple mount a golden rake); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 86, pl. 86.
52. The Stromer arms are *Gules, a Triangle Argent, from each point issuant a Fleur-de-Lis Argent* (in red a silver triangle, each point ending in a silver fleur-de-lis); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 59, pl. 63.
53. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 50, pl. 48.
54. Siebmacher gives the Kötzel, or Ketzel, arms as *Azure, on a triple Mount Vert a Cat sejant Argent, holding a bale in its left paw* (in blue, on a green triple-mount a seated silver cat holding a bale in its left paw); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 78, pl. 78, also Siebmacher (BayA2), p. 99. The heraldically correct charge, however, is not a cat but a monkey (*on a Mount Or a Monkey sejant Argent with a belt Or and holding in its paw a Ball Or*). The confusion stems from the obsolete German folkloric term *Meerkatze*, referring to a long-tailed monkey of the family Cercopithecidae as an animal that came from across the sea (*Meer*) and climbed trees like a cat (*Katze*)—a rather elaborate version of canting arms.
55. The Schlüsselfelder arms are *per fess Argent and Sable, charged with three Keys in pairle counterchanged* (divided horizontally, silver above black, overall three keys (*Schlüssel*) joined at their grips/bows of alternate colors of the respective fields); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 90, pl. 90.
56. The Imhoff arms are *Gules, a Sea Lion rampant Or* (in red, a rearing golden sea lion), Siebmacher (Bay), p. 41, pl. 40.
57. The Fürer arms are *per pale Gules and Argent, dexter a halved Fleur-de-Lis, sinister a halved Wheel, counterchanged* (divided vertically of red and silver, on the heraldic right side a silver halved fleur-de-lis, on the heraldic left a red halved wheel), Siebmacher (Bay), p. 78, pl. 88.
58. The Behaim arms are *per pale, Argent and Gules, overall a wavy Bend sinister Sable* (divided vertically of silver and red, overall a diagonal black band or river); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 27, pl. 22. This

is another instance of (partially) canting arms, since the second part of the family name and title *Schwarzenbach* means "black brook."

59. The identification of Linck's family and his proper arms is difficult. He probably belonged to a Nuremberg family by the name of Linck whose arms are *per bend embattled of Or and Sable* (divided diagonally by a crenellated line of gold and black); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 110, pl. 134.
60. For a description of the Fürer arms, see note 57 above.
61. The Trainer arms are *Gules, a Wolf proper vested Argent* (in red a naturally colored wolf in a silver gown); Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 187, pl. 190.
62. Siebmacher (Bay), p. 110, pl. 134.
63. According to von Hefner, Philipp Lux originally came from Oudenarde in Flanders, participated in the *Gesellenstechen* of 1561, and in 1564 received the following arms from Emperor Maximilian II: *Or, an Ox Head Sable* (in gold a black ox head) with a crest of peacock feathers; see Siebmacher (Bg1), p. 28, pl. 33. According to Pilz 1932–34, p. 79, Lux came from Augsburg.
64. From the early sixteenth century onward, the Löffelholz called themselves Löffelholz von Kolberg (after Castle Kolberg, which one of the family members had been given in 1507 in recognition for military service to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria); at that time the original Löffelholz arms (see Plate 55) were "enriched" with the quartering (division into four fields) as described below; see Siebmacher (Bay), pp. 45–46, pl. 45.
65. The Geuder arms are *Azure, a Triangle Argent, from each point issuant a Star of six points Argent* (in blue a silver triangle, each point ending in a silver six-pointed star); Siebmacher (Bay), p. 36, p. 33 (and p. 79, pl. 90).
66. Ibid., p. 38, pl. 35.
67. Siebmacher (BayA1), p. 90, pl. 90.
68. This section of the manuscript must have been paginated as a separate unit at one time, because the pages show two numbers, one of which was crossed out later. This revision was apparently made when it was discovered that there were mistakes both in the original numbering of section IV and in the later numbering, which must have been added when the section was bound with the remaining parts of the Metropolitan Museum's manuscript. Page 73 had as its second number "No. 1," page 82 was "No. 10," and consequently pages 92, 102, and 112 were "No. 20," "No. 30," and "No. 40," Page 123 had as its second number "No. 50," because it turned out that the original count had skipped Page 114. However, the page number 124 occurs twice, assigned to two different pictures, and therefore the very last page, 126, received as its second number "No. 54."
69. For a discussion of these sleighs, see also Kammel 2008, especially pp. 113–15.
70. This provocatively clad woman must be one of those "young ladyfriends" whose "scanty costumes" made Bashford Dean wonder if they survived the sleigh ride (Dean 1922, p. 126).
71. The arms shown on these shields are not easily identifiable and may be fanciful; the first shield (the ship's prow) is *bendy of six, Argent and Gules*, and may refer to the Nuremberg city arms (see note 4 above), while the last shield may show the arms of the old Bavarian Wittelsbach family: *paly bendy, Argent and Azure* (a checker-board pattern of silver and blue lozenges).
72. Auffarth 2008, pp. 88–89.
73. In fact, at least two groups of exulants arrived in Nuremberg, the first in 1598, the second in 1636. I (H.N.) am grateful to Horst-Dieter Beyerstedt of the Nuremberg City Archive and to Peter Fleischmann of the Nuremberg State Archive for providing information on the arrival of these exiles. Recent research indicates conclusively that the sleigh parade depicted in the Museum's manuscript is the one held in the winter of 1640. See Kammel 2008, pp. 113–15.
74. This plate is No. 114 in the actual series but was erroneously labeled as No. 115 (a mistake that affected all subsequent plate numbers until No. 124); see note 68 above.

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Velázquez's *Philip IV* in the Metropolitan Museum

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In the fall of 2009, following the successful cleaning and restoration of two Velázquez paintings, *King Philip IV of Spain* from the Frick Collection and The Metropolitan Museum of Art's own *Portrait of a Man,* Keith Christiansen, John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings, suggested that the Metropolitan's early full-length portrait of Philip IV (Figure 1) should be examined as a potential candidate for conservation.[1] In certain ways this painting seemed a strange hybrid of the two portraits previously treated. As in the case of the Frick picture, the circumstances of its commission are well known, even including a dated receipt for payment signed by Velázquez, but nonetheless, like the Museum's *Portrait of a Man,* it had slipped inexorably toward workshop status.[2] The key question was just how much the condition of the picture, which was known to be compromised, together with its existing restoration, contributed to its sometimes less than favorable critical reception and its undeniably underwhelming appearance (Figure 2).[3]

Part of the Benjamin Altman Bequest, the painting entered the Museum's collection in 1914 as an autograph work by Velázquez, confidence buoyed no doubt by the publication in 1906 of a signed receipt for payment which provided a firm completion date and strong evidence of the artist's direct involvement.[4] Velázquez had been appointed court painter to Philip IV on October 6, 1623, and the Metropolitan's portrait of the king was evidently commissioned shortly thereafter, along with a portrait of the king's favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares (Museu de Arte de São Paulo), and a lost portrait of Don García Pérez de Araciel y Rada, a knight of the Order of Santiago, professor of law at the University of Salamanca, and attorney general of the Council of Castile. The latter died on September 28, 1624, and the receipt for a payment of 800 reales from his widow, Doña Antonia de Ipeñarrieta, was signed by the artist on December 4, 1624, suggesting that she may have ordered all three canvases.[5]

The close association of the Metropolitan's picture with the more striking and fluidly painted full-length portrait of the young Philip in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (Figure 3), had been noted by several early scholars, since pentimenti that corresponded with the Altman picture—in particular the contours of the legs and cloak—had started to show through that work's uppermost paint layer. The full extent of the relationship was only fully understood once X-radiography performed on the Prado painting revealed that beneath it lies a fully worked version of the Metropolitan's composition (see Figure 8). López-Rey accepted this underlying version as the supposedly lost portrait that, according to Pacheco, Velázquez painted or completed on August 30, 1623, the work that effectively gained him his position as court painter.[6] However, another theory would have it that that elusive picture was only bust length and should be identified with the portrait that is now in the Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University, Dallas (Figure 4).[7] Such uncertainty raised important questions about the Altman picture. Was it an autograph replica of the Prado's repainted portrait or a faithful workshop copy? And how did it relate to the remarkably similar Meadows bust? To add a final layer of complexity, a portrait identical to the Metropolitan's had been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1904 (Figure 5), and though that picture has generally been accepted as a workshop copy, its existence certainly clouded our understanding of the chronology, authorship, and purpose of these various images of the king. Frustratingly, the condition and appearance of the Altman picture were such that no easy explanations were possible.

Metropolitan Museum records indicate that the painting did not undergo a full treatment after it arrived as part of the Altman Bequest in 1914. Its surface grime was removed and it was consolidated somewhat and varnished in 1926. Further minor cosmetic corrections were made in 1927 and

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1. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (Spanish, 1599–1660). *Philip IV (1605–1665), King of Spain*, probably 1624. Oil on canvas, 78¾ x 40½ in. (200 x 102.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.639). This photograph shows the painting after treatment in 2010.



2. Figure 1 (MMA), before treatment



3. Velázquez. *Portrait of Philip IV as a Young Man*, ca. 1628. Oil on canvas, 79⅛ x 40⅛ in. (201 x 102 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (PO1182)

1931. In 1953 another surface cleaning was undertaken and two coats of synthetic varnish were applied.[8] In his 1963 catalogue raisonné López-Rey states that the painting underwent a cleaning sometime around 1911, when it was still in Duveen's possession and just prior to its acquisition by Altman.[9] It seems highly likely that in preparation for sale the present glue paste lining was added during that treatment. By 2009 the combination of liberal overpainting from the 1911 restoration and the unfortunate sandwich of four discolored varnish layers, the oldest of which had been applied almost one hundred years before, had totally swamped the portrait, making it virtually impossible to distinguish intact areas of original work from crude repainting and effectively undermining any chance of making a reasonably informed assessment of quality.

Cleaning a great, well-preserved painting is frankly a joy. The removal of old varnish and unnecessary or poorly executed repairs can appear like alchemy to the onlooker, but to the practitioner it feels like an act of exhilarating liberation. The same cannot be said about the treatment of badly damaged works of art, especially if the true condition of the object in question has not been sufficiently understood or documented and has moreover been broadly disguised by previous restoration. A strange and ultimately illogical sense of culpability seems to be inescapable, since removing a previous restoration campaign to reveal serious damage in



4. Velázquez. *Philip IV*. Oil on canvas. Meadows Museum, SMU, Dallas, Algur H. Meadows Collection (MM. 67.23). Photograph: Michael Bodycomb



5. Workshop of Velázquez. *Philip IV*. Oil on canvas, 82⅛ x 43⅜ in. (208.6 x 110.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sarah Wyman Whitman Fund, 1904 (04.1606)

preparation for a new intervention exposes one to a personal challenge to achieve something better.

The first cleaning test on the portrait was somewhat alarming. X-radiography had indicated that the painting had numerous small flake losses, particularly in the upper part of the composition. One of the larger of these sadly included a substantial area of the right eye. It was also assumed that the black drapery would be thin and possibly slightly abraded. However, the cleaning test, executed on the right side of the composition in an area comprising the table, hat, and hand, revealed that portions of the black had literally been scrubbed down to the ground in a previous cleaning. One immediately had to question whether the portrait was in a sense a fiction, a wreck that had been totally repainted. In order to answer this accurately rather than simply withdraw in haste, it was necessary to expand the original cleaning test and undertake new ones in other areas of the picture. A number of things became evident: the severe abrasion to the blacks was fortunately localized around areas of flake loss, while adjacent areas of the drapery remained relatively intact; the better-preserved areas, for example the hands, exhibited undeniable quality; and it was abundantly clear that previous restoration had involved broad, wholesale repainting of many areas. Taking these observations on balance, it was decided to proceed with the cleaning.

Cleaning essentially involved the removal of the varnishes and overpainting applied during the previous hundred



6. Figure 1 (MMA), after cleaning

years. What could not be safely removed were the relatively substantial remains of a campaign of broad repainting that had taken place at a much earlier date, possibly in the eighteenth century, at which time the whole of the background and large portions of the drapery and floor were broadly repainted or toned.[10] At a later date the picture had been cleaned, and in the process areas of the repainting were partially removed. It appears that something extremely caustic was employed at that time, since it was this crude campaign that caused such severe damage to parts of the drapery. Free of its heavy overcoat of repainting and oxidized varnish layers, the painting made a mixed impression, since its condition was both compromised and complicated (Figure 6).

The impact of the early repainting and its subsequent partial removal cannot be overstated. In the background it undermines the interplay between the figure and the surrounding space. It can be identified in the post-cleaning photograph as a more opaque purplish gray that spreads up and around the figure of the king. The original background color has a lighter but warmer tone and a more subtle modulation, creating a sense of air and volume around the figure. Where the repainting remains on areas of the drapery it clogs the surface, blocking the optical role of the red ground and creating a muddy, undifferentiated appearance. In particular in the breeches, broad bands of gray repainting had been brushed diagonally across the form, illogically suggesting that the cloak is gathered up across the body at the waist.

When assessing issues of quality and authorship, a thorough understanding of the complex condition of the painting is critical, since key signifiers of Velázquez's characteristic technique have been hidden or distorted. For example, in most areas the repainting around the figure slightly overlaps the black drapery, covering the crucial juncture of the contour where the artist typically leaves a thin line of the ground color visible. Similarly, the softly fused shadows have been toned, creating a heavier and harder effect than was intended and confusing the forms of the table legs. In attempts to apportion potential authorship to the various areas of the painting, the drapery falls into a sort of limbo. Intact areas reveal a logic of conception and an easy confidence of execution that speak of Velázquez's hand, but there are sadly far too many significant portions drastically affected by severe abrasion and remaining early repainting to permit certainty one way or another.

Thankfully other important areas—especially in the flesh tones but also in areas of the drapery—have remained relatively intact, and the extremely high quality of these portions of the painting is undeniable. Originally, the fluidly painted blacks and dark silvery grays of the silk costume clearly played off against the slightly warmer tone and more softly modeled forms of the woolen cloak. The background and floor shift the palette spectrum to tawny hues that further enhanced the elegant austerity of Philip's costume. The modeling of the head and hands is especially fine (see Figures 10, 13, 17). Using carefully blended rose and ivory hues and thin translucent shadows, the artist imparted an almost luminous polish to the young king's skin tones. The gold chain, worn bandolier-like across the chest, is executed using assured, thick dabs of impasto to describe the highlights and suggest the form. The play of light along the edges of the collar is modulated and subtle. There is confidence in the brushwork and an easy command of the structure of the collar itself. The hem emerges, disappears, and reemerges at the juncture with the neck; the linen seems to sag under



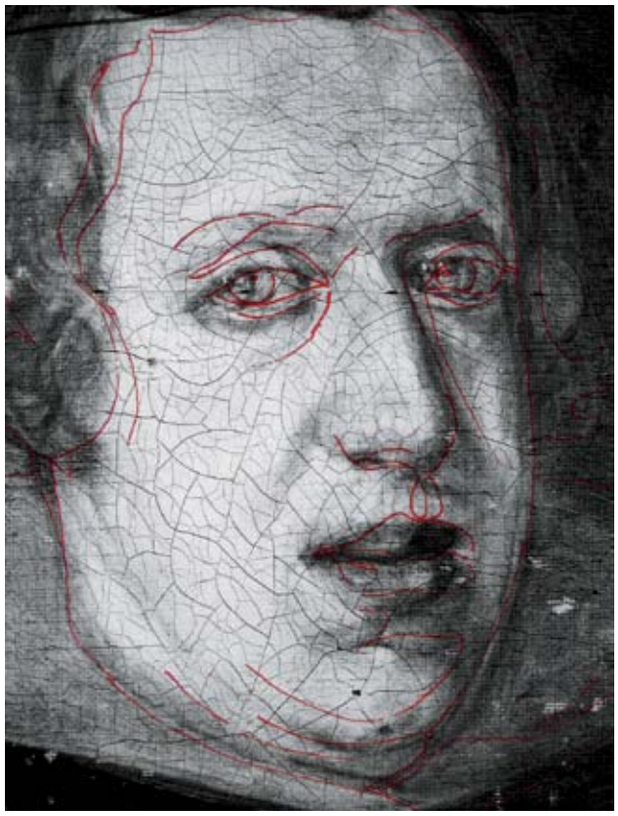
7. Figure 1 (MMA), during retouching



8. X-ray of Figure 3 (Prado)

its own weight as it passes behind the head, drooping back and catching the light. There is also a wonderful interplay between the cast shadow of the head on the right side and the translucency of the lace fabric in the light revealing a suggestion of the raised black collar of the doublet below.

Once cleaning was completed, the next stage was the actual restoration, which involved careful retouching of losses and abrasion and the amelioration of some of the more jarring effects of the remaining repainting (Figure 7, and see Figure 1).[11] It was necessary to broker a satisfactory compromise between areas that are intact and display real quality and other areas that are substantially damaged or distorted by remaining repainting. Necessarily, the restoration of a painting is frequently a compromise, the principle aim being to permit the intact original to have maximum impact while appropriately reducing unwanted distractions or misleading effects of damage or excessive wear. There is no question that judicious, localized retouching can have a dramatically positive effect on the legibility of an image. Yet particularly in a painting with condition issues as complicated as those of the Altman portrait, it is vital to emphasize that the qualities revealed are inherent and not the result of artificial enhancement of the whole through repainting.

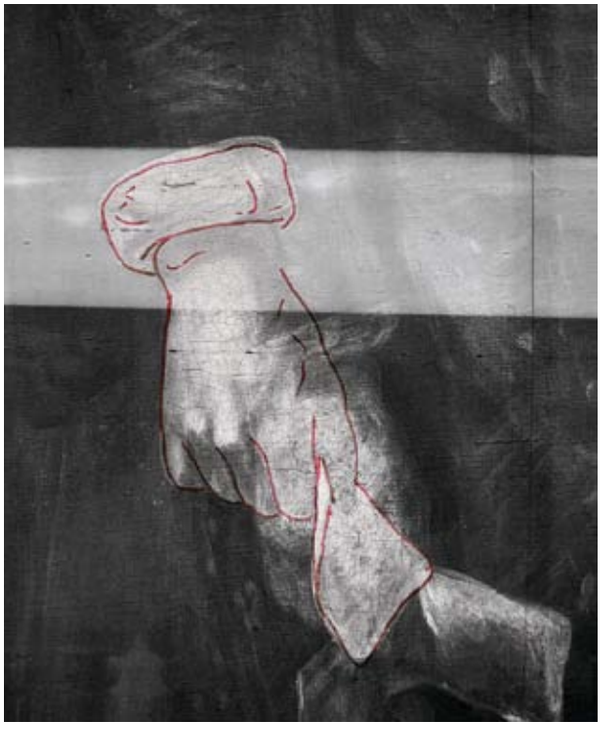


9. Tracing of a detail of the head in Figure 1 (MMA) over an X-ray of the head in Figure 3 (Prado)

In order to assist in the reconstruction of the damaged right eye, a high-definition image of the Meadows Museum's bust-length portrait was obtained along with a tracing of the head.[12] Both of these proved invaluable in the correct positioning of the missing portions of the Altman portrait. However, the tracing proved to be something altogether more interesting, since the match to the head, with the exception of the position of the collar, was almost exact. The relationship between these pictures proved far more than incidental, and emphasized the need to investigate further the correspondence between the Metropolitan's painting and the portrait visible in the X-ray of the Prado's *Philip IV* (Figure 8). In January 2009, a trip to the Prado and a careful examination of the X-ray with a tracing of the Metropolitan's painting confirmed the growing suspicion that the Altman picture was derived from a precise tracing or cartoon of this obscured first rendition of the king.[13] Placing the full tracing of the Metropolitan portrait over the X-ray made it clear that the original tracing or cartoon had been constructed from several sheets, producing inevitable slight shifts in the overall outline during the transfer process. The almost perfect match of individual parts (see Figures 9–11), however, left no doubt that the Altman portrait was a replica in a much more literal sense than had previously been thought.



10. Detail of the subject's right hand in Figure 1 (MMA)



11. Tracing of a detail of the hand in Figure 10 (MMA) over an X-ray of a detail of the hand in Figure 3 (Prado)

12. X-ray of Figure 1 (MMA)



Deciphering the complex overlapping of the two images of Philip seen in the Prado's X-ray is not easy and is evidently open to misinterpretation.[14] The paint application of the later portrait predominates and obscures a clear reading of the underlying image, but it is probably fair to say that in general the black costume in the first portrait seems to have been handled in a rather more painterly way than in the Metropolitan's replica. This type of handling becomes much more in evidence in the revision of about 1628, which employs short jabbing and abbreviated strokes to describe the elaborate velvet and silk decoration of the doublet. Interestingly, the X-ray reveals no major alterations in the first rendition, and the pronounced characteristic reworking of the contours is also nowhere visible.[15]

It seems curious that Velázquez should have created a more up-to-date portrait of the king by overpainting an earlier one. Surely there was no intention of obliterating a portrait the king was unhappy with, for we know it was replicated. Thus, the reworking of this fully finished portrait raises a number of interesting questions, especially given the apparent absence of pentimenti. Perhaps, as Jonathan Brown suggests, the initial version did not sufficiently represent Philip's true physiognomy,[16] though this seems slightly at odds with Pacheco's account that the artist's very first attempt of August 1623 captured his likeness as never before. So could the painting we now see only in X-ray also be a replica, possibly retained for the studio, of a definitive version that was lost in the fire in the Alcázar in 1734? In other words, in painting the portrait of about 1628, might Velázquez have employed the replica of the official portrait that he had retained in the studio for the inevitable repetitions that would be requested by court officials? Whatever the case, prime version or replica, it is hard not to be impressed by the sheer pragmatism of the intervention: an out-of-date image of the king was simply and expediently updated, just as one might revise a stale press release.

The clarity and detail of the forms revealed in the X-ray of the Metropolitan's portrait (Figure 12) are initially surprising, given the poor condition of portions of the painting. This is due to the relatively small additions of lead white used to create the gray tones, registering disproportionately in comparison to the earth tones and blacks, which, though they actually predominate, are far more transparent in X-ray. The drapery has a slightly graphic quality in its simplicity and a certain softness in handling. Not surprisingly, given that the work is a replica, there are no major pentimenti, but clear adjustments are visible around the collar, and a strong characteristic reinforcement of the contour can be seen along the right side of the cloak.

Naturally, the tracing of the Meadows bust-length portrait also matches the Prado's X-ray image, again the only exception being the shape of the collar. As already noted, it has been proposed that the Meadows picture is the first painting of Philip executed by Velázquez—the career-changing portrait of August 1623.[17] It is also a much compromised work, with extensive paint losses around the edges and in the upper part of the composition, including a large portion of the hair, with a correspondingly significant amount of restoration. The X-ray reveals cusping on all four sides, indicating that it has not been cropped, and apparent slight revisions to the shape of the collar and reinforcement to the contour of the right side of the head and shoulder.[18] Yet the picture lacks energy, and it is frankly hard to believe that this could be the image that caused such a stir at court. It seems much more likely that it is a replica of the head and shoulders of either the first version of the Prado portrait or another one now lost to us.



13. Detail of the head in Figure 1 (MMA)



14. Detail of the head in Figure 5 (Boston)

So what about the full-length version in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston? Most frequently, that painting has been accepted as a workshop product. Its appearance and legibility are somewhat compromised by a cloudy, oxidized varnish, and there is no question that the black drapery and portions of the background are thin and abraded. Yet, there can also be no doubt that the picture is in better condition than the Altman portrait. In June 2010 the painting was brought to the conservation studio at the Metropolitan. It was thought that its presence might assist with the restoration and would also provide an opportunity to study the issues relating to the process of repetition more closely. Seeing the two eerily similar paintings side by side was revelatory. Their correspondence in terms of content and structure appears to be exact,[19] but in terms of quality they are worlds apart. By this simple juxtaposition the gulf between autograph replica and workshop copy was clearly articulated. Most telling is the comparison of the heads. In the Altman *Philip* (Figure 13) the depiction of light through the subtle and fluid handling of paint creates a noble portrait of an unmistakably young monarch. By contrast, the pasty application and labored forms of the Boston version (Figure 14) seem to age the sitter, while the heavy-lidded eyes introduce an unpleasantly supercilious expression. In the X-ray (Figure 15) this effect is even more apparent, as the



15. X-ray of a detail of the head in Figure 5 (Boston)



16. Tracing of a detail of the head in Figure 1 (MMA) over an X-ray of a detail of the head in Figure 5 (Boston)

features become harder and exaggerated, the artist having heavy-handedly imitated the shapes and transitions in the face but with far less visual intelligence. The drapery is executed with some flair, as if the assistant was more confident in areas that permitted a less rigorous degree of observation.

At first glance, the Boston Philip looks somewhat smaller in stature, but this is a trick of perception caused by the larger overall dimensions of the whole, since the tracing from the Metropolitan's portrait provided an even more startling match than with the Prado's X-ray (see Figures 16–18).[20] In fact, despite the weaknesses of the Boston version, its faithfulness to the Altman portrait cannot be overemphasized, as individual passages of brushwork are carefully mimicked, for example the series of highlights along the edge of the folded document in the king's right hand. Today, in an age of effortless reproduction, we can easily overlook what this implies: the Boston painting is a copy not of the first version of the Prado's portrait of Philip IV but rather of the Altman portrait, and must have been created while the latter was still in the studio and available for close inspection. One glaringly obvious fact that points to the intimate relationship of the Metropolitan and Boston paintings is the inclusion of the gold chain, a striking feature absent in the Prado and Meadows portraits.

The concept of replication is nothing new, and has been discussed in the context of the work of other major artists as well as Velázquez.[21] Yet the clear use of tracing or cartoons in the artist's practice does seem to merit more attention.



17. Detail of the subject's left hand in Figure 1 (MMA)



18. Tracing of a detail of the hand in Figure 17 (MMA) over an X-ray of a detail of the hand in Figure 5 (Boston)

The tendency to fall back on a workshop "default" when faced with multiple versions possibly underestimates the practicalities of Velázquez's role and his attitude to the requirements of court portraiture—especially at this early stage of his work at court—and assumes a single autograph version followed by workshop copies and/or variants. Depending on the patron, Velázquez is likely to have varied his participation in the production of these official portraits. And it is worth recalling that in Seville he had already become adept at replicating certain compositions, the most pertinent example being his two versions of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente*.[22]

It is to be hoped that the recent conservation treatment of *Philip IV* has rehabilitated an important portrait that has suffered much indignity. Although it was stoutly defended by López-Rey, its compromised state nevertheless inevitably raised doubts in the minds of other experts, and doubtless the fact that it is a replica will continue to do so. However, it is now possible to appreciate its strengths, and it is a pleasure to record here Jonathan Brown's confirmation that the picture is an autograph replica. The view held by many scholars that the painting perhaps lacks the spark of a truly original work but nonetheless possesses the undeniable quality we expect from the hand of Velázquez seems vindicated. Equally important, the picture becomes a key document in the early development of the court artist and raises crucial questions about the function, status, and practicalities of replication in his oeuvre and the composition of his workshop in his first years in Madrid.

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NOTES

1. See Gallagher 2009, pp. 16–22, and Pérez d'Ors and Gallagher 2010, pp. 652–59.
2. The painting was downgraded by the Metropolitan Museum to workshop status in 1973, a decision that was featured in a *New York Times* article by Carter B. Horsley on January 19 of the same year.
3. It should be noted that the painting has had numerous defenders, in particular López-Rey. See López-Rey 1963, pp. 38–40, 207–8; López-Rey 1973, pp. 50–52; López-Rey 1979, pp. 31–32, 34–36, 159n65, 244–47; and López-Rey 1996, vol. 1, pp. 53–54, 56; vol. 2, pp. 30, 66–70. For a full list of references and related opinions, please consult the Department of European Paintings collection database on the Museum's website: www.metmuseum.org.
4. Mélida 1906, pp. 173, 175–85, 190–98.
5. Gállego 1989, pp. 88–95, 99–100, 124, 129.
6. López-Rey 1963, p. 206; López-Rey 1973, p. 52; Pacheco 2001, pp. 202–5. For a concise account of Velázquez's appointment as court artist, see Brown 1986, p. 45.
7. Brown 1986, p. 45; Carr et al. 2006, p. 30.
8. At some point in its early history the painting was evidently cut on all four sides. The reason for this intervention is not clear, but the support was later extended to its present dimensions (79⅛ x 40½ in., or 201 x 103 cm) using strips salvaged from old paintings. These additions returned the cropped composition to dimensions more closely resembling those of intact full-length portraits by Velázquez, in particular the key image of Philip IV in the Prado, which measures 79⅛ x 40⅛ in. (201 x 102 cm). The additions appear to be in place in an early illustration: Mélida 1905, pp. 96–97, pl. 10.
9. López-Rey 1963, p. 207.
10. It would appear that very early in its life the portrait had suffered from widespread pinpoint flaking, particularly in the upper part of the composition. Damp conditions may have encouraged this, especially given the presence of a first, chalk-based ground layer. It was these losses that probably precipitated the radical campaign of repainting.
11. The painting was given a first brush coat of varnish to commence the gradual process of saturating the paint surface and to provide an isolating layer between the original and the retouching. Actual losses were filled with a toned filler that mimicked the color of the ground. The first phase of the retouching involved underpainting of these losses. In the background and flesh tones a cooler and lighter color was generally used, whereas in the drapery the reddish ground color was matched in order to exploit its essential optical role in these areas at the final phase of the retouching. The painting was then given a further application of varnish to increase saturation. The intermediary photograph taken at this point is an important document for understanding the true nature of the painting's condition and the philosophy of approach taken in the restoration. It is possible to see not only the impact of the remaining areas of the early campaign of repainting in the background, floor, and drapery, but also how localized the damage is. The final phase of the retouching attempted to reintegrate the damaged areas without resorting to excessive reconstruction of the abraded areas.
12. I am particularly indebted to the Meadows Museum and to Claire Barry, chief conservator, Kimbell Art Museum, for making this tracing.
13. This trip was undertaken with Keith Christiansen and Walter Liedtke, curator of European paintings, who provided invaluable insight and debate.

14. López-Rey (1963, p. 210) misinterpreted the superimposition of the two heads in the X-ray as a single, flabbier one. This oversight is discussed in Brown 1986, p. 287n28.
15. Garrido Pérez 1992, pp. 122–23.
16. Brown 1986, p. 47; Brown and Garrido 1998, pp. 27–30.
17. See note 7 above.
18. The X-ray was provided by Rhona Macbeth, head of paintings conservation, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
19. The ground in both paintings is constructed of two layers, a first calcite-based one containing small amounts of an iron earth and carbon black, followed by a second layer composed principally of red earth. This construction is typical of the artist's preparation at this time. See Garrido Pérez 1992, pp. 15–19 and 123–25. Only one cross section was taken from the Boston *Philip* for analysis. However, examination under high magnification suggests that the materials are almost identical. Dr. C. Richard Jonson Jr. of Cornell University is currently examining the two paintings' X-rays as part of an ongoing weave counting and mapping project. It is hoped that these results can be compared to similar data obtained from the support of the Prado's portrait of Philip.

    All pigment analysis and cross-section investigation was undertaken by Metropolitan Museum research scientists Silvia Centeno and Mark Wypyski. Samples mounted as cross sections were examined by polarized light microscopy and analyzed with Raman spectroscopy and scanning electron microscopy-energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS).
20. Boston's relatively modern stretcher measures 82½ x 43½ in. (209.5 x 110.5 cm), but it would appear that the original cusped tacking edges have been preserved and incorporated. The absence of a distinct line of cracking or loss corresponding to a turnover edge suggests that the canvas was actually stretched flush with the front side of its strainer. Slightly raised marks a few centimeters in from each side were probably caused by the relatively narrow members used to construct the strainer or by an early framing element. It is noteworthy that the dimensions of these marks correspond almost exactly with the dimensions of the Prado portrait and therefore the likely original dimensions of the Altman picture.
21. Bauer 1986, pp. 355–57; Christiansen 1990, pp. 25–26; Bauer and Colton 2000, pp. 434–36; Falomir 2003, pp. 60–68; Bauer 2007, pp. 99–101. The exhibition "Der späte Tizian" (The Late Titian) at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, brilliantly explored this theme. See Wald 2007, pp. 123–31, 133–40. On Velázquez, see Garrido 2004, pp. 4–24.
22. Carr et al. 2006, p. 142; Garrido 2004, pp. 4–6.

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A Study for *Abimelech Discovering Isaac and Rebecca* by Étienne Parrocel

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In 2000 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a drawing, then called simply *Man Pulling a Curtain Aside*, that shows a young man wearing a headband, a tunic, and a cloak fastened with a clasp at the shoulder (Figure 1). Although the sheet is unsigned, it has all the earmarks of the style of Étienne Parrocel (1696–1775), who was born into a famous family of artists in Avignon but spent most of his career as a painter of religious subjects in Rome. The draped figure is drawn with precision in black chalk on buff paper, with occasional accents rendered with fine hatch marks. As is often the case with Parrocel's drawings, the figure appears three-dimensional, and the effect is heightened by the white chalk highlights, in particular on the projecting folds of the cloak.

Although Parrocel included no attributes that might help identify the subject of the drawing, the young man's pose and gesture are telling enough, for he seems taken aback, his right hand open in surprise as his left hand pulls a curtain aside. It is tempting to think that he has come upon an intimate scene of some sort, not just because of the implicit suggestion of the curtain but also because his pose recalls that of Actaeon surprising Diana bathing nude in Rembrandt's painting *Diana Bathing with Her Nymphs, with Stories of Actaeon and Calisto* (1634–35; Museum Wasserburg Anholt, Germany).

The composition to which this drawing relates can be found in a painting that was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1992 (Figure 2).[1] In the catalogue of the sale the painting was listed as a "biblical subject" by the French academic painter Jacques Dumont, called Le Romain (1701–1781). The attribution was obviously erroneous: the relatively static character of the painting is quite unlike the systematically unbalanced rhythm of Le Romain's compositions.[2] Furthermore, its author had to have been familiar with both the French and Italian schools of painting: even though the composition evokes French prototypes from the 1730s, the palette is more Italian than French. I had therefore long believed that the artist must have been a Franco-Italian painter like Étienne Parrocel. And my intuition was confirmed when I came upon the preparatory study at the Metropolitan.

Known for his large altarpieces, Parrocel seems also to have been a prolific draftsman who created veritable series of religious compositions.[3] Many of his drawings have been catalogued under the names of other artists, and I would add to that list a *Sacrifice of Isaac* that was on the Paris art market some twenty years ago with an attribution to Antoine Coypel (Figure 3).[4] Despite the rather simple execution, the group formed by Abraham and Isaac has a strong three-dimensional character, and the same fine hatching used in the Metropolitan drawing reappears here. Abraham's face and his bipartite beard also bear an intriguing resemblance to that of the man fondling his partner's breast in the painting sold at Sotheby's (Figure 2). In light of these similarities, and knowing that Parrocel often repeated his biblical subjects, one might suspect that the subject of the painting has something to do with Abraham or Isaac. In fact, the painted composition illustrates an episode from Isaac's life that is recounted in Genesis 26. In a time of famine, God appeared to Isaac and told him to go to Gerar, in the land of the Philistines. Isaac obeyed and journeyed to Gerar with his wife, Rebecca. Fearing that the men of the place might kill him for his beautiful wife, Isaac told them that Rebecca was his sister. But he was forced to admit his subterfuge to Abimelech, king of the Philistines, after the king discovered him caressing Rebecca. And that discovery is precisely the moment depicted by Parrocel. Although no less celebrated an artist than Raphael illustrated the subject in the Vatican

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45
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1. Étienne Parrocel (French, 1696–1775). Study for *Abimelech Discovering Isaac and Rebecca*. Black and white chalk on buff paper, 21⅛ x 15 in. (53.7 x 38.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Bruno de Bayser, 2000 (2000.91.6)



2. Étienne Parrocel. *Abimelech Discovering Isaac and Rebecca*. Oil on canvas, 28 x 37¾ in. (71 x 96 cm). Photograph: sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1992, lot 258



3. Étienne Parrocel. *The Sacrifice of Isaac*. Red chalk on paper, 11¾ x 9 in. (30 x 23 cm). Photograph: sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Ader, Picard, Tajan), November 22, 1988, lot 42



4. Étienne Parrocel. *Study of a Griffon*. Sheet from an album. Brown ink and black chalk on paper, 7⅞ x 11 in. (20 x 28 cm). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 3729, 321). Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York

Loggia in 1518–19, it seems to have been developed no further in the centuries since.

Parrocel made a fundamental change to the figure of Abimelech when he transferred him from drawing to painting. Instead of simply looking on as a voyeur, Abimelech has now entered the couple's tent. Even the expression on his face is transformed: smiling and no longer speechless, he is obviously pleased at having learned the true nature of Isaac and Rebecca's relationship.

Another drawing by Parrocel must be mentioned in connection with this composition. Among a large group of drawings the artist made after the antique that have been preserved in an album in the Louvre, Paris, is one (Figure 4) of a griffon exactly like those that decorate the bench on which Abimilech and Rebecca are seated in the painting.[5] Parrocel copied the griffon from a Roman bas-relief that was at the time in the Palazzo della Valle in Rome and is now in the Louvre. For the painting, however, he substituted another type of vase for the crater on which the griffon rests its paw and moved the crater itself out of the frieze and into the left foreground, now as an object in its own right.

These depictions of an episode from the story of Isaac raise the question of the existence of a cycle illustrating scenes from the patriarch's life. Did Parrocel create a series of works devoted to Isaac, as he did for Abraham, Moses, and Tobit? Only the discovery of further drawings and paintings he made on the same subject will answer that question.

NOTES

1. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1992, lot 258 (no mention of provenance).
2. See, for example, the series of three signed history paintings sold in Paris at the Hôtel Drouot (Piasa), December 17, 1997, lots 23–25, in which the animated figures are depicted with a strong chiaroscuro.
3. I demonstrated this recently in the course of disclosing the confusion surrounding the subject of Parrocel's drawing style in my article "New Proposals for Drawings by Étienne Parrocel," *Master Drawings* 47, no. 2 (Summer 2009), pp. 174–90, and in a letter in the same journal: "A Further Response Regarding Étienne Parrocel," *Master Drawings* 48, no. 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 397–405.
4. Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (Ader, Picard, Tajan), November 22, 1988, lot 42, ill.
5. The album (RF 3729) has 324 sheets and was acquired in 1908.

Mr. Devis and Mr. Bull

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Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bull (Figure 1), painted in 1747, is a typical example of the then modern genre called a "conversation piece," an informal group portrait showing its subjects either conversing or engaged in some genteel pastime. The painter, Arthur Devis (1712–1787), was a well-known and successful practitioner of the genre. In the 1930s and 1940s, when the conversation piece and Devis himself were subjects of increasing interest, this canvas, then a recent discovery, was widely exhibited and published, but it then disappeared from view.[1] It is now on exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, a long-term loan from the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

Richard Bull was the second son of Sir John Bull and his wife, Elizabeth, of London and Ongar, Essex, a village to the north of London. His father was a merchant in the Turkey trade. The younger Bull lived first in Ongar and later on the Isle of Wight at Northcourt, a Jacobean mansion on the outskirts of the village of Shorwell that he bought in 1795. In 1747, the year this portrait was painted, Richard Bull married the widow Mary (Ash) Bennet. According to the Ongar parish registers, she was baptized in March 1718, and as he was born in London in 1721, she was several years older.[2] Both were from prosperous landed families. Her parents, Benjamin and Cordelia Ash, and her first husband, Bennet Alexander Bennet, were all from Ongar, and they and the Bulls must have known each other well. Mrs. Bull had a daughter and a son, Richard, from her first marriage, and she and Bull had two daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth, survived them. Arthur Devis's portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Bull was owned by their descendants until 1926, remaining at Northcourt, where it is presumed to have been at the time of Bull's death in 1805.[3]

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Although Richard Bull served as a Member of Parliament for Newport, Cornwall, from 1756 until 1780, he is described as having been politically disinterested in the extreme. He was a convivial person and enjoyed both entertaining and travel.[4] He was (and is still) known as a print and book collector and as a correspondent and friend of the antiquarian, writer, and publisher Horace Walpole (1717–1797). Bull's modest claim to fame arises from his later activities as an extra-illustrator. The genteel practice of extra-illustration, or embellishing printed books with additional prints, drawings, letters, and the like, occupied him during the second and presumably more leisurely half of his life. His pursuit was evidently given impetus by the publication in 1769 of the Reverend James Granger's two-volume *Biographical History of England*.[5] Granger (1723–1776) had formed a very large collection of prints of persons of historical interest, and these in turn inspired his history, which he organized chronologically by reign, providing biographies of the same personages organized in accordance with their precedence or relative importance. Although Granger was a print collector, his *Biographical History* was not illustrated, and Bull was apparently the first to remedy this defect. By 1774 Bull had completed and sold an expanded, nineteen-volume "Granger" illustrated with prints pasted into blank pages, and he carried this work forward into his own time in an additional sixteen volumes of pasted-up images of personalities dating from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the early reign of George III.

Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762–71), based on the notebooks of antiquary George Vertue (1684–1756), afforded Bull a further opportunity.[6] With the assistance of his daughters, Bull expanded the *Anecdotes* to fourteen volumes embellished with both engravings and watercolors. Walpole's account of his house, Strawberry Hill, published in 1784 under the title *A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole*, was given



1. Arthur Devis (English, 1712–1787). *Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bull,* 1747. Oil on canvas, 42¼ x 34¼ in. (107.3 x 87 cm). Signed and dated on baseboard at right: *ADevis* [initials joined] *fe 1747*·. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lent by New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, Conservation Center (L.2009.54)

this treatment both by the author himself and by Bull.[7] Extra-illustration was considered to be a thought-provoking pursuit for those with private means and time at their disposal, yielding fruitful associations and the exchange, through gift and loan, of privately printed and privately expanded books among a circle of the like-minded. The appetite of such collectors as Bull, Granger, and Walpole was so insatiable that with their enthusiasm they may actually have driven up the prices of books and prints.

Given Richard Bull's later fascination with portraits, it is perhaps not surprising that on the celebratory occasion of his marriage, he commissioned one. It also seems likely that he and the precise and literal-minded Arthur Devis would have been a match.[8] Devis, born at Preston, Lancashire, on February 19, 1712, belonged to a family of artists of which he would eventually be judged the most prominent. Such training as he received was in the early 1730s with Peter Tillemans (ca. 1684–1734), a Flemish-born painter active until 1733 in London and elsewhere in England. Little else is known of Devis until 1742, when he married and when he was described in the Preston guild rolls as living in the capital. He was exclusively a painter of the *conversazione* from that time on. While in his later work he—or his patrons—showed a marked preference for landscape backgrounds for his conversation pieces, at first he favored interiors. Devis's earliest dated work is from 1735, and he began signing and dating portraits no later than 1741.

Devis cannot have entered Tillemans's shop much before 1730, by which time the older artist's landscapes with figures, house portraits, and hunting scenes were outdated. The young genre painter may have known but would not have aspired to the elaboration, even splendor, of the florid group portraits and genre scenes that William Hogarth (1697–1764) was painting at the time. The style of the little-known Scottish artist Gawen Hamilton (ca. 1697–1737) is on the other hand quite similar, and if he did not influence Devis, then certainly the two of them emerged from the same sort of ambience and found their patrons in similar circles. For comparative purposes, Hamilton's *Rawson Conversation Piece* (Figure 2), probably of about 1730, is a good example: a quite empty and strictly ordered paneled interior with a chimneypiece, a portrait over the mantel, board flooring, and a Turkey carpet, in the midst of which the principal couple is seated composedly at a pedestal tea table.

Devis portrayed the recently married Mr. and Mrs. Bull alone in a sparsely furnished interior. The composition, not unstudied, is slightly asymmetrical, in the details of the room itself and also in the arrangement of the figures and furnishings. A straight edge rigorously defines the main verticals and horizontals of the room and (around the carpet) the diagonals of the wide floorboards, but the mantel is not centered with respect to the picture space, nor is the carpet



2. Gawen Hamilton (Scottish, ca. 1697–1737). *The Rawson Conversation Piece,* ca. 1730. Oil on canvas, 31½ x 29⅜ in. (80 x 74.6 cm). Pallant House Gallery, Chichester, Purchased with support of the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, The Art Fund, and an anonymous donor, 1994

centered with respect to the mantel. Above the chimneypiece is a landscape inhabited by a single draped figure and with a castle in the distance, and above the door is a mountain landscape. Both are in the style of the Venetian painter Francesco Zuccarelli (1702–1788). It was quite common for young English painters to make copies after the Italians in their student days, but Zuccarelli did not come to England until 1755, and 1747 would have been an early date to find such a work in London. The rococo framing of the pictures, with shells, a mask, and plant forms, seems to be applied to the wall and en suite with the surrounding woodwork.[9] On the mantel two green porcelain parrots and four pairs of small blue and white vessels flank a figurine; on the hearth sits a large lidded blue and white jar.

It had once been thought that the Bulls were shown in their own house, but Mr. and Mrs. Robert Dashwood, who sat for Devis in 1750 (Figure 3),[10] are pictured in an interior that is to all intents and purposes identical. The spaces are the same, and the decoration (the pictures and the busts on brackets) nearly so. Both men wear their hair unpowdered, but Mr. Dashwood's simple coat is more typical for Devis's



3. Arthur Devis. *Mr. and Mrs. Robert Dashwood*, signed and dated 1750. Oil on canvas, 44 x 38 in. (111.8 x 96.5 cm). Location unknown



4. Arthur Devis. *A Lady and Three Gentlemen Gathered around a Harpsichord*, early 1750s. Oil on canvas, 50½ x 40½ in. (128.2 x 102.9 cm). Location unknown

sitters, while Mr. Bull's is elaborately brocaded. Mrs. Dashwood's underskirt is quilted in squares, and her cap is wider than Mrs. Bull's, but the sewing basket on her tea table is the same as Mrs. Bull's.[11] In a further variation of this interior, in which two men and a woman surround a man seated at a harpsichord (Figure 4), Devis rendered the room symmetrical in shape and decoration, with a companion (albeit closed) door and overdoor to the right, and placed the figures at the center of the bare floor, in front of the chimneypiece.[12] A portion of a similar interior appears in his portrait of Lady Juliana Penn (Figure 5), but with an oval landscape over the mantel and a different arrangement of blue and white porcelains on the shelf, and in this case the jar on the hearth contains a flower arrangement. The walls and chairs are upholstered in green figured damask similar to the fabric on the chairs in which the Bulls are seated.

Very few specific settings, whether inside or out, have been identified in Devis's entire oeuvre. It must be understood, then, that Devis's sitters in the late 1740s and early 1750s were not overly concerned with the particulars of the rooms they appear to inhabit, so long as they were portrayed in an environment whose appointments were up-to-date and appropriate in style and decoration to their understanding of their position in society. The sitters' attributes, insofar as there are any, performed a similarly generalized function.

English group portraits nearly always illustrate the occupations of leisure. In Devis's work, a gentleman seated indoors may have a book at hand, or a lady may be shown with gloves, a fan, or, as here, the components of lacemaking. Both Mrs. Bull and Mrs. Dashwood hold a silver thimble: instead of being heavy with meaning, a thimble was simply an opportunity for painting bright highlights. Devis preferred soft, even illumination, and the absence of fires, screens, and shawls suggests a temperate season. What is particular to Devis's interiors is that the rooms he shows are high and airy (the more so because they have very little furniture, even by the standards of that time, when chairs were often lined up against the rail if not in use), and embellished with great restraint.[13] This saves the onlooker from being distracted and encourages close observation of the sitters, who were drawn and then painted with a high degree of specificity.

If, as seems likely, this painting and others of its type may be taken as entirely contemporary, the daytime dress of a



5. Arthur Devis. *Lady Juliana Penn*, signed and dated 1752. Oil on canvas, 36⅛ x 31⅛ in. (91.8 x 79.1 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Susanne Strassburger Anderson, Valerie Anderson Story, and Veronica Anderson Macdonald from the estate of Mae Bourne and Ralph Beaver Strassburger, 2004 (2004-201-2)

gentleman of property in the late 1740s comprised a coat with very wide cuffs and falling to just below the knee; a waistcoat, usually white, with pocket flaps and numerous small buttons; buckled knee britches; white hose; and black shoes with large square buckles. While the muslin shirt had wide ruffles, only a slight ruff was worn at the neck. Coat collars seem to have been coming in, while powdered wigs for younger men were going out. In the matter of the decoration of the coat or waistcoat there was some choice, and Richard Bull opted for elaborate gold embroidery around the buttonholes and on the collar and cuffs of his coat.

If he was born in 1721, Bull would have been about twenty-six when Devis painted him. He has a cleft chin and is broader in the shoulder than most of Devis's sitters, giving him some individuality.[14] Typically, he is well proportioned (in Devis's paintings older men are sometimes distinguished by thicker waists), and his britches and stockings are smooth and unwrinkled. His wife Mary was approaching her thirtieth birthday in 1747, but does not look it. Her hair is arranged close to her head and covered by a cap with a pink ribbon. She sits straight, on the edge of her chair to accommodate the panniers that hold the skirt of her robe out over her hips. A seam in her satin skirt is slightly puckered. Her bodice fits tightly over her corseted torso and is pleated at either side of a V-shaped stomacher decorated with wavy bands of ruching and rosettes of the same fabric as her embroidered petticoat. Her lace-trimmed ruffles and apron are (impossibly) transparent. She sits forward of her husband and is a little larger and nearly frontal, a polite illustration of the felicity of the newly married.[15]

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NOTES

1. The painting was included in the exhibitions *English Conversation Pieces* (1930), no. 86 (lent by Jesse Isidor Straus, reportedly reproduced in a separate pamphlet); *Hogarth and His Tradition* (1935), no. 13 (lent by Straus); *French and English Art Treasures* (1942), no. 376 (lent by Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus); *Old and New England* (1945), no. 68 (lent by Mrs. Straus); and *The Conversation Piece: Arthur Devis and His Contemporaries* (1980), no. 19 (see D'Oench 1980). It was published in *Creative Art* 6 (May 1930), ill. p. 315; Williamson 1931, p. 12, pl. 29 (left); Janet Rosenwald, "Knoedler Holds Loan Exhibition of Hogarth's Art," *Art News* 34 (November 16, 1935), p. 4; Pavière 1936–37, p. 120, no. 2, p. 130; Sitwell 1937, pp. 50–51, fig. 58; *Museum Notes* (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence) 3, no. 1 (January 1945), cover ill.; *Art News* 43 (January 15–31, 1945), frontis.; E. P. Richardson, "Old and New England," *Art Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1945), p. 6, fig. 8; Pavière 1950, pp. 34, 38, no. 16; Collins Baker 1955, p. 43, ill. p. 44; Hilda F. Finberg, "'With Mr. Turner in 1797,'" *Burlington Magazine* 99, no. 647 (February 1957), p. 51n4; D'Oench 1980, pp. 52–54, no. 19, pl. 19; Sartin 1983, p. 48; Saumarez Smith 1993, pp. 126, 191, nos. 184, 195 (color); Thornton 2000, p. 120, colorpl. 146; and Retford 2007, pp. 291ff., fig. 1 (color).
2. Much biographical information about Bull and his pastime may be found in Pinkerton 1978. See also *The Parish Registers of Ongar, Essex* (privately printed for Frederick Arthur Crisp, 1886), p. 60. Bull's obituary was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 76, part 1 (January–June 1806), p. 289.
3. The subsequent owners were Elizabeth Bull, London and Northcourt, Shorwell, Isle of Wight (1805 until her death in 1809); Richard Henry Alexander Bennet, Beckenham, Kent and Northcourt (1809–d. 1815); General Sir James Willoughby Gordon, 1st Baronet, and Lady Gordon, Northcourt (1815–his d. 1851); Sir Henry Percy Gordon, 2nd Baronet, Northcourt (1851–d. 1876); General and Mrs. Robert William Disney Leith, Northcourt (1876–his d. 1892); Alexander Henry Leith, 5th Lord Burgh, Northcourt (1892–d. 1926; his estate sale, Christie's, London, July 9, 1926, lot 22, as Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Bull, of Northcourt by A. W. Devis, signed and dated 1747, for £346.10 to Gooden & Fox); [Gooden & Fox, London, from 1926]; ?[Scott & Fowles, New York]; Jesse Isidor Straus, New York (by 1930–d. 1936); Mrs. Jesse Isidor Straus (1936–d. 1970); Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (from 1970).
4. Pinkerton 1978, pp. 45–46; Namier and Brooke 1964, vol. 2, p. 131. See also Pointon 1993, pp. 58–59, 70–72, 250n88; Wark 1993, pp. 154–55; Peltz 2004, pp. 1–3, 14–17; and Peltz 2007, pp. 36–46.
5. Wark 1993. Bull's extra-illustrated copy of Granger now belongs to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
6. See Peltz 2007, pp. 42, 48n62, and Pinkerton 1978, p. 58, no. 23. Bull's fourteen-volume "grangerized" *Anecdotes of Painting* was broken up (it was sold at Sotheby's, London, in 1880; see sale, Sotheby's, London, February 9, 1973, under lot 1).
7. Both Walpole's and Bull's extra-illustrated *Strawberry Hill* catalogues are at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University. See Peltz 1996 and Mack 2009, pp. 107–15, 280, no. 20, figs. 20, 133.
8. On Devis, see principally Sartin 1983 and D'Oench 1980.
9. Peter Thornton (2000, p. 120) suggests that the frame is drawn from William De La Cour's *Fifth Book, of Ornaments Useful for All Manner of Furniture and All Other Things* (1743), the publication of which was timely, but Devis's design is much looser.
10. Dashwood belonged to an Oxfordshire family, and his wife was heir to property in Stanford, Nottinghamshire.
11. The basket can also be seen on a similar tea table in Devis's portrait of Lucy Watson (Sartin 1983, p. 51, no. 24, fig. 24).
12. Sale, Christie's, London, June 8, 2006, lot 5, color ill. The sitters are unidentified and the painting is undated.
13. On this, and on the development and broader implications of Georgian interior design, see Saumarez Smith 1993 and Retford 2007.
14. Ellen D'Oench (1980, pp. 52–53, no. 18, fig. 18) catalogues a portrait that bears on the reverse a typewritten label dating not earlier than the mid-nineteenth century that identifies the sitter as Richard Bull. She finds "some resemblance" to the sitter here. The identification seems improbable to me.
15. The signature, in white, can be read only with the aid of a microscope. The picture is in very good state, with wear in the most thinly painted passages. There are numerous adjustments to the contours, where the ground color shows through, especially along the chimneypiece to the right and around Mary Bull's cap and the toes of Richard Bull's shoes. The figures and the carpet are more heavily impasted. I examined the work with Dorothy Mahon, Paintings Conservator, MMA, and I thank her for her helpful comments.

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A Gainsborough Sitter Identified: John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire

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Katharine Baetjer's exemplary catalogue of British paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art has brought together much new information about the collection. Perhaps the most fruitful use of any catalogue is that it brings more information to light and encourages discussion. The sitter in one portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, described in the catalogue simply as a *Portrait of a Man* (Figure 1), can now be positively identified.[1] It is a likeness, dating from about 1784, of John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire (1723–1793).[2]

At the age of thirty-three John Hobart succeeded his father as Earl of Buckinghamshire. His great-great-great-grandfather Sir Henry Hobart, 1st Baronet (ca. 1560–1625), Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, had purchased the estate at Blickling in Norfolk in 1616 and built a house, now in the care of the National Trust, that is one of the preeminent examples of Jacobean architecture in Britain. For use in the middle of the eighteenth century, however, it required some judicious remodeling, which Buckinghamshire's father began and which Buckinghamshire continued.

On July 14, 1761, Lord Buckinghamshire married Mary Anne Drury, who brought with her a fortune of £50,000, a sum that enabled him to continue his improvements to the property.[3] With the help of the Norwich architect and builder Thomas Ivory, the main staircase was resited in the Jacobean great hall and several other rooms were improved and updated. Only a small amount of Buckinghamshire's time could have been spent on the estate, as he had a full-time career as a courtier and diplomat.

Through the influence of his father, Buckinghamshire was Comptroller of the Household in the 1750s, he was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1756 at a remarkably young age, and, unusually, he became Lord of the Bedchamber to both King George II and King George III. His patrician manner made a diplomatic position an obvious choice, and in 1762 he was appointed envoy to Saint Petersburg, a post he fulfilled with distinction for three years. When he was recalled he was given a tapestry by Empress Catherine showing Peter the Great triumphing over the defeated Swedish army at the battle of Poltawa in 1709. The tapestry copies one dated 1722 that is in the Hermitage, though the Blickling version has added borders and is better preserved. Its size, approximately 12 by 16 feet, provided distinct challenges, even for a house as large as Blickling Hall.

Lady Buckinghamshire died late in 1769, and nine months later Buckinghamshire remarried. His new bride, Caroline Conolly, "a young lady of blooming fifteen,"[4] was the sister of Thomas Conolly (1738–1803), the richest commoner in Ireland and a prominent parliamentarian in Dublin. Buckinghamshire was sworn into office as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on January 25, 1777. This proved to be an inappropriate appointment, for he found it impossible to balance familial loyalty and his position. Afterward, he described himself as "a man whose mind has been lacerated with a variety of embarrassments for thirty weary months."[5] He was happy to return to Norfolk in 1780, and during the next decade, although plagued by gout, he directed his energies toward the management of his estates. He died on September 3, 1793, and is buried in a mausoleum on the estate.[6]

Buckinghamshire's three sons had died in infancy in 1775, 1776, and 1778, so at his death the title passed to his half-brother, George. The estate, however, was bequeathed to his daughter Caroline, Lady Suffield, and she in turn bequeathed it to her great-nephew William, 8th Marquess of Lothian. The break from an entailed direct inheritance—Blickling had passed from Hobart father to Hobart son for nearly two hundred years—weighed heavily on Buckinghamshire's

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45

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1. Thomas Gainsborough (British, 1727–1788). *John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire,* ca. 1784. Oil on canvas, 29½ x 24¾ in. (74.9 x 62.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, 1959 (60.71.7)



2. The Peter the Great Room, Blickling Hall, Norfolk, "hung with pink sattin, the ceiling stucco, richly but lightly ornamented, with that in the middle . . . stained with a delicate pink, which has a good effect, and harmonises with the other parts of the room" (Bartell 1806, p. 101). Gainsborough's portrait of Buckinghamshire at Blickling Hall (Figure 3) is one of the few Gainsborough portraits that are still hanging in the position for which they were commissioned. Photograph: ©NTPL/Nadia Mackenzie



3. Thomas Gainsborough. *John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire,* 1784. Oil on canvas, 91 x 57⅛ in. (231 x 145 cm). Blickling Hall, The Lothian Collection (National Trust). Photograph: ©NTPL/John Hammond

mind, and as a consequence he was anxious to leave his mark on the house and to record his distinguished career.[7]

In 1778, the same year that his last son, George, died at age eighteen months, Buckinghamshire engaged the architect James Wyatt to design a room at the back of the house, sited in the center of the north front. The dimensions of the room, "forty-two feet by twenty-five feet, and twenty-two feet in height," were determined by the huge Peter the Great tapestry.[8] Buckinghamshire engaged the sculptor John Ivory to carve a chimneypiece in white and Sienna marble at a cost of £105.[9] John Ivory's cousin William, son of the Thomas Ivory who had worked on the house in the 1760s, also designed the ceiling decoration, which was executed by William Wilkins.[10] By 1782 the building works were advanced enough for Buckinghamshire to commission Solomon Hudson to supply frames and mirrors, at a total cost of £406.6s.6d, for the new room and the adjacent State Bedroom, which was being remodeled at the same time.[11] An equestrian portrait of George II of 1732 by John Wootton and Charles Jervas, which had been commissioned by the first Lord Buckinghamshire as the centerpiece for a group of full-length portraits, was moved from the long gallery to the east wall. The room (Figure 2) thus marked both the earl's ambassadorial post in Russia and his position at the court of George II. A portrait by Gainsborough (Figure 3) illustrated his association with Ireland.[12]

At the same time he was commissioning frames from Hudson, Buckinghamshire approached Gainsborough to provide full-length portraits of himself and his second wife. Gainsborough took some time to complete the commission, and the pair of portraits were finished only in May 1784, when they were to be exhibited at the Royal Academy.[13] That year Gainsborough famously withdrew his exhibits and instead chose to show them in his own studio at Schomberg

House in Pall Mall. The newspaper critic the Reverend Sir Henry Bate-Dudley, who had the opportunity to see them there, called the painting of Lady Buckinghamshire "an admirable portrait, in which her ladyship has called forth all the powers of *Mr. Gainsborough*." He continued: "His Lordship is represented in his *Regal Portrait Robes*, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The likeness is strong. The drapery is finished in a rich stile, and well disposed."[14] Buckinghamshire is shown in a brilliant blue suit of ribbed silk embroidered with floral sprigs along the edge of the waistcoat. The gold-embroidered red velvet and ermine cloak of the Lieutenancy is draped around his shoulders.

At the time he placed the commission for the paintings of himself and his wife, Buckinghamshire also ordered a less elaborate three-quarter-length portrait of himself in the same ceremonial dress (though there are differences in the embroidery of the costume) and another, smaller head-and-shoulders version—the portrait now in the Metropolitan—in which he wears a very different costume. All three portraits show the sitter's head in the same position; they must have been painted at the same time and produced from the same sittings.

The three-quarter-length portrait, which may have been intended to hang in Buckinghamshire's London house, descended in his family.[15] The early provenance of the head-and-shoulders version is not known, however. The canvas was first recorded in 1894, when it was in the collection of Sir Joseph Benjamin Robinson, 1st Baronet (1840–1929).[16] In 1923 Robinson sent his collection for sale, but the day before the auction at Christie's he increased the reserve on each lot to ensure that few sold.[17] The portrait was described in the sale catalogue as "General Bligh," and despite the high reserve, it was bought by the dealer M. Knoedler & Co., who shipped it to New York and included it in an exhibition later that year. In the exhibition catalogue it was described as a portrait of "General Thomas Bligh (1685–1775)."[18] Stylistically the Gainsborough portrait cannot be as early as 1775, and besides, it shows a sprightly man in his sixties, not a man twenty years older.[19] To emphasize the point, a portrait of General Bligh painted in about 1730 by the Irish artist James Latham shows a sitter with very different features.[20] Nonetheless, the attachment of the name Bligh to the Gainsborough portrait may be significant. Bligh is an Irish name, and this may hint at an early Irish provenance.

The assumption that the sitter was associated with the army or, given the blue color of his coat, the navy, is an indication that the costume he is wearing is at best unusual. The dark blue coat lined in red has a complex and eccentric arrangement down the front of gold braiding forming panels that are buttoned back at the collar. The colors are those of the Windsor Uniform, a costume designed for the court of George III and its servants in about 1780. The design of the costume was not uniform at all, however, but subject to much variety. No doubt in its early days its use was cavalier, and the intention was to give the wearer a certain panache.[21] There is perhaps one further hint. In a list of "Amusements of Men of Fashion" published in *The Morning Herald* on August 6, 1782, Buckinghamshire is described as taking a "principal delight in . . . an old coat."[22] Judging from the characteristics listed for the other peers, this seems to have been a genuine preference and perhaps shows a reaction to the opulence of the robes his state appointments forced him to wear. In any case, although the significance of such an eccentric coat has been lost, the identification of the sitter is no longer in doubt.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

David Tyler, in one of our frequent and fruitful discussions, first mentioned the relationship between the canvas in the Metropolitan Museum and the portrait of Buckinghamshire, and I am most grateful to him. Jan Brookes, the property manager at Blickling, and Bunty Gotts gave me every facility to look at the Buckinghamshire portraits in their care, and I should also like to thank Katharine Baetjer for kindly suggesting that I write this note.

NOTES

1. Baetjer 2009, pp. 95–96, no. 41. I am currently writing a catalogue raisonné of Gainsborough's portraits with the support of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London. I was curator of Gainsborough's House, the artist's birthplace museum in Sudbury, Suffolk, for twenty-three years.
2. Buckinghamshire's biography is given in Kelly 2008 and in Cockayne 1910–59, vol. 2, pp. 401–2.
3. Maddison 1991. After her death the sale of the first Lady Buckinghamshire's jewelry helped Buckinghamshire finance the improvements to Blickling.
4. Quoted in Cockayne 1910–59, vol. 2, p. 402.
5. Ibid.
6. The severe pyramidal mausoleum by the Neoclassical architect Joseph Bonomi was commissioned by Buckinghamshire's daughter, Lady Suffield (see Bowdler 1998).
7. Bowdler (ibid., p. 11) gives the same reasons for the commission of Bonomi's mausoleum.
8. Bartell 1806, p. 101.
9. Roscoe, Hardy, and Sullivan 2009, pp. 658–59.
10. For the architects Thomas and William Ivory, father and son, see Colvin 2008, pp. 558–60.
11. John Maddison in National Trust 1987, revised by Oliver Garnett in National Trust 1998, p. 26.
12. The contents of the room are described in an inventory made after the earl's death (Norfolk Record Office, MC 3/338 477 x 8) and in Bartell 1806, p. 101. See also Maddison and Cornforth 1988.
13. Gainsborough included a sketch of the eight portraits he intended to show in the exhibition in a letter to the Hanging Committee in [April] 1784 (Hayes 2001, pp. 158–59, letter 96).
14. *Morning Herald*, July 26, 1784, p. 2.
15. The portrait descended to Peter, 12th Marquess of Lothian, and appeared in his sale: Christie's, London, October 19, 1951, lot 32. It was purchased from Newhouse Galleries, New York, by the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, in 1952 and deaccessioned and sold at Christie's, London, on November 16, 1990, lot 10, where it was purchased by Colnaghi, London. It was later bought by a private collector in the United States from Historical Portraits Ltd, London.
16. Stevenson 2002, pp. 36–61.
17. The sale took place at Christie's in London on July 6, 1923. The painting in the Metropolitan Museum was lot 8, and it sold to Knoedler's for £3,255.
18. Knoedler 1923, no. 16.
19. Ellis Waterhouse (1958, p. 55) was "very doubtful" about the identification, as the sitter was "not of great age."
20. Crookshank and The Knight of Glin 1978, pp. 38, 42, colorpl. 7.
21. I am grateful to both Deirdre Murphy of the Court Dress Collection at Kensington Palace, London, and Andrew Cormack, editor of the *Journal for Army Historical Research*, for confirming that the costume is not naval. Cormack suggested it has some association with the Windsor Uniform, and further elaborations are my own. Alex Ward, assistant keeper, Art and Industrial Division, National Museum of Ireland, and her colleagues are unaware of any similar costumes associated with the Lord Lieutenancy.
22. Quoted in Cockayne 1910–59, vol. 1, p. 496.

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A Technical Study of Henry Lerolle's *Organ Rehearsal*

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In 2006 the expansion of the nineteenth-century European paintings galleries at the Metropolitan Museum afforded the opportunity to display Henry Lerolle's *Organ Rehearsal* (Figure 1) for the first time in roughly seventy years. Lerolle (Figure 2) was born in 1848 to a devout Catholic family living in Paris, where his father and uncle operated a bronze sculpture foundry. As a young man he studied with Louis Lamothe, a former pupil of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, copied French and Italian paintings in the Musée du Louvre, and attended the Académie Suisse, drawing from the model.

Independently wealthy, Lerolle collected works of art by, among others, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Edgar Degas, and Auguste Rodin. He was among the first to champion Maurice Denis and other members of the Nabis.[1] He was also deeply interested in music and with Vincent d'Indy and others was involved in founding the Paris music school La Schola Cantorum. Among the painters, writers, and musicians who were his guests were Degas, Paul Claudel, Stéphane Mallarmé, André Gide, and Claude Debussy.[2] Lerolle first exhibited at the 1868 Salon. He was a jury member at the 1889 Exposition Universelle and was awarded a gold medal at the Exposition Universelle of 1900.[3]

The Organ Rehearsal was shown at the 1885 Salon as *À l'orgue*.[4] It depicts a young woman singing, her voice filling the empty space of a church. The singer and nearly all the figures behind her seem to have been members of the artist's family, and Lerolle himself stands second from the left. The singer is Marie Escudier (born 1865), the youngest sister of Madame Lerolle and the wife of Arthur Fontaine (1860–1931), a minister of labor in the French government.[5] A portrait of Marie Escudier by Odilon Redon belongs to the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 3).[6] Her sisters Madeleine (born 1856) and Jeanne (born 1862) are seated in the left foreground, though which figure is Madeleine and which Jeanne is not certain.[7] Madeleine Escudier had married Lerolle in 1876, and they had four children by 1884.[8] Jeanne had married the composer Ernest Chausson, a friend of Lerolle's, in 1883.

The figure standing behind the organist has been identified as the artist's mother, née Amable de La Roche, by her grandson Guillaume Lerolle, who also recalled that the young man in the background, behind the painter, was an unidentified family member.[9] Technical evidence confirms that these two figures were late additions, which would explain why the Salon reviews failed to mention them. The organ player could be either Chausson or the organist Albert Renaud, who had been appointed to the Church of Saint-Francois-Xavier, Lerolle's neighborhood church, which is the setting for the painting. The thirty-two-foot pipe organ, which was premiered in 1879, is installed on a narrow tribune above the main entrance to the church.[10]

The canvas was exhibited in 1885 *hors concours*, which meant that Lerolle himself selected it, without the approval of the jury.[11] One reviewer states that it was unfinished, and the various contemporary accounts, while not always consistent, indicate that Lerolle must have modified his composition later.[12] Two sources fail to mention either the woman standing behind the organ player or the young man at the far left.[13] One catalogue of the Salon describes all the figures except the standing woman.[14] Both figures had been added by December 1886, when an engraving of *À l'orgue* by Rousseau was printed in *L'Illustration*.[15]

Preliminary examination revealed that the picture was essentially well preserved and had remained virtually untouched. Given the large format (the painted surface measures approximately 7½ by 12 feet), the painting showed normal signs of its age, primarily concentrated along the edges. Due to gravity and natural oxidation, the heavy canvas was sagging, splitting, and tearing along all the edges and pulling away from the stretcher. Rather than the more commonly used linen canvas, Lerolle employed a hemp canvas for this painting.[16] Hemp's shorter fibers and weaker structure have embrittled and discolored the canvas over time. In addition, some tide-line staining revealed along the bottom inner side of the stretcher suggested that

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45

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1. Henry Lerolle (French, 1848–1929). *The Organ Rehearsal*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 7 ft. 9¼ in. x 11 ft. 10¾ in. (2.37 x 3.63 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George I. Seney, 1887 (87.8.12)

the painting had been exposed to water in the past and explained why the canvas was noticeably more degraded along the bottom. The compromised attachment of the canvas to the stretcher had also caused pronounced distortions across the surface. The conservation treatment involved locally repairing the tears along the tacking edges and reinforcing them by attaching new strips of linen, refurbishing the stretcher, surface cleaning, and minor retouching. This process allowed further insights into Lerolle's technique and the materials he used.

Lerolle painted his composition on a single piece of medium-weave canvas. The canvas was commercially prepared with a light gray ground, which was commonly used in the late 1880s. Such a large prepared canvas was probably specially ordered. Two stencils partly obscured by the stretcher bars on the canvas's reverse show that the supplier was Hardy-Alan, a well-known Parisian color man whose store was located at 56, rue du Cherche-Midi. A minute sample of the preparation layer taken from the tacking edge and mounted as a cross section revealed the presence of two distinct ground layers of different thicknesses and colors.[17] While both layers were made of the same components—lead white in linseed oil—the top layer is somewhat thicker and also includes tiny amounts of black and reddish pigment particles that give the ground its light gray tonality.[18] For reasons of economy, the bottom ground layer would have been more diluted with oil and turpentine, and it was applied somewhat unevenly, causing some penetration through to the reverse of the canvas. The prepared canvas was then nailed onto the stretcher, a slot mortise-and-tenon type modified to accept a double key, which was also specially ordered. A handwritten inscription, "Lerolle / Tableau Chant d'Eglise" (Lerolle / Singing in Church Painting), was revealed only after the canvas was removed from the stretcher, confirming that the stretcher had been custom-made for this painting.[19]

Lerolle scrupulously planned his large composition. Sequentially numbered horizontal pencil markings were



2. Henry Lerolle. Photograph: Braun et Cie. Archives of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Exposition Dossier 7



4. Detail of Figure 1, showing the pencil drawing of the architecture visible through the paint layer



3. Odilon Redon (French, 1840–1916). *Madame Arthur Fontaine (Marie Escudier),* 1901. Pastel on paper, 28½ x 22½ in. (72.4 x 57.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ittleson Jr. Purchase Fund, 1960 (60.54)

discovered along the right-side tacking edge, indicating the presence of registration lines under the composition. This suggests that Lerolle probably worked from a smaller study that he expanded on this large canvas, using squaring lines, although no preparatory study for this painting has yet materialized.[20] Numerous pencil lines showing through the paint layer are clearly visible to the naked eye. They are especially evident in the rectilinear forms defining the architecture, which Lerolle depicted with minimum means yet to great effect (see Figure 4). He drew the outline of the nave's inner walls, pilasters, cornices, and Corinthian capitals with pencil directly on the ground layer, at times going over some lines to emphasize them. He then painted over this with a thin layer of lead white paint so that the pencil lines show through, creating a grisaille effect.

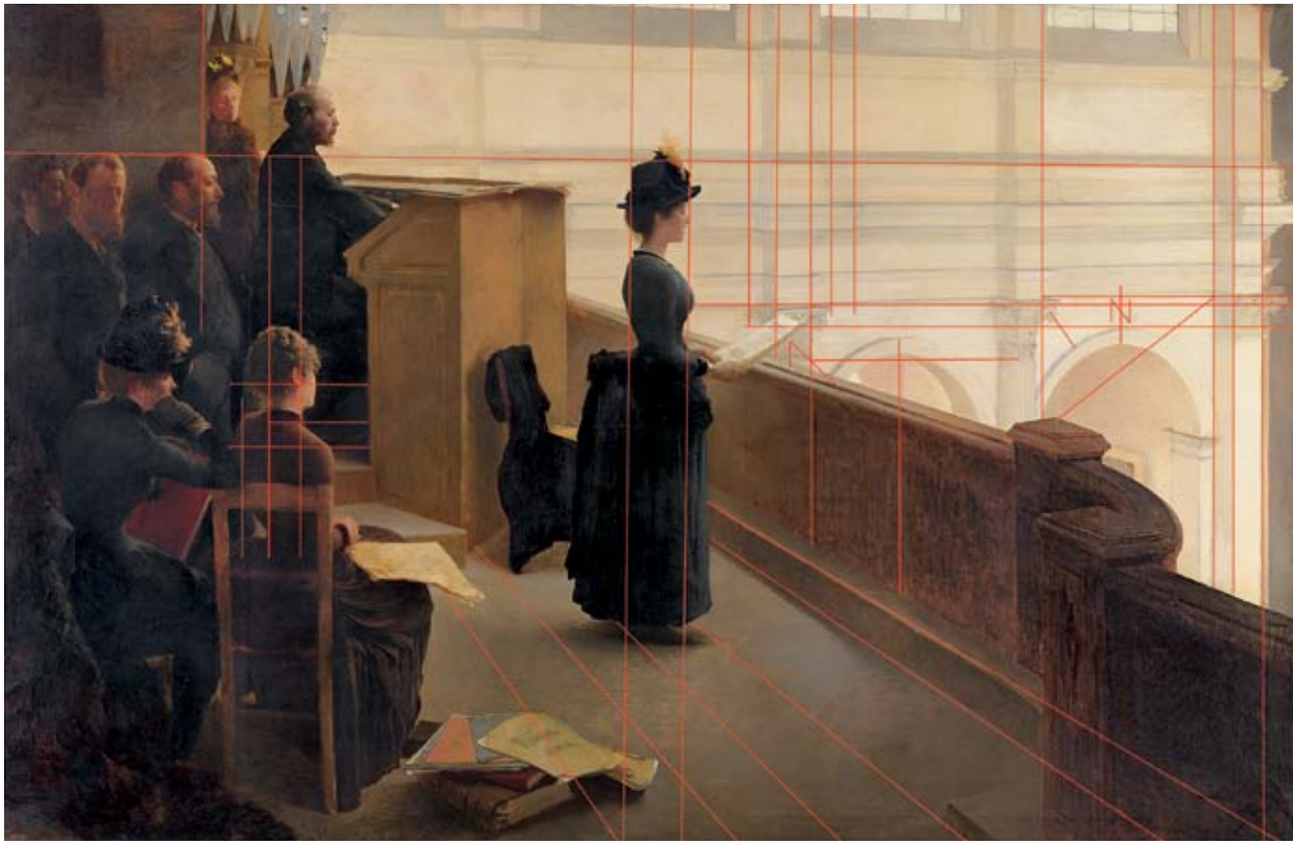
The oil paint layer is overall in remarkably good condition. Lerolle's paint layers are for the most part very fluid and painterly, even washlike in certain passages. He applied the lead white paint more thickly in order to imitate the varied colors of the limestone blocks as well as the light reflecting off their surfaces. Over time, pronounced sharp-edged cracks developed in the light-colored and thinly painted church background. This phenomenon appears to be a consequence of the use of lead white pigment, which commonly becomes brittle with aging. Fortunately, only a few minor paint losses have occurred, mostly along the edges. Some of the dark pigments have become increasingly transparent over time, which has affected a clear



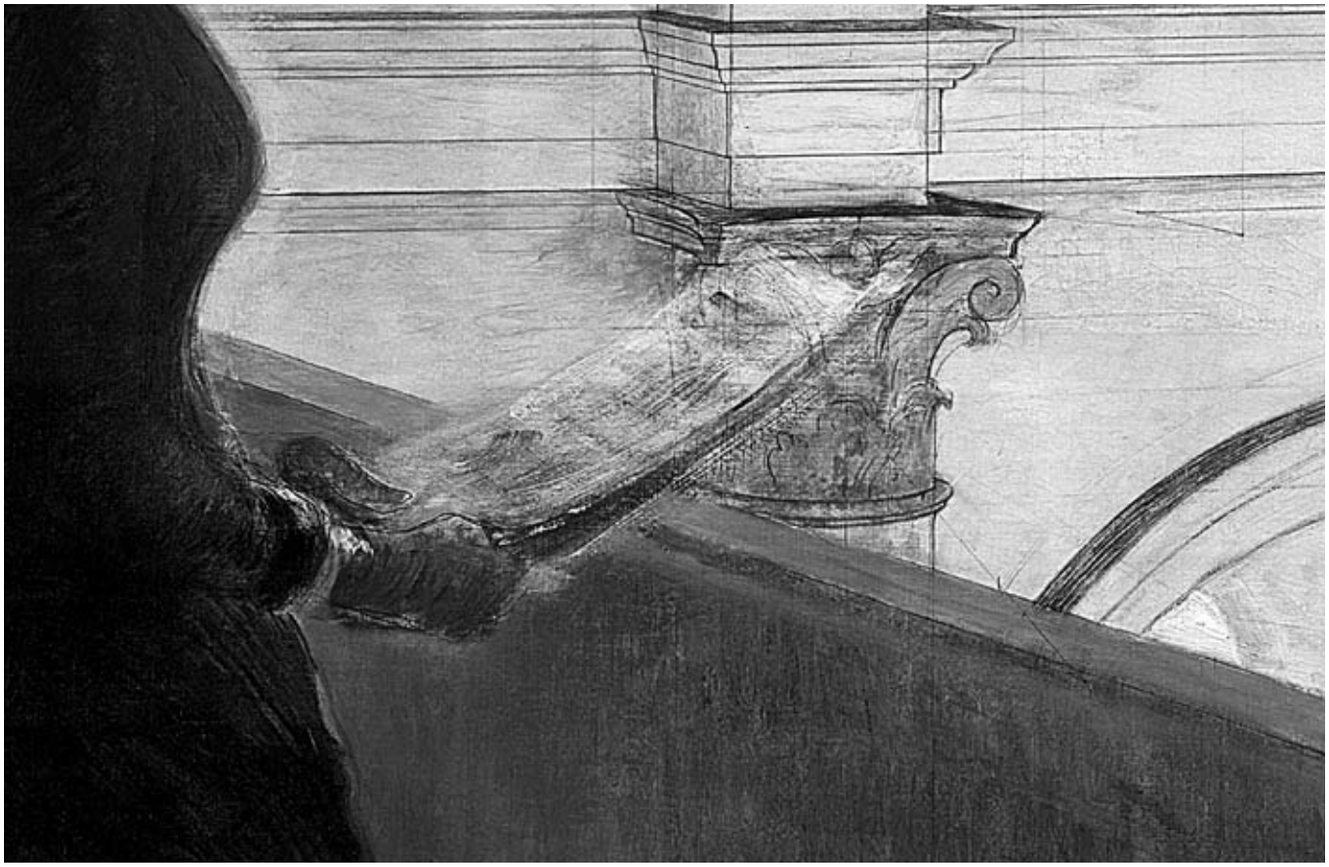
5. Infrared reflectogram of a detail of Figure 1, showing the underdrawing of the singer's face, the lines framing her profile, and the architectural lines behind her

reading of form in certain areas. Analysis confirmed that Lerolle achieved his muted coloring using a limited but typical palette: lead white, chrome yellow, vermilion, yellow ocher, umber, cobalt blue, and ivory black.[21] The particularly glossy and deeply cracked appearance of the singer's and her sister's hats, as well as some details on the sister's coat, indicates that Lerolle may have used bitumen, a transparent brown-black pigment used for glazing. Despite its popularity, bitumen is notorious for its poor drying qualities. The thin varnish layer appears to be original and exhibits only slight discoloration.[22]

Lerolle's deceptively simple composition required careful planning. Examination of *The Organ Rehearsal* with infrared reflectography, a nondestructive method used to image underdrawing, confirmed that the artist had used squaring lines to transfer his composition. These are lightly drawn pencil lines (not visible under the paint layer), verticals, diagonal lines, and registration marks that Lerolle used to lay out the composition before he drew the figures. The infrared reflectogram detail of the singer's face (Figure 5) illustrates this process. Horizontal lines delineating the wall moldings pass through her profile from her mouth through the nape of her neck, midway through her neck, and at nose level. These lines are rather faint, probably because the artist partly erased them so they would not show through the light skin tone of the singer's face. Two fine vertical lines



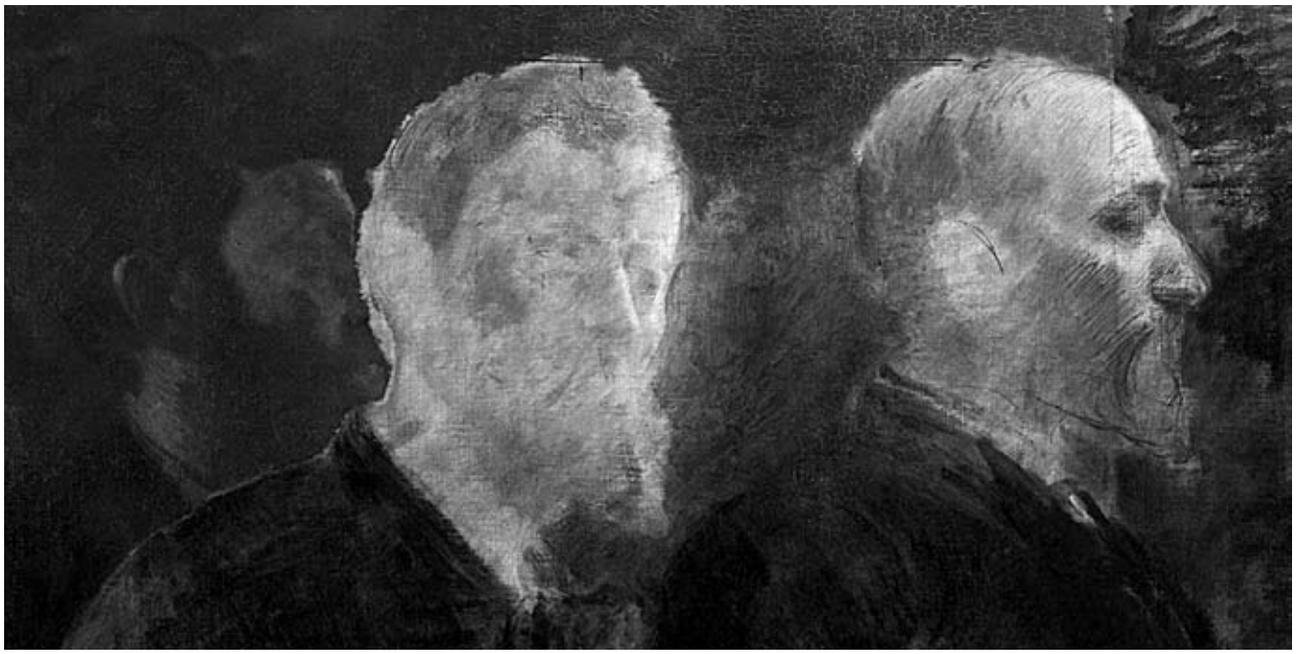
6. Tracing (in red) of a partial diagram of the grid lines in Henry Lerolle's *Organ Rehearsal* (Figure 1) that show with infrared reflectography



7. Infrared reflectogram of a detail of Figure 1, showing the architecture, the squaring lines, and part of the singer



8. Infrared reflectogram of a detail of the two women seated in the foreground of Figure 1, showing the underdrawing, the squaring lines, the various opacities, and the changes made on the figures



9. Infrared reflectogram of a detail of the three standing men in Figure 1, showing the various styles of underdrawing and the squaring lines and registration marks



10. Detail of Figure 1, showing the face of the woman standing behind the organ, where the organ shows through the transparent paint layer

delineating the singer's profile place it at the center of the composition (see Figure 6).

Infrared reflectography also reveals Lerolle's different styles of underdrawing, as well as the sequence in which he depicted the figures. The underdrawing of the singer (see Figures 5, 7) shows smooth, sinuous, and elegant contour lines freely drawn with pencil. The organ player, the two seated women, and Lerolle and the man to the right of him, whose identity remains uncertain, also show some underdrawing, suggesting that these figures were part of the early arrangement of the composition. Infrared examination revealed no sign of underdrawing, however, for Lerolle's mother and the young man standing directly behind the artist. Furthermore, these figures were painted over the organ pipes and the brown background, showing that Lerolle added them after completing the initial composition. These observations concur with reviews of the 1885 Salon, in which critics described only four figures listening to the singer and the organ player.

The underdrawing of the young woman seated at the right (either Jeanne or Madeleine) reveals the same delicate contour lines as in the figure of the singer, as well as the hatching technique often observed in Lerolle drawings. The squaring lines clearly visible through her back and her cheek (see Figure 8) also suggest that the artist probably worked from a preparatory drawing. Infrared confirmed a significant pentimento partly visible to the naked eye: Lerolle painted out this figure's black-rimmed hat, which was identical to the one her sister is wearing. This appears to be a deliberately bold decision, for depicting a bareheaded woman inside a church would have been unconventional and rather provocative in the 1880s.[23] Other visible signs of reworking include the shifting forward of the right ear of the sister on the left and some paint scraping marks in the back of her hair. These observations confirm the artist's own account. In a letter dated May 2, 1885, after he had seen the painting at the Salon, Lerolle wrote to Chausson: "You must have noted that Jeanne changed position and that she even became Madeleine."[24]

Infrared examination confirmed that Lerolle and the man standing to the right of him were both part of the original

composition (Figure 9). Both figures were precisely outlined and painted before the background. A squaring line along the top of both men's heads and a registration mark indicating the center of Lerolle's face are clearly legible. The drawing of the two men's features is quite different. Lerolle drew the standing man's face with a combination of his familiar sinuous contour lines and hatching, capturing the strong features of the profile, yet for his self-portrait he loosely drew some thin and discontinuous lines, only vaguely indicating the contours of the face. He then defined his own features in paint, which he applied rather thinly. Due to the increasing transparency of the thin paint layer over time and the lack of strong drawing lines, his features, and especially the direction and expression of his eyes, have become difficult to read. Infrared reflectography revealed that Lerolle adjusted the position of his right eye and that his gaze was directed into the distance.

Conversely, infrared examination of the younger man standing behind Lerolle shows no underdrawing, and the darker tone showing under his face demonstrates that he was painted on top of the brown background. His features appear blurred, and his face seems to have been "squeezed in" around Lerolle's clearly outlined contours. Evidently the initial composition did not leave many options for later additions. The figure of Lerolle's mother is nearly transparent when viewed using infrared reflectography, allowing the organ beneath her to be fully revealed. The increased transparency of the paint used for her flesh tones has allowed underlying elements to show through her face (Figure 10). These observations confirm the hypothesis that the two figures were added after the painting was shown at the 1885 Salon.

Other pentimenti are visible to the naked eye. Most prominently, the organ player was shifted to the left. Lerolle also painted out the music sheets that were once propped up on the keyboard and instead depicted them lying flat (see Figure 1). Their original position would have disrupted the spatial unity of the open white background, weakening the lyrical impression of the empty space being filled by the singer's voice.

Music and painting were forever connected for Lerolle in *The Organ Rehearsal*. To a dealer who was interested in purchasing his painting at the 1885 Salon on condition the artist cut it in half, discarding the part "where there is nothing," Lerolle responded: "I would rather cut the other half away, where there is something; because my painting is precisely about where there is nothing. . . . The fact is that the whole empty side of the church is where I attempted to depict the voice of a singer vibrating in the air."[25]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Gary Tinterow, Rebecca Rabinow, and Charlotte Hale for their help in the preparation of this article. Thanks to George Bisacca and Alan Miller for assisting with the structural work on the stretcher. Julie Arslanoglu, Silvia Centeno, and Mark Wypyski conducted the scientific analyses. Thanks also to Lucy Belloli and Michael Gallagher and to Barbara Bridgers. Jean-Michel Nectoux was generous in sharing his research. I was fortunate enough to meet Olivier Lerolle and his daughter Agathe Lerolle, who have taken such an enthusiastic interest in the project.

NOTES

1. Lerolle bought *Catholic Mystery* (1890) by Denis. From Pierre Bonnard, he bought *L'après midi au jardin* in 1891 and *La femme au canards* in 1892. See Terrasse 1999, pp. 21–28. After reading Denis's 1890 article "Définition du néo-traditionnisme," Lerolle wrote to Denis: "I read [it] with interest and even more than interest" (Groom 2001, p. 42).
2. Denis 1932, p. 6.
3. In 1900 Lerolle exhibited *La toilette* and three portraits, one of which represents an older woman, possibly his mother, in an arrangement reminiscent of his earlier portrait of her that dates from about 1895, now in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. See Exposition Universelle 1900, pp. 92, 142.
4. See Lafenestre 1885, p. 46, no. 1553. The painting was given various titles after it came to the MMA: *Rehearsal in the Choir Loft, The Organ Rehearsal, At the Organ*.
5. Arthur Fontaine collected the works of numerous modern artists and friends, among them Bonnard, Denis, Eugène Carrière, Odilon Redon, Pierre Auguste Renoir, and Édouard Vuillard. He owned two oil paintings by Lerolle: *Jeunes femmes au bord du chemin* and *Vase of Flowers* (dates unknown). His collection was sold in Paris in April 1932 at the Hôtel Drouot; see Fontaine sale 1932. By 1905 the Fontaines were divorced; Marie later married Abel Desjardins.
6. She was also the subject of Vuillard's *Madame Fontaine au Piano* (1904, private collection) and Denis's *Maternité au lit jaune* (1896, collection G. Rau).
7. See note 24 below.
8. Madeleine's portrait was painted by Henri Fantin Latour (*Madame Lerolle*, 1882) and Albert Besnard (*Madeleine Lerolle and Her Daughter Yvonne*, ca. 1879–80). Both paintings are in the Cleveland Museum of Art; see Weisberg 1977.
9. A hypothesis is that he could be the brother of the Escudier sisters.
10. Numerous maintenance and restoration campaigns have been undertaken since it premiered, most recently in 1992 by Bernard Dargassies.
11. Lerolle's third-class medal in 1879 and his first-class medal in 1880 entitled him to this privilege (White and White 1965, p. 31). *À l'orgue* was entered as no. 1553, "H.2m35–L.3m60, Fig. de grandeur naturelle, en pied" (Lafenestre 1885, p. 46).
12. Michel 1885, p. 495: "Le tableau de M. Lerolle A l'orgue est malheureusement incomplet."
13. Ponsonailhe 1885, p. 11; Énault 1885, p. 11.
14. Lafenestre 1885, p. 46, no. 1553.

15. *L'Illustration (journal universel)*, no. 88 (December 25, 1886), pp. 438–39.
16. Fiber analysis was performed by Maya Naunton, assistant conservator, MMA Textile Conservation Department.
17. The canvas was first sized with a layer of glue, a standard preparation procedure isolating the canvas fibers from the oxidation of drying oil contained in both the ground and subsequent paint layers.
18. Ground layer analysis was performed by Julie Arslanoglu of the MMA Department of Scientific Research using Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectroscopy and pyrolysis gas chromatography mass spectrometry (PyGC/MS). No traces of chalk and/or quartz were detected. Pigment analysis carried out by Silvia Centeno of the Department of Scientific Research using Raman spectroscopy confirmed the presence of lead white; the black pigment is a carbon-containing material, and the red is an iron oxide containing pigment, such as a red earth pigment.
19. The printed label of another artists' supplier, "Pottier, emballeur de Tableaux et Objects d'art," and the name "Lerolle" handwritten in ink were discovered glued onto the reverse of the stretcher (the side in direct contact with the canvas). While the stamp indicates that this individual's main business was the packing of artworks, it is possible that like other Parisian color men and dealers at the time, he would also have facilitated special orders of materials for artists.
20. The only known related drawing is a printed illustration of the singer drawn by Lerolle after his painting for *La gazette des beaux-arts* (Michel 1885, p. 489). Lerolle is known to have used less traditional procedures. For *L'Adoration des Bergers* (1883, Musée de Carcassonne), he squared his composition using a photograph rather than a drawing, as was more customary. The photograph, which has remained in the family, shows an interior view of an underground cowshed with Lerolle himself standing in the foreground. The dark numbered squaring lines were traced directly on the emulsion side. Lerolle sketched some figures with pencil on the emulsion as well, thus working out his composition. See Weisberg 1985.
21. The paint layer was analyzed with portable X-ray fluorescence (XRF) instrumentation by Mark Wypyski and Julie Arslanoglu of the Department of Scientific Research. XRF allows nondestructive analysis of nonorganic pigments.
22. Some dark brown tide-lines were present mostly in the upper half of the picture, disrupting the unity of the light background. Such lines could possibly be remnants of the vernissage, or varnishing day, when a varnish layer was traditionally, and often hurriedly, applied before opening day at the Salon. They were reduced and retouched during the conservation treatment.
23. I am grateful to Jean-Michel Nectoux for having brought this observation to my attention.
24. My thanks to Jean-Michel Nectoux for sharing this information with me. The letter belongs to the Lerolle family archives.
25. Lerolle's autobiographical notes (author's translation); see Nectoux 2005, p. 67.

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Gertrude Stein's Brooches

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A deep orange-red brooch worn by Gertrude Stein produces a rare spot of color in the predominantly brown portrait that Pablo Picasso painted of her not long after the two met, probably in late 1905 or 1906 (Figure 1).[1] The oval brooch, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Figure 2), is made of a gently domed coral set within a silver border decorated with a design of alternating round and square shapes. Picasso omitted the silver setting, painting instead a darker orange border. In the painting, the brooch clasps together the two sides of a white scarf that Stein wore in a number of photographs over the years.[2] As countless images of women from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attest, wearing a brooch at one's neck was much in vogue. Stein, however, wore no other jewelry, shunning rings, earrings, and other decorative ornaments.

Stein claimed that her brooch was the first thing her lifelong partner, Alice B. Toklas, noticed when they were introduced to each other in Paris in 1907. She included Toklas's supposed description of their meeting in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (written by Stein herself): "There I went to see Mrs. [Michael] Stein who had in the meantime returned to Paris, and there at her house I met Gertrude Stein. I was impressed by the coral brooch she wore and by her voice."[3] In her own memoirs Toklas included a similar account:

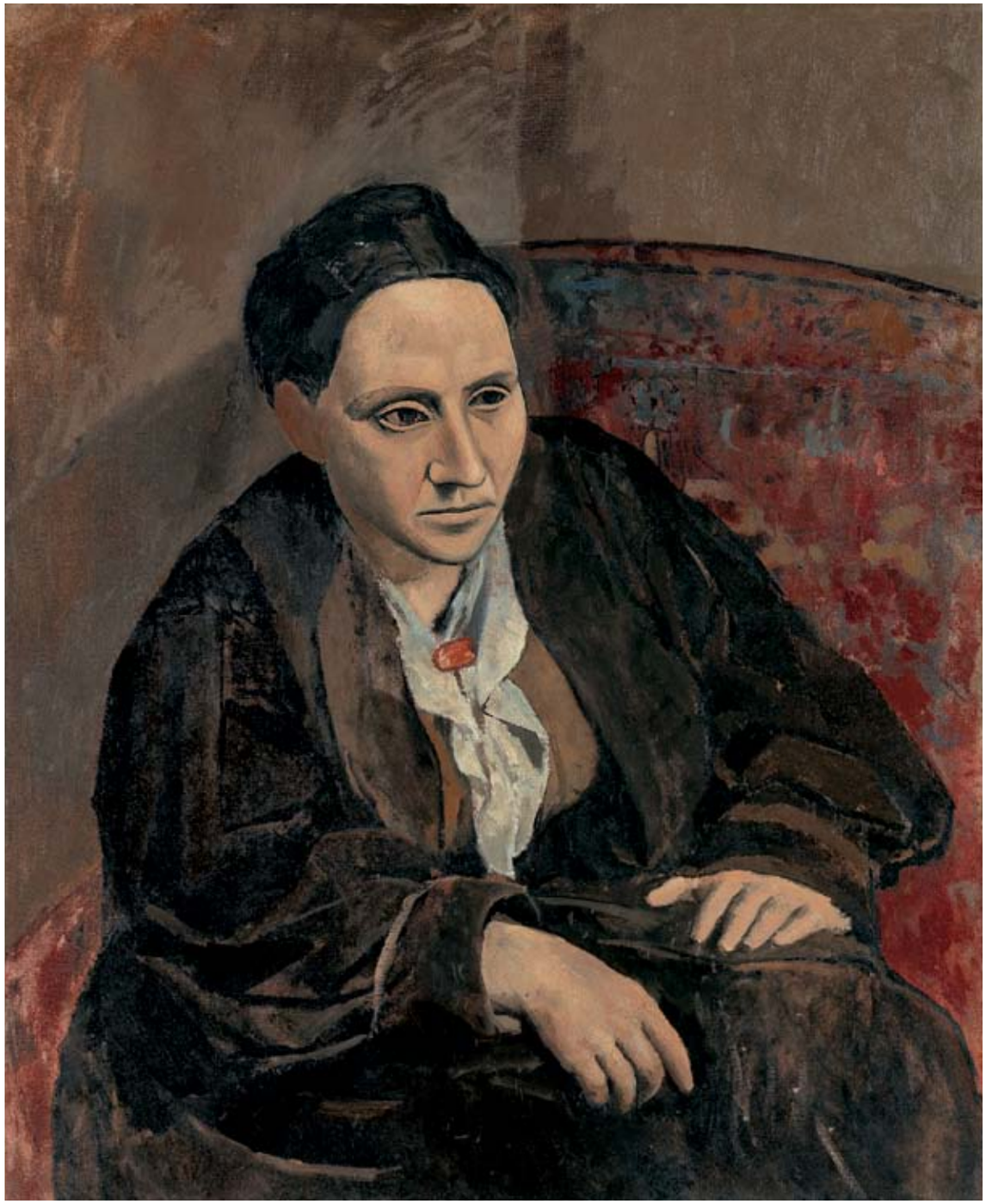
> In the room were Mr. and Mrs. [Michael] Stein and Gertrude Stein. It was Gertrude Stein who held my complete attention, as she did for all the many years I knew her until her death, and all these empty ones since then. She was a golden brown presence, burned by the Tuscan sun and with a golden glint in her warm brown hair. She was dressed in a warm brown corduroy suit. She wore a large round coral brooch and when she talked, very little, or laughed, a good deal, I thought her voice came from this brooch.

When at Stein's invitation Toklas visited her at her studio on rue de Fleurus the next day, Stein "was very different from the day before. . . . She was now a vengeful goddess and I was afraid." By the time she had changed her clothes and was ready to take Toklas for a walk, however, "a smile had broken through the gloom and she laughed again from her brooch."[4]

The coral on the brooch fits tightly within its silver border, which on the reverse (see Figure 2) has lines radiating outward that only roughly match the divisions of square and round shapes on the front side. The silver setting, so clearly handmade, was cast and then finished by hammering. It has been said that the pin was a gift to Gertrude from her brother Leo, who was two years older than she, and that it may have been made either by Leo or by his and Gertrude's older brother, Michael (who was nine years Gertrude's senior).[5] Michael Stein opened a jewelry-making establishment in Paris sometime between 1906 and 1908. But Gertrude clearly owned the brooch long before that, for she is wearing it in two photographs taken in the summer of 1903 (see Figures 3, 4), when she was traveling in Italy with Claribel and Etta Cone, her friends from Baltimore who were to become great art collectors.[6] It is more likely, therefore, that the brooch was made by Leo, with whom she had made several trips to Europe between 1896 and 1903 and into whose studio at 27, rue de Fleurus in Paris she was to move in the fall of 1903.[7] That Leo was the brooch's creator is borne out by the fact that there are no photographs of Gertrude wearing it after she and Leo became estranged. The rift between the siblings had broadened since December 1910, when Toklas also moved into the rue de Fleurus studio; Leo moved out in 1913.[8] In later photographs Gertrude frequently wears instead a round lapis lazuli brooch, much

Metropolitan Museum Journal 45
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1. Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973). *Gertrude Stein*, 1905–6. Oil on canvas, 39⅜ x 32 in. (100 x 81.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Gertrude Stein, 1946 (47.106). ©2010 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



2. Leo Stein (American, 1872–1947). Brooch (front and back). Coral and silver, 1⅛ x 1½ in. (3 x 3.8 cm). ©Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (M.4-1970)



larger and heavier than the coral brooch, that is also now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Figure 5).[9] The silver border of the round brooch forms a spiral rope pattern that encircles the beautiful pyrite- and calcite-speckled cabochon lapis. The join of silver to stone is not nearly so tight as on the coral brooch. The lapis lazuli brooch might well have been made in the Paris studio owned by Michael Stein (although he was not himself the jeweler, but rather the entrepreneur who put up the money).

The brooches were donated to the Fitzwilliam in 1970 by Mrs. Louise Hayden Taylor, a close friend of both Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas. Louise had met Alice as a girl in Seattle in the 1880s and Gertrude in California in 1899. Later, after they were all expatriates in Paris, the three of them became fast friends.[10] Although they were about the same age, Alice eventually adopted Louise, who then became Alice's heir.[11] This undoubtedly explains how Louise came into possession of the brooches. In 1939 Louise married an Englishman (her second husband) and moved to England, where she lived until her death in Suffolk in 1977. At the time she donated the brooches to the Fitzwilliam, Louise Taylor, clearly a good authority, recorded that Leo had made the coral brooch for Gertrude.



3. Claribel Cone, Gertrude Stein, and Etta Cone in Fiesole, Italy, June 26, 1903. Dr. Claribel and Miss Etta Cone Papers, Archives and Manuscripts Collections, Baltimore Museum of Art (CG.12)



5. Brooch. Lapis lazuli and silver, diam. 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm). ©Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (M.5-1970)



4. Gertrude Stein, Etta Cone, and Claribel Cone in Vallombrosa, Italy, July 1903. Dr. Claribel and Miss Etta Cone Papers, Archives and Manuscripts Collections, Baltimore Museum of Art (CG.10)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Joan R. Mertens, Diana Scarisbrick, and, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Victoria Avery, Lynda Clark, and Julia Poole for their support.

NOTES

1. On the portrait, see, most recently, Tinterow and Stein 2010, pp. 108–15. For a closeup of the brooch in the painting, see ibid., fig. 1, facing p. 3, and for an even closer view, see Autin Graz 1999, p. 75.
2. She wears the scarf, or a similar one, for instance, in a series of photographs Alvin Langdon Coburn took of her at the rue de Fleurus studio in about 1914 (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; reproduced in Stendhal 1994, pp. 76–78).
3. Stein 1933, p. 5.
4. Toklas 1963, pp. 23–24.
5. Giroud (2007, p. 23, fig. 22) says that the brooch was "a present from Leo and possibly his or Michael's own creation." The Fitzwilliam Museum website (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguedetail.html?&priref=81968&_function_=xslt&_limit_=10) reports that when the brooch was accessioned in 1970 it was "said to be 'by Leo Stein.' It might have been by her other brother, Michael Stein, who set up a jewellery business in Paris possibly as early as 1906 and [was] certainly operating in 1908 and 1909."
6. Hirschland and Ramage 2008, pp. 9, 44, figs. 1.3, 3.6.
7. See Scarisbrick 1980, p. 19. She describes it as "the brooch in silver and coral created for Gertrude Stein by her brother Leo, circa 1900."
8. On the breakup with Leo, see Wineapple 1996, pp. 362–64.
9. The brooch appears, for instance, in a photograph taken by Carl Van Vechten in 1934 (Addison M. Metcalf Collection of Gertrude Steiniana, Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, California; reproduced in Stendhal 1994, p. 140). Stein also wore different brooches in other photographs.
10. Stein and Van Vechten 1986, p. 189n2.
11. Robert Graves Resources (www.robertgraves.org/trust/persons.php?group_id=0&p=33&search=), the website of the St John's College Robert Graves Trust, a clearinghouse for research on the life and works of the English poet and novelist, lists Louise Redvers Taylor (née Hayden) as "an American and the adopted daughter and heiress of Alice B. Toklas, the companion of Gertrude Stein. She had been formerly Mrs Emmett Addis, and clearly first met Graves and Laura Riding in Mallorca in the 1930's. By 1948 she was married to Lt Col R. H. Redvers Taylor (1900–1975). Louise Taylor died on 21 July 1977 at a Nursing Home in Suffolk."

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