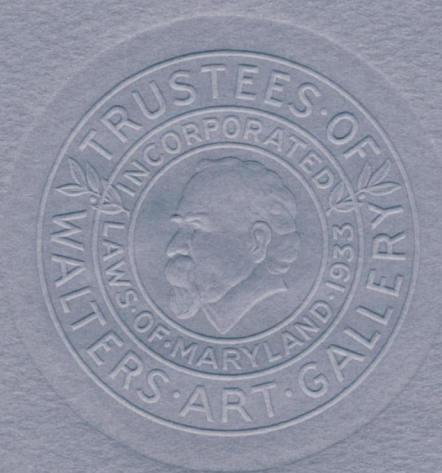


THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



1939

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

VOLUME II
1939

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FIGURE 1

SPOLETAN MASTER, PROBABLY ALBERTO SOTIO
Virgin Mary (detail)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ALBERTO SOTIO AND HIS GROUP

SPOLETAN PAINTING IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY EVELYN SANDBERG-VAVALA

Florence, Italy

IN THE WALTERS GALLERY at Baltimore the Italian Dugento is but slightly represented. It possesses, however, a very noble if incomplete example of a far rarer century—the one immediately preceding. Having briefly touched upon this lovely fragment on a former occasion,¹ when it was still known to me only by photograph, it is now my desire to return to my argument, since the study of this piece in itself as color and technique has only served to strengthen my opinion that we have here the fragment of the center board of a large Umbrian, or more precisely Spoletan, Crucifix of the end of the twelfth century. Emboldened by a first-hand acquaintance, I would now go as far as to ascribe it tentatively to the chief master of the school of Spoleto, Alberto Sotio, whose signed Crucifix of 1187 in the local Cathedral (fig. 5), is the principal pivot of our knowledge of him and of his group.²

The careful and accurate restoration* of the “*Mater Dolorosa*” at Baltimore (fig. 2) has re-

vealed the full beauty of its line and a high elegance of detail. Let us notice especially for future reference the dainty dot-pattern on the mantle, the treatment of the flat, pearl-edged bands on the head-veil and the lower hem, the drawing of the pointing right hand, and the curious primitive, somewhat opaque appearance of the large dark iris. What we shall not easily match even in the work of Sotio is the noble rhythm of the drapery, both its outline and its inner folds, an inimitable run of that darting middle pleat line in the Virgin’s robe, which seems to function much as the trill inserted in a line of pure Mozartian melody. To those who have steeped themselves in the Italian Dugento and duly appraised its relative timidity of individual invention, its impersonality, its careful observance of recognized customs and broad-spread convention, this bit of brilliant flourish is as delightful as unexpected, and is in itself a hint of genius.

To the left of the figure of the Virgin we may note four circular patterned discs of delicate out-

¹ *La Croce Dipinta Italiana* (Verona, 1929), p. 626. The panel is numbered 1155; tempera on parchment on wood; measurements: 34" x 10¼". The Sotio cross of 1187 and that in the Spoleto Gallery also are painted on a parchment ground.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 613. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte*, V (Milan, 1904), p. 3; R. van Marle, *Schools of Italian Painting*, I (The Hague, 1923), pp. 192 ff.; U. Gnoli, *Pittori e miniatori dell'Umbria*

(Spoleto, 1923), p. 15. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte Italiana* (Milan, 1915 etc.), p. 931.

* The restoration consisted of affixing loose paint-particles to the parchment and the solidifying of the badly worm-eaten panel upon which the parchment was fastened, careful cleaning of the paint surface and filling in the few disturbing missing areas with neutral color. *Ed.*



FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
SPOLETAN MASTER
PROBABLY ALBERTO SOTIO
Virgin Mary

line. These are the remains of a border pattern which will once have encircled the whole margin of the Crucifix from which our figure was cut. Let these be compared with very similar depressions, four in number, which alternate with the bands of ornament on the cruciform nimb of the "Crucified Christ" at Spoleto (fig. 3).

There is but one objection to a definite attribution to Sotio, and that is the lovely and unusual coloring, with clear blues in predominance.³ Sotio's cross does not share that colorism, which is, on the other hand, exhibited by the two sadly ruined Spoletan crosses in the Museum and at Vallo di Nero.⁴ Their state does not permit of a definite opinion if they are by Sotio or a forerunner or a contemporary. I am inclined to believe that their coloristic peculiarities divide them from him, but he uses that clear bluish color scheme at times in his frescoes in the crypt of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Spoleto. Be that as it may, there can be no question of master and scholar in a derogatory sense. Although they are ruined, the two Crucifixes of Vallo di Nero and the Gallery at Spoleto are by no means inferior to Sotio's own work. Perhaps if they were less disfigured we should find them superior to his own production; and the superb Virgin at Baltimore is still higher from the point of view of esthetics.

The cleaning of the cross of Alberto Sotio has revealed one feature of which, when I wrote in 1927, I was unaware. I then described the Ascending Christ as *seated* in the oval mandorla; for the top of the Crucifix was then barely decipherable. He is on the other hand *striding upwards in profile* according to the old 'Apotheosis formula' of Hellenistic origin and Carolingian

³ This type of coloring is no isolated occurrence, but exists in a certain number of other early works in the schools of Spoleto and Siena. On this argument see Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, p. 620, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 619.

· ALBERTO SOTIO AND HIS GROUP ·

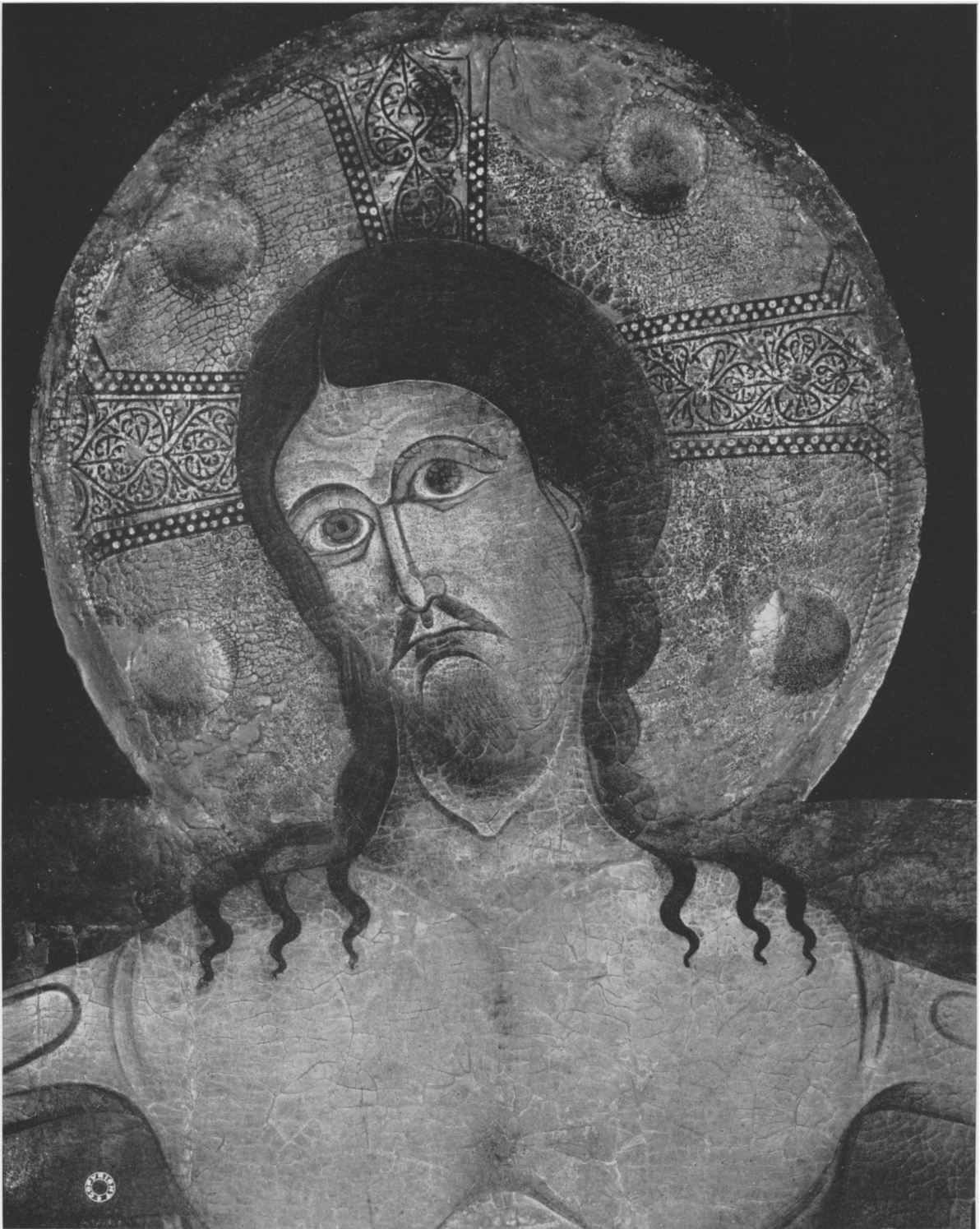


FIGURE 3

SPOLETO, CATHEDRAL

ALBERTO SOTIO
Crucifix of 1187 (detail)
(photo Anderson)



FIGURE 4

SPOLETO, CATHEDRAL

ALBERTO SOTIO
The Ascension; Crucifix of 1187 (detail)
(Insets: Angels from the Stoclet Madonna)

· ALBERTO SOTIO AND HIS GROUP ·

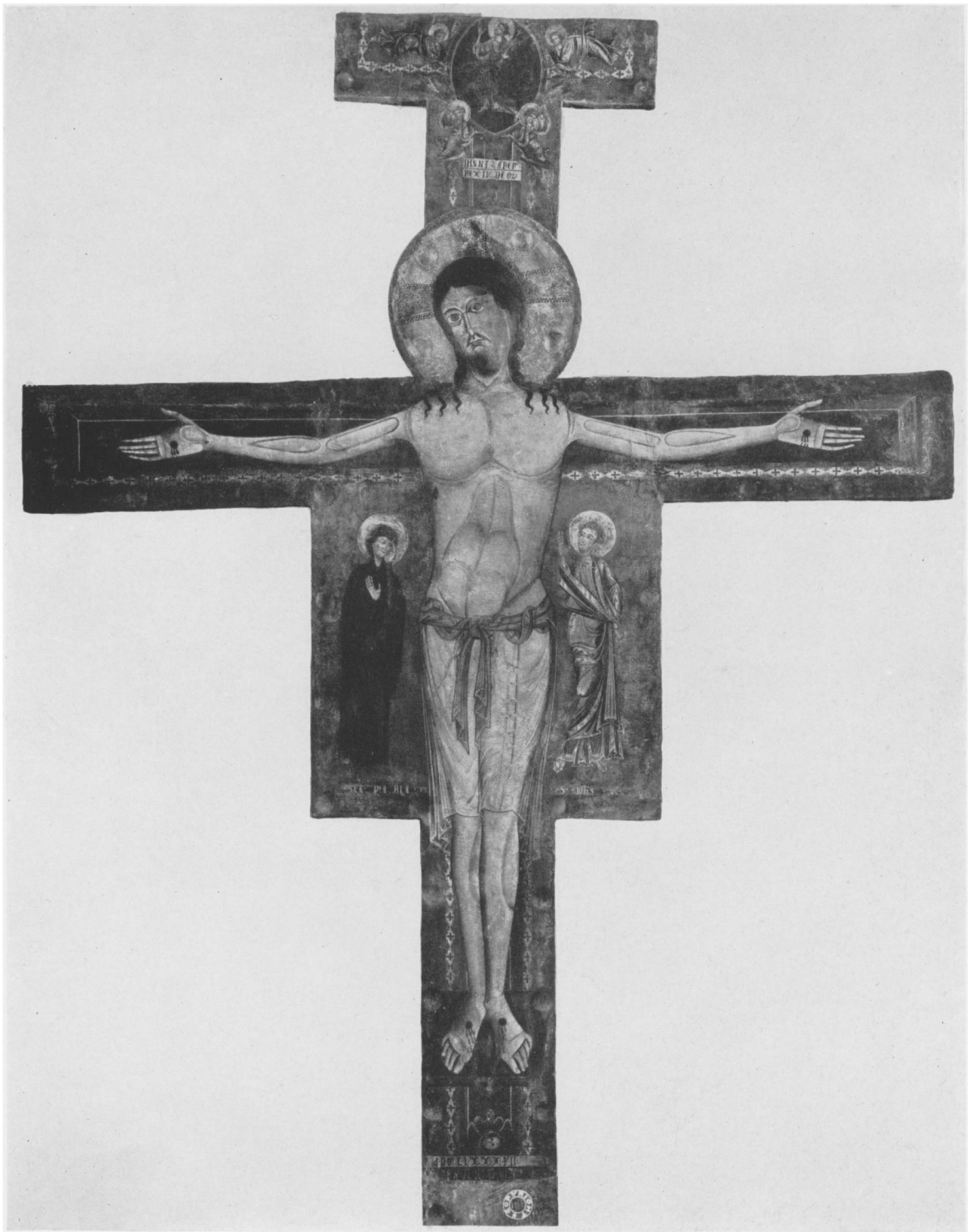


FIGURE 5

SPOLETO, CATHEDRAL

ALBERTO SOTIO
Crucifix of 1187
(photo Anderson)



FIGURE 6

BRUSSELS, STOCLET COLLECTION

ALBERTO SOTIO
Madonna and Child

transmission (fig. 4). This gives us a second example of this very rare iconographic motif so exceptional in Italian iconography.⁵

The cross of 1187 of Sotio, the damaged crosses of Vallo di Nero and the Spoleto Museum, the Virgin of the Walters Gallery, a very minor fragment at Perugia (fig. 7)⁶—this is our complete material for the first phase of the Spolitan school of panel painting. All other Crucifixes are definitely later and equally definitely inferior, for the evolution of this school after its brilliant beginnings was unfortunately a descending parabola towards rapid extinction. There can still be added, I believe, to this all too scanty list a half-length Madonna in the Stoclet collection at Brussels (fig. 6). Very little known in the literature of Italian painting, I have many years considered it to be very close to Alberto Sotio. The bar of color, which involves our qualificatory point of doubt in the attribution of the Baltimore fragment, does not here come into play. The coloring, dark and sober, with contrasted pinky flesh color in the Child's drapery, does not belong to the curious blue category, and it agrees in general with that of the cross of 1187. The picture has passed for a work of the thirteenth century,⁷ but careful study forbids this too superficial decision. It is more primitive than any thirteenth-century example of good quality and its character is entirely incompatible with retardataire or semi-rustic production. With Sotio and his group we have in common a characteristic treatment of the band of pearl-edged contrasting color on the mantle and at the wrist; his characteristic beading recurs for the



FIGURE 7 PERUGIA, ART GALLERY
NEAR ALBERTO SOTIO
Virgin Mary (fragment)

Child's necklace; the Child's elaborate and unusual girdle may be compared to that of the Crucified on the Crucifix of 1187, His hand as it closes on the scroll with the Virgin's hand at Baltimore. As to types, the Virgin herself compares closely with the Christ Himself (fig. 10) and also with the *Virgine Dolente* of the Crucifix of 1187 (figs. 8, 9) and the Child's somewhat angular face with that of St. John opposite (figs. 10, 11). Finally the angels from the spandrels of

⁵ The other example is also Umbrian and of Sotio's period, or a little later—the cross now revered in Sta. Chiara at Assisi as having spoken to St. Francis. *Ibid.*, p. 623. For the discussion of this type of *Ascension* see *ibid.*, p. 172, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 626.

⁷ Van Marle in *Pantheon*, IV (1929), 318, assigns it to the middle of the thirteenth century and to the Roman school, noting something "popular" in its style. See also E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *Iconografia della Madonna* (Siena, 1933), p. 53.



FIGURE 8 BRUSSELS, STOCLET COLLECTION
ALBERTO SOTIO
Madonna and Child (detail)



FIGURE 9 SPOLETO, CATHEDRAL
ALBERTO SOTIO
Virgin; detail of Crucifix of 1187

FIGURE 10 BRUSSELS, STOCLET COLLECTION
ALBERTO SOTIO
Christ Child (detail)



FIGURE 11 SPOLETO, CATHEDRAL
ALBERTO SOTIO
St. John; detail of Crucifix of 1187



the frame have been inset in figure 4 of the Ascension from the Crucifix for purposes of comparison.⁸

In the presence of so many links, is it too hazardous to suggest that we have a work of Alberto Sotio himself? The importance of the discovery is considerable. We have no Madonna picture in the whole Spoletan group, which up to now has consisted entirely, as far as panels are concerned, of Crucifixes and their fragments, and this is true not only of Sotio but also of his followers, both documented and anonymous, to the end of the brief Spoletan tradition.

To take another line of argument: the Stoclet picture cannot, I believe, be inserted into any good Dugento group even in the most approximate way. It has certainly clearly pre-Dugentesque elements. Note, for instance, the angular line of the Child's tunic at the neck and its highly unusual fold-system.

As our knowledge of this earliest phase of Italian painting slowly widens and intensifies,

we may hope little by little to increase the number of safe attributions to the twelfth century. The case of Madonna pictures is the most difficult of all, because the models used were all equally Byzantine and did not vary between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor indeed until the Italians themselves began to introduce iconographic modifications towards the close of the latter century. On the other hand in the case of Crucifixes there is a total formal upheaval about 1230 and it is easy to prove that a relatively large number of examples are earlier than this date and in many cases are products of the twelfth century.

⁸ In the comparison of the Madonna panel with the Crucifix two factors should be taken into account: (1) the cross is painted on parchment and has the firm, wiry finish of a miniature. (2) the panel is somewhat rubbed. As detailed comparisons, note the curve which defines the swelling of the chin in the Stoclet Virgin and the Spoleto Christ; the similarity of what is seen of the ear in both cases; the double line under the eye in both. The drawing of the outlines in the Stoclet picture, with clear decided strokes of different colors, black, brown, reddish, is definitely of a primitive, pre-Dugentesque style.

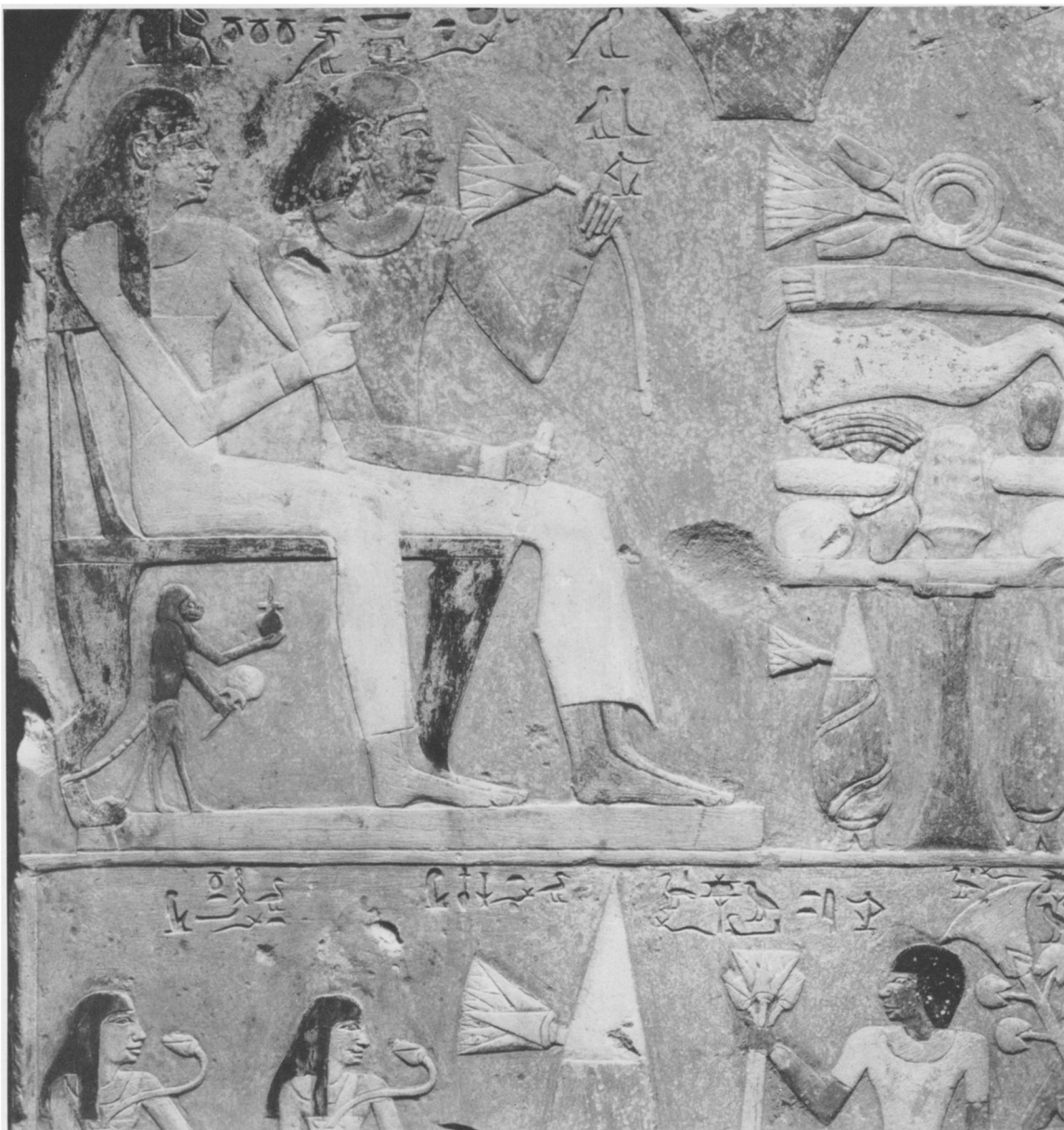


FIGURE 1

Funeral Stela (detail); Tembe and Tanene

WALTERS ART GALLERY

AN EGYPTIAN STELA OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

BY HERMANN RANKE

Acting Curator of Egyptology, University Museum, Philadelphia

AMONG THE objects of Egyptian sculpture which today are preserved in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore, there is one piece which deserves especial consideration not only because of its artistic merits, but also for another reason. It is a limestone stela¹ (fig. 2) decorated with painted reliefs, of the early New Kingdom (about 1500 B. C.), and shows in a remarkable way the characteristics of a period which, after the general cultural decay of the time of the Hyksos rule, was approaching a new stage of perfection. This lends to it a rare charm, which is likely to impress the specialist as well as the general friend and lover of ancient Egyptian art.

The carving of this stela, evidently the work of a highly gifted artist, reveals the beginnings of a

new style, which when crystallized was to express a new feeling and a new conception of the universe, totally different from that of the Old and Middle Kingdoms: the conception of the Egyptian Empire. There is no sophistication yet, but rather a self-conscious, delicate tentativeness and beneath, in spite of this tentativeness, a remarkably convincing assuredness of expression.

Below a curved top adorned with the sacred eyes and, between them, some symbolic signs,² two registers of reliefs are seen, arranged one above the other. The upper register shows the owner of the stela, the "superintendent,"³ Tembe,⁴ and his wife, the "mistress of the house," Tanene,⁵ seated⁶ on a comfortable broad chair⁷ with lion's legs⁸ (fig. 1). They are sitting in front of a lavishly laden

¹ The stela bears the registration number 22.92. There are no records about its provenience or of the date of its acquisition. It is 66 cm. tall, 46 cm. wide. The colors, which are remarkably well preserved, are the following: The background for the reliefs and inscriptions is yellow. The hieroglyphics are painted blue; the reliefs: white (garments, vase-stoppers), blue (lotus blossoms, plants under and on offering table, bracelets and necklaces), black (wigs, chair, ape, iris and rims of symbolic eyes, leg of meat), red (bodies of men, pots, table-leg, center of ring, symbolic vase, stems of flowers, and the remainder of the offerings), and yellow (flesh of women). The border at the sides and top of the stela is painted red; that at the bottom is the natural limestone with yellow hieroglyphics.

² The meaning of these signs—a ring, the sign of water, and a vase—has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Cf., however, Norman de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Tytus Memorial Series*, I (New York, 1917), p. 47, note 4. The eyes were probably meant for

protection and may have been intended for averting the evil eye.

³ Of what he was a "superintendent," is not mentioned.

⁴ The name occurs here for the first time, and I have no explanation for it. But it may be identical with Tjembe, cf. Hermann Ranke, *Aegyptische Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 391, 4, and should be compared with names like Bembe, *ibid.*, p. 96, 15 (cf. Benbe, *ibid.*, p. 97, 12); Shembe (?), *ibid.*, p. 328, 2; Penbe, *ibid.*, p. 133, 7, 8 (cf. p. 107, 9); Embe, etc., *ibid.*, p. 26, 5-9; and perhaps Empe, etc., *ibid.*, p. 26, 10-13; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 391, 3.

⁵ The reading of this hitherto unknown name is not absolutely certain, cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, II (Leipzig, 1928), 215 and 272. Without the article, the name is found in the Middle Kingdom and late, cf. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 206, 14. Tanene(t) would probably mean "the young girl" or something similar. The corresponding masculine name, without the article, occurs in the New Kingdom, cf. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 206, 10. Similar forms *ibid.*, p. 206, 9, 11-13.

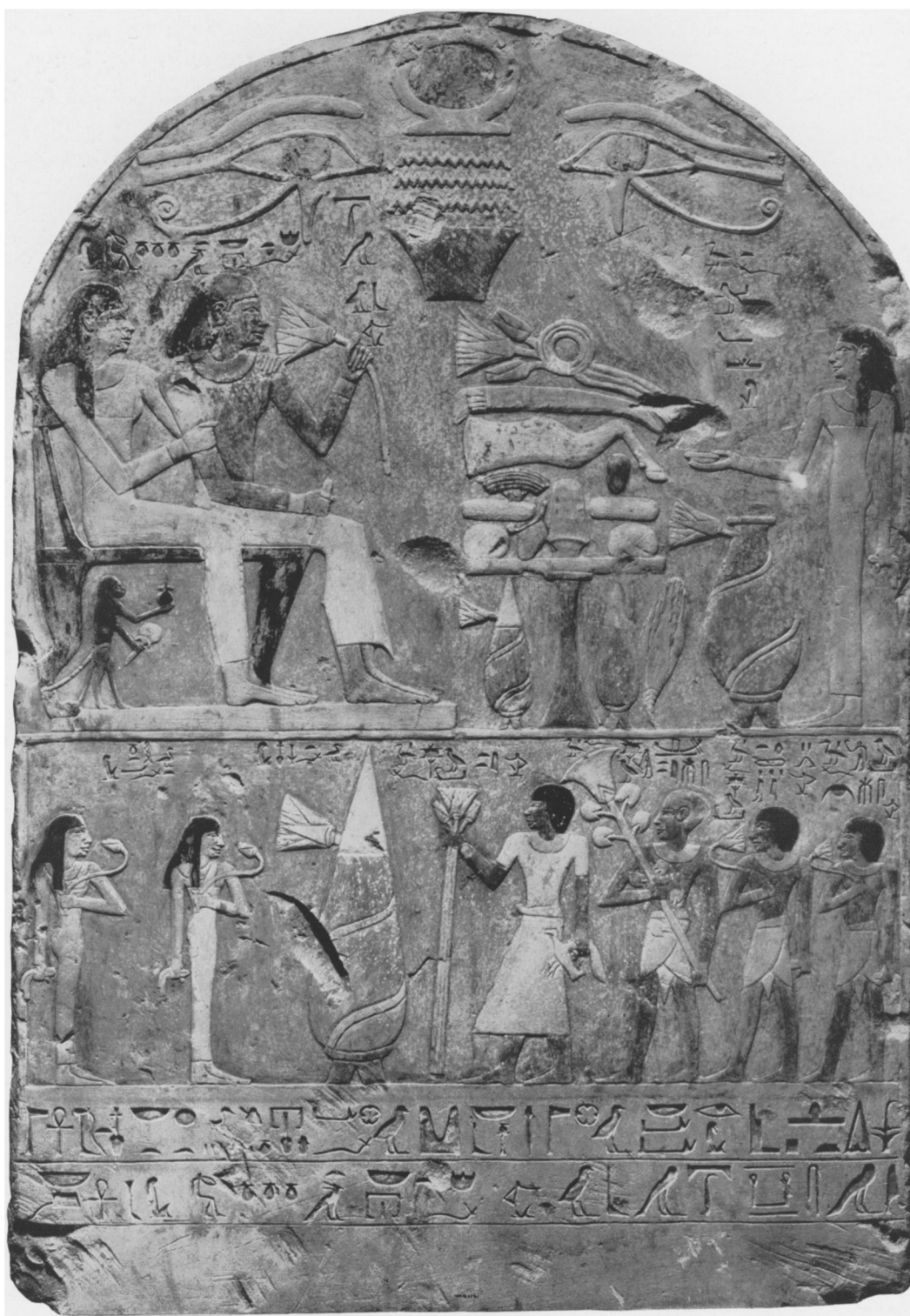


FIGURE 2

Funeral Stela, Early New Kingdom

WALTERS ART GALLERY

stone table placed on a high stand, and beyond this we see "his daughter," Maha, who is extending toward her parents a small bowl of wine. In the lower register, drawn on a smaller scale, two more daughters of the couple are depicted, Sany-nafe and Henwet-ha (?), facing their four brothers, Tety, Tety-mase, Ta-ew,⁹ and Ah-mase (fig. 2), from whom they are separated by a huge decorated pot with a clay stopper, painted white. Below this second register there are two lines of inscriptions, promising to Tembe and his wife the gifts of food and drink so eagerly desired for the life after death, or, as the Egyptians put it, "bread and beer, oxen and geese and all (other) good pure things, from which the god lives," from "Osiris, the lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos."¹⁰

At a first glance, one might have doubts whether the stela should not rather be dated to the Middle Kingdom. The adoration scene, showing the tomb-owner praying before Osiris or another deity—so characteristic of the New Kingdom—is missing. There are no religious conceptions at all. The tightly fitting garment of Tanene, fastened with two shoulder-straps and leaving the breasts uncovered, is exactly like those of the Middle Kingdom. None of the persons is wearing sandals. Father Tembe, with the upper part of his body naked and his longish kilt ending in an elegantly curved point, is clad exactly as a good middle-class gentleman of the twelfth dynasty. But when we look a little more closely, these doubts definitely must be discarded.

Quite aside from the fact that three of Tem-



FIGURE 3 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Funeral Stela, Early New Kingdom
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum)

⁶ The lady, at the right side of her husband whose left shoulder and right upper arm she touches caressingly, is shown in the foreground of the relief, her knees covering part of his body.

⁷ The chair has no arms but a comfortably constructed back and is placed upon a mat. There does not seem to be a cushion.

⁸ The backward slant of the forelegs is found often in the New Kingdom, especially with the broad chairs intended for two persons. Cf. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, XLV (Cairo, 1909), *passim*. Also cf. Louvre: C60. Brussels: E2162.

In the earlier times, it seems to be very rare. H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1902-), have only one example (20019), and that of the first intermediate period.

⁹ The name is hitherto unknown. It seems to mean "bread has come." For similar contents cf. the name Iy-djefa "may food come!," Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 11, 4.

¹⁰ It cannot be decided definitely whether this stela once served as a tombstone, or merely as a memorial stela set up in the precinct of the temple of Osiris at Abydos, to recommend the whole family to the care of this great god. It may be noted, however, that the mother's name in the lower inscription is followed by the words "who continues living, the revered one." Perhaps the man had died, and it was she who had the stela erected.

be's sons wear the short soldier's kilt¹¹ of the New Kingdom with its sharply pointed middle part, which never is found in earlier times, and apart from some of the names—Teti-mase and Ah-mase—which are typical of the early eighteenth dynasty,¹² there are a number of traits which betray the changing spirit of the early New Kingdom.

Laid over the top of the food is a bouquet which consists of a long-stemmed lotus flower and two buds entwined in a most charming way. There are lotus flowers adorning the two pots on low circular stands in the upper register and a similar pot in the lower register. The use of a flower for adorning a pot is not a new invention, however rarely this custom may be found in the Middle Kingdom,¹³ but there is novelty in the way in which the stem is shown winding around the body of the vase. This indicates the predilection for gracefulness of line which we have just noticed in the bouquet, and which is part of the new artistic feeling. The same is true, and to a still higher degree, of the drawing of the lotus flowers and buds held by two of the sons and two of the daughters of our couple, at the extreme right and left of the lower row. The lines of these lotus flowers have no justification in nature. Every attempt to hold the soft stem of a water lily—and that is the family to which the Egyptian lotus belongs—to form such a curve, would prove utterly futile. It was not the copying of nature that characterized the new artistic feel-

ing, but rather a certain wilful form of the curved line, which at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty was considered beautiful and soon afterward would be considered elegant. There is no elegance yet in this early time. There are no flowing, pleated dresses, no elaborate, sophisticated wigs and collars. The women still wear the simple, undecorated shirt-like garment and the straight, parted wig of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, only in their extremely slender bodies the new spirit seems to find expression.

If we compare the manner of holding the lotus flower¹⁴ in the representations of the lower register of our stela with that of the upper, we may even feel the rendering of a deliberate contrast between the old and younger generation. The father grasps his lotus quite naturally just below the flower; he wears no upper garment, and his kilt shows the pointed end which I mentioned before. To his children who are seen in the lower row, all this doubtless seemed old-fashioned, and they preferred to be represented differently. So their flowers and buds show the fashionable curves of their time, and the oldest son not only wears the modish upper garment, but has his kilt made without the pointed end that during the twelfth dynasty had been the fad of the day, but which to him may have seemed hopelessly out of fashion.¹⁵

Other characteristics of the New Kingdom are the flower bouquets¹⁶ brought by the first

¹¹ Three are designated by a title which may mean "skipper" as well as "mariner." Two of the three are wearing wigs, the third one seems to wear a skull cap over his short clipped hair; their oldest brother, Teti, wears a long kilt and a shirt to cover the upper part of his body. For the sign of a boat following the title "mariner" in the inscription over the second son, cf. K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *München in Ägyptische Grabsteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, ed. W. Spiegelberg, II (Strassburg, 1904), pl. 25 (not quoted by Erman-Grapow). The title of the youngest son, written with a standing man holding a stick in his raised right hand, is perhaps "herdsman."

¹² Cf. G. Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (Oxford, 1912), p. 20 f.

¹³ Cf. Lange-Schäfer, *op. cit.*, Teil IV, pl. 110, no. 870, and its characteristic difference from the examples on our stela!

¹⁴ Heinrich Schäfer was the first one to call attention to this in a most instructive brief article, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXVI (1931), 8-11.

¹⁵ Another difference is that the daughters' garments reach a little higher up, covering the breasts, while the mother's garment leaves them entirely (as was the old custom) or partly uncovered. All persons wear collars and bracelets, whereas anklets, even with the ladies of the older generation, seem to have gone out of fashion.

¹⁶ The first, which the bearer lifts slightly above the ground, consists of three lotus stems, tied together (the ties, probably, were shown in paint only), the center one ending in an open flower, the others in buds. The second consists of a stalk of papyrus with eight lotus leaves attached to it. Both were intended as presents for the father, as was also the bird in the eldest son's left hand.

and second sons, and the arrangement of the food upon the table. While the objects themselves¹⁷ are found in earlier times as well, here they are shown, not packed tightly on top of one another as is the case even in good stelae of the twelfth dynasty but more spaciouly distributed.¹⁸ Especially characteristic of the New Kingdom is the monkey holding a globular unguent vase and a mirror, shown beneath the lady's chair, to which he is attached by a cord around his hips.¹⁹

The distribution of figures and objects over the surface of the stela is quite pleasing. The seated couple dominate the upper register, but they are well balanced by the table with its food and by the slender standing figure of the girl. The empty spaces below the daughter's outstretched arm and the parents' chair are filled by the large stopperless jar²⁰ and the monkey. In the lower register, the greater emphasis is on the right side, where the four men, increasing in size toward the center, are grouped more closely. The left half, where the two daughters are more widely spaced, is brought into balance by the enormous decorated jar and the lotus bouquet, which by virtue of its

slight inclination just passes the center line.

The figures and objects, including the symbolic signs above, have been executed in very low relief, carved by a man whose artistic ability seems to me very considerable. With the exception perhaps of the two younger daughters, whose faces are rather homely, he has represented in his figures the type of human beauty that was the ideal of his time, and the faces of the parents were carved with remarkable care.

As a pleasing contrast to the reliefs, the incised inscriptions with their strongly stylized forms have almost the effect of decorative embroidery or lacework.

If we take all these details into consideration, there can be no doubt as to the date of our stela. It was made sometime in the earlier part of the eighteenth dynasty—perhaps in the reign of Thothmes III—when the spirit of a new era already was at work, but before the new wealth streaming into Egypt from her recently conquered provinces had changed the simplicity of the preceding periods. Artistically, it is the best stela of this type²¹ that has thus far come to my knowledge.

¹⁷ *I. e.*, two round and two oblong loaves of bread or cake surrounding the traditional high loaf on a low pottery bowl, a rib, heart (?) and a joint of an ox, a bunch of leeks, and an unidentified object between the loaves. A head of lettuce, gracefully leaning toward nothing, is inserted between two of the pots.

¹⁸ Cf., e. g., C. Ransom, *The Stela of Menthueser* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1913).

¹⁹ Perhaps another observation should be added: All persons on our stela, sitting or standing, have their hands occupied, if only as in the case of Tembe, his three daughters and the two youngest sons—with a piece of linen, the so-called "handkerchief." A good draughtsman of the New Kingdom seems to have avoided arms hanging down with outstretched, empty hands, which are so common in the Middle Kingdom and so apt to give a wooden, lifeless expression.

²⁰ The jars must have been supposed to contain the necessary beverages, presumably wine and beer. The one without the stopper seems to have been opened for immediate use, and perhaps

it is from the contents of this that the oldest daughter is offering a drink to her parents.

²¹ For examples of a similar kind cf. Berlin: 9610, 20122, 22411; Leipzig: *Kurzer Führer durch das Ägyptische Museum* (Leipzig, 1938), Taf. 3; Louvre: C 60 (photograph in the Egyptological Institute of the University of Heidelberg), C 138 (H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, II (1st ed. Berlin, 1925), p. 344, C 244 (photo. Heidelberg Egypt. Inst.), E 344 (photo. Heidelberg Egypt. Inst.); Florence: Inv. 2508 (photo. Heidelberg Egypt. Inst.), 2498 (Schiaparelli 1555, photo. Heidelberg Egypt. Inst.); stela in Edinburgh, H. Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Phaidon Press, Vienna, 1936), fig. 221. Several stelae in Cairo: (Lacau, *op. cit.*, *passim*); Philadelphia: 29.87.462 (photo. Heidelberg Egypt. Inst.); New York, Metropolitan Museum: 12.182.3. In the last named stela, which is reproduced on fig. 3, the old and the new representation of holding the lotus is distributed in a charming way between women and men, and between buds and flowers in a chiasmic arrangement.

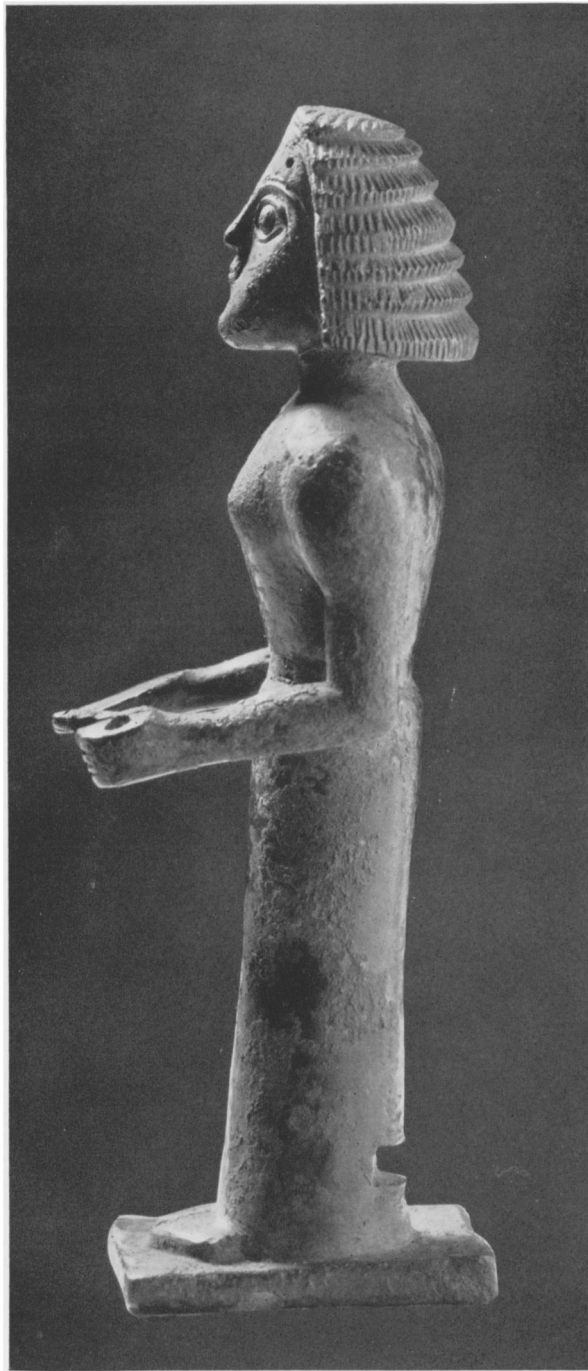


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Statuette of Woman

ONE OF THE EARLIEST GREEK BRONZE STATUETTES

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

FOR MANY years the small bronze statuette here discussed has been known to scholars (figs. 1, 2, 3).¹ It was long in the old Tyskiewicz collection, and was supposed to have been found at ancient Thebes, Boiotia, together with a small male statuette which bears a very early Greek inscription, a naïve dedication and prayer to Apollo by one Mantiklos (figs. 4, 5).² Students have studied these two pieces because they represent closely related steps, early steps, in that remarkable swift upward thrust of artistic achievement from the eighth to the sixth centuries B. C. It was this rapid development which created in Greece a new art, unlike that of all previous civilizations, an art whose ideals no subsequent culture has altogether forgotten. The thin male figure is reminiscent of the spindly dolls assembled of unrelated parts which were produced during the "geometric period," just passed; while the female statuette seems to inaugurate the new Greek type, organized as a whole and thought of as a human being. Upon

the dispersion of the Tyskiewicz collection the figure of the man went to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, that of the woman to Mr. Henry Walters' collection. The whereabouts of the latter figure was long unknown to many scholars, and much of the discussion has been based on rather inadequate old photographs. It therefore is pertinent to describe it anew and to attempt once more to evaluate it.

The Walters statuette is just seven inches tall and is of solid cast bronze. She stands on a square plinth, her toes projecting at the front of her absolutely cylindrical skirt. Her waist line is indicated by a depressed band, above which the body widens to form a deep chest on which the breasts are merely suggested, an almost humped back, and broad sloping shoulders. The arms are bent forward at the elbows. Because of the droop of the shoulders the upper arms appear short. The head, set on a short, thick neck, is large in proportion to the body. The hair extends to sides and back like the top of a pine

¹ Number 54.773. Froehner, *Collection Tyskiewicz* (Sale Catalogue) (Paris, 1898), No. 134, pl. 13; Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, III (Paris, 1920), p. 93, 1; Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 147, fig. 171; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), p. 76, pl. XXII, b; Walters Art Gallery, *Handbook of the Collection* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 29; Goldman, *Festschrift für James Loeb* (Munich, 1930), pp. 71 f. The reference to it in Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (Nuremberg, 1927), p. 30, No. 2, referring it to Sikyon is, I think, a mistake.

² Mill, *Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1903), p. 59, No. 1; Froehner, *Collection Tyskiewicz* (Munich, 1892), pl. XLV; Froehner, *Collection Tyskiewicz* (Sale Catalogue), No. 133, pl. 13; Froehner, in *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Eugène Piot*, II (1895), 137-143, pl. XV; Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 74, pl. XX, fig. C; Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, *Master Bronzes* (Buffalo, 1937), No. 65; Goldman, *loc. cit.*; Kunze in *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*, LV (1930), 160, note 1; Hampe, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (Athens, 1936), p. 36; Müller, *Frühgriechische Plastik* (Augsburg, 1929), pl. 86.



FIGURE 2
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette of Woman

cone, cut off at front and bottom. Back and sides of the hair-mass are storeyed horizontally and marked with thin vertical lines, all cast in, while the front of it has fine vertical and horizontal incisions. The face slopes forward from the forehead to the heavy chin, so that in profile

it is a triangle having a vertical boundary at the edge of the hair-mass.

On this flat face the features were simply indicated with sharp tools after the bronze was cast. The mouth is extraordinarily short, cut off at the ends by chisel-strokes which likewise help shape the short and narrow nose. The eyes are rendered by incised lines. In the center of each is a large circle; around this is an area more nearly oval. The eyebrows are made to project slightly by incising a line above and another below. The resulting face is not realistic and its extremely simplified character lends to it a certain sophistication.

The body, also, is extremely simplified and stylized, rather than true to life. No unpracticed artist, however, could have thought out the profile of the upper part of the body, the back rounded, the front just pointed enough. And the shoulders, as seen from the front, have a surprising beauty of line. The arms are not mere pipes, but expand near the shoulders. Although the skirt is tubular, a slight expansion below the waist line, especially at the back, suggests the human form.

The lady held an object in her hands, but we cannot tell what it was. The right hand is flattened to hold something and has no mark of an attachment. The clenched left fist has a shallow hole in the top, into which the end of a large wire was set. There may have been a saucer on the right, a bow or another saucer on the left.³ Or could she have held an animal, its body on her right hand, its tail held by her left?

That she served some use is apparent from the worn surface at the top of the head and the cutting across the lower back of the skirt. This cutting is chiseled, but is well covered by the patina of time, and was designed to hold a bar

³ Compare the Etruscan figurines published by Magi in *Studi Etruschi*, XII (1938), 267-270, pl. XLVIII. One holds a cup.

for attachment to some object. Bronze figures were very commonly used as decoration for simple Greek household objects and we need not be surprised that our figure was not an independent dedication.

It has often been noticed that this statuette has some affinities to oriental works of art.⁴ Especially interesting are the large chin, which is characteristic of certain Phoenician works, and the headdress, which certainly suggests the wigs of the Egyptians. Both these foreign influences were active in Greece during the seventh and early sixth centuries, the period which we most often describe as "the orientaling period," within whose wide limits our little figurine must be placed.

We see certain resemblances between this statuette and statues and statuettes in other materials. There is usually some similarity between cast bronzes and terra cotta figurines; for both are the result of modeling, and by modeling the sculptor can achieve plastic effects far in advance of the stone sculpture of his age.⁵ Fortunately for us, the Boiotian territory from which this statuette came was in all periods the scene of a great manufactory in terra cotta.

Our bronze woman resembles closely one whole class of early Boiotian terra cotta statuettes. These have round, bell-shaped skirts and full upper parts. A fine one in the Louvre will serve as an example.⁶ Above the bulbous skirt which is drawn in by a belt, the torso spreads out toward the sides. The breasts are too high and too far apart. The garment is terminated at neck and sleeves by a soft line. The arms, their upper part short, extend both forward and sideways, and the hands rest on the head, which is



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Statuette of Woman

⁴ Poulsen, *loc. cit.*, and Goldman, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 8, 42 f.

⁶ Louvre, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, II (Paris, 1936), p. 169, d.



FIGURE 4 BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Bronze Statuette
Dedicated to Apollo by Mantiklos

flanked by heavy hair and has a crude face with large nose. This terra cotta resembles our bronze in its great simplicity, its solidity, and its strong plastic effect. But much more like ours is another terra cotta from Boiotia, also in the Louvre.⁷ This represents a refined young lady dressed in a Doric peplos whose folded "bib" spreads over her upper arms to cover them completely. The contrast of this flat upper part with the absolutely cylindrical skirt and the plastic effect of the bent arms reminds us at once of the similar juxtaposition of surfaces in our bronze. The delicate face of the terra cotta, however, is sufficient to date it much later, in the latter part of the sixth century.

As for the influence of stone cutting—the technique of monumental sculpture—on bronze casting, we are familiar enough with it in the later periods. We see it in the copying of the archaic "Apollo" pose, with left leg forward and arms glued to sides, in numerous bronzes of the late sixth century; the pose, suitable for stone and perhaps copied from Egyptian stone-cutters, is of no real significance in bronze. Also we have fairly late bronzes which are direct copies of primitive cult-images.⁸ But we can also recognize the influence of the stone-cutter on other bronzes such as ours. The round skirt reminds us of the Hera of Samos, and the flatter upper parts are not unsuggestive of the statue dedicated by Nikandra of Naxos. We feel in the bronze an echo of the cutting and polishing which created the stone figures. The face, too, of the bronze lady suggests a stone work in its complete lack of deep indentation; the stone-cutter naturally desires to cut as little as possible and trims his surfaces flat. Indeed, we may see in the structure of the head, the straight line

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁸ For example, the Mariemont Athena from near Sparta, Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 47, b. A rather similar Athena is in the Walters collection.

at the front of the hair, a reminiscence of the cutting technique: the sculptor in stone would cut in from the front to make the face, then cut off the hair from the side. The same process we may see in the earliest known large Greek statue, that found near Levidhi in Arcadia;⁹ the face of this statue is, however, infinitely simpler and more primitive than the bronze. Although since the discovery of this statue we have known that monumental stone sculpture could and did influence small sculpture from the eighth century on,¹⁰ one still recognizes the resemblance of our figure to the first good stone statues, the Hera and the Nikandra, both from the middle of the seventh century B. C.

Compared to the Baltimore statuette, the Boston figure (figs. 4, 5) creates an entirely different impression. He is as much too tall as the lady is too short. His body is abruptly divided into sections instead of flowing softly from part to part, and the divisions seem to emphasize his relation to the geometric age. Especially, his over-thin waist and triangular torso remind us of a previous period. However, he is far from being crude.

The figure is eight inches tall as it now exists, and, if the part below the knees were preserved, it would be something over eleven. The knees are far apart; the thighs, much too short, unite in a square mass which is abruptly cut off at the hips. This area provided good ground for the dedicator, Mantiklos, to inscribe his prayer to Apollo. The torso spreads out from the ridiculously small waist to a fine square pair of beautifully modeled shoulders. The front of the torso is rather flat. It is divided in front by lines: a waist line, a line up the middle, one under the breasts, others indicating the collar bones below which some

⁹ Burr in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXI (1927), 169 ff.

¹⁰ Müller, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V (New York, 1936), 157-167.



FIGURE 5

BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Bronze Statuette
Dedicated to Apollo by Mantiklos

ornaments are incised. Turning to the back, we see a good rounded development and a strong spread of shoulders between which the spinal column is well rendered. The left arm is bent forward at the elbow and was pierced to hold some object, perhaps a bow. The right arm and hand are gone; the indications are that they were in the same position. Above the shoulders rises a neck like a tower, with a deep line up the center front. The hair falls in curls, two at each side in front, five at the back. The face, which is not as long as the neck, is of triangular shape with very pointed chin. The mouth, too short, is well shaped and the nose is naturally and beautifully modeled. The irises of the eyes are great circles hollowed out, probably for inlay. Cutting below and above the circles makes the eyes protrude beyond the cheeks and the eyebrows beyond the eyes. The hair is bound by a small fillet.

That this figure was also used as a decorative part of some useful object is shown by the hole for attachment in the forehead and the marks of an attachment on top of the head.

Parallels for this bronze man in other materials are hard to find. There is no stone statue which looks like it, and none of its details seem to have been limited by the stone-cutter's bounds. I can find terra cotta figurines which resemble it in respect to the neck, but not in other parts. The typical Boiotian seated figure of geometric times, with its face a mere point on which eyes are painted, its flat body incorporated with the chair on which it sits, its arms all but non-existent, is to be compared with this statuette for the abnormally long neck flanked on each side by a heavy curl.¹¹ The long neck appears again in another Boiotian figurine, a jointed doll whose smooth dress is decorated with designs of the later orientализing period.¹² Here the curls happen to be omitted; but we find in the improved facial features and in the decorative

effect of face and neck something nearly analogous to the Boston bronze. Later still, certainly from the sixth century, is a fragmentary terra cotta from Halai, Boiotia, which has the long neck of the others, and, more surprisingly, the pointed face and long curls of our figurine.¹³

Although Mantiklos' figure looks so unlike the little bronze woman, artistic analysis will place it in nearly the same class. It also is extremely simplified and deliberately stylized, unlikelike without being crude. That the triangular shape of the face is the result of choice, not ignorance, can be seen by anyone who studies the delicately shaped chin and nose, with which the staring eyes form a striking contrast. The neck recalls nothing human, but the depressed line up the center and the indication of collar bones below reflect accurate observation of nature. The modeling of the shoulders as seen from the front recalls the profile view of the upper arms of the woman. In the rendering of some details and in the square forms of the body, the Boston statuette differs from the bronze woman; but in the generalization and stylization of forms and in correct observation of details of nature it is like it. I think that it is of about the same date, although it harks back to the spindly dolls of the geometric age.

The strange combination of the primitive and the developed in this statuette and comparisons such as we have just made have led to a great variety of opinions as to its date. But before we are ready to determine the position of these two statuettes in the history of art, we may well study their technique and the history of bronze techniques in Greece. These figures were cast, and well cast. A detailed study by Casson¹⁴ has

¹¹ Louvre, *Encyclopédie photographique*, II, p. 164, a; Charbonneau, *Les terres cuites grecques* (Paris, 1936), p. 4.

¹² Louvre, *Encyclopédie photographique*, II, p. 165, d; Charbonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹³ Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

¹⁴ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLII (1922), 207-219.

shown that statuettes in Greece, after the downfall of the Cretan-Mycenaean civilization, which produced good bronze casting, at first were wrought entirely by hammering and welding bars of metal. Only later were the figures first cast, then hammered and welded to the desired shape. Later still, figures were cast in the desired form and only slightly retouched with chisel and point. We naturally would expect to see the influence of the beaten technique on the cast bronzes, the influence greater in the earlier cast figures since they are closest in date to the beaten statuettes.

We may estimate the position of our statuettes in the series of bronzes by comparing them with three bronzes found at Delphi (figs. 6, 7, 8).¹⁵ Unless I am greatly mistaken, those at the left and right in the illustration were made by hammering and show the results of this process applied to male and female types, while the central figure of a tall helmeted man was cast. In making the first male figure one started with a bar, of about the thickness that the waist was to be (fig. 6). The lower part was split to form legs, and the legs were beaten into round shape. The hips and shoulders were formed by flattening the bar until it was broad, very broad at the shoulders; then extra pieces were added to these shoulders, and the round arms were beaten out of them. It was then an easy matter to shape a crude head on the end of the bar. Scratch some features on the face and some decorative lines on the belt, and the statuette is finished. The draped female figurine was made in the same way (fig. 8). It is noteworthy how nearly the same size are the skirt, the waist, the neck, and the head. It was necessary merely to beat out



FIGURES 6, 7, 8
Bronze Statuettes of Two Warriors and a Woman
(After Zervos) DELPHI MUSEUM

the shoulders and arms and to split one end to form the feet. The results of this hammered process are not always the same. Sometimes, instead of a waist no smaller than the hips, we find an excessively thin waist; this is because strips for the arms were cut loose from the sides of the bar.

The helmeted man in the center was cast, but nevertheless is reminiscent of the beaten type (fig. 7). We should expect the extreme length and the even width from top to bottom in a figure worked out of a bar. The turn of the shoulders, however, is something which would not naturally suggest itself to a metal-beater; the body is not flattened to give it breadth, the shoulders are not pulled out in making the arms; rather, the arms were cast, coming forward from a torso which is more nearly human in form.

The Boston statuette has some of the peculiarities of beaten figurines. It is abnormally long, and its neck and head are especially long. The waist is small, as often with hammered statu-

¹⁵ Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* (Paris, 1934), figs. 71, 72, 74; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pl. 1, Nos. 8, 7, 1. For the helmeted figure see also Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 41, pl. XV, d, who implies that it was beaten, while stating on p. 39 that some geometric animals were cast; Hampe, *loc. cit.*; Kunze, *loc. cit.*



FIGURE 9 FLORENCE, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
Bronze Statuette of a Warrior

ettes where the arms have been cut out of the sides of an original metal strip. The shoulders spread to the unnatural breadth of some of the beaten figurines, even though they do not droop down and the torso is not unduly flattened. The long spindly legs, when intact, must have given somewhat the impression of those of the beaten figurines.

On the other hand, it is difficult to find anything reminiscent of the hammered technique in the stocky little figure in the Walters Art Gallery. It resembles the female statuette from Delphi only in being round. It has, as we have seen, much closer connections with cut stone statues and moulded terra cotta figurines. And if we compare the Boston and Walters bronzes with the helmeted man we must decide that both are incomparably superior in execution. It is not unreasonable to conclude that the process of changing from the beating technique to that of casting is illustrated by the two beaten figurines from Delphi, the helmeted man, the Boston Apollo, and the Walters lady, in the order named.

Now, according to Casson's plan, this should establish the date of the Boston and Walters statuettes definitely as the early sixth century. He states that first at this period were statuettes well cast. I find that we must not accept this statement categorically. Not only is the helmeted man which we have just discussed universally held to be earlier than the sixth century, but a warrior from the Acropolis at Athens, accepted as of the eighth century, also appears to be cast.¹⁶ And even if scholarship has been wrong about the date of these figures, it could hardly be wrong about a whole class of bronzes used to decorate bowls: sirens and protomés made in the Orient, Greece and Etruria.¹⁷ The circumstances of the finding of these must place

¹⁶ Zervos, *op. cit.*, fig. 62; Hampe, *op. cit.*, pl. 31; *Ath. Mit.*, LV (1930), Beilage XLIV, XLV.

this whole class of cast bronze attachments in the seventh century. But, while we may not accept Casson's date absolutely, observation shows that it is relatively true; that cast statuettes became gradually more and more frequent as the beating technique went out of fashion, but that they were rare before the early sixth century.

Now it has previously been noticed that the hair arrangement of the helmeted man from Delphi and the Mantiklos statuette does not occur on definitely dated bronzes of the eighth century or even of the early seventh,¹⁷ but occurs first with the vase-attachments which we have just mentioned and almost simultaneously on mid-seventh century works in other materials. It would seem right, then, in view of this observation and of Casson's late dating of all cast bronzes, to assign the helmeted man to a period little if any before the middle of the seventh century. In that case, the Mantiklos as well as the Walters statuette would need to be placed later in the century to account for the enormous technical improvement which separates them from the Delphi figure.

We may now ask whether a date in the second half of the seventh century would be possible for our statuettes. Would it agree with the combination of stylization and surprising fidelity to nature? Are we dealing with works one of which is deliberately archaistic, made in reminiscence of late geometric style, but both of

¹⁷ From Olympia: *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, LII (1937), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, pp. 72 f., figs. 34, 36 (Corinthian) and figs. 33, 35 (oriental); from the Acropolis at Athens: Lamb, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, b and Zervos, *op. cit.*, fig. 65; from the Acropolis at Athens: *Ath. Mit.*, LV (1930), Beilage XLVI, and Hampe, *op. cit.*, pls. 31, No. 3 and 40, No. 3; Etruscan, from Vetulonia: Mühlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, I (Berlin, 1929), figs. 107-109, and Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 132, fig. 45; Etruscan, from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste: Mühlestein, *op. cit.*, fig. 119 and Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, III (1919), pls. 52 and 54. For discussion and additional references see Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 64, and Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*, I (Würzburg, 1936), pp. 13 f.

¹⁸ Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 35.



FIGURE 10 FLORENCE, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
Bronze Statuette of a Woman

which betray their later date by their good integration and some details? In order to believe this we should have to know some good reason for the artist's conservative treatment, and some other example of how such conservatism might work.

We can find both the reason and the example in a group of bronzes found at Brolio in Italy, and held to be Etruscan (although they have no Etruscan equivalents).¹⁹ These are three bronze warriors each wearing a short loin garment and a helmet and carrying a spear and shield (fig. 9), and a woman in a straight, simple garment, whose arms are bent forward and whose fists are clenched (fig. 10). All the figures have the excessive length of the Mantiklos figure. The warriors resemble it not only in long, tubular legs, but also in small waist, broad shoulders, and beautifully modeled back with the proper indentation along the spinal column. The female resembles the Walters figure not only in the tubular dress, but also in the simple rendering of the chest, on which the breasts are but slightly indicated, and the shoulders which slope down to the bent arms. And it strikingly resembles the Mantiklos figure in the rendering of the hair, which hangs in curls before the shoulders and down the back, the long coils incised with horizontal lines. The fine modeling of the faces and the movement given to the warriors by turning the head and bending the arms and by the flourish of the weapons have caused most scholars to date these Brolio figures, despite their extreme simplicity, no earlier than the sixth century.²⁰

These are sustaining figures, and the reason for the choice of types must be that they were used on objects for which the decorations were traditional. An artist making decorations for a common object has every reason to do so according to the traditional forms. He feels less than the truly creative artist the impetus to experi-

ment along new lines. We must assume as models for the Brolio figures a long line of bronze objects, probably Greek, always decorated with human figurines, in type inherited from the geometric age and the early orientalizing period. And in this line of descent are the Walters lady and the Boston man.

Various uses have been suggested for the Brolio bronzes, among them that they supported a throne²¹ or that they carried basins on their heads.²² It has been remarked previously that the Boston figurine held something on its head, but it has not seemed possible to guess its nature. No one hitherto has noted that the little bronze lady now in the Walters Art Gallery was also a supporting figure. It is now obvious that all the figures under discussion might have served one and the same purpose, if this purpose was to support basins. Although there is no proof of this, the circumstance that they were found in groups makes it likely; moreover, the fact that they were used for the same purpose would help to substantiate our theory that they are related artistically. We can reconstruct the piece of which the Walters figure was part merely by inserting a wire ring in the slot at the back of her dress and adding to the ring several identical sisters. The basin would then be set on the heads of all in the group. The Boston statuette and the Brolio figures would be parts of

¹⁹ Mühlestein, *op. cit.*, figs. 180-183; Milani, *Il r. museo archeologico di Firenze. Sua storia e guida illustrata* (Florence, 1923), pp. 51, 228 f., pl. LXXVIII; Pernier, *Dedalo*, II (1922), 492 f.; Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. LXXXIV; Lamb, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV a, b; Ducati, *Storia dell'arte Etrusca* (Florence, 1927), pl. 64, fig. 198 and pp. 185 ff., where compared to helmeted figure from Delphi, Mantiklos' statuette, etc. See Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 f.

²⁰ Two other female figurines also coming from Brolio resemble the Greek female statuette in their heavy cylindrical bodies, sloping shoulders, and belted waists from which the lower parts of the body project slightly. See Mühlestein, *op. cit.*, fig. 180; Solari, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi* (Florence, 1931), p. 101, pl. XV, Nos. 27 and 27 a; Pernier, *Dedalo*, II, 496 f.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 490 f. Pernier envisages a Cretan prototype.

²² Ducati, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

more complicated structures in which the basin was firmly attached to the figures so that they did not then require to be braced from one another by a ring. The two Greek figurines—those in Boston and in the Walters Gallery—could not, because of size, be combined in the same tripod; and it is unlikely that the male and female Etruscan figures were used in one object, since three of the male figures have actually been found.

The basin supported by human figures appears all over the Mediterranean world in almost every conceivable material. Probably of oriental origin,²³ it is found in pale pottery in Rhodes²⁴ and in black bucchero pottery in Etruria (fig. 11),²⁵ in cast bronze in Kamarina, Sicily,²⁶ in beaten bronze²⁷ as well as in ivory at the old Latin town of Praeneste.²⁸ We know from literary tradition of a bronze cauldron supported by three kneeling figures dedicated by the Samians in their temple of Hera,²⁹ and can imagine how it looked from a small one found at Trebenischte on the Sea of Ochrid.³⁰ Another literary account tells us of three bronze basins, each borne by a figure, at Amyklai near Sparta.³¹ Marble figures to



FIGURE 11 PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
Bucchero Basin on Stand

support such basins have been found in Greece at Corinth,³² Olympia,³³ and Athens.³⁴ These examples range in date from the seventh century to the fifth. Why should there not have been two fine bronze basins in the seventh century at the old city of Kadmean Thebes?

My conclusion about the Walters statuette, then, is that it was made in the second half of the seventh century; that it shows resemblances to stone and terra cotta sculpture of its time; and that it probably was one of several which supported a votive basin. The Boston figurine, supposed to have been found with it, is, I think, from a similar basin and was made about the same time, but with archaizing features recalling the beaten bronze statuettes of the previous century. Although these conclusions are not final, perhaps the study which has led to them has opened our eyes to some of the influences, possibilities, and limitations which the early Greek craftsmen faced.

²³ See Barnett, *Iraq*, II (1935), 193 f. I am obliged to Dr. George Hanfmann for information about the type.

²⁴ Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, I (1897), pl. 13, No. A 396 (1); Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, IX (Paris, 1911), p. 174; *Iraq*, II (1935), pl. XXVII, 3.

²⁵ For example, Pottier, *op. cit.*, pls. 27 f.; Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII, 1. See Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁶ *Monumenti antichi*, XIV (1904), pl. XLVI; *Jb. Arch.* I., XXXVI (1921), Beilage to p. 98, No. 30.

²⁷ *Monumenti antichi*, XV (1905), cols. 638 ff., fig. 197 a. Also illustrated by Studniczka, *Antike Plastik* (Walter Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag) (Berlin, 1928), pp. 116 ff., with discussion of vases of this type. Now Villa Giulia 5 1167.

²⁸ From the Barberini Tomb. See Curtis in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, V (1925), 29 f., pl. 15; Della Seta, *Italia antica* (1st ed.), p. 75, fig. 59; Ducati, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, fig. 102; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, pl. 40, fig. 7.

²⁹ Herodotus, IV, 152.

³⁰ *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, XXVII (1932), pl. II.

³¹ Pausanias, III, 18, 7-8.

³² Gardner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVI (1896), 275-280, pl. XII.

³³ Treu, *Olympia*, III, p. 27, fig. 24.

³⁴ Sauer, *Ath. Mit.*, XVII (1892), 41, Nos. 24 f., pl. VII.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

FLEMISH SCHOOL
Rest on the Flight into Egypt

THE REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

BY E. P. RICHARDSON

Assistant Director, Detroit Institute of Arts

THE WALTERS GALLERY has among its paintings a "Rest on the Flight into Egypt" (fig. 1), of the Flemish School of about 1520-30, a work of great interest both for itself and for the connections it presents with other paintings. The Madonna is of the type of the "Madonna of Humility," seated upon the ground nursing her baby like a simple peasant girl. But the true state of this humble Mother and Child is indicated by a pair of angels floating in the air above and bearing her heavenly crown, and by the gleam of golden halos. The two principal figures are created in that mild and amiable spirit which pervades the early sixteenth century (notably the works of Provost and Joos van Cleve), and are seated in a landscape of great poetic charm. The flowers blooming in the green meadow about the Madonna are painted with the utmost precision; behind her St. Joseph (fig. 2) and the angels (fig. 3) busy themselves with the task of encampment for the night, for this is a halt upon the flight into Egypt. The tiny figures of the background have a light and ghostly grace as they move through the shadowy blue-green forest and meadows, dark against the glow of sunset upon the mountain tops. This landscape, with its execution ranging from the linear precision of the flowers in the foreground to the melting, atmospheric touch of the mountain tops, is of the finest quality. Indeed, it surpasses the quality of the two principal figures, which have

a certain lack of plasticity that betrays the hand of a minor artist. But it is a minor artist who—as is often the case with the minor talents of a great school—possesses in his own modest way a certain delicate poetry that is lacking in the more imposing and monumental work of the greater names.

The picture has many resemblances in detail to artists of both the Antwerp and Bruges Schools—the landscape recalls that of Jan Provost in the "Madonna and Child in a Garden" in the National Gallery, London (No. 713), and the style of the hands especially recalls Provost. But the strongest analogies of color are with the Antwerp School, which produced at this period a quantity of interesting works for which no specific attribution can be found.

The feature of the Walters Madonna to which I should like to draw attention is that the artist used here a composition of the Madonna and Child which was not his own. As was often the case in Flemish art at this period, the sacred figures are repeated from an earlier composition, which had some special appeal to the devotion of the artist's client. This was a common occurrence in the work of the artists who worked for the conservative and devout burgher class at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The great compositions of the preceding century—the famous pictures of Van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and Hugo van der Goes—had acquired



FIGURE 2

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (detail)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

· THE REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT ·



FIGURE 3

Rest on the Flight into Egypt (detail)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 4

BRUSSELS, MUSEES ROYAUX

JOOS VAN CLEVE
Rest on the Flight into Egypt

through their own incomparable splendor and through the pious associations of the years the character of iconographic types. Even an artist like Metsys, whom we think of as an introducer of Renaissance novelties, was not ashamed to repeat old compositions, giving them, however, some fresh aspect of the artist's own personal style.¹

The Madonna and Child which appear in the Baltimore picture occur again in exactly the same pose, down to the same folds in the Madonna's mantle and skirt, in a "Rest on the Flight into Egypt" by Joos van Cleve (fig. 4) in the Brussels Museum, which belongs to Joos van Cleve's mid-

dle period, about 1520, when he worked in collaboration with Patinir. It is not necessary to discuss this well-known picture. It is the popularity of its group of the Madonna and Child that is noteworthy. Friedländer lists three repetitions of the Madonna group in landscapes of Patinir's type (Schleissheim; Naples, Museo Filangeri; Berlin art market, 1929); and another in the Prado in a landscape of another sort.² This is not all, however. The National Gallery contains

¹ Cf. Friedländer's charming essay on this subject in *The Art Quarterly*, I (1938), 19.

² Max J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, IX (Leiden, 1934), No. 49, p. 134.

another repetition (No. 3115) in a landscape of the Patinir type. The Brera contains a triptych (No. 620) by the Pseudo-Blès, the right wing of which is a "Repose on the Flight into Egypt," whose Madonna is a free rendering in the mannerist style of the same composition; and Mabuse's Madonna in his early triptych in Lisbon apparently is also a free version of it.

None of these versions of the composition would come before the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But there is a "Madonna and Child in a Rose Arbor"³ by a Dutch painter, the Master of the Johannes Altar, in the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, Utrecht (No. 545), which carries the composition back to about 1480. Here the group is reversed and the Madonna's eyes are opened

FIGURE 5 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO
ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
Madonna and Child
(Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago)



FIGURE 6 BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
St. Luke Painting the Virgin
(Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts)

in naïve gaiety and surprise; but beyond these slight changes the same pose and the same folds of the spreading drapery are repeated as if by reversing a tracing.

The original composition upon which these nine paintings are based must be sought in a still earlier picture, for it is impossible that the Utrecht painting should be the origin of the series. It is obvious, I think, that the group comes originally from the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden. It is related to the famous Madonna of Rogier van der Weyden in "St. Luke Painting the Virgin" (fig. 6), which was repeated both *in toto* and as a half-length Madonna by the artist himself and by his workshop, and was then taken up

³ Reproduced: Museum Boymans, *Jeroen Bosch Tentoonstelling* (Rotterdam, 1936), No. 33, pl. 3.

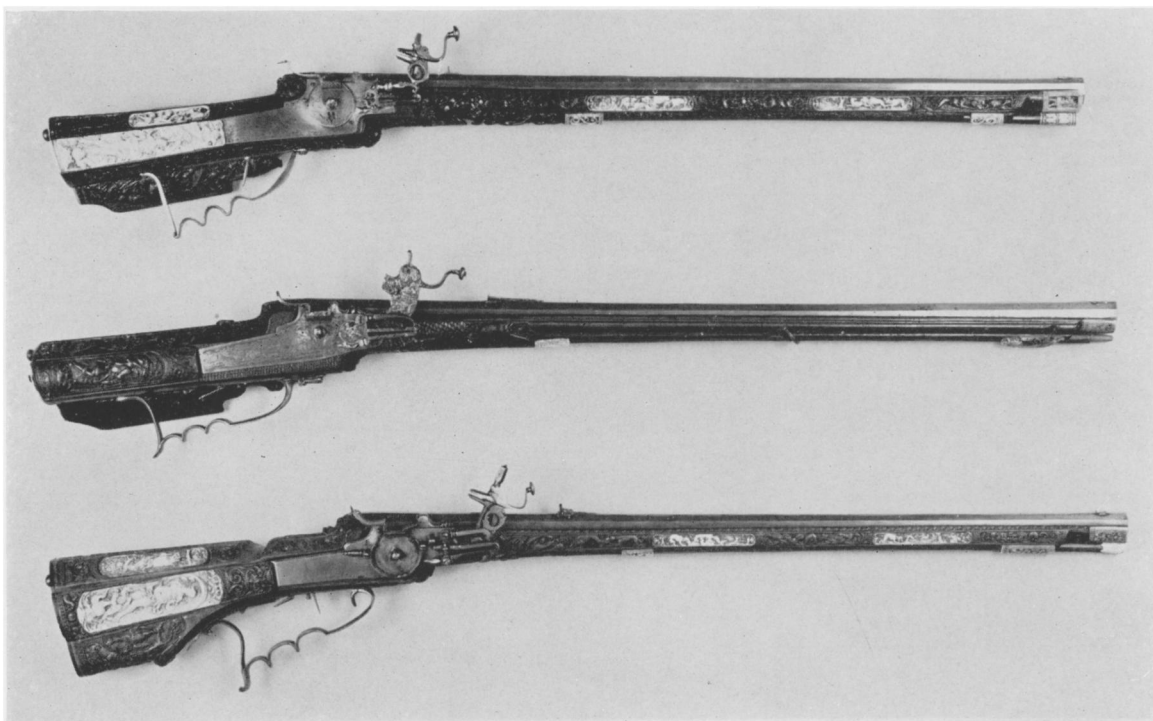
by the generation of Bouts and Simon Marmion. The Madonna of St. Luke, however, not only holds her child on the left side while inclining her head to the right, but is posed in a long single arc swinging from the head down through the body, spreading out in the folds of her garments. It is a familiar and beautiful example of Rogier's linear design. The Walters Gallery Madonna is not a mere reversal of the position of the Child, but a different arrangement. The Madonna holds her child on the right and bows her head toward him, so changing the whole relation of the two figures, while the drapery spreads out below on either side into a wide pyramid filled with intricate linear counterpoint. In the principal examples I have mentioned this new linear order of figures and drapery is repeated almost unvaryingly. Are we to think that someone introduced this splendid variant somewhere along the line of development from the "St. Luke Painting the Virgin"?

It is possible to think so, but another possibility also exists. The half-length Ryerson Madonna (fig. 5) of Rogier in Chicago shows the same posture of Mother and Child as the Baltimore painting. Fierens-Gevaert⁴ has merely assimilated the Ryerson composition, as an isolated variant, to the series descending from the Madonna of St. Luke. It seems to me possible, however, that it is the half-length version of another composition: that just as, for example, M. Render's Madonna is Rogier's half-length version after his Madonna of St. Luke, the Ryerson Madonna may be Rogier's half-length after a lost full-length composition of the "Madonna of Humility." The remainder of the original figure can be traced in the Madonnas of the series which includes that of the Walters Gallery.

The Walters Gallery painting is a typical

instance of the repetition of motives in the art of the Netherlands during the early sixteenth century, when there were a great number of artists at work and also a great number of compositions of the preceding century which had become hallowed in the popular mind. The period presents a web of reflections and cross influences. To follow one of those threads is, however, more than an interesting puzzle for the amusement of the student, for it throws a strong light upon the conception of art held by another age. The modern notion of originality of subject matter is a product of a later period, when painting had lost its old social function of a representation of the common beliefs of the race and had become a record of the artist's own sensibility. Giorgione, who first made painting a record of his own response to the experience of life, was a contemporary of the painter of our picture, but his example did not become triumphant in the Netherlands before the seventeenth century. It is impossible to judge the works of another age by the esthetic standards of our own. The attitude of that period is still active in the interpretive arts, such as the theatre, the opera, or instrumental music, in which the content is fixed and the tradition of how a certain role or passage is played exists as a very real thing in the minds of the performer and audience, without interfering in the least with the vitality and importance of the new representation. One must look on the Walters Gallery Madonna in somewhat the same light. It does not represent a defect of the creative instinct, but another type of the creative instinct to which tradition was as important and as dear as novelty is today.

⁴ Fierens-Gevaert, *Histoire de la Peinture Flamande* (Brussels, 1938), II, p. 60.



(ABOVE) FIGURE 1

(MIDDLE) FIGURE 2

(BELOW) FIGURE 3

NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Wheellock Guns with Stocks by Johann Michael Maucher

CARVED GUNSTOCKS BY JOHANN MICHAEL MAUCHER

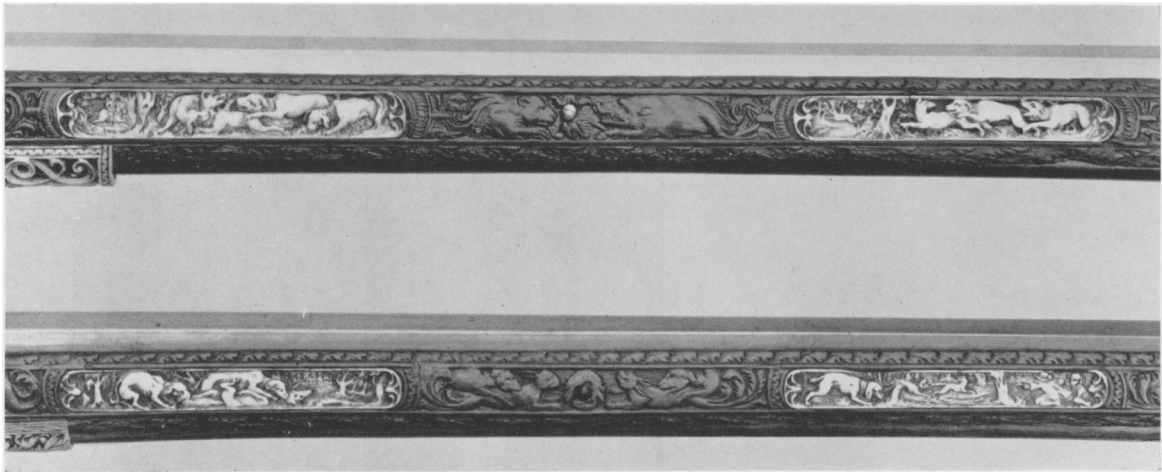
BY STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

SOME YEARS AGO I visited the Heilig-Kreuz-kirche at Swabian-Gmünd in order to see a suit of fifteenth-century armor—a votive offering. The visit was more than compensated for in the satisfaction of seeing not only the armor—albeit a long range view of a harness high up on a pedestal—but the church as well, a notable example of architecture of the fourteenth century, Gmünd's heyday in art. Gmünd naturally continued to be the birthplace of able artists, among whom we may mention the Parler family of architects,¹ the painter and engraver Hans Baldung

Grien, and the Maucher family of sculptors of which Johann Michael was the most distinguished. It is by the latter master that a wheellock gunstock in the Walters Art Gallery was made, and this gunstock and related pieces and other pertinent Maucher activities form the subject of this article.

The brothers Christoph and Johann Michael Maucher² were the leading Swabian "minor sculptors" of the Baroque. They executed distinguished works in amber, ivory, and wood. As these objects are not all signed, it is not always



(ABOVE) FIGURE 4

(BELOW) FIGURE 5

NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Carved Forestocks with Ivory Plaques

certain whether they are masterpieces, workshop pieces, or joint achievements of the two brothers. According to archives the brothers Maucher made altars in Filstal. At present only one of Christoph's works is known. It is the signed and dated "service" in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, made in Danzig in 1700. It is overloaded in typical Baroque manner with figures in ivory symbolizing the victory of Emperor Leopold and his son Joseph over the Turks and the Hungarian rebels.

However, we are principally concerned here with Christoph's brother, the sculptor, gunstock-maker and ivory carver, Johann Michael. He was the son of the gunstock-maker Georg Maucher of Osterkirch (between Magdeburg and Stendal), who also can be traced in Swabian-Gmünd from 1629.^{3, 28} Johann Michael, one of ten children and the youngest of six sons, was born in 1645 in Swabian-Gmünd and died about 1700.

In 1670 he married Anna Barbara Wasserburger, a daughter of the Ratsherr Johann Wasserburger, and the pair had thirteen children. Maucher was living in Gmünd as late as 1688, for in that year a son is recorded in the Gmünd Baptismal Register. Later he stayed for a brief period in Augsburg before settling in Würzburg at which place he may well have been in the service of the Prince-Bishop. He is traced in Würzburg from 1693, and he acquired citizenship there in 1696. He made figures for the Convent at Oberzell in 1696-1697, but it is not known whether of ivory or wood.

According to the chronicler Debler, of Gmünd, the elaborately carved organ which was built in 1688 in the church at Gmünd and the figures supporting it are the work of the so-called "Shifter, ein grosser Künstler," but despite all his great ability, he was a rogue, made money, and had to flee. While in Augsburg he made a gun of

¹ Hans Reinhold, *Der Chor des Münsters zu Freiburg i. Br. und die Baukunst der Parlerfamilie* (Strassburg, 1929). *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*. Heft 263.

² Walter Klein, *Johann Michael & Christoph Maucher, zwei Gmünder Elfenbeinschnitzer des Barocks* (Schwäb. Gmünd, 1920). 14 pp. 8 pls.

³ In the collection of Hans C. Leiden, of Cologne, there was a wheellock gun with richly carved stock inscribed: G M (Georg Maucher) and barrel inscribed: MICHAEL HAS 1663. The barrel is stamped with the rampant unicorn (the proof mark of Swabian-Gmünd). See the sale catalogue: *Waffensammlung Kon- sul A. D. Hans C. Leiden, Köln*. (Cologne, Math. Lempertz'sche Kunstversteigerung 364, 19-21 June, 1934). Lot 715, pl. 36.



(ABOVE) FIGURE 6

(BELOW) FIGURE 7

NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Carved Forestocks with Ivory Plaques

great artistic beauty which he presented to the Emperor (Leopold I), whereupon the latter promised to grant him a favor. The artist asked for permission to return to Gmünd, his native city, which was granted. But the Burgomaster of Gmünd, who happened to be in Augsburg at the time, told the Emperor of the artist's "crime," whereupon the Emperor withdrew his promise, but permitted him to live free and unmolested in any of the imperial lands. Maucher, like Benvenuto Cellini, was a master in his profession, and like Benvenuto he evidently thought he need not be amenable to ordinary laws.

Maucher's activities in carving gunstocks are sufficiently known to enable us to record a number of extant specimens. Before noting these, it might be well to describe the Walters gun (fig. 2) to assist students to make comparisons. Its stock, of walnut, is carved in relief with animals of the chase; these include a hare (fig. 9) as well as a stag and doe in high relief, a lion, hunting dogs attacking a boar (fig. 9), and a fox subdued by hounds; in front of the trigger-guard is a grotesque human mask and a wolf's head. On the cheekpiece an oval medallion of plain mother-of-pearl, probably replacing a coat-of-arms, is sup-

ported by a hunter with a hare and a huntress with a falcon. On the patch-box cover is a hunter bringing home a chamois (fig. 17). Maucher's monogram, a large and a small M superimposed (fig. 12), appears near the barrel tang. The barrel is unsigned, octagonal, with bore of .56 calibre rifled with seven grooves curved to a two-thirds right twist. The front sight is of brass, and the spring rear sight is unusual. The latter is made of a piece of steel folded on itself, the breech end dovetailed into the barrel. The level of the sight is adjusted by means of a screw which passed through the upper and lower leaves of the spring. The gun is not in mint condition, for guns were utilitarian objects and were often "brought up to date." It has a double set-trigger. The brass trigger-guard and the two iron shoulder-strap supports are of the eighteenth century. The lock, too, while an extraordinarily fine one (fig. 21), is not the original. It has a concealed wheel, and the lockplate is finely engraved with a boar hunt, and around the axle appears the locksmith's name, Paul Poser.⁴ The doghead is chiseled with a monster's head and the figure of Diana, and its spring bridle is chased with a huntsman and hound.



(ABOVE) FIGURE 8
(MIDDLE) FIGURE 9
(BELOW) FIGURE 10

NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION
WALTERS ART GALLERY
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Carved Stocks of Guns (details)

The Walters gun was purchased at the sale of European arms and armor of the late Henry Griffith Keasbey⁵ which was held at the American Art Galleries in New York City in 1924. While the catalogue of this sale is one of the best descriptive catalogues of an arms and armor collection, the full significance of this gun was not recorded. For one thing, the monogram of Johann Michael Maucher which appears on the stock was not noted. It was this monogram and the fact that the gun from the Keasbey sale came from the Richard Zschille collection which gave the writer a hint as to the gun's earlier history.

Richard Zschille, Privy Counsellor of Grossenhain in Saxony, exhibited his extensive collection of arms and armor at the Columbian-World-Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and the Keasbey-Walters Maucher gun appears to have been among the exhibits. It is described in the catalogue⁶ as a wheellock gun, with engraved lock, with fine carved stock of pearwood, and inscribed M. Maucher. The description is distressingly brief and, I suspect, loose. Later, in 1897, a group of the arms and armor from the Zschille collection which had been exhibited in Chicago

was auctioned at Christie's in London, and among these was the Keasbey-Walters Maucher gun. A much more detailed description was given in the Christie sale catalogue⁷ than that which appeared in the Exposition catalogue, but unlike the earlier description it failed to link the gun with Maucher.

While there are discrepancies in the descriptions in the two catalogues mentioned, there are convincing reasons for considering the Exhibition gun and the Keasbey-Walters gun to be identical. The discrepancies, which are noted here, can be overlooked for the Exposition catalogue, like most such catalogues, was probably compiled in great haste. The Exposition gun is described as bearing the name "M. Maucher" while the Keasbey-Walters gun merely bears his monogram. It is probable that the Exposition gun actually only bore the monogram which the cataloguer identified. The identification would have been a simple matter, since the monogram appears in August Demmin's *Die Kriegswaffen*, the fourth edition of which was published during the year of the Exposition. Then the Exposition gun is catalogued as having a stock of pear-

⁴ Captain Johann Stöckel, of the Copenhagen Arsenal, kindly sent me the following information concerning extant pieces by Paul Poser, of Prague: Flintlock guns in the Dresden Gewehr-galerie (nos. 1747, 1748); Städtisches Museum in Frankfurt am Main (no. 9); Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (nos. D.444, 445); Mestké Museum in Prague (guns nos. 13503, 24072, 25058; pistols nos. 24067, 24068, 24068, 24071, 24071, 24508); collection of Graf von Kaunitz (Sale Catalogue, 1936; lot 165); in auction sale at Oslo (February 11, 1936; lot 200); collection of Clarence H. Mackay (London, Christie's, July 27, 1939; lot 6).

⁵ *Important collection of European Arms and Armor from XI to XVIII Century Formed by and Belonging to Henry Griffith Keasbey*. (New York, American Art Association, December 5-6, 1924).

Lot 265, pl. XXVI. "Wheellock Rifle. German, XVII Century. Barrel octagonal, right-hand rifling of seven grooves, cal. .640; rear sight elevating, open, front sight of brass knife-edged. Stock of walnut elaborately carved in bas-relief with scenes and animals of the chase. On cheek piece an oval medallion of plain mother-of-pearl (replacing a coat of arms?) supported by hunter and huntress with falcon; below, a stag. On patch-box lid a hunter bringing home chamois; above, a fox caught by hounds. Opposite lockplate a lion and a boar hunt. In front of trigger-guard a mask, stag and doe in high relief, facing each other, and a wolf's head. Beside trigger-guard a hare in high relief. Ramrod restored. Trigger-guard of heavy brass, carved with mask and figure of hunter. Double set-trigger. Lock of late form,

with wheel completely enclosed and with flash guard. Lockplate elaborately engraved with a boar hunt; around the axle the name PAUL POSER. Cock and cock-spring bridle carved in low relief, the former with a monster's head and figure of Diana, the latter with huntsman and hound. A richly decorated hunting gun, unusual both in quantity and quality of carving. Length 43.5". From the Zschille Collection (Christie's, 1897; lot 313). (Illustrates inscription on lockplate: PAYL POSER)."

⁶ *Catalog of the Collections in the Museum of the "Wasserburg" (German Village)*. Columbian-World-Exposition at Chicago, 1893. No. 1921: "Ein Radschlossgewehr (Wheel-lock gun), das Schloss gravirt, in fein geschnitzter Schaeftung, von Birnbaumholz und mit M. Maucher bezeichnet."

⁷ *Catalogue of the Collection of Armour and Arms and Hunting Equipments of Herr Richard Zschille, of Grossenhain. The Entire Collection was Exhibited at the Chicago Exhibition, 1894 (sic)*. (London, Christie, Manson & Woods, January 25-February 1, 1897.)

Lot 313. "A Heavy Wheel-Lock Rifle, octagonal barrel of bright steel, the stock of dark wood finely carved in relief with a boar hunt on a scale-pattern ground, an oval medallion of mother-of-pearl on the butt, supported on either side by a hunter and huntress, carved underneath with a stag and a hare in high relief, the lock engraved with the huntsmen, hounds and a boar, the hammer chased in relief with a figure of Diana, the huntsmen and hounds, inscribed PAUL POSER, chased brass trigger-guard and hair trigger—end of 17th century."

wood while the Keasbey-Walters stock is walnut, but what cataloguer has not often guessed wrongly about wood? The Exposition gun, the catalogue tells us, had an engraved lock while the Keasbey-Walters lock is chiseled in low relief. This difference can readily be overlooked, for even today chiseled work is ever so often called engraved! Finally, the Exposition Maucher gun has not been elsewhere identified. In any event, if the Exposition gun were actually signed "M. Maucher," and if (since it could not then be the Walters gun) it is still extant, this article may be the means of bringing it out of its limbo to the attention of students.

In the Baroque period to which our Maucher gun belongs Germany was especially active in

seventeenth century guns used by the soldiers were of simple form, but those of the nobles were of magnificent and costly material, the splendor denoting the consequence of the person who used it.

Of the seventeen Maucher guns known to me (Klein lists but nine), five are in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich.⁸ Also in Munich are two patch-box covers and two ivory gun plaques, as well as a pair of pistols.⁹ Dr. Stöcklein¹⁰ noted in 1912 that there were seven Maucher guns in the National Museum in Munich and the seven guns are also described by Klein (1920).¹¹ Two of the Maucher guns, one bearing the inscription shown in figure 20, evidently have disappeared from the National Museum be-



FIGURE 11 NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION
Monogram on Stock of Gun. Scale 2:1



FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Monogram on Stock of Gun. Scale 2:1

the art of ivory and wood carving. The many German princes, each of whom aimed to incorporate in his collection the most valuable contemporary art, were the most active patrons. Every prince had a hunting castle well supplied with guns, as well as with great ornamental salvers, ewers, etc., made of sections of ivory, which adorned the castle sideboards. In the

tween 1920 and 1926.

The Munich guns came from the ducal Pfalz-Zweibrückener gunroom at Mannheim and are recorded in the 1795 inventory of that collection.¹² The reason for the presence of the guns in Munich today is clear, for a duke of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, that is, the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian IV Joseph, became King of Bavaria as

⁸ Rudolf Berliner, *Die Bildwerke des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums*. IV. Abteilung. *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein* . . . (Augsburg, 1926), nos. 832-836, pls. 291, 293-296, 298-301.

⁹ R. Berliner, *op. cit.*, nos. 214-215; nos. 212-213; no. 837. Pls. 126, 290.

¹⁰ Hans Stöcklein, *Erläuternde Beiträge zu Th. Hampe: Archivalische Forschungen zur Waffenkunde*, Band V, Heft 12, S. 407 ff. *Die Meister der ehemaligen Herzoglich Pfalz-Zweibrückener Gewehr-kammer in Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, VI (1912), 25-27.

¹¹ W. Klein, *op. cit.*, nos. 1-5, 8-9.

¹² Th. Hampe, *Archivalische Forschungen zur Waffenkunde*. X. *Die Meister der ehemaligen herzoglich Pfalz-Zweibrückener Gewehr-kammer*, in *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, V (1911), p. 413 (Maucher), pp. 413 and 416 (Zilly); "Johann Michel Haucher (lies: 'Maucher'), *Bildhauer in Würzburg*": Aa 15 (*über dem Kolben des Schaftes; auf dem Lauf steht: 'Jean Jaques Zylly à Memmingen 1693'*) und "Johann Michael Maucher, *Bildhauer und Büxenschafter in Schwabisch-Gemünd 1670*": Aa 23 (*auf dem Schaft hinter der Schwanzschraube; auf dem Lauf: 'Marcus Zilli in Memmingen 1670'*).

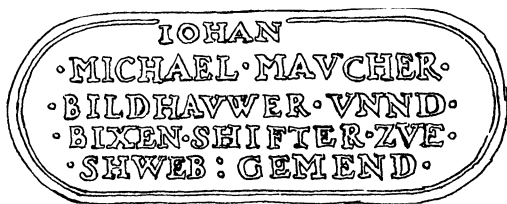


FIGURE 13 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Inscription on Plaque of Horn on Stock of Gun. Scale 2:1

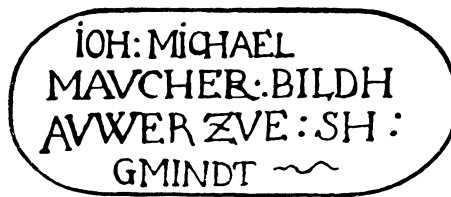


FIGURE 14 NEUENSTEIN
Inscription on Ivory Ewer

Maximilian I.¹³

The recognition enjoyed by Maucher among princely amateurs through his enriched guns fostered their patronage for his ivory carvings. In addition to guns, Maucher has left behind other evidence of his ivory carving, particularly a number of enriched salvers and their accompanying ewers, cups, etc.,¹⁴ the designs for which could also be adapted for gunstocks.¹⁵

Through his patrons Maucher made contacts with the art collections of princely courts. It is probable that he sojourned at various times at the Electoral court in Munich, where he could have seen the collection of ivories of Maximilian I who was himself an ivory carver. There Maucher probably became personally acquainted with the masterpieces of Rubens, and like many ivory sculptors of the Baroque period Maucher was guided by paintings.

In addition to the Maucher firearms at Munich, there is a wheellock gun at the Fürstlich Hohenzollernsches Museum in Sigmaringen, another, together with a powder flask, at the Fürstlich Hohenlohesches Museum at Neuenstein, one at Schloss Dyck,¹⁶ and one in the Vic-

toria and Albert Museum in London.¹⁷ I am greatly indebted to Captain Johann Støckel of the Copenhagen Arsenal for calling to my attention a Maucher gun (No. 85) in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, Poland, and a gun (G 303) and a pair of pistols (G 643-644) at the castle in Karlsruhe. An unidentified Maucher gun with stock closely approaching the Walters stock was in the collection of Reichsgraf R. v. Kaunitz.¹⁸ On this side of the Atlantic, in addition to the Walters gun, there is a wheellock gun in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 3, 5, 7, 10, 18),¹⁹ and another, formerly in the collections of Prince Liechtenstein at Vaduz and of Clarence H. Mackay of New York, now in a New York private collection (figs. 1, 4, 6, 8, 19).²⁰

Since space is not available to describe and illustrate all of these firearms, perhaps a few notes may be useful. A number of the barrels of Maucher guns are signed and dated and two of the locks bear the locksmith's name. The name Markus Zilli in Memmingen appears on the barrels of three of the Munich guns; one of these is dated 1670, the other two are dated 1671. On the barrel of a gun described by Klein as being

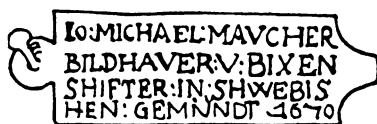


FIGURE 15 MUNICH
Inscription on Mother-of-pearl Plaque on Stock of Gun

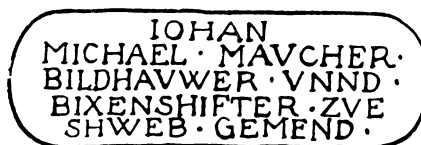


FIGURE 16 SIGMARINGEN
Inscription on Stock of Gun



(LEFT) FIGURE 17

Carved Wood Patch-box Cover of Gun

WALTERS ART GALLERY

(CENTER) FIGURE 18

Carved Wood and Ivory Patch-box Cover of Gun

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

(RIGHT) FIGURE 19

Carved Ivory Patch-box Cover of Gun

NEW YORK PRIVATE COLLECTION

in Munich (apparently no longer there) appears the name and date, J. J. Zilli Memmingen 1693. The rampant unicorn, the proof mark of Swabian-Gmünd, appears on the barrel of the guns in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, at Schloss Dyck, and at Munich (No. 836). The lockplate of the Sigmaringen gun bears the name H. I. Zilly. The Walters lock (fig. 21), as already noted, is inscribed: PAVL POSER.

Maucher's name and other information appears on several of the pieces and these inscriptions are illustrated here. The inscription on gun No. 832, in Munich, is shown in figure 15,²¹ that on the gun in Sigmaringen in figure 16; on the gun formerly in Munich with barrel dated 1693 in figure 20; on the gun in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in figure 13. The stock at Schloss Dyck has an inset plaque of horn inscribed: *Johann Michael Maucher, Bildhauer und Bixenschifter zu Schweb. Gmünd*. The signature shown in figure 14 appears on the ivory ewer in the Fürstlich Hohenlohesches Museum in Neuenstein. Other stocks, as in the case of the Walters gun, bear Maucher's initials, a large and a small superimposed M. The monograms which appear on the Walters gun and on the gun in a New York

private collection are illustrated in figures 11-12. Three of Maucher's stocks are dated. Nos. 832 and 835 in Munich are dated 1670 and 1682, respectively, and the gun in the Czartoryski Museum is dated 1684.

While it is not common to find signed firearm stocks, numerous instances are recorded. In the

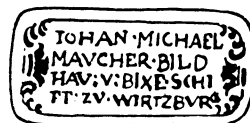


FIGURE 20 FORMERLY IN MUNICH
Inscription on Stock of Gun

Walters collection is a pair of extraordinarily fine seventeenth-century pistols with stocks signed: *Gio. Marno in Brescia fecit*.²² In The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a solid rosewood stock which bears the initials of the Augsburg stock-maker Elias Becker. That these woodcarvers took great pride in their work is attested by their signatures. For example, in the Wallace collection in London is a casket (No. 560) inlaid in stained staghorn which is inscribed by the gunstock maker who made it: *Fait en Massevaux par Jean*

¹³ The inventory of 1795 comes within the Electorate of Karl Theodore of the Palatine-Sulzbach branch of the Wittelsbach family of Bavaria. Dying without legal heirs he was succeeded in 1799 by his nephew, Maximilian Joseph, Duke of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, who became Maximilian IV Joseph as Elector of Bavaria; in 1806 he became the first King of Bavaria as Maximilian I.

¹⁴ Examples of salvers, etc., are in the museum at Neuenstein, the Schlossmuseum in Berlin, the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden, the Kunsthistorisches Staatsmuseum in Vienna, and the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig.

¹⁵ Hermann W. Williams, Jr., *Four Drawings Attributed to Christoph Jamnitzer in The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 419-420, 4 figs.; *ibid.*, XIX (1937), 112, 10 figs.

¹⁶ M. v. Ehrenthal, *Die Waffensammlung des Fürsten Salm-Reifferscheidt zu Schloss Dyck* (1906), no. 187, pl. III. Notes on Maucher, p. 212.

¹⁷ *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Works of Art, chiefly formed by the late Hollingworth Magniac, Esq.* . . . (London, Christie's, July 2-15, 1892).

Lot 734. "A Wheel-lock Arquebus, with snaphaunce lock finely chased with an archer slaying a dragon, mask and arabesque foliage in relief on gold ground, and hammer formed as a dragon, the butt inlaid with ivory plaques, carved with Diana

and Actaeon, hunting subjects, fruit, and monogram M. M., a plaque, carved with Hebe, forming the sliding lid of winch box, the fastening of which is regulated by pressing the nipple of the figure of Hebe, the stock carved and inlaid with ivory plaques carved with cherubs, hunting scenes, fruit, and other ornaments—German, 17th century."

¹⁸ *Jagdkammer des Reichsgrafen R. v. Kaunitz, II. Teil. Auktion in Zürich, Galerie Fischer, den 13. Mai, 1936*. Lot 147, pl. 31.

¹⁹ S. V. Grancsay, *A Gun Carved by Johann Michael Maucher in Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXVI (1931), 98-100, 4 figs.

²⁰ *European Arms and Armor, Mainly XV, XVI & XVII Centuries. Including Artistic and Rare Specimens from Princely Provenience*. (New York, American Art Association, November 19-20, 1926). Lot 214, pl. XXIV.

²¹ The inscriptions shown in figs. 14, 15, 16, 20 are taken from W. Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, nos. 1, 7, 9, and 10.

²² S. V. Grancsay, *A Pair of Seventeenth Century Brescian Pistols in The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 240-247, 6 figs.

²³ Christian Scherer, *Die Braunschweiger Elfenbeinsammlung* (Leipzig, 1931), no. 24, pl. 7. Notes on the Maucher brothers, pp. 129-131 and Index.

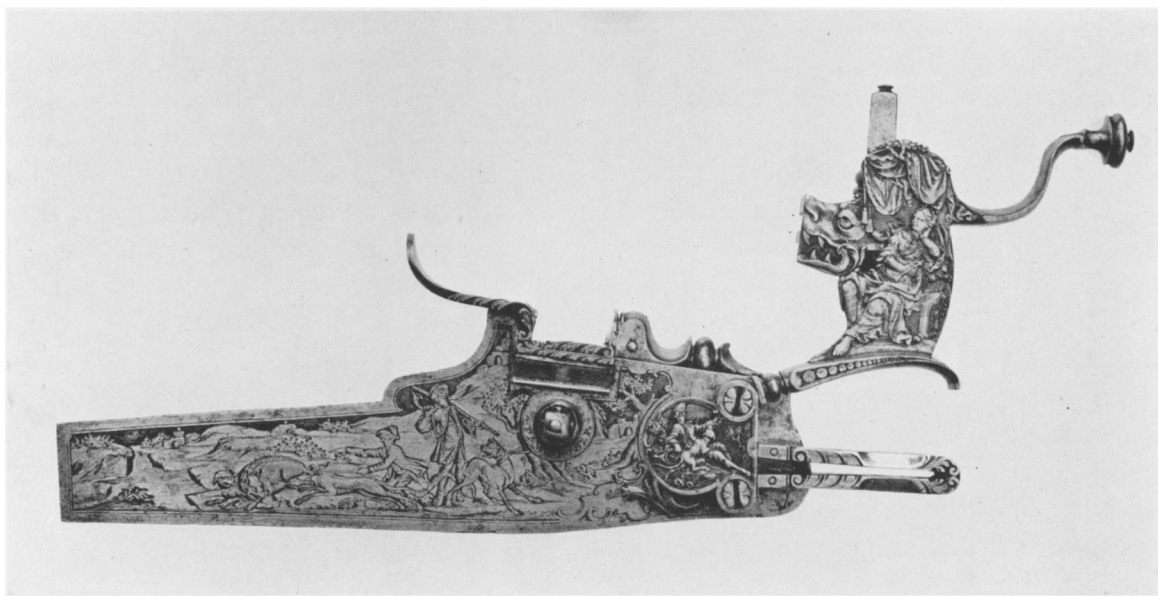


FIGURE 21

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PAUL POSER

Engraved and Chiseled Wheellock of Maucher Gun

Conrad Tornier monteur d'harqueb^{ises} L'en 1630. Another casket in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig bears the date 1563 and the initials of the artist H. G. who was also a stock maker.²³

The ornamental motives of the Maucher stocks, as well as of the salvers, are taken from Greek mythology and from contemporary hunting scenes. The Baroque artists, believing that decoration made things more attractive, proceeded accordingly to surcharge their works. The motives are primarily worldly, in tune with the thought of the time.²⁴ Gunstocks of the period were heavy in form in order to balance the heavy barrel, and this in turn provided plenty of surface for decoration. They are carved with a fantasy of figures and ornament, the wood being effectively relieved with plaques of sculptured

ivory and engraved mother-of-pearl. The lively representations of the riders, hunters, falconers, of the dogs, deer, and boars (figs. 4-7) must have delighted the hunters whose personal experiences they recalled.

As already noted, Maucher was influenced by Rubens and other Flemish painters and he translated in relief, often very accentuated, bacchanalian or mythological subjects (figs. 18-19), the color and softness of ivory being particularly effective for this purpose. For example, the motives of the salver in Neuenstein have been identified by prints after the Belgian painter Bart. Spranger (1546-1611) and the Dutch engraver and painter Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617).²⁵ The scenes after Goltzius are the Abduction of Europa, Mercury and Argus, and Pan and Syrinx. The motives of the salver in Berlin

²⁴ Religious motives appear much more seldom and also usually confine themselves to the nude as in representations of the crucified Saviour. Thus the Fürstlich Hohenlohesche collection in Neuenstein possesses a crucifix bearing Maucher's monogram, with the figures of Mary and John, and a small relief of the Dance of Salome.

²⁵ E. Tietze-Conrat, *Die Erfindung im Relief, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kleinkunst*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXXV (1920/21), 99 ff. Gives the sources of the designs used by J. M. Maucher for the salver at Neuenstein, pp. 141-142, figs. 28-38; summary, no. 55, pp. 175-176.

have likewise been identified. The central scene is after a print by Penz (Bartsch VIII.347.90), the lion hunt after the painting by Rubens in the Munich Pinakothek, and other hunting scenes are after Beham.²⁶ Another source for hunting scenes was Jost Amman's *Figuren vom . . . Jag und Weidwerk* (Frankfurt a.M., 1582), some of which appear on one of the Maucher guns in Munich (No. 836). The scenes showing Actaeon, Diana, etc., on wheellock gun No. 835 in Munich, dated 1682 and bearing the arms of Württemberg, are after Joh. Wilhelm Baur's *Ovidischen Metamorphosen* (1641).²⁷ Other artists whose designs were used to enrich the gunstocks could, no doubt, be identified. Among the principal gunstock subjects may be mentioned Venus Marina, Actaeon and Diana Bathing, Actaeon Torn by His Dogs, St. George Slaying the Dragon, St. Hubert, David Severing the Head of the Slain Goliath, Curtius Leaping into the Abyss, and The Abduction of Aegina, Daughter of the River God Asopus, by Zeus in the Form of an Eagle.

There is always more interest to an object if something about its history or its maker is known.

Although in 1893 the maker of the Walters stock was known, this information subsequently was lost track of. With the reestablishment of its source, the Walters gun is no longer an isolated firearm. From knowledge concerning Maucher's activities at the courts of Bavaria and Würzburg it may ultimately be possible to learn the name of the prince for whom the Walters gun was made. Furthermore, instead of being of interest only to specialists in firearms, the gun is now a subject for students of the art of the seventeenth century, for the ivory and wood carving of the stocks should be compared with Maucher's salvers, ewers, altars, and crucifixes.

²⁶ W. F. Volbach, *Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums. Erster Band. Die Elfenbeinbildwerke* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1923), no. K.3138 (in the Schlossmuseum), pp. 87-88, pl. 81.

²⁷ R. Berliner, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

²⁸ Addition to footnote 3, received while in press: A second gun bearing the initials of George Maucher on the stock is in the George F. Harding collection in Chicago. This also is inscribed on the barrel: MICHAEL HAS; and on either side of the grooves of the ramrod socket runs an old German inscription. This gun was sold with the S. E. Kennedy collection, but the sale catalogue does not record that the initials G M appear on the stock (London, Christie's, March 18-22, 1918. Lot 100).



WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Embarkation of Helen for Cythera

FIGURE 1

THE LEGEND OF PARIS AND HELEN

BY EDWARD S. KING

The Walters Art Gallery

THE THREE LARGE panel paintings with legendary scenes in the Walters Gallery (figs. 1, 2 and 3), paintings of a kind not very commonly seen today, have proved elusive of exact designation both as to their subject and style.¹ A variety of attributions have been given them: Vittore Carpaccio;² “a pedestrian Umbrian follower, perhaps, of Piero della Francesca”;³ Cossa; and school of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.⁴ The slender, modish figures with their high foreheads and serious expressions, the descriptively arranged architecture, distant towns on conchoidal hills and the bushy trees are at once recognizable as products of the international style of the latter half of the fifteenth century. And, as is the case with most works of this general description, the manner here is too indeterminate to warrant assignment to the workshop of any one well-known artist within the category. Berenson’s view, however, that they are late productions (c. 1465-70) from the studio of Antonio Vivarini is as plausible a label of a general sort as the writer can discover, provided that “studio” is taken in the broad sense of “school” and not as implying direct association with the master.⁵ Further, the resemblances appear to lie for the most part with Venetian work, though van Marle remarks that the style is too hybrid for one to be sure even of that.⁶

There is a degree of likeness between the heads of many of Antonio’s Madonnas and the women’s heads of the Walters panels, albeit the structural exaggerations of the latter caricature the placid comeliness of the former. The features in common are: the rather large eye-sockets, the long noses with a tendency to flatten at the ends, and the small mouths, lower jaws and chins (figs. 4 and 5).⁷ These facial traits also occur in similar fashion in the fragmentary fresco-figure of a nimbed monk in S. Gottardo at Asolo, near Venice.⁸ One recalls, too, the rather similar sort of physiognomy of Pisanello’s St. George in the Sta. Anastasia fresco at Verona.⁹ (Pisanello is inevitably brought to mind by the greyhound in fig. 1).¹⁰ But the domed and very high cranial vaults of both the men and women appear to have no parallels in Antonio’s paintings, save when, in some measure, he was collaborating with his younger brother Bartolommeo.¹¹ The type of the male figures is familiar in Antonio’s altarpieces, but the resemblance is of a general kind, or, at best, that of distant relatives only.¹² Fortuitously, perhaps, there is a fairly close likeness in the head of Paris (? , fig. 2, center) with Jacopo Bellini’s Louvre drawing of a man’s head in profile.¹³ The closest connections for the hilly landscapes, which have changed but little in essentials since the time of Duccio and Simone Martini, are, doubtless, to be found in the same artists’ other drawings in the Louvre and the

¹ Notes will be found at end of this article.



FIGURE 2

The Abduction of Helen and Her Companions

WALTERS ART GALLERY

British Museum. Strikingly analogous features are to be seen in a number of instances (figs. 1 and 6).¹⁴ Further Venetian connections are suggested by several of the architectural features: the shell-heads of the windows and the rectangle-and-disc revetment motif in figure 3 find a precedent in the Asolo fragment; and the arcading of walls similar to that in the same illustration appears in two works by, or close to, Antonio Vivarini, the "Passion Scenes" in the Cà d'Oro, Venice, and the "Scenes from the Life of the Virgin" at Berlin.¹⁵

· · ·

When these three big panels, of which the largest (fig. 2) is some nine feet, eight inches in length, are imagined in place on the walls of a room, their decorative effectiveness becomes immediately apparent, if only on account of their considerable size. Paintings of such a size and weight were not hung upon the walls, but were supported by the cornice of the high wainscoting (*spalliera*), or by the cornices over doorways. In the former case, the panels were framed one joining another in a continuous series, giving the effect of a frieze, and usually reaching to the room-cornice beneath the ceiling. Decorative-narrative panels of this sort were thus bound in with the interior architecture of the palace and continue in kind the old Italian mural arrangement that goes back to the time of Pompeii.¹⁶ From their use derives their name of cornice-pictures (*quadri corniciati*). A number of famous paintings are in cornice-picture form: Botticelli's "Primavera" and "Birth of Venus," Signorelli's "Pan," etc., while the inventory of Lorenzo the Magnificent's possessions lists among six cornice-pictures one by Paolo Uccello with the "Story of Paris."¹⁷

With the arrival of the Renaissance we find in increasing profusion decorations of a secular character on the walls of the home, as on household objects generally. The themes of cornice-

pictures and marriage-chests are, in fact, drawn in the majority of cases from mythology, legend and secular history.¹⁸ The legendary events portrayed on the Walters panels have never been satisfactorily explained, although the general reference for them does not appear far to seek. Without naming the episodes, Mather and Schubring, the latter tentatively, considered them as illustrations of the story of Paris and Helen from the legend of the Trojan war.¹⁹ It is not difficult to arrive at this explanation, for the scene represented in figure 2, is one of the best known legendary events the world over, namely, that which started the Trojan war, Paris' abduction of Helen; and this event, furthermore, provides a fairly familiar theme of decoration on marriage-chests and birth-salvers.²⁰ The two other scenes are not as easily interpreted, but they apparently represent two other conspicuous events in the same story: the moment before Helen's embarkation for Cythera (fig. 1), the island sacred to Venus, where she meets with Paris, and (fig. 3) their welcome by Priam and Hecuba, Paris' royal parents, at the court of Troy. Possibly there may have been further pictures in the series, telling in more detail of the portentous adventures of Paris and Helen. Such scenes occur in a variety of media—ivory-carvings, enamels, tapestries, illustrations to manuscripts and the woodcuts of early books, etc.—showing that the story was much more widely pictured than on first glance one might suppose. Examples of these varied forms of illustration that have come to hand are noted below in connection with the scenes discussed. A comprehensive study of them goes much beyond the limits of the present article, whose primary concern is with the episodes of the Walters panels.

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In order that the individual interests of the three scenes may be viewed in their context, it will be worth while, even though it is common

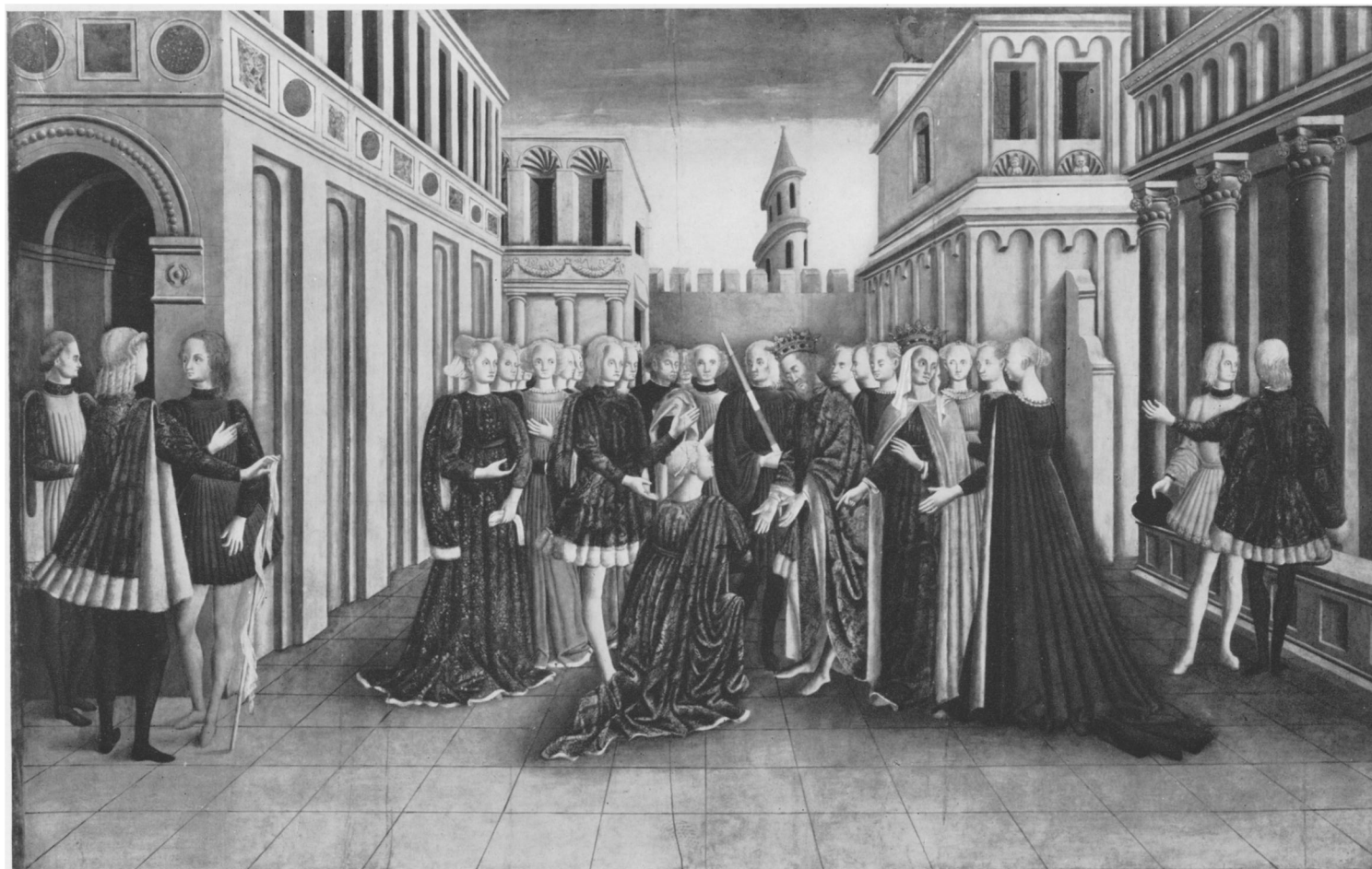


FIGURE 3

The Reception of Helen at Troy by Priam and Hecuba

WALTERS ART GALLERY

knowledge, to give the outlines of the literary tradition of the Trojan legend from which they derive; to call attention to its magnitude and popularity and the chief milestones in its development.²¹ Finally to be considered are the particular literary efforts which have a bearing on the scenes.

The legends of the Trojan war and Alexander the Great (*Matière de Rome*), of King Arthur (*Matière de Bretagne*), and those centering around Charlemagne (*Matière de France*), formed the four great cycles of romance of medieval times. From the thirteenth century on, thanks to the impetus given by the example of Benoît de Sainte-More's *Le Roman de Troie*, the Trojan legend enjoyed an enormous popularity. The great number of manuscripts²² and incunabula²³ of the legend that remain and its various retellings and translations into all the principal languages of Europe attest its international spread and continual demand.²⁴ The loves of Paris and Helen held an equal place in general interest with those of Tristan and Iseult and Lancelot and Guenevere.²⁵ The writer is unable to say, however, whether the young women of Florence, for example, were more familiar with the story of Helen, as Savonarola complains they were with the legends of Venus, than with the story of the Virgin Mary.²⁶ Usually, the word "popular" cannot be applied to the middle ages in the same inclusive sense in which it is used today. Thus it has been said by good authority that the Trojan legend at that time was enjoyed rather by the instructed classes and that, little by little, it became popularized.²⁷ But the fact that "from the Romans down . . . various nations [and cities] have endeavored to trace their descent from the heroes who distinguished themselves in the Trojan war," indicates further a very general familiarity with the legend and a popularity for it "greater perhaps than that of any other romance-cycle."²⁸

The Trojan tale underwent a number of devel-

opments during its retellings throughout the ages, but typical versions were early established and these were consistently adhered to, although a variety of individual treatments were introduced from time to time.²⁹ Chief among the sources of the later medieval Troy legend were the annals of the supposititious authors, Dares the Phrygian and Dictys the Cretan. The earliest extant manuscript of Dares' *De Excidio Troiae Historia* dates from the sixth century A. D., that of Dictys' *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* from the fourth century.³⁰ Dares was said to have been an eyewitness of the war on the Trojan side and Dictys a warrior of the Greeks. "Throughout the middle ages, faith in these popular idols was unbounded and entire";³¹ the era believed in their presence on the spot and accepted the fabulous reports under their names as carrying all the authority of first-hand evidence. (It was not, indeed, until the beginning of the eighteenth century that this loyalty was finally disrupted.) The medieval opinion of Homer, on the other hand, in exact contrast to this faith, is already formed in the Prologue of Dares' *Historia* by the pseudo-Cornelius Nepos. In this Prologue not only is Homer's knowledge of the war questioned, since he lived many years after the event, but it is related besides that he was adjudged insane at a trial at Athens for writing that men fought with gods.³² Dares, who favored the Trojans, served as the customary point-of-departure for the western writers; Dictys, who saw things from the Greek camp, similarly served the Byzantine chroniclers.³³

The father of the developed medieval version of the legend was Benoît de Sainte-More. His *Le Roman de Troie* (c. 1155-60),³⁴ in some thirty thousand lines, derives largely from Dares and Dictys, and much more from the former than from the latter. Benoît's poem is an original creation, thoroughly medieval in attitude and imagery, and without much doubt the finest of all



FIGURE 4

Hecuba and Two Maidens
(Detail of Figure 3)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

the versions that have come from the era. For nearly six centuries, however, Benoît did not receive the honor due him. The renown was bestowed upon Guido delle Colonne for his free translation into Latin prose of Benoît's poem, whose author he neglects to mention.³⁵ It is through Guido's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, composed in 1287, that most of the numerous local versions of the legend are to be traced to their origin in Benoît's *Roman*.³⁶

· · ·

If an illustrator of the period of the Walters pictures had had a number of texts at his disposal, he would find the full story of the events leading up to and following the Rape of Helen to run in its main lines as follows. For the sake of simplicity the story may be divided into four principal parts and the various episodes given in chronological sequence, although the medieval authors vary as to the order in which they present the events.

(1) The Youth of Paris.³⁷ The story begins with Hecuba's dream that she would give birth to a firebrand, interpreted to mean that her child would destroy his country. Then follows the sending away of the infant Paris to be killed, but he is abandoned on Mt. Ida and nursed by a she-bear. He is then adopted and reared by the shepherd Agalaus and his wife, whose cattle he tends. Eventually, he is recognized during some athletic contests with his brothers, all of whom he bests save Hector, and is taken back by his parents. In this section also fall his loves with the nymph Oenone.

(2) The Judgment of Paris (fig. 8, left).³⁸ Contention having arisen among Juno, Minerva and Venus at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as to who was fairest,³⁹ the three goddesses, obeying the order of Jupiter and led by Mercury, appear to Paris in a dream. Paris tells to Priam this dream which came to him when he lost his way while hunting and fell asleep under a tree.

The second part of the dream figures the well-known judgment scene, wherein Paris awards to Venus the golden apple which Eris, the uninvited goddess of discord, had thrown into the marriage-feast. Venus in return promises Paris to wife earth's most beautiful woman, Helen, and under his leadership victory for the Trojan arms against the Greeks.

(3) Paris' Sojourn in Greece. It had been finally decided at the Trojan court that Hector should lead a punitive expedition against the Greeks in retaliation for their destruction of Troy in the first war, when they had carried off Hesione, Priam's sister.⁴⁰ This latter issue was a more immediate one in the minds of the Trojans



FIGURE 5 VIENNA, PAINTING GALLERY
ANTONIO VIVARINI (WITH GIOVANNI D'ALEMAGNA?)
Madonna (detail)

for Antenor, one of Priam's sons, had recently arrived home from a conciliatory mission to ask for Hesione's return, a request that had been haughtily refused.⁴¹ In view, however, of Venus' double promise to Paris of Helen and military victory, Hesione soon becomes a secondary consideration, and for the same reasons Paris, instead of Hector, becomes the leader of the Trojan venture. Cassandra prophesies disaster. Then, with several of his brothers and a numerous following, Paris sets sail for Greece, primarily animated with the idea of seizing Helen.⁴² As his ship nears the island of Cythera, Helen's husband, Menelaus, sails by on his way to visit Nestor in Crete, neither party recognizing the other. Paris lands on the island, where there is a

Temple of Venus; Helen is told of his arrival and of his unusual comeliness and longs to see him. She goes to the temple with her ladies and attendants under the pretext of worshipping there, and when she and Paris behold each other they at once fall mutually and completely in love. The approach of Paris to the Island and Helen's arrival there, the observances at the Temple of Venus and the meeting of Paris and Helen, a moment so feelingly described by many of the authors, are all illustrated on the *cassone* front in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 8).⁴³ The scenes of Venus-worship and of the meeting also appear in a miniature of a fourteenth century manuscript of Benoît's *Roman de Troie*.⁴⁴ Helen remains at the temple, and during the night Paris and his men, after a conference, carry her off, as she desired, along with many of her ladies and a great deal of booty from the temple. The inhabitants of a nearby castle discover what is going on and attempt a rescue, but, after a sharp fight, the Trojans beat them off (fig. 7)⁴⁵ and sail away (fig. 10).⁴⁶

(4) The Return to Troy. After seven days they reach Tenedos, six miles from Troy. Here Helen laments her husband and daughter (Hermione), her people and her possessions; but Paris comforts her eloquently. He sends word of their arrival to Priam, who welcomes them to Troy with great honor, himself leading Helen's horse into the city, where they are received with general rejoicing and festivity.⁴⁷ The next day Paris and Helen are married in the Temple of Pallas,⁴⁸ and celebrations are prolonged for about a week. After a prophecy by Cassandra of the ills to be visited upon Troy as a result of the adventure, which falls on deaf ears as had her previous warning, the scene shifts back to the sorrowing Menelaus and the preparations for the attack on Troy by the angry Greeks.

• • •

The scene appearing in figure 1 is the most

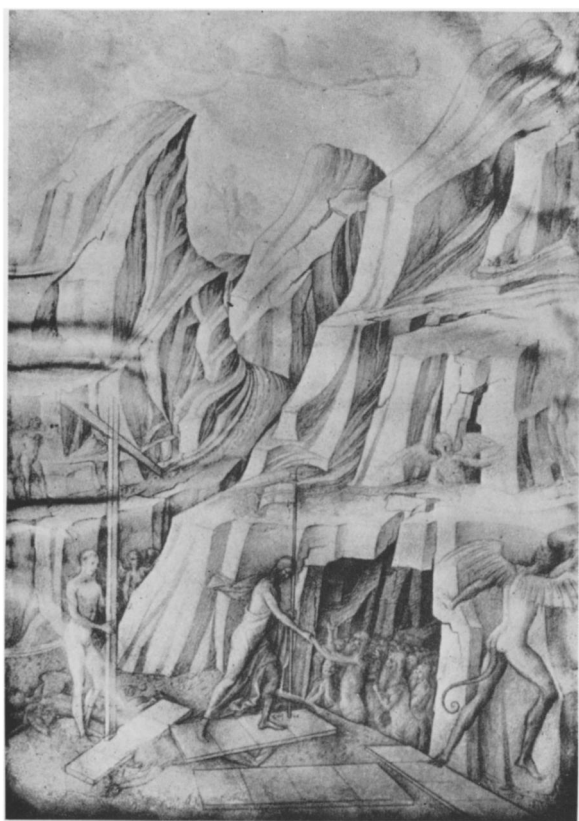


FIGURE 6

PARIS, LOUVRE

JACOPO BELLINI

Descent into Limbo. Pen drawing

difficult to identify of the three Walters paintings. It has been described as a gathering of knights and ladies about to take ship for Cythera.⁴⁹ If, in other words, the event represented here is Helen's departure for the island, it would of course come first in the sequence and would thus help to explain the larger size of the "Abduction" panel by placing it, the second event, in the center of the series.

Helen's embarkation for the island of Venus is rarely mentioned in the various versions of the Troy legend, but in the case of Guido delle Colonne it is described in some detail.⁵⁰ Guido's description is repeated in lively fashion by the Middle English *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (c. 1390). (Here, as in Guido, who is prone to moralize lengthily, it is made abundantly clear that lust to see Paris is Helen's motive for going to the island Temple.)

This Sithera, for sothe, from þe same yle
Of Menelay þe mighty was but a mene spas, . . .
Horses in haste & to hond brought;
The lady full louely was lifte vpon on,
A palfray of prise, prudly atyrit,
And glod on full gayly, þe gaynist to the bonke.
There light þai full lyfely, lept into bote,
And were set ouer soundly into the same yle
Right with a Rother, and a Rayket to bonke.⁵¹

The first printed book in English, Caxton's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (c. 1474), which likewise derives from Guido, narrates the event in practically the same terms.⁵² The scene in figure 1 seems to be quite plausibly the moment when the company is about to enter "into bote"—a moment whose atmosphere of excitement is enhanced by the jester shaking a tambourine. The other possibility, that the scene illustrates the landing at Tenedos, seems a much less likely interpretation.⁵³

Several versions say that there were both married women and maidens among Helen's companions. Thus Benoît, after telling how she was seized, continues

Maintes dames, plusors puceles
Pristent o li riches e beles.⁵⁴

And the *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), specifies

Ben mille donne fo siecho in brigata
Parte donzelle e parte maritate.⁵⁵

The differentiation no doubt explains why the young woman in the center of the picture carries an ermine, the usual symbol for chastity and the unmarried state.⁵⁶

"Elane" and her ladies, as depicted in the "Rauyshyng" scene (fig. 2), seem decidedly to oppose the efforts of Paris and his young men to carry them off. This attitude on Helen's part strikes one as curious when it is recalled that it was the mutual infatuation of Paris and herself, as well Venus' divine sponsorship of their af-

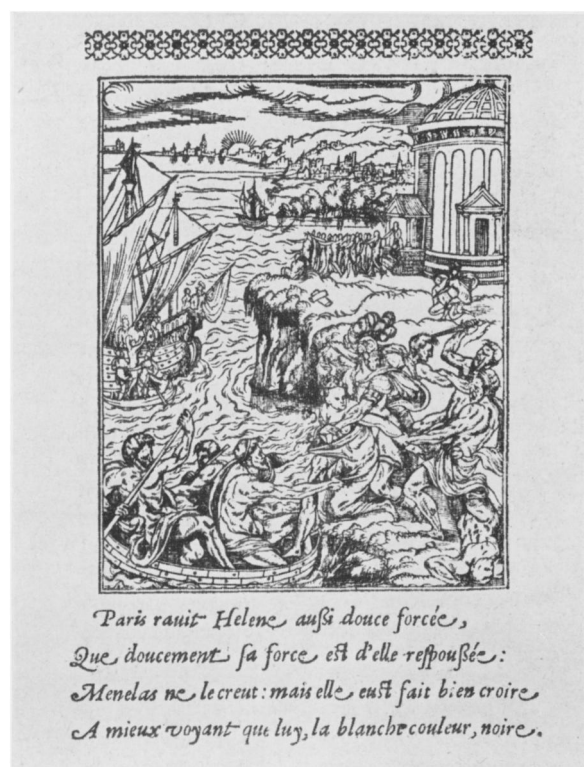


FIGURE 7
The Fight over Helen. (Woodcut from de Bourgueville's
"L'Histoire veritable de la Guerre des Grecs et des Troyens,"
Caen, 1572.)



FIGURE 8

Courtesy of the METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Cassone Front with the Judgment of Paris, the Arrival of Paris and Helen at Cythera and Their Meeting at the Temple of Venus

fair, that made their elopement inevitable. Most accounts, indeed, are quite explicit in regard to Helen's willing attitude, saying that it was her wish to go, that Paris took her away without contradiction or opposition, etc. The authors of this persuasion follow the versions of Benoît and Guido.⁵⁷ The former relates that "*La bele Heleine*" did not show herself at all outraged, "indeed she made it seem like consenting."⁵⁸ Joseph of Exeter (c. 1185-87), England's only Latin epic poet, has Helen stretch out her arms with a joyful cry.⁵⁹ The tradition no doubt goes back to Dares and Dictys, both of whom state that Helen went not unwillingly.⁶⁰

Boccaccio, in his *De claris mulieribus*, is among the few who call attention to Helen's unwillingness. After telling, according to the usual story, how Paris and Helen fell in love with each other, how they came to an understanding, and how Paris bore Helen off in his ship, Boccaccio remarks that "others say" that Helen was taken away by Paris against her will, on which account she deserved to be returned to her husband.⁶¹

There are a number of writers who change the emphasis on consent, as given in Benoît, to one on simulated opposition or who depict an attitude half way between acceptance and regret on Helen's part. Eustache Deschamps in his *Miroir de mariage* (c. 1400) refers to the

notion of Helen's aversion, recalling that

L'istoire dit et si raconte
Qu'elle fu a force ravie.

But "God knows," declares Deschamps, "there is nothing in such a story." On the contrary, he maintains that Helen besides consenting to the departure, cried with "feigned words" as if she were being led away in spite of herself and so that she would receive the more commiseration.⁶²

The account in the *Libro di Troiano* closely parallels the actions portrayed in the Walters picture. It is recounted here that Helen goes to the temple with her matrons and girls in the hope of being seized by Paris, who, when the time arrives, grasps her by the arm and asks her to go with him to Troy. But (at the last moment) she opposes his "lust," whereupon he carries her away "by force" with many other women.⁶³

Konrad von Würzburg, whose *Buch von Troye* was unfinished in some forty thousand lines at his death in 1287, offers a novel account of Helen's abduction in the form of a ruse. Paris has his ship imitate the black and white sails of Menelaus' vessel, and thus disguised he points it out in the distance to Helen so that she will think it is Menelaus returning from his visit to her brothers, Castor and Pollux. Helen is delighted over her husband's homecoming and, after going to the roof of the castle for a better view, she and her ladies accompany Paris to the

shore. When the ship is close at hand, Paris seizes Helen and her companions with a "quick grip" and hastily sails away.⁶⁴ Konrad, thanks to the great and, to the modern reader, overwhelming detail with which he relates the Trojan story, makes clear more than any other early author the reason for Helen's reluctance to elope. The answer is found in her conflicting emotions between her sense of duty to and real affection for Menelaus and her fated love for Paris. In Konrad these conflicting desires and the deliberations thereon are given the most thorough airing, not only at Tenedos,⁶⁵ where most accounts speak of them, but also before the elopement in the interminable scene of heart-searching between Helen and Paris after Menelaus has gone on his visit.⁶⁶

It is easy to see in Konrad's account of these

efforts on the part of Paris and Helen to look at the matter from all angles a reflection of the letters exchanged between the lovers in Ovid's *Heroides* (XVI-XVII).⁶⁷ But Konrad, despite his verbosity, repetitiousness, and endless meandering around the main issues, has the interest, which Ovid lacks, of raising a more genuinely personal and dramatic problem. In contrast to this seriousness, however naïvely expressed, Ovid seems merely to be dallying with a foregone conclusion. The two treatments obviously have two very different aims in mind.

The question of the motives of the main actors in the medieval versions of the Troy legend as compared with the motives appearing in the accounts of Hellenistic and classic times is, indeed, one of foremost interest.⁶⁸ It is a problem, however, that goes far beyond the scope of this



FIGURE 9

*The Garden of Love (?)*¹⁵
(Courtesy of TOMAS HARRIS, ESQ.)

TOMAS HARRIS LTD., LONDON

article. Moreover, the paintings and other illustrations of the legend mentioned here contain little that is of psychological or dramatic interest. Generally speaking, the medieval literature with classical themes is rather more alive in these ways than are the associated figurative arts.⁶⁹

The next incidents in the sequence of events are, as already related, the fight between the Trojans and the local Greeks, and the voyage back to Troy (figs. 7, 10). After seven days, as the usual story goes, Paris and Helen land six miles from Troy at the port of Tenedos, where they are enthusiastically welcomed.

There are two very different accounts of the reception at Troy (fig. 3). On the one hand are the western writers who reflect Dares quite consistently regarding this event; on the other hand, there is the version given by Dictys and his followers. In the former case, as mentioned above, Paris and Helen are welcomed to the city with great honor, Priam himself taking the lead, and while details vary from version to version, the main features reappear regularly. Hecuba, without doubt the crowned older woman in the painting, is rarely mentioned. In the *Libro di Troiano*, however, which differs in a number of ways from the usual recitations, she brings her two young daughters, Andromeda and Polyxena, into the palace hall to greet *la raina elena*. Hecuba then embraces Helen and with Priam comforts her and allays her fears. The elements here fit closely, no doubt as closely as one could expect, the action in the picture.⁷⁰

With Dictys (*Cap. VII*), we find quite another story: here Hecuba plays the most important part. When Paris and Helen arrive at Troy, the whole city execrates their villainy and deplores the injury to Menelaus. Priam is disturbed by the popular tumult and calls a conference of his sons, but they, the nobles, with one voice agree that Helen must on no account be returned; they are

stirred by her wealth and the beauty of her companions.⁷¹ For, to be sure, observes the Cretan Dictys, barbarians are easily moved when there's booty to be had. Priam next democratically summons all the people (*Cap. VIII*), but before they can reach a decision the princes break up the meeting. When the shouting of the populace continues, Paris and his brothers attack the multitude and kill many, but others are saved by the intervention of a faction of the nobles under the leadership of Antenor. At this juncture (*Cap. IX*), Helen is greeted kindly by Hecuba, whose first thought is of her daughter-in-law's ancestry. Helen recites the names of her progenitors in their order, showing that she is more closely related to Paris than to the Greeks. Weeping, she prays that she will not be driven away; as for her wealth, she brought only what was her own. (Whether the motive for her prayer is love of Paris or fear of punishment for deserting her home remains in doubt, declares the author.) When Hecuba is satisfied that she and Helen are related (*Cap. X*), she embraces her and promises that she will not be sent away. Priam and the princes believe, however, that they must not further resist the people. But Hecuba holds stubbornly to her decision and wins over Priam and the others. "Thus was the public good corrupted by maternal indulgence."⁷²

The events related here in Chapters IX and X of Dictys' *Ephemeris Belli Troiani* are also indicative of the action in the painting; as though Hecuba had just won her point, which she reaffirms to the young woman at her left, while Priam (against his better judgment) receives Helen, stretching out his hands to help her up from her prayerful position. It is, on the face of the matter, perhaps impossible to say whether the painted scene has its reference in Dictys or in the tradition represented by the *Libro di Troiano*. This printed version derives, according to Gorra, from Guido and a Franco-Italian version,

to which the author has added many interpolations of his own.⁷³ Since this western tradition was predominately the source for the various illustrations, as the evidence which has been introduced shows, it seems unlikely that the scene of reception at the Trojan Court should have come directly from the legend's Dictyan branch.

The discussion may be concluded with the final passages of Dictys' Chapter X. Here an event of truly dramatic possibilities takes place. After Hecuba had won over the others, Menelaus enters (!), with his men, seeking his wife and those things which had been taken from him. Priam then lets Helen make her own decision in front of the people. And it is reported, says Dictys, that she said she had sailed not unwillingly, nor had she agreed to matrimony with Menelaus. And so the princes, having Helen, went out of the assembly not without exultation.

Superbi Paridis
leve iudicium
Helenę species
amata nimium
fit casus Troię
deponens Ilium⁷⁴



FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY
The Voyage to Troy. (Woodcut from Boccaccio, "De claris mulieribus," Ulm, 1473, Cap. XXXV.)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The panels measure, No. 1178 (fig. 1), H.: 5 ft. x W.: 7 ft. 10½ in.; No. 1179 (fig. 2), H.: 5 ft. 1 in. x W.: 9 ft. 8¼ in.; No. 1180 (fig. 3), H.: 5 ft. x W.: 7 ft. 11¼ in. Both Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), p. 598, and van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, XVII (The Hague, 1935), p. 43, give the numbers incorrectly as 1462-64. The pictures were formerly in the Galli-Dunn coll., Pogibonsi and, later, Rome, which was sold at the Galleria Sangiorgi, Palazzo Borghese, Rome, in May 1905. They are listed as No. 142 in the catalogue of that sale under the name of Vittorio Carpaccio, and with the same descriptions as given by A. Venturi in *L'Arte*, VIII (1905), 225. For certain examples closely allied in style, see note 15.

² See note 1.

³ A. Venturi, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Berenson, in *Art in America*, III (1915), 51-55 and *Venetian Painting in America* (New York, 1916), p. 11, says that he knew the pictures many years ago as passing for Cossa's and as school of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo at the time they entered the Walters collection.

⁵ The date 1465 is suggested in *Art in Amer.*, as above, p. 55, and 1470 in *Ven. Ptg. in Amer.*, p. 10. Assuming the comparisons with Antonio Vivarini to be pertinent, these dates should be close to the truth. To attempt an exact dating by means of the costumes is hazardous in that a given costume may have come into use earlier or lingered on longer in one locality than in another. Cf., however, the *Chavalier* of the so-called Tarocchi card [G. Fiocco, *L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna* (Bologna, 1927), p. 161] of the E series, dated before 1468 by A. M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching* (London, 1923), p. 54.

⁶ Van Marle, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. van Marle, *loc. cit.*, figs. 2, 8, 10, 11, 12.

⁸ Fiocco, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32, 35. The Asolo fragment is tentatively ascribed by Fiocco to Uccello, who made a sojourn in Venice c. 1425-32 (*vide* van Marle, *op. cit.*, X, pp. 204-5).

⁹ Van Marle, *op. cit.*, VIII, fig. 74.

¹⁰ The greyhound, or whippet as the case may be, has one of the longest and most continuous histories in art of all animals. In connection with the specimen here, *vide* A. Vivarini and Giov. d'Alemania (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVII, fig. 17); Pisanello (*ibid.*, VIII, fig. 42); Giovannino de' Grassi (*ibid.*, VII, fig. 45); Uccello (*ibid.*, X, figs. 134-5).

¹¹ Viz. van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVII, figs. 16 and 17.

¹² Cf. van Marle, *loc. cit.*, fig. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fig. 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 31, 36, 46, 48, 53, 54 and Venturi, *Storia*, VII, 1, fig. 184. For the setting outside the city gate in fig. 1, cf. Duccio's "Entry into Jerusalem" (van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 21); for the rocky formation in the center, cf. Simone Martini (van Marle, *loc. cit.*, fig. 156); and for the bushy trees, Duccio (van Marle, *loc. cit.*, fig. 24).

¹⁵ Fiocco, *op. cit.*, p. 59 and van Marle, *op. cit.*, XVII, fig. 21.

Through the kind advice of Sir Kenneth Clark, four large panel-paintings similar in style to the Walters pictures have come to the writer's attention:

(1) "The Garden of Love" (?) (fig. 9). In the possession of Tomas Harris, Ltd., London. Panel, H.: 4 ft. 10½ in. x W.: 7 ft. 10 in. Formerly the property of the late Mrs. S. M. Crossley, Burton Pynsent, Curry Revel, Somerset (Sale *Catalogue* by Wooley and Wallis, 22-24 March, 1939, Lot 475, illus.; ascribed to Carlo Crivelli). One of the ladies draws water from the fountain basin with a small suction pump. The rectangle-and-disc treatment of the marble railing recalls this feature in the Walters panel (fig. 3) and the Asolo fragment mentioned above. Making allowances for retouches, the style of the Burton Pynsent picture is so close to that of the Walters examples that it seems very probable that both came from the same workshop.

(2) Mr. Tomas Harris informs me that he has another panel corresponding to the preceding, without the figures or the fountain. An illustration was not available for this article.

(3) "A Lady and Gentleman in a Rose Garden." Panel, H.: 4 ft. 11 in. x W.: 7 ft. 7 in. Listed in the sale catalogue of Christie, Manson and Woods, London, June 9, 1939, No. 110, as Antonio Vivarini. Judging from a photograph, this picture has been decidedly retouched, especially the two figures. Otherwise it corresponds closely in style with (1) above. No doubt all three paintings were once part of the same set. The half-length figures when seen above the wainscoting of a room would have appeared with very much the same effect as the figures in the similarly placed frescoes of romance scenes in the Palazzo Davanzati, Florence (*vide Les Arts*, August, 1911, pp. 28 ff.).

(4) A Lady with a Unicorn against a background of bushy trees. Archepiscopal Museum, Esztergom, Hungary. Referred to as school of Antonio Pisanello. Panel, dimensions not available, proportions nearly square. The lady, unimbed, has been referred to as St. Justina; if so she is probably the patroness of Venice and Padua rather than St. Justina of Antioch, whose symbol of the unicorn the former sometimes has. The style is quite close to the Walters pictures and the other three listed above.

¹⁶ *Viz.* the Second Pompeian Style; *vide* M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931), pp. 326 ff.

¹⁷ Regarding cornice-pictures, examples of them and their subjects, see Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 10-11. Schubring's basic work is of course the point-of-departure for any such study as the present one. As this author remarks, cornice-pictures became steadily larger throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for the last one has only to recall the huge Venetian pieces. Tiepolo's canvas, "Jugurtha before the Consul Marius" in the Walters Gallery (No. 657), measures H.: 9 ft. 2 in. x W.: 16 ft.

For Lorenzo de' Medici's "Story of Paris" by Uccello and the name *quadri corniciati*, see Vasari, *Le Vite*, etc., ed. Milanese, II (Florence, 1878), p. 208, n. 4. According to Schubring, *loc. cit.*, Vasari himself used the term *tavolati sovrastanti* for these pictures.

¹⁸ Schubring, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and Vasari, *op. cit.*, II, p. 148.

¹⁹ Schubring, *op. cit.*, Supplement (Leipzig, 1923), No. 942; as in the collection of "Harry Walkers." F. J. Mather, Jr., *Venetian Painters* (New York, 1936), p. 38.

²⁰ See note 69-c.

²¹ There are a number of excellent general accounts of the history and various compartments of the Troy legend. Perhaps the most serviceable in English is that of Mary Elizabeth Barnicle in *The Seege or Batayle of Troye* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1927) (Early Eng. Text Soc., Original Series, No. 172). See also C. H. A. Wager (ed.), *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899), introduction; H. O. Sommer (ed.), *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye Written in French by Raoul Lefevre, Translated and Printed by William Caxton about 1474*, 2 vols. (London, 1894); N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys, an Introduction to the Study of the Mediaeval Versions of the Story of Troy* (Baltimore, 1907); and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1911), XXVII, pp. 317 f. For more detailed accounts consult: A. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More ou les métamorphoses d'Homère et de l'épopée gréco-latine au moyen âge*, 2 parts in 2 vols. (Paris, 1870-71) (the first part contains the historical account; the second part the text of the poem); L. Constans, *Le Roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, tome VI (Paris, 1912); and E. Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana, preceduti da uno studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia* (Turin, 1887) [for a criticism of this work, see H. Morf in *Romania*, XXI (1892), 90 ff.]. The above works contain the bibliography of earlier research. They are referred to hereinafter simply by the name of the author or editor.

²² Regarding the many Mss. of Dares, Dictys and Benoît, especially, *cf.* the notes in Sommer, pp. xx ff.; "Dares" and "Dictys" in M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935); for Benoît, Constans, VI, Ch. I. See also Barnicle, p. 228, n. 5.

²³ See the standard works in this field: J.-Ch. Brunet, *Manuel du librairie*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1860-65); W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1895-1902); *Cat. of the Books Printed in the XV Century Now in the British Museum*, VII parts (London, 1908-35); and the definitive, when complete, *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1925-38). For the early printed books in the Walters Art Gallery; [L. S. Olschki], *Incunabula typographica, A Descriptive Cat. of the Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century (1460-1500) in the Library of Henry Walters* (Baltimore, 1906).

²⁴ See note 29.

²⁵ Gorra, p. 392, n. 1; Constans, VI, Ch. VI (*Allusions au Roman de Troie*), *passim*.

²⁶ Schubring, p. 182.

²⁷ H. Morf in *Romania*, XXI (1892), 90.

²⁸ Gorra, pp. 58 ff.; Sommer, pp. xvii-xviii (source of the above quotations); Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 6. Joly, pt. 1, p. 525, recounts that the monk Rigord, who died about 1208, wrote a history of Philip Augustus in which he explains, in telling of the legend that the French had a Trojan origin, that Paris was named after Paris Alexander, son of Priam. According to L. Dubech and P. D'Espezel, *Histoire de Paris* (Paris, 1931), I, p. 15, the Parisii are named for the first time in Caesar's *Gallie War* (VI, 3). Regarding the account of Rigord and others, including that in the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, of the different branches of the Trojans and their paternity of various nations, see Joly, *op. cit.*, pp. 525 ff., 585-6, 603. A publication of the Renaissance "intended to serve as a correction and completion of all previous historical works" is the *Supplementum chronicarum* of Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis. The Trojan story and the accounts of the cities established by the Trojan heroes begin on f. 28 vo. (*anno mundi* 3962) of the edition of Bernardinus Rizius de Novaria, Venice, 1492 (Walters Gallery).

²⁹ The following are the versions and editions used in this study:

The *Cypria*, or *Cyprian Lays*, ascribed to Stasinus of Cyprus (c. 670 B. C. ?), but also to Hegesinus of Salamis, narrates the events preceding the action of the *Iliad*. This material is known only from summaries by various subsequent authors. Publ. in H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (Loeb Class. Lib., London and New York, 1914).

Dares Phrygius, De Excidio Troiae Historia, ed. by F. Meister (Leipzig, 1873).

Dictys Cretensis, Ephemeris Belli Troiani, ed. by F. Meister (Leipzig, 1872).

Hyginus, Caius Julius (1st cent. A. D.), *Fabulae*, pub. with Fulgentius (6th cent. A. D.), *Mythologicon*, in A. van Staveren (ed.), *Auctores mythographi latini* (Lyon, 1742); and by M. Schmidt (ed.), *Hygini Fabuli* (Jena, 1874).

Dracontius, Blossius Aemilius (c. 450 A. D.), *Raptus Helenae*, in the appendix to the *Opera*, ed. by A. Mai (Rome, 1871).

Colluthus (c. 500 A. D.), *Helenae raptus*, in A. W. Mair, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (Loeb Class. Lib., London and New York, 1928).

Benoît de Sainte-More, *Le Roman de Troie* (c. 1155-60), ed. by L. Constans, *op. cit.*, after all the Mss. known; 6 vols. (Paris, 1904-12). See also A. Joly, *op. cit.*

Joseph of Exeter (Josephus Iscanus, d. 1210), *De Bello Trojano* (c. 1187), in vol. II of A. J. Valpy's ed. of *Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius*, etc. (London, 1825).

Herbert von Fritzlar (early 13th cent.), *Liet von Troye*, ed. by G. K. Frommann in *Bibliothek des gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, I Abthlg., 5 Band* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1837).

Konrad von Würzburg (d. 1287), *Buch von Troye*, ed. by A. von Keller in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins*, XLIV (Stuttgart, 1858).

Guido delle Colonne (de Columnis), *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287), ed. by N. E. Griffin (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

La Istorieta trojana, Gorra, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff., 387 ff.; from an early 14th cent. Ms.

Armanno (Armanni, Armannino) Giudice da Bologna, *Fiorita* (early 14th cent.); Gorra, pp. 214 ff., 532 ff.

Mazzeo Bellebuoni da Pistoia; Gorra, pp. 173 f., 443 ff.; from two Mss., one of which bears the date 1333, the other has the rubric: *Quando Paris andò in Grecia per Elena*.

Codex riccardi 881; Gorra, pp. 241-3 (date? "... illustrata da molte figure colorate").

The Seege or Batayle of Troye, a Middle English Metrical Romance (early 14th cent.), ed. by Mary Elizabeth Barnicle (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1927), (Early Eng. Text Soc., Orig. Series, No. 172).

The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy (c. 1390), ed. by G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson. Publ. for the Early Eng. Text Soc. by N. Trübner (London, 1869-74).

The Laud Troy Book, a Romance of about 1400 A. D., ed. by J. E. Wülfing (London, 1902), (Early Eng. Text Soc., Orig. Series, No. 121).

Eustache Deschamps, *Le Miroir de mariage* (c. 1400). Quoted in Constans, VI, p. 377.

Lydgate's Troy Book, A. D. 1414-1420, ed. by H. Bergen (London, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1935), (Early Eng. Text Soc., Extra Series, Nos. 97, 103, 106, 126).

Early printed versions:

Lefevre and Caxton: *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye, Written in French by Raoul Lefevre* (c. 1464-67), *Translated and Printed by William Caxton about A. D. 1474*. Ed. by H. O. Sommer, 2 vols. (London, 1894).

Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, etc. (Johann Zainer, Ulm, 1473). *Cap. xxxv. Vide* Figure 10 (Walters Gallery; *Gesamtkat.* Bd. 4, 1930, 4483, does not list the Walters copy, nor is it in Olschki, *op. cit.*). See also Heinrich Steinhövel, *Von etlichen frauen* (Anton Sorg, Augsburg, 1479). The 79 woodcuts herein are taken from the Ulm ed. of 1473, recut and reversed. (The Walters copy is not listed in the *Gesamtkat.*, *loc. cit.*, 4487, nor in Olschki, *op. cit.*) The Steinhövel translation was edited by K. Drescher (Tübingen, 1895); *vide* p. 126. Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, *De claris mulieribus* (Laurentius de Rubens de Valentia, Ferrara, 1497); *vide* folio xxv verso-xxvi recto (Walters Gallery). See further, Donato di Albanzani di Casentino, *Delle donne famose di Giovanni Boccaccio*, 3rd ed., Bologna, 1881.

Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum*, etc. (Manfredus de Monteferato, Venice, 1497); *vide Lib. VI, Cap. xxii; Lib. XII, Cap. xii.* (Walters Gallery).

Petrarca, *Sonetti, canzoni e trionfi con commento di Franc. Filelfo e di Bernardo Glicino* (Bartholomaeus de Zani, Venice, 1497); *vide*, fol. 9 recto (Walters Gallery).

Libro di Troiano (Jacopo di Carlo, Venice, 1491). (Walters Gallery; *cf.* Olschki, *op. cit.*, p. 475). The contents of this poem are outlined by Gorra, pp. 294 ff. under the heading of printed versions, where, p. 294, n. 3, he mentions an edition of Florence, 1491. According, however, to information kindly supplied by Dr. Kurt Ohly, Director of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, this is the same edition as that given above, the confusion arising from the fact that the editor calls himself *prete fiorentino*. Dr. Ohly writes that there is an earlier edition, that of Luca Dominici, Venice, 1483.

The divers versions other than those used here, including the Spanish, Dutch, Irish, Norse, Slavic, etc., will be found conveniently discussed in Barnicle, *op. cit.*, *Introduction* and *Appendix B*.

For the Byzantine writers, see note 33.

³⁰ According to Sommer, p. xxii, the earliest manuscript of Dictys dates about 150 A. D.

Geoffrey of Waterford, a thirteenth century Irish monk, rendered a Dares in French prose (Barnicle, p. 222, n. 3), and Ioannis de Fliccecourt (Flixecourt=Flissicuria, Somme) translated Dares in 1272, "*du Latin en Romans mot à mot*". See Joly, pt. I, p. 173, and Chevalier, *Repertoire des sources historiques du moyen age*, Bio-bibl., II, 2411.

³¹ Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, pp. 15-17.

³² Meister, *Dares*, p. 1; Sommer, pp. xix-xx; Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³³ The attitude of the Byzantine writers toward Homer is

summed up in Gorra's remark (p. 3) concerning Tzetzes, who, "*ad esempio, si vanta di esser molto più fedele di Omero alla verità storica*." For the principal Byzantine chroniclers of the legend (Malalas, John of Antioch, Georgias Cedrenos, Tzetzes), see Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff. *Re the Homeristae Latini*, see N. E. Lemaire (ed.), *Poetae Latini minores in Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, etc., III (Paris, 1824), pp. 455-514.

³⁴ This date for the Roman follows the opinion of Constans (VI, p. 190); other scholars put it as late as 1184. Joly, pt. I, p. 26, inclines to the date 1175. The name *Sainte-More* may derive from *Sainte-Maure* (Aube); *vide* Chevalier, Bio-bibl. I, p. 526.

³⁵ Guido's indebtedness to Benoît was first demonstrated in detail by H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen* (Leipzig, 1869); *cf.* Barnicle, p. 226.

³⁶ On Guido, *cf.* Constans, VI, p. 318 ff.

³⁷ A *resumé* of the medieval versions of Paris' Youth, Judgment and Sojourn in Greece is given by Barnicle, pp. lxiv-lxxi. The principal sources are Ovid, *Heroides*, Hyginus, *Fabulae* and Dares. *Cf.* H. Morf in *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 190-191. The three subjects of the Paris legend most commonly represented in art are the scenes of his Youth, the Judgment (*vide* note 38) and the Rape of Helen (*vide* note 69-c). Judging from the available evidence, the two latter scenes appear in painting almost to the exclusion of all other events.

The scenes of Paris' Youth appear mostly on ivory caskets of the Embriacchi type. The principal account of these ivory carvings is that of Julius von Schlosser in *Jahrbuch der kunsth. Sammlungen des allerhöch. Kaiserhauses*, XX (Vienna, 1899), 220 ff. In addition to the material given by von Schlosser, see: Coffer in the Walters Gallery (No. 71.242); *Cat. des objets d'art*, etc., *Coll. Bourgeois Frères* (Cologne, 1904), No. 1058; Fritz Witte (ed.), *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln* (Berlin, 1912), Taf. 86; Otto Pelka, *Elfenbein* (Berlin, 1923), second ed., pp. 226-7; R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), Pl. CCXXXI, No. 1328-A (Louvre); *Cat. of Carvings in Ivory, Pt. II, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1929), p. 67, 357-357c; M. A. Wyman, in *The Art Bulletin* XVIII (1936), 6. Also Schubring, *op. cit.*, Nos. 884-885 (pp. 32-3, 416), "early Giorgione"; *cf.* D. Phillips, *The Leadership of Giorgione* (Washington, 1937), p. 34.

³⁸ Barnicle, *loc. cit.*; von Schlosser, *loc. cit.* The examples in Schubring are: No. 69 (Pl. X, p. 233, stucco relief; see No. 234, p. 70); Nos. 88-89 (Pl. XIII, p. 238); No. 163 (Pl. XXXIII, pp. 27, 260); Nos. 165-166 (Paris' dream; Pl. XXXIV, pp. 65, 261); No. 168 (Pl. XXXV, p. 261), on the left, Jupiter directs the three goddesses to Paris; incorrectly placed in the Johnson coll., Philadelphia; actually in the Fogg Art Museum, *vide*, *Cat.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), No. 13, illus.; No. 179 (Pl. XXXVII, p. 263; "with the ships to take Paris to Sparta"); No. 480 (Pl. CXIV, pp. 138, 334); No. 648 (Pl. CXL, p. 369; double scene); No. 872 (p. 414; over a bed). For the two rather similar compositions by Lucas Cranach, see that in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and that in a private coll. in Darmstadt, C. Gläser, *Die altdeutsche Malerei* (Munich, 1924), Abb. 288.

There is a woodcut of the scene, coupled with the Fight between the Greeks and Trojans (*vide* note 45), in the *Destructie van Troyen* (Roelant van den Dorpe, Antwerp, n. d.), fol. 1, vo. [Illus. in L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres du quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, II (Brussels, 1932), No. 1258.] Mr. Curt Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, kindly informs me that the woodcuts in this work were apparently first used in *Die alder. excellenste Cronike van Brabant*, published by the same printer on Feb. 28, 1498, and that they were used again by a number of Antwerp printers of the early sixteenth century. For the *Cronike*, *vide* Polain, *op. cit.*, I, No. 1063.

See, further, *grisaille* enamel plaque, one of five, on a gilded wood coffer, by Pierre Reymond, sixteenth century, in coll. of Ch. Mannheim [*Cat. rédigé par E. Molinier* (Paris, 1898), No. 179]; Limoges enamel tazza, Pierre Courtois (?), and Limoges enamel mirror-back, sixteenth-seventeenth century, Walters Art Gallery, Nos. 44.131 and 44.169, respectively. Still further examples of the Judgment of Paris will be found in Marc Rosenberg,

Von Paris von Troja bis zum König von Mercia, etc., privately printed (Darmstadt, 1930).

³⁹ The Walters Gallery has a Coptic ivory pyx (No. 71.64), ascribed to the fifth century, with the scenes of Eris tossing in the apple at the feast and the Judgment of Paris.

⁴⁰ The carrying off of Hesione is the subject of a woodcut (p. 12) in *L'Histoire véritable de la Guerre des Grecs, et des Troyens . . . écrite premierement en Grec par Dares de Phrygie: depuis Traduit en Latine par Cornille Nepuen: & faite Française par Charles de Bourgueville, A Caen par Benedic Macé, 1572*. A facsimile of this book was made at Caen in 1893.

⁴¹ The conference of Priam and his sons on Antenor's return is one of the scenes of the Trojan War tapestries made at Tournai and presented by the city of Bruges to Charles the Bold in 1474. Cassandra, prophetess of disaster for the Trojan venture, appears in a tower window. All the tapestries of the series mentioned in this article are in Zamora Cathedral; *vide* M. Gomez-Moreno, *Cat. monumental de España, Prov. de Zamora* (1903-5), 2 vols. (Madrid, 1927), pp. 128-131, Pls. 132-34; also, G. L. Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (London and Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 73-78, 247-8; this book discusses the Louvre designs (illustrated in *Encyclo. Britan.*, 11th ed., XXVI, Pl. III).

There is a scene suggestive of Priam and his sons in council at the head of Book XII of a French moralized version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Colard Mansion, Bruges, 1484), though such a scene does not fit the text. The text tells of the rites for Aescasus and the illustration doubtless goes with it but the connection is not altogether clear. The other half of the woodcut shows the "Rape of Helen," the text reading: ". . . Paris, who a little later brought a long-continued war upon his country with his stolen wife." See Polain, *op. cit.*, III, 2955. The woodcuts in the Bruges 1484 edition were used again in the Paris editions of Antoine Verard in the 1490's (Polain, *loc. cit.*, 2956), and Mr. Philip Hofer has a Paris edition of 1525 with the same illustrations.

⁴² The voyage to Greece appears on the Zamora Cathedral tapestry with the Council scene (Gomez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, Pl. 132).

⁴³ *Vide* H. B. Wehle in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, Jan. 1939), p. 20. Paris' voyage to Cythera is doubtless represented by the little boat in the left middle distance.

⁴⁴ *Codex Petropolitanus*, Leningrad; *vide* E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Classical Studies in Mediaeval Art in Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV (1933), 259-60, fig. 49. The scene shows various worshippers at the temple besides Paris and Helen and their retinues, and behind the altar appear two men, perhaps priests, recalling the two figures in the temple of the Walters abduction scene. The miniature referred to illustrates line 4339 ff. in Benoît (Constans, I, p. 223):

"Tant fist, tant dist, tant porchaça,
E tant revint e tant ala,
Que il la vit e ele lui:
Mout s'entresguarderent andui," etc.

The presence of various people at the temple is explained by the fact that, as mentioned by several accounts, a festival was being celebrated. In Herbert von Fritzlar (Frommann, p. 29), Paris arrives at the temple while a wedding is taking place.

⁴⁵ The fight between the Trojans and the men of the nearby castle (as distinct from the struggle between the Trojans and the defenders of the temple, mentioned in several accounts) occurs in: Dares (Meister, p. 12); Dracontius (Mai, p. 16)—Paris and Helen look back and see a large crowd coming after them, Paris fears a fight, loses his courage and proposes that they die together, but Helen urges flight and they escape; Benoît (Constans, I, pp. 232 ff.); Herbert von Fritzlar (Frommann, p. 31); Guido (Griffin, pp. 75-6); *Cod. riccardi* 881 (Gorra, p. 241); *Istorieta trojana* (Gorra, p. 458); Bellebuoni (Gorra, p. 543); *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), *Cap. 7, cant. 3* (Gorra, p. 324); *Seege of Troye* (Barnicle, pp. 61, 81), Lydgate (Bergen, p. 254); Caxton (Sommer, p. 534). The fight is not mentioned by the *Cypria*; Dictys (Meister, p. 4); Colluthus; Joseph of Exeter (Valpy, p. 453); Konrad von Würzburg (A. von Keller, p. 269); Armanno's *Fiorita* (Gorra, p. 543).

Besides fig. 7 (from de Bourgueville, *op. cit.*, p. 18), see Polain, *op. cit.*, No. 1258; Pierre Reymond's *grisaille* enamel on a coffer cover (Ch. Mannheim coll., *Cat.* by E. Molinier, *op. cit.*, No. 179); Limoges enamel plate by Martin Didier (c. 1600, Charbonell coll., in Ph. Burty, *Chefs-d'oeuvre of the Industrial Arts* (New York, 1869), p. 235; French (?) ivory, seventeenth century, in C. Scherer, *Die Braunschweiger Elfenbeinsammlung* (Leipzig, 1931), No. 259, Taf. 41; Majolica dish, Urbino, part of a set made for Guidobaldo II della Rovere (d. 1574), by the Fontana bottega (Walters Art Gallery, No. 48.1375).

⁴⁶ On the woodcuts in the Ulm Boccaccio (*vide* note 29), *cf.* E. Rosenthal, *Zu Anfänger der Holzschnittillustration in Ulm in Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft*, VI (Leipzig, 1913), 185.

The voyage to Tenedos is not mentioned by: Dictys; Colluthus; Dracontius; Armanno; *Cod. riccardi*; *Seege of Troye*; *Istorieta trojana*; Boccaccio, *Geneal. deorum*; Bergomensis, *De clar. mulierb.*; Petrarca, *Sonnetti*, etc. (Venice, 1497), *Cap. I*.

The voyage is briefly mentioned, the reception at Tenedos is told of and Helen's lamentations there are described in: Dares (Meister, p. 13); de Bourgueville, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Benoît (Constans, I, pp. 237-45); Guido (Griffin, pp. 76-7); Joseph of Exeter (Valpy, pp. 453-55); Lydgate (Bergen, p. 255); Caxton (Sommer, p. 534); Tenedos is here declared to be three miles from Troy); Herbert (Frommann, p. 31); Konrad (A. von Keller, pp. 270-72); Bellebuoni (Gorra, p. 543).

Helen's lamentations on the voyage occur in the *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), *Cap. 7, cant. 12-22* (*vide* Gorra, p. 324) and the *Laud Troy Book* (Wülfing, p. 87).

⁴⁷ The welcome by Priam with "*Troies la grant*" in the background is illustrated in one of the Zamora Cathedral tapestries (Gomez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, Pl. 134).

⁴⁸ The Marriage of Paris and Helen is the subject of a fifteenth-century tapestry illustrated in G. L. Hunter, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, ia.

⁴⁹ A. Venturi in *L'Arte*, VIII (1905), p. 225.

⁵⁰ Guido (Griffin, p. 71); "Non enim a Menelay regno extiterat Cytharea remota, cum uelut in eius opposito constituta ab ipsius finibus modico freto distaret. Nec mora, equi parantur et comites et Helena cum suis comitibus in regio apparatu breui remige nauigauit, vbi tam ab incolis quam ab aliis uelud regina ipsius insule fuit in multo honore recepta. Ipsa demum causa sui soluendi uoti Veneris templum adiuit ibique suas oblationes de Veneri in multis et preciosis muneribus presentauit."

⁵¹ *Id.*, pp. 70-71; *Gest Hystoriale* (Panton and Donaldson, pp. 95-8): ". . . *pe gaynist to the bonke* = the first to the bank (shore); *Rother* = sailor; *Rayket* = a wending to. The location of *pe same yle of Menelay* is not given; nor in Guido (*vide* note 52).

⁵² Sommer, II, pp. 518-31. The bearing of the other versions of the legend on this scene is contained in note 69-b.

⁵³ The sense of the scene does not suggest a welcome so much as some action on the part of the young women; the three young men and the jester look rather more like members of the group than a welcoming committee of Tenedeans, who received Paris and Helen with *grant joie* according to Benoît (Constans, I, p. 237) and others. By the same tokens, the scene scarcely represents the arrival at Troy (or its port); *vide* note 48.

The designs on the pennants of the ship here and in figure 2 have been taken for crescent moons (Berenson, *Venet. Ptg. in Amer.*, p. 16), but a close view shows them to be the letter C; perhaps an allusion to Cytherea.

⁵⁴ Constans, I, p. 232.

⁵⁵ *Cap. 6, canto 10*.

⁵⁶ *Viz.* illustrations of Petrarch's "Triumph of Chastity"; *vide* Schubring, Pls. XLVII (No. 214), LX (No. 266), LXXXVII (No. 373); Petrarca, *Sonetti, canzoni e trionfi*, etc. (Venice, 1497), woodcut on fol. 34 v.; etc. *Cf.* the tapestry mentioned by G. L. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, with Paris and Helen under the chariot wheels in the "Triumph of Love."

⁵⁷ Guido (Griffin, p. 75); "Reginam Helenam et omnes eius comites Paris propria manu cepit, in qua nullius resistencie contradiccione inuenit, dum animasset eam consensus pocius quam dissensus."

⁵⁸ Constans, I, p. 232.

⁵⁹ Valpy ed., p. 453:

Rapit ergo Lacaenam
Tendentemque manus et laeta fronte vocantem
Dardanus: aut rapitur potius.

On Joseph of Exeter cf. W. B. Sedgwick in *Speculum*, V (1930), 49 ff.

⁶⁰ Meister, *Dares*, p. 12; *ibid.*, *Dictys*, p. 9.

⁶¹ *De claris mulieribus*, see note 69-a.

⁶² Constans, VI, p. 377.

⁶³ *Cap. 7, canto 3*.

⁶⁴ A. von Keller, p. 269.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 270 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-65.

⁶⁷ Cf. Barnicle, p. lxxi; and *Iliad*, III, 421.

⁶⁸ Cf. J. J. Parry in *Speculum*, VI (1931), 483: "One reason why the love service of Chrétien [de Troyes] is so different from the love service of Ovid is that men came to think of love as ennobling as well as refining, and one would like more information on this point."

⁶⁹ (a) Helen's attitude to elopement with Paris is one of entire willingness in the following accounts: Dares (Meister, p. 12); Colluthus (Mair, p. 565; here Helen herself proposes marriage, "since Cythereia, queen of wedlock, bids"); Dracontius (Mai, p. 16; commanded by the Fates and urged on by Jove, who ordained two husbands, Helen herself here likewise proposes marriage to Paris); Benoît (Constans, I, p. 232); Joseph of Exeter (Valpy, p. 282); Guido (Griffin, p. 75, see note 57); *Istorietta trojana* (Gorra, p. 387; Helen replies to Paris' politely put proposal, "*La forza è tua*"; Paris thanks her and leads her off by the hand along with her companions); Bellebuoni (Gorra, p. 242); *Cod. riccardi 881* (Gorra, p. 242; Helen herself proposes flight); *Gest Hystoriale* (Panton and Donaldson, p. 104; Paris seized the "proude qwene . . . as hir assent was"), *Laud Troy Book* (Wülfing, p. 86; "And Paris toke that lady swete And led hir to his shippis schete"); Lydgate (Bergen, p. 254; Paris takes up Helen with great reverence in his two arms and she offered no manner of resistance); Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum* (Venice, 1497), *Lib. XII, Cap. XII, De Menelao*.

The versions which show or allude to Helen's attitude as a mixture of desire, hesitation, remorse, last minute fear, etc., are: Konrad (see notes 64-66 *includ.*); *Seege of Troye* (Barnicle, pp. 60, 180-81; although Helen had quite made up her mind to go she "wept and made a great cry" when the moment came); Deschamps (Constans, VI, p. 377); Armanno (Gorra, p. 543; Paris " . . . prese Elena con molte altre compagna, la quale bene che se ne monstasse crucciosa ne fu molto contenta"); *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), *Cap. 6, cant. 10* (*vide* Gorra, p. 324); Caxton (Sommer, p. 533). In Herbort, Helen's reaction at the moment of abduction is not commented upon, but she laments greatly after the arrival at Tenedos (*vide* Frommann, p. 30).

Boccaccio's mention of Helen's unwillingness is in the *De clar. mulierb.* (Ulm, 1473), *Cap. XXXV, De Helena*.

(b) Schubring speaks of the abduction of Helen taking place at the temple of Venus in Sparta (*Cassoni, Kat. nos. 211, 280, 476*), but there is considerable variation among the several authors as to (i) the location of Helen's residence and (ii) the spot where Paris seized her. This matter of locations may be divided into four versions:

(1) All the events take place at Sparta, the home of Menelaus and Helen; consequently no departure for Cythera occurs. As the word *Lacedemonia* shows, this is the version followed by the woodcut in figure 10. *Cypria* (Evelyn-White, p. 491; the abduction is made, apparently from the house of Menelaus; no temple is mentioned). Dictys (Meister, p. 4; the abduction is from the house of Menelaus). Jean Lemaire de Belges here, as elsewhere, closely follows Dictys. See Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* (1510-1512)—in which the Burgundian royal house is connected with Hector—in the *Oeuvres*, J. Stecher ed., 4 vols. (Louvain, 1882), II, pp. 47, 75. Hyginus (van Staveren, p. 174; Paris takes off Helen "*ab hospite Menelao*"). Dracontius (Mai, p. 16; Paris meets Helen in the groves of Venus

on Cyprus, the scene then shifts to the house of Menelaus at Sparta). Colluthus (Mair, p. 561; on arriving at Sparta Paris notes the temples and the golden image of native Athena; the abduction is from the house of Menelaus). *Istorietta trojana* (Gorra, pp. 385-86; Paris arrives in Greece near the noble castle of Menelaus, no particular place being named; above the castle near *uno boschetto* is a rich temple of Venus from which Helen willingly goes off with Paris).

(2) All the events ensue on Cythera, hence there is again no occasion for a scene of departure; the abduction is from the temple of Venus. Benoît (Constans, I, pp. 216-19). Herbort (Frommann, p. 28; Paris anchors near Greece —

Gegen eime berge de er fant
Dan berg hiz cytherus
Da hette frauwe venus
Ein bethus reine
Vö edelme mermelsteine).

Konrad (von Keller, pp. 232-36; cf. Barnicle, p. lxxi; Helen lives in a castle nearby the Temple of Venus). Bellebuoni (Gorra, p. 446). Lydgate (Bergen, pp. 242-254). Petrarca, *Sonetti*, etc. (Venice, 1497), f. 9 v.

(3) Helen lives a short distance by water from Cythera and her embarkation for the island is described. Guido, *Lib. VII* (Griffin, p. 71. *Non enim a Menelay regno extiterat Cytharea remota*, etc.: *vide* note 50). *Gest Hystoriale* (Panton and Donaldson, p. 98). *Laud Troy Book* (Wülfing, p. 82; Helen "dwelled a litel withoute the Ilde in a castel gret and strong", but there is no mention of embarkation). Caxton (Sommer, II, pp. 518-31).

(4) Various accounts. Dares, *Cap. X* (Meister, p. 12): Paris reaches Cythera, where there was a Temple of Apollo and Diana; Helen hears of Paris' arrival and, wanting to see him, goes to the city of Helaea on the shore (i.e., on the mainland of Laconia; cf. Gorra, p. 30, n. 3). Paris hears that Helen is at Helaea and proceeds there. Then Helen learns that Paris has come to Helaea and it is repeated that she goes there to see him. Paris seizes Helen at the temple, apparently that of Apollo and Diana. (But Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, p. 10, n. 1, says the seizure was from the Temple of Venus on Cythera). See A. di Casentino's translation of Boccaccio, *De clar. mulierib.* (Bologna, 1881), pp. 94-5. Dares' account is followed substantially by Joseph of Exeter (Valpy, pp. 450-53). In Herbort (Frommann, p. 30), after seizing Helen, Paris goes to "*eele, Daz was ein burc vf dem se.*" In the Harley Ms. 525 version of the *Seege of Troye* the action takes place at Menelaus' "noblest Cyte . . . cleped Capharnoum" (Barnicle, pp. 178-180); the other versions of the *Seege* give no particular site (*ibid.*, pp. 52-53). This poem is unique in keeping Menelaus present all during Paris' sojourn in Greece (*ibid.*, p. lxxi). Armanno (Gorra, pp. 542-43): Paris arrives at the port of Sparta, near the great city of "Baie"; Helen is seized at the Temple of Apollo on the shore near that city. In the *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), *Cap. 6, cant. 4*, after arriving at the port of "cirtan," Paris goes with one boat to "cittarea," where a feast is held every eight days at the Temple of Jupiter. Five miles distant from the Temple is the port of "cagni," where Paris sends his companions to wait for him. Helen goes to the Temple of Jupiter with the intention of being carried off by Paris at night, which she is. Gorra's *resumé* (pp. 322 ff., 327 ff.) of the *Libro di Troiano* agrees with the preceding account, save that the port at which Paris first arrives is spelled "Cittam," and the Temple is dedicated to Apollo. Boccaccio, *De clar. mulierib.* (Ulm, 1473), *Cap. XXXV*, [and *id.* A. di Casentino, trns. (Bologna, 1881), p. 94], mentions the two traditions that Helen was carried away from the coast of Laconia and from nearby Cythera; Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* (Venice, 1497), *Lib. VI, Cap. XXII and Lib. XII, Cap. XII*, mentions both versions, citing Ovid's *Epistolae*.

(c) Examples of The Rape of Helen: Schubring, *Cassoni*, Nos. 92 (p. 239); 164 (Pl. XXXIII, pp. 260-61; Helen resists strenuously, grasping Paris by the hair); 167 (Pl. XXXIV, p. 261; Helen shows signs of distress); 280 (Pl. LXIV, pp. 114, 282-3; Benozzo Gozzoli, Nat. Gal., London, No. 591; Berenson: Early; Helen takes her abduction as a matter of course); 423 (p. 319; Paris and Helen, who is crowned, gaze at each other in a quiet rapture before embarking. On the right is a battle before Troy with Priam and Hecuba looking out from a tower. Photograph in

the Frick Art Reference Library); 476 (Pl. CXI, pp. 137, 332; Helen seems in distress, as in No. 167 above); 840 (p. 408; cornice-picture; a reproduction of this work was not available); 937 (p. 135, *Supplement*, Pl. XVIII, p. 5; Berenson coll.; *id.*, *Ital. Pict. of the Ren.*, p. 202, Francesco di Giorgio. The action is comparable to that in the Walters picture, save that Helen, at the right, has not yet seen Paris who appears to be very much aware of her. The statue in the temple here is not that of Venus but of a male figure. The subject of the scene is not absolutely certain). See, also, Giulio Romano, Ducal Palace, Mantua, in Reinach, *Repert. de peintures*, VI (Paris, 1923), p. 222: Helen, with two companions—Aethra and Clymene?—enters Paris' boat enthusiastically. Helen is followed by a number of women in the Zamora Cathedral tapestry scene (Gomez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, Pls. 132-3). See, School of Pollaiuolo drawing, British Museum, illus. in van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane . . . la vie quotidienne* (The Hague, 1931), fig. 18. See, further, Pierre Reymond (?), sixteenth-century painted enamel cup with the scene on the cover, in *Catalogue raisonné, etc., collection Basilew-*

sky, by A. Darcel and A. Basilewsky (Paris, 1874), No. 332 and the examples listed at the end of note 38 above. For the scene on ivories of the Embriacchi type, see von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 268 and the examples given in notes 37 and 45 above.

(d) The *Laud Troy Book* (Wülfing, p. 82) refers to the statue of Venus in the temple:

Helen "in the temple made hir preyeres
To the goddesse that there sat."

And Lydgate (Bergen, p. 243) speaks of the "statue" that gives a "pleyn answer and ful solucioun to euery questyoun."

⁷⁰ *Libro di Troiano* (Venice, 1491), *Cap. 7, can. 63-64*.

⁷¹ Helen's companions mentioned here signify in particular Aethra and her daughter, Clymene (Meister, *Dictys*, p. 4).

⁷² Meister, *Dictys*, p. 9.

⁷³ Gorra, p. 330.

⁷⁴ Bernardus Floriacensis (c. 1050), *Carmina Burana* in *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XVI (1847), 57 (from a thirteenth-century manuscript).

AN UMAIYAD POUND WEIGHT

BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

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THE EXTRAORDINARY nature of the collection in the Walters Art Gallery is borne out by even a superficial survey of the Islamic objects. Many are of unique nature and are well qualified to elucidate unsolved problems in the field of Islamic archaeology. The following article will be devoted to an early historic document which provides new information on a scientific topic, often treated and apparently settled.

The object under discussion is a thick disk of bluish green glass with a diameter of $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches and a height of $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches¹ (fig. 1). On one side a stamp was applied when the glass was still soft. The stamp contains a Kufic inscription of seven lines and a few additional marks of a non-artistic nature. The Arabic reads:

بسم الله امر
بالوفا عبد الله يزيد
امير المؤمنين عد [ى] يدى
الوليد بن عبد الر
حمن سنة ست [و] عشر
بن ومئة رطل
واف

¹ 74 x 41 millimeters. It has the number 47.6 and was acquired in 1914 from Mr. D. K. Kelekian. The weight is perfectly preserved with the exception of a tiny chip. Its color according to A. Maerz and M. Rea Paul, *A Dictionary of Color* (New York, 1930), pl. 31, is approximately 8 J; the exact hue is difficult to measure on account of the translucency of the piece. The author is indebted to Mr. C. Morgan Marshall for permission to publish this object, and to Miss Dorothy Miner and to Miss Winifred Kennedy for useful information.

In the name of God. He (God) commands honesty.²

The servant of God Yazid, Commander of the Faithful. Executed by al-Walid ibn³ 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the year 126. Full Raṭl.

These last lines indicate that we have a raṭl, or pound weight, before us and that it, therefore, belongs to a group of objects which has been the subject of scientific discussion since the end of the eighteenth century. They were first known as *vitrei numi*, *contre-marques*, *monnaies fictives* or emergency money; but in 1847 C. O. Castiglioni and again, independently, in 1873, E. T. Rogers recognized them correctly as weights either for money or other commodities, while other disks of the same material were fixed to glass bottles to indicate their capacity.⁴

The adherence to exact measure and weight was not only a moral or social law within the Muslim society; it was also recognized as a religious postulate: "Allah commands honesty" says our weight, while other weights quote sections from a pertinent Koran passage: "Give full measure, and be not of those who give less (than the due). And weigh with the true balance.

² As far as the author is aware this is the only instance in which the word *Allāh* in this formula on glass weights is left out. The formula itself is a feature of the Umayyad weights and recurs only very rarely in later periods.

³ The writing is not very clear here, and there seems to be one or two strokes too many in the word *ibn*.

⁴ See A. Grohmann, *Arabische Eichungsstempel, Glasgewichte und Amulette aus Wiener Sammlungen in Islamica*, I (1925), 145, 153.

Wrong not mankind in their goods, and do not evil, making mischief, in the earth" (Sura XXVI, Verses 181-183). In pursuance of this divine command, even in earliest times glass was recognized as an excellent medium for weights as, unlike metal, nothing could be added or taken away without easy detection, and the material hardly deteriorated through use. This notion has been well borne out by an examination of many glass weights; of three hundred and twenty such objects in the collection of the British Museum only seven proved to deviate from the standard. Glass weights for measuring coins and other commodities were issued, supervised, and checked by the department of weights and measures (*dār al-ʿiyār*) in the treasury (*dīwān al-kharāḍī*), which was either under the direct supervision of the governor or of a special financial director.⁵ The earliest of such glass weights of the Islamic period is said to carry the name of a governor ʿUḳba ibn ʿĀmir who administered Egypt in the year 44 H. (664 A. D.) and the latest dated ones are from the thirteenth century A. D., though the custom of using such disks lasted much longer.

The majority of Umayyad weights which have so far come to light not only were found in Egypt but also were otherwise connected with Egypt. In practically all cases, after an introductory religious formula, the names of the governor or financial director of Egypt and of the superintendent of the department of weights and measures are given, often followed by the year and the designation of the measurement. This alone seemed to indicate an Egyptian origin of the disks throughout this as well as the fol-

lowing periods. Further circumstantial evidence helped to corroborate this contention: no name other than that of an Egyptian civil servant has appeared so far on the weights, and not one with the name of an Abbasid caliph has been found for the years when Egypt was independent of the Abbasid caliphate.⁶ Also the initiation of the idea of having glass weights for coins seemed to have been peculiar to Egypt. Pre-Islamic Byzantine coin weights with busts of eparchs and inscriptions or monograms have been found in Egypt; from there also derive Roman specimens of the same nature.⁷ Very few Byzantine glass weights were found in Syria. Furthermore, decorative medallions on pre-Islamic glass bottles of Egyptian provenance were obviously the forerunners of glass disks fixed to glass jugs serving as measures of capacity. All this points to glass weights as being an Egyptian institution, an opinion which seems to be generally accepted.

How does this information agree with the weight in the Walters Art Gallery?

The glass weight mentions the name of one of the last representatives of the first Islamic dynasty, the Umayyad caliph Yazid III, who was appointed caliph in April 744 A. D. (*Djumādā II*, 126 H.) and who was succeeded by Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd in September of the same year (*Dhū'l-Hijidjā* 126 H.). This short rule in a time of turmoil makes it all the more astonishing that a specimen from the time of this caliph is preserved, especially as only five other glass weights have been found which mention Umayyad caliphs.⁸ One now in the National Museum, Damascus, gives the name of ʿAbd al-Malik, who reorganized the coinage system of the Islamic

⁵ P. Casanova, *Catalogues des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet* in *Mémoires, Mission archéologique française au Caire*, VI, 3 (Paris, 1893), 341, 343; Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁶ S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum* (London, 1891), p. xvii; Sir Flinders Petrie, *Glass Stamps and Weights, illustrated from the Egyptian Collection in University College* (London, 1926), opens with the

statement: "The making of glass discs stamped by a die is peculiarly Egyptian, and there seems no evidence of any other source for such manufacture" (p. 1). The governors of Egypt were appointed by the Umayyad and, later, by the Abbasid caliphs during the periods from 658 to 868 and 905 to 935 A. D.

⁷ G. Schlumberger, *Poids de verre étalons monétaires d'origine byzantine* in *Revue des études grecques*, VIII (1895), 59-76; Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

empire on an Islamic basis; it was found together with another glass weight without historical inscription in Bet-Ras (Bait al-Ra's, the old Capitolias) in Transjordan, just beyond the Syrian border. Like our raṭl weight it seems to be of a peculiar green glass, and it has also the name of the caliph standing by itself without being grammatically included in a full sentence. Another such weight with the name of an Umayyad caliph is that of al-Walid II now in the University College, London; its peculiar greenish blue color and unusual writing has led Sir Flinders Petrie to state that it was apparently made in a different workshop from the usual Egyptian ones. Where this different center might have been is perhaps indicated by the second person mentioned on the the weight in the Walters Art Gallery.

For the first time we find here the name of an official in connection with the name of the Umayyad caliph. We read of al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān who, according to al-Ṭabarī, the historian, was financial director of the treasury in Damascus in the year 126 H.⁹ This is the exact year of our weight; it is also the time when 'Isā ibn Abī 'Aṭā' was head of the treasury of Egypt and had his own disks bearing his name.¹⁰ As the glass weight in the Walters Art Gallery, said to have been found in Syria, was issued by a Syrian treasury official in a glass-producing country, we might assume that this particular object was made in Syria. It would thus stand



FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Glass Weight, Umayyad, 744 A. D.

out as the first piece of evidence for glass fabrication in Syria within the Islamic period, continuing old traditions from pre-Islamic times and laying the foundation for the magnificent glass production of the Middle Ages.¹¹ Small pendants with stamped or molded Christian scenes or symbols of the fourth and fifth centuries made in Syria and Palestine may be regarded as forerunners for our weight, just as the decorative disks on pre-Islamic glass bottles of Egypt can be looked upon as the precursors of the Islamic bottle stamps.¹²

The glass weight in the Walters Art Gallery

⁸ Two of Yazid I (?) (60-64 H./680-83 A. D.) in the former Fouquet collection (Casanova, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-367, Pl. II, no. 95) and University College, London (Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Pl. III, no. 86); two of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86 H./685-705 A. D.) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1887), I, p. xlv, and National Syrian Museum, Damascus [Dja'far Abd-al-Kader, *Deux unités pondérales musulmanes omayyades in Beyrouth*, II (1935), 139-140] and one of al-Walid II (?) (125-6 H./743-44 A. D.) in the University College (Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 16, Pl. V, no. 129; and *idem*, *Glass Weights in The Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, XVIII (1918), pt. 1, 113.

⁹ عامل خراج دمشق: At-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de

Goeje; Secunda Series, III (Leiden, 1885-89), ١٨١٠

¹⁰ *The Governors and Judges of Egypt, or Kitāb el 'Umarā' (el Wulāh) wa Kitāb el Qudāh of el Kindī* edited by Rhuvon Guest in E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, XIX (London, 1912), p. A٣, lines 14-16; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7, nos. 6, 6d; pp. 108-109, nos. 393-394; Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 369, nos. 134-137; p. 379, no. 24; p. 392, no. 55; Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 16, Pls. IV-V, nos. 133-135.

¹¹ It may very well be that a second glass weight of the same al-Walid has survived, as Dr. Fouquet owned a fragmentary piece with the name . . . ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān preserved (Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 373, no. 167).

is important not only because it is the first such piece to be linked with Syria in Islamic times, but also because it gives us information about weights used in the beginning of the second century Hegira. The raṭl weight which is subdivided into twelve wukīya is a representative of the heavier weight group. It was generally used for all commodity purposes. Three weight fragments in the Fouquet collection stated these particular raṭls were used for weighing meat, while one fragment in the University College, London, has been read as for weighing dates.¹³ Some scholars believe that these weights not only were used in shops for products, but also for weighing a number of coins. No raṭl weights have been found bearing inscriptions in this respect. The raṭl weight has been constantly changed throughout Islamic history from one period to the next and in each country and even in many larger cities. Sauvaire's treatise on weights and measures of the Islamic period lists a large series of raṭl weights in different countries measuring from 296.34 grams to 23835.60 grams.¹⁴ This discrepancy in raṭl weights was still evident when Rogers wrote about glass weights in 1878. He mentions that an Egyptian raṭl equals about one English pound avoirdupois, while a

Syrian raṭl is approximately equal to six and one-half English pounds.¹⁵ We are handicapped in establishing the exact weight of raṭls with the help of glass pieces as most of these weights for the raṭl and its subdivisions, consisting of large pieces of glass, were easily broken.¹⁶ In contrast to the small glass equivalents for gold and silver coins, complete examples of raṭls are very rare. This scarcity might also be due to the fact that for heavier weights it was more customary to use metal, as illustrated by two metal weights now preserved in the Hermitage in Leningrad.

The well-preserved Baltimore raṭl weight equals 337.55 grams. The weight of the 'Abd al-Malik piece in Damascus is 175.5 grams, which seems to indicate that it was one-half raṭl. The second glass weight from the same site in the National Museum, Damascus, weighs 87 grams; one-half the 'Abd al-Malik weight. This makes the full raṭl 351 grams, 13.45 grams heavier than the Baltimore piece. It, therefore, seems that the Walters piece is either deficient in weight, or it may have been that the weight was changed in the several decades which elapsed between 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd III.¹⁷ This problem may be clarified when a few other pieces of Syrian origin have been discovered.

¹² O. M. Dalton, *A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities. British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 76, fig. 50; G. A. Eisen, *Glass* (New York, 1927), II, Pl. 131, figs. 230-231. The lineage could be brought back to much earlier times by a glass disk with a Phoenician inscription around a bull's head, in the British Museum (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. xviii).

¹³ Casanova, *op. cit.*, p. 391, nos. 46, 47, p. 392, no. 55; Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Pl. III, no. 96.

¹⁴ *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Deuxième partie.—*Poids. Journal Asiatique*, Huitième Série, IV (1884), 210-240, 307-316; J.-A. Decourdemanche, *Traité pratique des poids et mesures des peuples anciens et des Arabes* (Paris, 1909), pp. 25-28.

¹⁵ E. T. Rogers, *Unpublished Glass Weights and Measures*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, X (1878), 110.

¹⁶ An unpublished raṭl kabīr weight found in Egypt and

consisting of a square block of dark brown glass with a large hole in the center in the Peter Ruthven collection, Ann Arbor, Michigan, has only a very small piece chipped off. Its weight is 492.6 grams. It has three stamps, the left one giving the name of the Emir Ibrāhīm b. Šālih, the right one the name of the superintendent of department of measures 'Aṣīm b. Ḥafṣ, while the center states that it is a full raṭl kabīr.

¹⁷ Between the fourth and fifth lines in the Kufic inscription are about twelve short strokes (or elongated dots) with a moon or v-shaped figure after the sixth stroke; two such figures occur again between the fifth and sixth lines. At the end of the inscription is an eight-pointed star. It has been suggested that the crescent and star are symbolic of the correct indication of a full weight given in the inscription as "full raṭl," but correct information in this respect is not yet available. Casanova, *op. cit.*, pp. 341, 352, footnote.



FIGURE 1

WORKSHOP OF PIERRE REYMOND
Tazzas with Old Testament Scenes

WALTERS ART GALLERY

NOTES ON ENAMELS BY PIERRE REYMOND

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS
The Walters Art Gallery

AMONG THE sixteenth-century enamellers at Limoges, Pierre Reymond¹ was one of the most prolific. Although this enameller was not the greatest in his time, at his best he did fine work. Unfortunately for his reputation, he undoubtedly had a whole group of assistants working for him and he put his own initials on any enamel that was produced under his supervision. He has espe-

cial importance, however, for the history of sixteenth century enamelling at Limoges, for he was among the first to popularize enamelled vessels, such as ewers, plates, salts, tazzas, etc. These continued to be popular all through the century and constitute a large proportion of the work by the various Limoges craftsmen: Pierre Courtois, Jean de Court, Jean Poillèvé, and many others.

The Walters Art Gallery has several plaques

¹ Notes will be found at end of this article.



FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
ASCRIBED TO PIERRE REYMOND
The Good Shepherd (1537)

and vessels signed by Pierre Reymond or attributed to him on the basis of style. In addition, several pieces are inscribed with the year when they were made. Since these enamels range in date from 1537 to 1566, they give a very good picture of Pierre Reymond's development. They are sufficiently varied also to illustrate the scope of his work, secular and religious.

Pierre Reymond was born about 1513 and died in 1584, or shortly thereafter. His dated work starts around 1534,² so he was productive over a period of about fifty years. He received consular honors at Limoges in 1560 and again in 1567.³ He worked not only for famous French patrons, but also for princely families abroad, such as the Tucher family in Nuremberg, several pieces being still in existence with the Tucher coat-of-arms and the artist's initials.⁴ He also is said to have designed stained glass.⁵ In addition

he painted "portraits" of various objects for the *Confrérie du Saint Sacrement* in his neighborhood parish church, St. Pierre-du-Queyroix.⁶ About this same time, an enameller of the same name worked in Poland, and Henri Stein⁷ suggests there may have been two artists from Limoges both called Pierre Reymond, which would explain the different qualities in the enamels bearing this name. But so far no adequate study of this question has been made and it remains as Stein first posed it. The rest of the known facts about Pierre Reymond were given long ago by Maurice Ardant⁸ who stated that his father was called James, or Jacques, and that Pierre married Jeanne Martel in 1530. He had a house in the rue Descendant-Manigne, where he lived, and owned another in the rue de la Barreyette. His neighbor was another distinguished enameller, Jean de Court dit Vigier. The Reymond family produced a number of craftsmen⁹ who practiced enamelling on into the seventeenth century, although none were so accomplished or as popular as the enameller under discussion.

Pierre Reymond began working in the usual manner practiced at Limoges early in the sixteenth century—that is, with colors. Around 1540, however, he was working in *grisaille*—grayish figures on a black ground. He used, in addition, flesh-tints and here and there touches of red or gilding. His shading is generally by means of cross-hatched lines, often excessive, and probably inspired by the engravings that he is known to have copied. His finest work dates from the 1540's—later on he appears to have had a prolific atelier working for him and his enamels became uneven in quality. After 1560 he produced some fine pieces, but, on the whole, the quality fell off as, generally speaking, it did with all his contemporaries. From that time on even his designs tend to be lifeless, and his colors, when he uses colors, are dry and sad. In masses his work seems hard in style and somewhat monotonous,

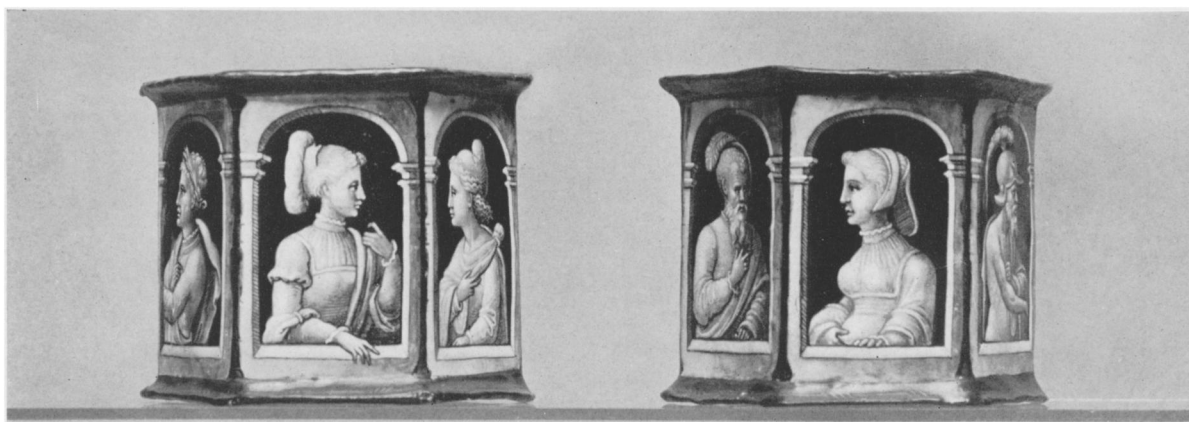


FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND
Pair of Salt-cellars
Signed P. R. and dated 1547

but individual pieces have oftentimes great beauty and charm.

In his designs Pierre Reymond rarely was original, but generally copied his compositions from engravings or book-illustrations. However, he did not take over slavishly the compositions

of others, but changed them to suit the purpose at hand. This was to a very large degree the custom among the Limoges enamellers. In those days it was not considered plagiarism to copy others, since it was felt that subject-matter in enamelling was secondary and the important thing was for

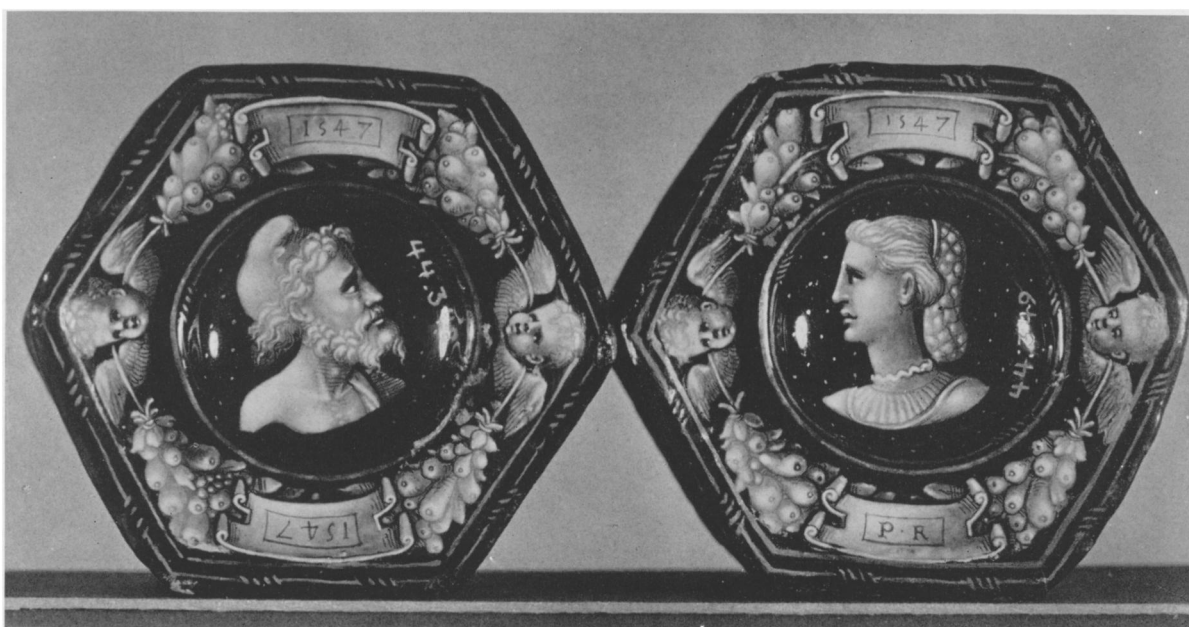


FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Tops of Salts in figure 3

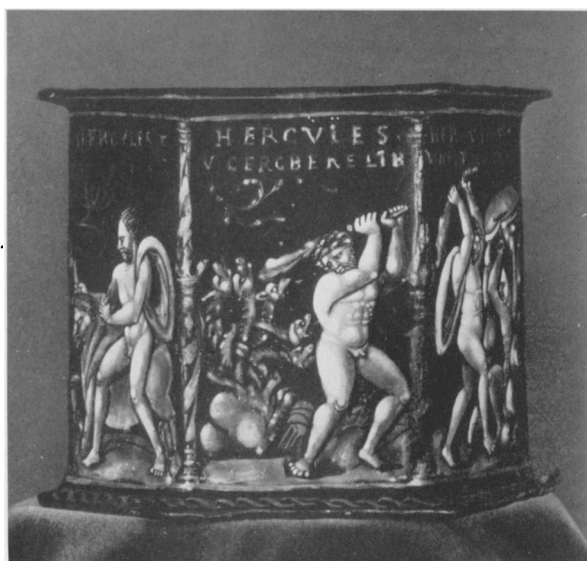


FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY
WORKSHOP OF PIERRE REYMOND
Salt-cellar with Legends of Hercules

the enameller to be a master of his craft. The Limoges enamellers usually were finished craftsmen and Pierre Reymond was no exception. This borrowing of ideas from others was no doubt a great time-saver, allowed the enamellers to produce much more, and in the end probably accounts in great part for the high standard of workmanship maintained at Limoges.

Pierre Reymond obtained his compositions from an extraordinary number of sources—German, Netherlandish, Italian and French. Among the French sources he favored the books printed at Lyons, illustrated by Bernard Salomon. He appears to have been familiar with a number of these, especially the *Quadrins historique de la Bible*. He took his decorative borders, too, from books, but used them in his own charming and inventive way. Since he utilized designs from many countries, his work has a freshness and contemporaneity that he otherwise might not have been able to achieve, working in a French provincial town.

The earliest enamel of this group in the Wal-

ters Art Gallery is a small plaque¹⁰ that is attributed to Pierre Reymond, but is not signed (fig. 2). It bears, however, the date 1537. The scene represents a shepherd, an elderly man with a long beard, who walks to the left and looks backward. He holds a long-handled water-scoop in his hand. Behind him are three wolves in the bushes. The background is a rocky landscape with three groups of sheep. In the upper right corner is a tablet with the inscription:

Je ny scay quel remede mettre:
Aux quelles pussayge courir:
Toues ne les puis secouris:
Mieux meult valut d'eux me demetre.

Mrs. Grace Frank has kindly suggested this translation:

I do not know what remedy to apply here;
Would that I could run to my sheep!
I cannot help them all;
It was better to abandon them.

The enameller was a poor literary copyist and the text is very difficult to reconstruct.

The plaque is in Pierre Reymond's earlier style, although the black lines suggest that he already was working from prints. Later he was to



FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Reverse of Ewer-stand in figure 7



FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND

Ewer-stand: Scenes from Genesis

Signed P. R. and dated 1563

limit himself for the most part to *grisaille*, but in this example he used the colors popular with enamellers in the first half of the sixteenth century: green, blue, white, brown and gold.

More than one plaque with a shepherd-scene is connected with the name of Pierre Reymond, and these date for the most part from the late

1530's and the 1540's. In the collection of the Countess of Valencia,¹¹ now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, is one similar to the Walters example, likewise with the date 1537, but illustrating a different verse. A shepherd-scene¹² from the Sauvageot collection in the Louvre is signed and bears the date 1541, while

two are in the Cluny Museum. Others were in the Cottreau,¹³ Mme. de Rolland,¹⁴ and Lord Amherst of Hackney¹⁵ collections. These eight examples suggest that, beginning about 1537, the artist was successful with the Good Shepherd plaques and repeated the theme with variations over a period of years.

Mr. G. C. Heseltine in his introduction to *The Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds*¹⁶ gives an excellent summary of the reasons for the popularity of the shepherd in the art of the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and I can do no better than to quote his words here:

The shepherd, as we are told by Jehan de Brie in



FIGURE 8 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
LUCAS OF LEYDEN
The Creation of Eve



FIGURE 9 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
LUCAS OF LEYDEN
The Temptation

Le Bon Berger, . . . is the archetype of mankind. Shepherds are numbered amongst the greatest in the history of the human race. Abel was a keeper of sheep; Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph were shepherds; Moses kept the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law; King David, giant-killer and Psalmist, was a shepherd. It was to shepherds keeping their sheep by night on the hillside that the birth of Christ was first made known, . . .

Christ called Himself the Good Shepherd and set up the devoted Shepherd for an eternal example. To Peter he said, "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." So the Church, which is the foundation and the inspiration of our culture and civilisation, gives to those who have the care of the Christian flock, a shepherd's crook as a symbol of office.

The great poets, when their theme was the simple love and natural beauty of mankind, have sung of



FIGURE 10 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
LUCAS OF LEYDEN
The Expulsion

shepherds and sheperdesses. The shepherd lives naturally, knowing all times and seasons and "the swift importings on the wilful face of skies;" he must know his flock and love it, be wise with it and gentle. He is from the beginning and he endures. . . .

It has been suggested that Pierre Reymond took the design for this enamel from a Shepherd's Calendar, but so far I have been unable to trace the source. Books with illustrations and verses, such as the enameller has so carelessly copied, were made in the sixteenth century not only to be read, but as possible models for enamellers or other craftsmen. Mrs. Grace Frank¹⁷ quotes Gilles Corrozet as saying in his *Hécatomgraphie* that he actually intended the illustrations to be so used:

Chascune hystoire est d'ymage illustrée . . .
Aussy pourront ymagers et tailleurs,
Painctres, brodeurs, orfèvres, esmailleurs,
Prendre en ce livre aulcune fantasie.

Enamellers long before this time had begun to employ engravings and book-illustrations as models for their work. By 1540, judging from Gilles Corrozet, the custom apparently had become so accepted that illustrators of certain kinds of books even had this use of their work in mind and designed accordingly.

A pair of salt-cellars¹⁸ in the Walters collection illustrates the *grisaille* manner as used by Pierre Reymond, fully developed (fig. 3). They



FIGURE 11 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
LUCAS OF LEYDEN
Cain Killing Abel



FIGURE 12

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND

Ewer-stand: Fall and Redemption of Man
Signed P. R. and dated 1566

are hexagonal in shape and have a shallow cavity on the top and the bottom. On each side is a small half-length figure of a man or a woman facing to right or to left, dressed in classical or Renaissance costume. In each cavity there is a male or female head in profile, surrounded by a border of cherubs' heads and fruit. Each salt has on one end the date 1547 repeated and on the other the same date and the initials, P. R. (fig. 4).

These salts, as already stated, are enamelled in *grisaille*. Pierre Reymond abandoned for the most part working in colors after 1540, at which time he seems to have been already pro-

ficient in using *grisaille*. This was a busy decade for him and some of his best pieces, such as the *tazza* of 1544 in the Louvre,¹⁹ were executed at this time.²⁰

The earlier enamels by Pierre Reymond were plaques, the usual product at Limoges in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thereafter vessels of various shapes were to form a large proportion of the output at Limoges. The hexagonal shape for salt-cellars was very popular. One in the Louvre with the *Brazen Serpent*²¹ is by Pierre Reymond, and another, unsigned, is in the Dublin Museum.²² The Walters Art Gallery²³

has a third one (fig. 5), unsigned and not by Pierre Reymond, decorated with the birth and labors of Hercules. The Hercules legends were very popular at Limoges and may be found on several salts.²⁴ The compositions, no doubt, were inspired by prints similar to those by Hans Sebald Beham.

The design of half-length figures on the sides and the busts on top and bottom may have been taken from a book of the period. The sixteenth century saw the publication of many books with "portraits" of classical or later heroes. The Walters Art Gallery possesses a number of such books.²⁵ In 1556 Jean de Tournes published *Portraits Divers* with illustrations by Bernard Salomon, whose work was popular at Limoges. Pierre Reymond probably took his half-length figures from some such book²⁶ and the pseudo-classical heads on top and bottom from a volume with busts of the Roman emperors and empresses, illustrations inspired by antique coins.²⁷

The collection has no enamels by Pierre Reymond dated in the sixth decade of the century, but a large round stand for a ewer²⁸ made in 1563 repeats a design that he had used at least five years earlier. The plate (fig. 7) has the usual black ground decorated in *grisaille*, with flesh-



FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Adam and Eve
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)

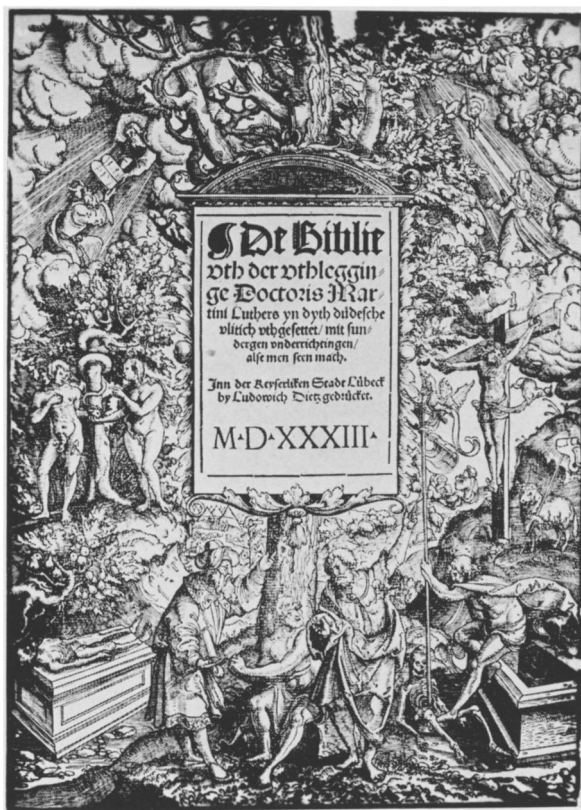


FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Title Page
(Bible in Low German, Lübeck, 1533-4)

tints and details in red and gilding. On the front is a continuous landscape with five scenes from the Book of Genesis, but not in their correct order: God creating Adam and Eve, the Expulsion, Cain killing Abel, the Temptation, and God speaking to Adam and Eve. The border is composed of a procession of grotesques and monsters, some riding in chariots. In the center is a medallion (possibly of recent date) with a bust of Diana. On the reverse (fig. 6) is a wreath of fruit intertwined with strapwork on which are cherubs' heads and two large masks representing the rising or setting moon (Diana's head surmounted by a crescent?). The edge has a scroll design of foliage.

Among the dishes of this type and with these particular scenes that are known to me, the

earliest dated one is inscribed with the year 1558 and is now in the Basilewsky collection in the Hermitage.²⁹ The same year Pierre made another round dish,³⁰ similar in shape, with the Triumph of Diana after Ducerceau and with ornaments taken from Étienne Delaune. Between 1558 and 1562 he did many pieces for the Tuch-

de Rothschild.³³ The Frick collection³⁴ has a stand with other scenes, but of similar shape and of indifferent quality, while the latest one, dated 1572, was in the Majoribanks collection.³⁵

The five scenes on the front present a curious enigma. Four of these Pierre Reymond took from engravings made in 1529 by Lucas of Leyden:³⁶ the Creation (fig. 8), the Temptation (fig. 9), the Expulsion (fig. 10), and Cain killing Abel (fig. 11). Although Lucas made in this same series an engraving of the fifth scene—God speaking to Adam and Eve in the Garden—the enameller did not use it, but turned to another source that one may surmise to be French, judging from the style of Eve's hair-arrangement and the entirely different proportions of the figures. It is odd that the artist did not employ Lucas' design for this scene, unless he did not possess a complete set. On the other hand he selected exactly the episode that Lucas has chosen.

The outer border with grotesques and chariots may have been inspired by some ornamental print, of which there were a great number by such engravers as Jost Amman or Cornelis Bos.³⁷ The gilded inner border suggests those found in sixteenth-century illustrated books, especially the books printed at Lyons by Jean de Tournes.

The reverse of the stand wreathed with fruit and strapwork, accented by heads of gods, cherubs, and animals, recalls the mass of such ornament produced in the sixteenth century in sculpture,³⁸ books, prints,³⁹ and so on. Perhaps the nearest approach to this is a frame with strapwork that has masks with half-moons, etc., somewhat like those on this stand, by an unidentified artist of the Fontainebleau school.⁴⁰

In this stand, Pierre Reymond has settled down to repeating himself with only slight variations, in all probability upon commission. The standard of craftsmanship is very high in this example and justifies the popularity that this enameller enjoyed in his own time. The

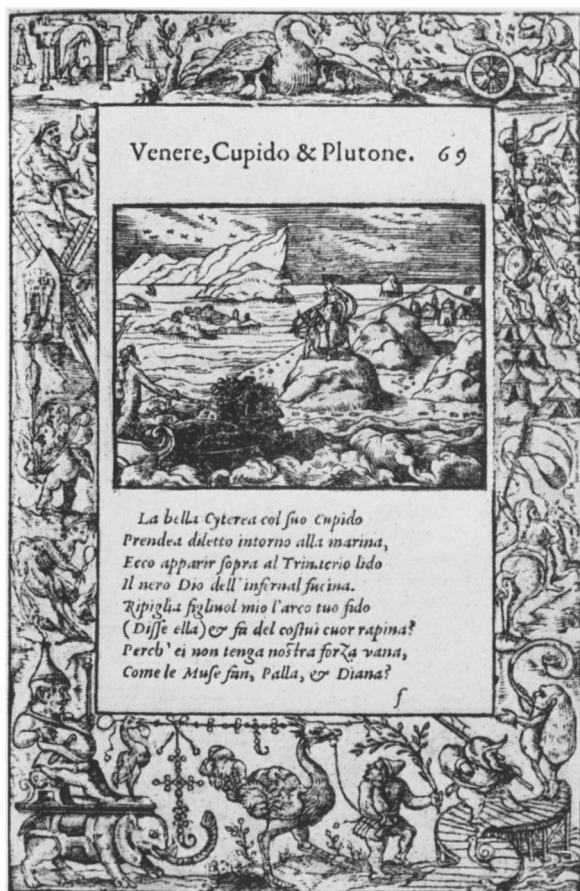


FIGURE 15 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Ornamental Border
(Versified Ovid, De Tournes, Lyons, 1559)

er family of Nuremberg, among them a plate with these same scenes from Genesis that is now in the Museum at Munich.³¹ An undated example was sold recently from the Durlacher collection,³² while another, complete with ewer, was published by Rupin as belonging to the Baron

1560's, however, were to see the real beginning of the commercialization among the enamellers at Limoges that was to lead to their downfall. Pierre Reymond may have been partially responsible for this, since the tableware that he made was especially suitable to be duplicated upon the command of wealthy patrons. Certainly he made no attempt to stem the tide, but rather was carried along with it.

Among Pierre Reymond's patrons was the famous French lawyer, Pierre Seguier (1504-



FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Abraham and Melchisedech
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)

1580).⁴¹ The Walters Art Gallery possesses three pieces decorated with his coat-of-arms. The largest is an oblong platter—a stand for a ewer⁴² with the arms on the boss in the center (fig. 12). On the front is a large allegorical composition of Man between Sin and Redemption. Man (*L'Homme*) is seated in the lower front center between the standing figure of the Old Dispensation: Moses (*Le Prophète*), on the left, and that of St. John the Baptist (*S. J. B., Le Precurseur*), as the New Dispensation, on the right. On either side are five scenes or figures symmetrically arranged. Those on the left are from the Old Testament and represent: the Fall



FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY
St. Luke
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)

(*La Pêche*), Moses receiving the Law (*La Loi*), Hagar and Ismael (*Agar and Ismael*), the Worship of the Serpents (*Fausse Adoratiō*) and lastly a skeleton in a tomb (*La Mor*). On the right are Isaac and Sarah (*Isaac—Sara, G. 21*) and subjects from the New Testament: The Annunciation to the Shepherds (*La Gloire*), the Lamb on a rock (*Grace*), the Four Evangelists, with their Symbols, writing in books, and the Resurrection



FIGURE 18 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Annunciation to the Shepherds
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)



FIGURE 19

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND
Dessert-plates for Pierre Segurier

of Christ (*Victoire*, S. Mat. 28). The border is a continuous procession of grotesque animals, humans, and monsters, some in two-wheeled cars. The back has a formal design of four small and four large rolled scrolls charged with a mask, the ends enrolled round a festoon of fruit on a ribbon. On the edge are four groups of two "S"-shaped scrolls alternating with medallions inscribed "P. R." or "1566." The central boss has the scene of Hercules crushing Antaeus.

The design on the front of this plate was used more than once by Pierre Reymond. This example or another like it was in the collection Baron in Paris in 1859.⁴³ Another was exhibited in London in 1862⁴⁴ as from the Majoribanks collection and a similar one is in the Museum at Geneva, Switzerland.

The general conception of the allegorical composition was inspired by the title-page that appeared with editions of Martin Luther's translation of the Bible (fig. 14). Pierre Reymond did not copy the German engraving exactly, perhaps because of fear of trouble with the church. In

place of the German figures he substituted others, most of which I have traced back to the illustrations ascribed to Bernard Salomon and



FIGURE 20

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND
Painted Enamel Plate (reverse)

published by Jean de Tournes at Lyons. The illustrations appeared first in the *Quadrins historique de la Bible*⁴⁵ published in 1553, and later were used in other issues of this book and in various editions of the Bible in Latin. The scenes taken from Bernard Salomon's illustrations are the Temptation (fig. 13), the Adoration of the Brazen Serpent, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fig. 18), as well as the Four Evangelists (fig. 17) with their Emblems. The other scenes or figures I have not so far been able to trace.

Jean de Tournes⁴⁶ was a prolific printer at Lyons in the sixteenth century. He was at Lyons

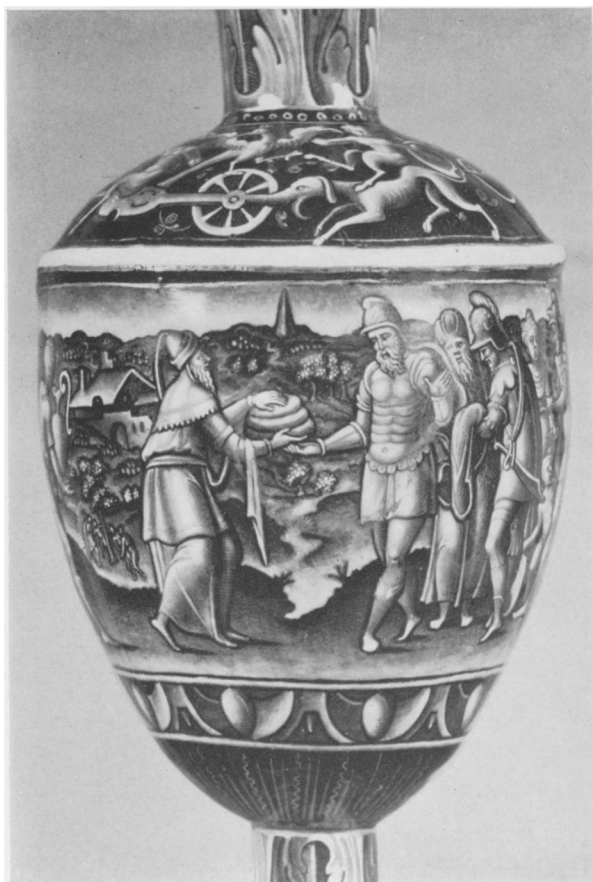


FIGURE 21
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Detail of Ewer in figure 22
Melchisedech Offers Bread to Abraham



FIGURE 22
WALTERS ART GALLERY
PIERRE REYMOND
Ewer: Discovery of the Cup of Joseph
Signed P. R.

as early as 1504 and began working for himself in 1540. His *Quadrins* had great success and was issued in French, Italian, German, Flemish and Spanish. The illustrations for many of his books, including the *Quadrins*, are believed to be by Bernard Salomon who in 1540 was already *maître peintre* at Lyons. He began to work for De Tournes in 1546-7 and may have had a school to aid him. Many of the books on which these two collaborated appear to have reached Limoges and were eagerly used by the enamelers for ideas and designs; at least one volume from this press is still there in the Municipal Library.⁴⁷ Perhaps there was some connection,

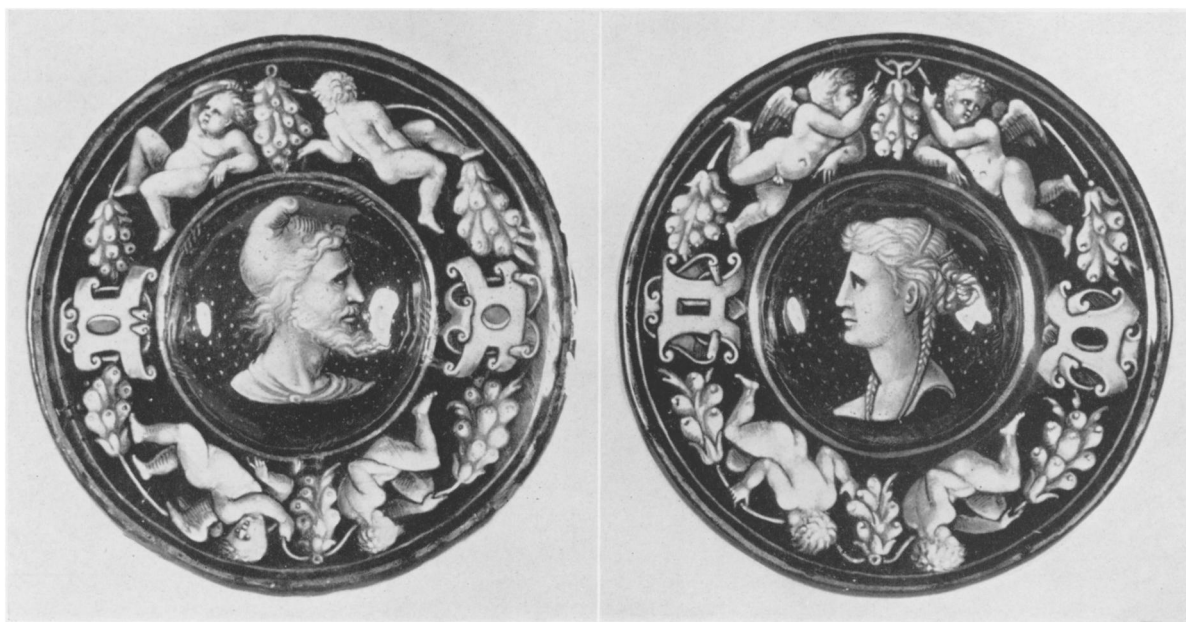


FIGURE 23

Tops of Salts in figure 24

WALTERS ART GALLERY

commercial or otherwise, between the two cities that resulted in these Lyons books reaching the enamellers at Limoges.

The border on the front of our allegorical platter is somewhat similar to that on the Genesis stand. This particular one can be traced back to an Ovid published by De Tournes (fig. 15). The enameller has merely been inspired by the border in the book, however, the presence of such details as the windmill with a face and the elephants convince me that this publication was his actual source, although he has used these details in a way that can be called his own. The reverse has strapwork very nearly the same as on the Genesis stand.

Other vessels made by this enameller for Pierre Segquier are in the Louvre⁴⁸ and the Chappey collection.⁴⁹ Pierre Reymond did many pieces with a patron's coat-of-arms, such as those designed after the pictures in *La Conquête de la Toison d'Or*,⁵⁰ a set made in 1567-8, or the

plate in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵¹ So the custom was a fairly common one, although it cannot be assumed that he was very careful about his heraldry.

The other pieces in the collection made for Pierre Segquier are two flat dessert-plates⁵² in the usual *grisaille* manner (fig. 19). The scenes represent the months. The first one has *Leo*, the Lion, for July in the upper border and the Segquier arms in the lower border. In the center a richly dressed man with his wife on a pillion rides a large white horse. They are accompanied by a dog and a footman. At the left are some trees, a white castle being visible in the distance. The design is probably from a print by Étienne Delaune. The border has four repetitions of a scroll-cartouche flanked by two chimerae. The reverse of the plate has a central medallion with a three-quarter right profile of a lady, (fig. 20) with a framework of ovoloes enclosed within a wreath of fruit and four cartouches with



FIGURE 24

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND
Pair of Salts with Story of Actaeon
Signed P. R.

rolled ends, two with cherubs' heads. The border consists of floral scrolls divided by oval panels, two inscribed "P. R.", or the date, "1566".

The second plate is for November with *Sagittarius* in the upper border. In the center is a bearded peasant treading grapes in a circular vat, while on the left a woman brings grapes in a basket on her head and from the right an elderly man carries a basket on his back. A grape-arbor fills the background. The reverse is the same as on the former plate, except that a man's profile is in the center.

There were apparently several sets of dessert-plates by Pierre Reymond, at least two having been made for Pierre Segurier. Two plates made for the latter are now in the Louvre;⁵³ others executed for various patrons were in the Chappéy,⁵⁴ Rosenberg,⁵⁵ Spitzer,⁵⁶ Heckscher,⁵⁷ von Lanna,⁵⁸ Robert Hoe,⁵⁹ E. Dreux,⁶⁰ Marquis de Castillon,⁶¹ Lionel de Rothschild,⁶² and J. C. Marryat⁶³ collections. This list does not presume to be exhaustive, but merely indicates the popu-

larity of these plates. The compositions were favored by other artists, too, and that for November may be seen on a panel by Pierre Courtois in the Walters Art Gallery.⁶⁴

The remaining enamels by Pierre Reymond in the collection are not dated. A ewer,⁶⁵ intended to go with a stand such as those already described, is decorated in the usual *grisaille* manner (figs. 21, 22), and is signed "P.R." on the handle. Around the body are two scenes from the Bible: Melchisedech, King of Salem, offering bread and wine to Abraham, and the silver cup of Joseph being discovered in the sack of Benjamin. Below this is a line of egg-and-tongue moulding and above, on the shoulder, caryatids and grotesques, a monk, a dog, apes, and birds. On the neck and base are acanthus leaves. The two scenes again are taken from the work of Bernard Salomon⁶⁶ (fig. 16). As an approximate date for this ewer I suggest the 1560's, judging from the dry and uninspired drawing, although this type of vessel originated in all proba-



FIGURE 25

Detail of Tazza in figure 1
Quarrel of the Herdsmen

WALTERS ART GALLERY

bility twenty years earlier.

Ewers of this type were particularly popular in the sixteenth century⁶⁷ and examples with Old Testament designs were in the Spitzer⁶⁸ and Heckscher⁶⁹ collections, while one belongs to the Frick collection.⁷⁰

A pair of salt-cellars,⁷¹ decorated in the usual *grisaille* with scenes from the story of Diana and Actaeon, probably was made in the same decade (fig. 24). They are both signed "P.R." on the inside. Each has a flat top with a shallow cavity and a spreading foot moulded with a knop. On one (44.430) Diana is surprised by Actaeon; the huntsman has dismounted from his rearing horse and, holding his two hounds in leash, walks toward an open fountain in which the nude god-

dess and two nymphs are bathing, while Venus is seated on a rock in the background with Cupid. The figures are inscribed "Diane", "Ateon" (*sic*) and "Venus". In the cavity on the top is a female bust (fig. 23) in left profile, bordered by two groups of reclining children with pendants of fruit, and two strapwork cartouches. The second salt shows the stag-headed Actaeon lying on the ground attacked by three hounds, while two nude figures with jars stand near water gushing from an overturned urn, and two bearded horsemen hold hounds. On the top (fig. 23) is a male bust in profile wearing a Phrygian cap, while the border is similar to that on the first salt.

Pierre Reymond did a number of salts of this



FIGURE 26

*Detail of Tazza in figure 1
God Speaks to Abraham from the Clouds*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

particular shape, such as may be seen in Vienna,⁷² in the Louvre, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and elsewhere. At times he depicted the story of Diana and Actaeon differently.⁷³ He also decorated vessels with still other scenes from the legends about Diana.⁷⁴

Two covered tazzas⁷⁵ decorated on the outside with Old Testament scenes (fig. 1) are unsigned, but are without doubt from Pierre's workshop. Each has on the base the same unidentified coat-of-arms. They are each shaped like a bowl with a knobbed stem and an inverted bell for a base. The covers also are like bells and have modern handles. One cover (44.66) has three scenes on the cover inscribed "Genese" and the chapter number, "XIII", now obliterated.

These scenes are: the Strife of the Herdsmen (figs. 25, 27), the Separation of Lot and Abraham, and God speaking from the clouds to Abraham (figs. 1, 26 and 28). The interior of the cover (fig. 36) has intertwined strapwork bands enclosing four oval medallions in which a winged figure on a dolphin alternates with a male or female head in profile. The tazza itself has on the interior Melchisedech, King of Salem, offering bread and wine to Abraham (figs. 16, 35), and is inscribed, "Genese XIII", the identical scene as on the ewer described above. On the edge of both pieces is a line of egg-and-tongue moulding, as on the ewer. The tazza has on the outside four draped masks bearing baskets of fruit alternating with small grotesque heads.



FIGURE 27 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
BERNARD SALOMON
Quarrel of the Herdsmen
(From a Lyons Bible)



FIGURE 28 WALTERS ART GALLERY
God Speaks to Abraham
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)

The stem has four oval medallions in each of which is a male or female head in profile. On the base are two seated angels supporting a wreath of green leaves containing a shield-of-arms; also, two reclining figures amidst fruit, all these painted in shades of red and blue and in gilding.

The second tazza has on the outside of the cover, two scenes: Lot and his family led by an angel from Sodom (figs. 1, 30 and 33), and Lot and his daughters in a cave (figs. 32, 34), these being twice inscribed "Genese XIX", once in gilding and once in red. On the inside are intertwined strapwork bands enclosing oval medallions with illustrations to fables by Aesop (figs. 29, 31, 37 and 38). The interior of the bowl has the Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 39), inscribed "Genese XXII". The rest of the decoration is similar to that on the tazza first described.

The Old Testament scenes are all taken from Bernard Salomon's engravings and the presence of the chapter-numbers indicates that the enameller used the *Quadrins historique de la Bible*, for it was only in this book that the chapter-numbers were given with each illustration. I suspect that Pierre had the 1556 edition to work from, since this seems to contain most of the compositions

he copied, while the earlier editions do not. At least two Aesop-scenes are taken from a book published at Lyons by Jean de Tournes,⁷⁶ but since not all the editions were accessible it has been impossible for me to trace the edition employed by the enameller. The medallions with profiles suggest contemporary book-borders and may be compared with those in a Book of Hours published in Paris in 1540 by Reginaldus Col-



FIGURE 29 Courtesy of PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
The Farmer and the Ass
(Aesop's Fables, De Tournes, Lyons, 1570)



FIGURE 30 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Lot and His Daughters Fleeing
(Bible, De Tournes, Lyons, 1556)



FIGURE 32 Courtesy of NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
Lot and his Daughters
(*Quadrins Historique de la Bible*, Lyons, 1553)

derius with designs by Geoffroy Tory.

Tazzas of this type may be seen in many museums, such as the Hermitage,⁷⁷ at Vienna,⁷⁸ in the Cluny, and the Metropolitan Museum,⁷⁹ and they have figured in many auctions, such as those of J. E. Taylor,⁸⁰ Spitzer,⁸¹ Schiff,⁸² C. Stein,⁸³ Nelli, and many others. The earliest dated example is probably that of 1544 in the Louvre. These two in Baltimore, however, are far poorer in quality than the Louvre example and the style of the drawing would point to the late 1560's



FIGURE 31 Courtesy of PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
The Fox and the Crane
(*Aesop's Fables*, De Tournes, Lyons, 1570)

or even the 1570's.

The last two enamels signed by Pierre Reymond⁸⁴ are not from the same period as the Good Shepherd plaque, although they are in full color—blue, green, yellow, flesh—and not in *grisaille* as is usual with the later enamels. Both are oval in shape. One (44.200) shows Solomon turning to idolatry (fig. 44). In the center the aged king kneels before the seated figure of a god on a lofty pedestal at the left. Behind him a queen with three attendants points to the idol, while a page lifts the king's robe. The background shows a perspective of pseudo-classical architecture. The initials "P.R." are on the right side.

The second plaque shows Jael killing Sisera (fig. 43). In the center an elderly bearded man lies senseless in a crouching position while a woman drives a long peg into his head with a mallet. His armor lies in the foreground. In the background are a bed and a section of a tent. To the right, Jael goes out to meet the mounted Deborah and Barak. The initials "P.R." are on the right side.

Although these plaques bear no date, a comparison with the other pieces in the collection suggests a late one, possibly around 1570. The



FIGURE 33

*Detail of Tazza in figure 1
Lot and his Daughters Fleeing*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

scenes with their elaborate settings recall the work of Ducerceau whose engravings might well have served as inspiration for the enameller.

A small casket,⁸⁵ curved in shape, has two scenes from the Life of Joseph (fig. 40). This casket appears to be a *pastiche* made from two curved oblong plaques put together, with considerable restorations along the top. The frame and the enamels at the ends are modern. The scenes represent Joseph lowered into the pit by his brethren (Genesis XXXVII, 20-24) and sold to the Ismaelites (Genesis XXXVII, 25-28). The enamels have been variously attributed to Jean de Court and Pierre Reymond. Although of poor quality, they probably came from Pierre Reymond's workshop very late in his career.

The scenes again are taken from Bernard Salomon's engravings (fig. 41). The Life of Joseph was a fairly popular one with Pierre Reymond and is found on a cover for a tazza formerly in the Taylor collection.

Pierre was not the only member of the Reymond family to practice enamelling, but the gallery possesses only one piece by another member of this family (fig. 42).⁸⁶ It is signed "I.R.", possibly for Jean who died in 1603, or for Joseph. In the form of a triptych, it actually is composed of five enamels representing scenes from the life of St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus. The central plaque shows St. Ignatius receiving the vision of the Holy Trinity in Glory and the



FIGURE 34

*Detail of Tazza in figure 1
Lot and his Daughters*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

divine revelation of the scheme of the new society while kneeling before the altar in the church of the Dominican Convent in Manresa in 1522. Each wing has two smaller scenes. On the left wing are: the apparition of St. Peter, who announces the saint's early recovery from wounds received at Pamplona in 1521; and the apparition of the Virgin and Child at the moment he lays down his arms on the Lady Altar of the Benedictine Monastery of Monserrat and gives his clothes to a beggar. On the right wing: the apparition of God the Father and the Risen Christ to St. Ignatius; and Pope Paul III issuing the Bull confirming the new society.

The triptych is painted in colors with foil and gilding, as was the practice about 1600 at

Limoges. The drawing and the whole conception are inferior to Pierre Reymond's work. The scenes were inspired by engravings of Hieronymus Wierix published by Plantin at Antwerp.

In his own day, Pierre Reymond did not achieve such renown as did a fellow enameller from Limoges, Léonard Limousin. His enamels do not have the charm that is typical of those by the Master K. I. P. Yet his work evidently filled a definite need of the times and he had the ability to see and fulfill this need. At his best he made enamels that are almost as fine as any produced by his contemporaries, but his large output, probably with the aid of assistants, makes the general level somewhat low. The enamels in the Walters Art Gallery represent him at his



FIGURE 35

Interior of Tazza in figure 1
Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedech

WALTERS ART GALLERY

best and at his worst over several decades, so that they form a solid basis by which to judge this enameller. They prove to be worthy of study not only for themselves, but they are significant also from the view-point of the Renaissance, for they illustrate the quick spreading of new ideas over Europe from great intellectual centers to provincial towns that were somewhat out of the main current of events.⁸⁷

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Pierre Reymond's name is connected with a very large number of sixteenth-century enamels. It would be impossible to make a complete study of them here, so this paper is limited to notes concerning the enamels in the Walters Art Gallery. The writer has received constant help from the staff of the Print Department at the Metropolitan Museum.

² Thomas Fortune Ryan Sale, New York, Nov. 23-25, 1933, no. 378.

³ For general discussion see: O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Mediaeval Ivories, Enamels, etc. in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 65. L. Guibert, *Catalogue des artistes limousins* (Limoges, 1909), p. 75. H. Havard, *Histoire de l'orfèverie française* (Paris, 1896), p. 305. Pierre Lavedan, Léon-

· ENAMELS BY PIERRE REYMOND ·

ard Limousin et les émailleurs français (Paris, 1914), p. 107. M. Ardant, *Les émailleurs limousins: les Reymonds* in *Bulletin Soc. Hist. Archeol. et Sc. du Limousin* (1862). W. Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten* (Berlin, 1930), p. 192. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *L'orfèverie et l'émaillerie au XVI siècle* in A. Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, V, pt. 1 (Paris, 1912), p. 458. Baron Cavois, *L'émail de Vaulx-en-Artois* in *Réunion Soc. Beaux-Arts départ.*, XXII (1898), 107. De Laborde, *Notice des émaux, bijoux, et objets divers du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1853), I, pp. 211 ff. René Jean, *Les arts de la terre* (Paris, 1911), p. 351.

⁴ Pierre Lavedan, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵ W. Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁶ Abbé Texier, *Dictionnaire de l'orfèverie* (Paris, 1857), col. 1318.

⁷ *Un artiste français en Pologne au XVI siècle* in *Réunion Soc. Beaux-Arts départ.*, XVII (1893), 204 ff.



FIGURE 36 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Detail of Tazza in figure 1
Putto on a Dolphin

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ E. Molinier, *Dictionnaire des émailleurs* (Paris, 1885), p. 81.

¹⁰ No. 44.473. Approx. Height: .156; Width: .116. Acquired in New York in 1912. Slight restorations are to be found on this and the other enamels of this group in the collection.

¹¹ F. Mazerolle, *L'exposition rétrospective de Madrid* in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, I (1893), 54. Gaston Migeon, *Les émaux peints de la comtesse de Valencia aux arts décoratifs* in *La renaissance de l'art français* (Aug., 1919), 324.

¹² Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue de l'orfèverie, de l'émaillerie, etc. au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1914), no. 576.

¹³ M. Hamel, *La collection Cottreau* in *Les arts* (April, 1910), 19. This is dated 1541.

¹⁴ A. Demartial, *Chronique de l'orfèverie et de l'émaillerie anciennes de Limoges en 1910* in *Bul. Soc. Arch. du Limousin* (1911), 14.

¹⁵ Sale, London, Dec. 11, 1908, no. 66.

¹⁶ London, 1930, p. v.

¹⁷ Grace Frank and Dorothy Miner, *Proverbes en rimes* (Baltimore, 1937), p. 5. The Gallery owns a copy of his *Fleur des sentences certaines* published at Lyons in 1548 in which he makes the same statement.

¹⁸ Nos. 44.348-349. Height: .068; Width: .08. Ex-colls. William Cossier (sale, London, April 5, 1894, no. 104) and Charles Borradaile, exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1897,



FIGURE 37 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Detail of Tazza in figure 1
(Fables of Aesop)

nos. 161 and 162.

¹⁹ Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue*, no. 616.

²⁰ For others, see the Seilliers Sale Catalogue (Paris, May 5-10, 1890), no. 223; and C. Enlart, *Rouen* (Paris, 1904), p. 138.

²¹ Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue*, no. 630, and also nos. 627-629.

²² G. T. Plunkett, *A General Guide to the Art Collections. Pt. V, Enamels. National Gallery of Science and Art* (Dublin, 1912), no. 466-83.

²³ No. 44.362. Height: .08; Width: .088. Exhib.: *The Greek Tradition* (Baltimore, 1939), no. 19.

²⁴ *Catalogue of a Special Loan Exhibition of Enamels on Metal in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1874), no. 598.

A. Jacquemart, *La collection Sauvageot* in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, II (1862), 234. Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of Collection of European Enamels* (London, 1897), nos. 78, 82 and 75 (Salting and Joseph collections). Von Lanna Sale, Berlin, Nov. 6-8, 1909, nos. 69-70. Spitzer Sale, New York, Jan. 9-12, 1929, nos. 232. Also cf. 233. And many others.

²⁵ E.g., J. Huttichius, *Imperatorum et Caesarum Vitae* (Strassburg, Wolfgang Caephalaecus, 1534-37).

²⁶ The nearest that I have found was published much later:



FIGURE 38 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Detail of Tazza in figure 1
(Fables of Aesop)



FIGURE 39

Interior of Tazza in figure 1
Sacrifice of Isaac

WALTERS ART GALLERY

La chronologie collée ou le théâtre d'honneur de plusieurs princes anciennes et modernes, published in Paris in 1623, with illustrations attributed to Leonard Gaultier. There is a copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

²⁷ J. Huttichius, *Imperatorum Romanorum*.

²⁸ No. 44.208. Diameter: .46. Acquired in Paris, 1926. From the collection of the Marquis of Salamanca (Sale, London, April 14, 1874, no. 279), of F. Spitzer (Sale, Paris, April 17, 1893, no. 501) and the sale of Charles Stein (Paris, June 8, 1899, no. 22). See, Charles Popelin, *Les émaux peints de la collection Spitzer* in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, II (1881), 123. *La collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1891), II, no. 85.

²⁹ Alfred Darcel, *Le musée rétrospectif: le moyen âge et la renaissance* in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, I (1866), 53. A. Jacquemart,

La collection Pourtalès in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, II (1864), 389. A. Darcel, *La collection Basilewsky* (Paris, 1874), no. 322.

³⁰ A. Ilg, *Die Limousiner Grissailen in den kaiserlichen Haus-Sammlungen* in *Jhb. des Deutschen allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, II (1884), 113.

³¹ Illustrated by H. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

³² Illustrated among the advertisements in the *Connoisseur*, March, 1938.

³³ E. Rupin, *Pierre Reymond, émailleur à Limoges* in *Bull. Soc. Sc. Hist. et Archeol. Corrèze*, VII (1885), 25.

³⁴ *Limoges Enamels: Check List*, no. 25.

³⁵ J. C. Robinson, *Catalogue of Special Exhibition of Works of Art on Loan at the South Kensington Museum, June 1862* (London, 1863), no. 1789.



FIGURE 40

WALTERS ART GALLERY

REYMOND WORKSHOP

Casket: Scenes from Life of Joseph

³⁶ See Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5.

³⁷ Cf. I. Collijn, *Kat. des Ornamentstich-Sammlung des Magnus Gabriel de la Garde in der kgl. Bibliothek zu Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1933), no. 18.

³⁸ Robert Hedicke, *Cornelius Floris und die Florisdekoration* (Berlin, 1913), pl. XXV. I. Collijn, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

³⁹ A. Lotz, *Die neue Formenwelt im Buchschmuck des 16. Jhdts: Maureske und Rollwerke in Philobiblion* (1935), 253 ff.

⁴⁰ R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter* (Leipzig, 1925), I, pl. 121.

⁴¹ See M. Ardant, *Les Reymonds*, p. 10.

⁴² No. 44.357. Length: .502; Width: .37. Acquired in London in 1911. Said to have figured in a Paris auction in 1910.

⁴³ Ausselineau, *Les meubles* (Paris, 1859).

⁴⁴ J. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, no. 1789.

⁴⁵ A. Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes* (Paris, 1937), I, no. 242.

⁴⁶ Mégret, *Jean de Tournes in Les arts et métiers graphiques* (1928), no. 5, pp. 293 ff.

⁴⁷ Cartier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 336.

⁴⁸ Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue*, nos. 603-4.

⁴⁹ Sale, Paris, June 5-7, 1907, no. 1697.

⁵⁰ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *La conquête de la Toison d'Or in Rev. de l'art ancienne et moderne*, XXXIV (1913), 241-253, 333-345.

⁵¹ No. 04. 6.7. One could easily increase this list.

⁵² Nos. 44.162 and 44.190. Diameter: .21. Acquired in London from Hollingsworth Magniac collection (Sale, London, July 2, 1892, nos. 1776 and 1777) and Charles Borradaile collection exhibited at the South Kensington Loan Exhibition in 1862

(*Catalogue*, nos. 1782 and 1783) and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1897 (*Catalogue*, nos. 78, 81).

⁵³ Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue*, nos. 603-604.

⁵⁴ Sale, Paris, June 5-7, 1907, no. 1697.



FIGURE 41 Courtesy of METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

BERNARD SALOMON

Joseph Lowered into the Well
(From a Lyons Bible)



FIGURE 42

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Jean Reymond (?)
Triptych: St. Ignatius Loyola
Signed I. R.

⁵⁵ Sale, Paris, May 12-13, 1924, no. 34.

⁵⁶ *La collection Spitzer*, II, nos. 88-94.

⁵⁷ Sale, London, May 4, 1898, no. 294.

⁵⁸ Sale, Berlin, Nov. 6-8, 1909, no. 73.

⁵⁹ Sale, New York, Feb. 16-17, 1911, no. 2550.

⁶⁰ See A. Demartial, *Chronique de l'orfèverie et de l'émaillerie anciennes de Limoges en 1911* in *Bull. Limousin* (1912), 25.

⁶¹ Marquis de Fayolle, *L'exposition rétrospectif de Bordeaux en 1895* (Caen, 1896), p. 24.

⁶² South Kensington Loan Exhibition, 1862, *Catalogue*, nos. 1762-1773.

⁶³ Exhibited Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1896, *Catalogue*, nos. 1774-5.

⁶⁴ No. 44.358. Cf. also E. Molinier, *La collection Charles Mannheim; objets d'art* (Paris, 1898), nos. 191-202.

⁶⁵ No. 44.168. Height: .32. Acquired in New York in 1919. From the J. Pierpont Morgan collection; exhibited in 1917 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶⁶ The second scene may be seen in the specially illustrated copy of the Lyons Bible in the Metropolitan Museum.

⁶⁷ For the shape see the Wallace Collection, *Catalogue of Objects of Art* (London, 1924), fig. 265. For examples by other enamellers see the sale of Lord Amherst (London, Dec. 11, 1908, no. 60), Spitzer (Paris, 1893, nos. 558-9), Caruso (New York, March 5-8, 1923, no. 1068) and another in the Walters collection by Pierre Courtois (no. 44.278).

⁶⁸ Sale, Paris, 1893, no. 516.

⁶⁹ Sale, London, May 4, 1898, no. 298.

⁷⁰ *Check List*, no. 26.

⁷¹ 44.339 and 44.340. Height: .082; Diameter of base: .134. Acquired in Paris in 1902. From the Spitzer collection (Sale, Paris, 1893, nos. 519-520).

⁷² Ilg, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Also see coll. von Papart (Sale, Berlin, March 18-22, 1912, no. 70).

⁷³ H. Havard, *Histoire de l'orfèverie française* (Paris, 1896), p. 307. A. Darcel, *L'exposition rétrospectif de Rouen* (1884), p. 75. Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition, 1896, *Catalogue*, no. 110.

⁷⁴ S. L. S(herer), *Limoges Enamels in Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* (1925), 44. J. E. Taylor (Sale, London, July 1-9, 1912, no. 148). P. Rizzini, *Illustrazione dei civici Musei di Brescia: smalti e rami* (Brescia, 1896), p. 30, etc.

⁷⁵ Nos. 44.66 and 44.67. Height: .27; Diameter: .18. Acquired New York, 1919. Ex-coll. Count Grigor Stroganoff (Sold with others, Rome, March 13, 1893, nos. 577-580). Ex-coll. J. Pierpont Morgan and exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum.

⁷⁶ See A. Cartier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 555.

⁷⁷ A. N. Koubé, *Decorative French Enamels: XV-XVI Centuries, The Hermitage of the State* (Leningrad, 1937), figs. 12 and 16. (In Russian.)

⁷⁸ Ilg, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

⁷⁹ 04.65. Ex-coll. Mathieson.

⁸⁰ Sale, London, July 1-9, 1912, no. 147.

⁸¹ Sale, Paris, 1893, no. 515.

⁸² Sale, London, June 22, 1938, no. 96.

⁸³ Sale, Paris, July 9-10, 1899, no. 23.

⁸⁴ Nos. 44.197 and 44.200. Height: .30; Width: .235. Acquired in Paris in 1928. Said to be from the collection of the duc de Cambacères.

⁸⁵ No. 44.38. Length: .16. For the Life of Joseph see also a box in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 32.100.264.

⁸⁶ 44.192. Total length: .315; Height: .185. Acquired in Paris, 1902. Figured in a sale at Amsterdam in 1901. The frame has a paper saying it was made for Adam Schumacher, June 25, 1824. At the back is an inscription stating the enamels were blessed by Pope Paul V (1605-21) at the request of the fifth general, Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615).

⁸⁷ The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has a Good



FIGURE 43 WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND

Jael Killing Sisera
Signed P. R.



FIGURE 44

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE REYMOND

Idolatry of Solomon
Signed P. R.

Shepherd plaque dated 1543 (no. 2577-1856), and a box with a Good Shepherd scene on the cover (no. 2835-1853). The same museum possesses plates for July (no. 789-1877), August (705-1902) and a Hercules salt-cellar (no. 8427-1863). Mr. Douglas Gordon of Baltimore has recently acquired two *enseigne de*

chapeau by Pierre Reymond, one of them signed "P R". These were in the Charles Mannheim collection [E. Molinier, *Collection Charles Mannheim; objets d'art* (Paris, 1898), nos. 163-164] and J. P. Morgan, Sr. collection. They were exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917 by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr.

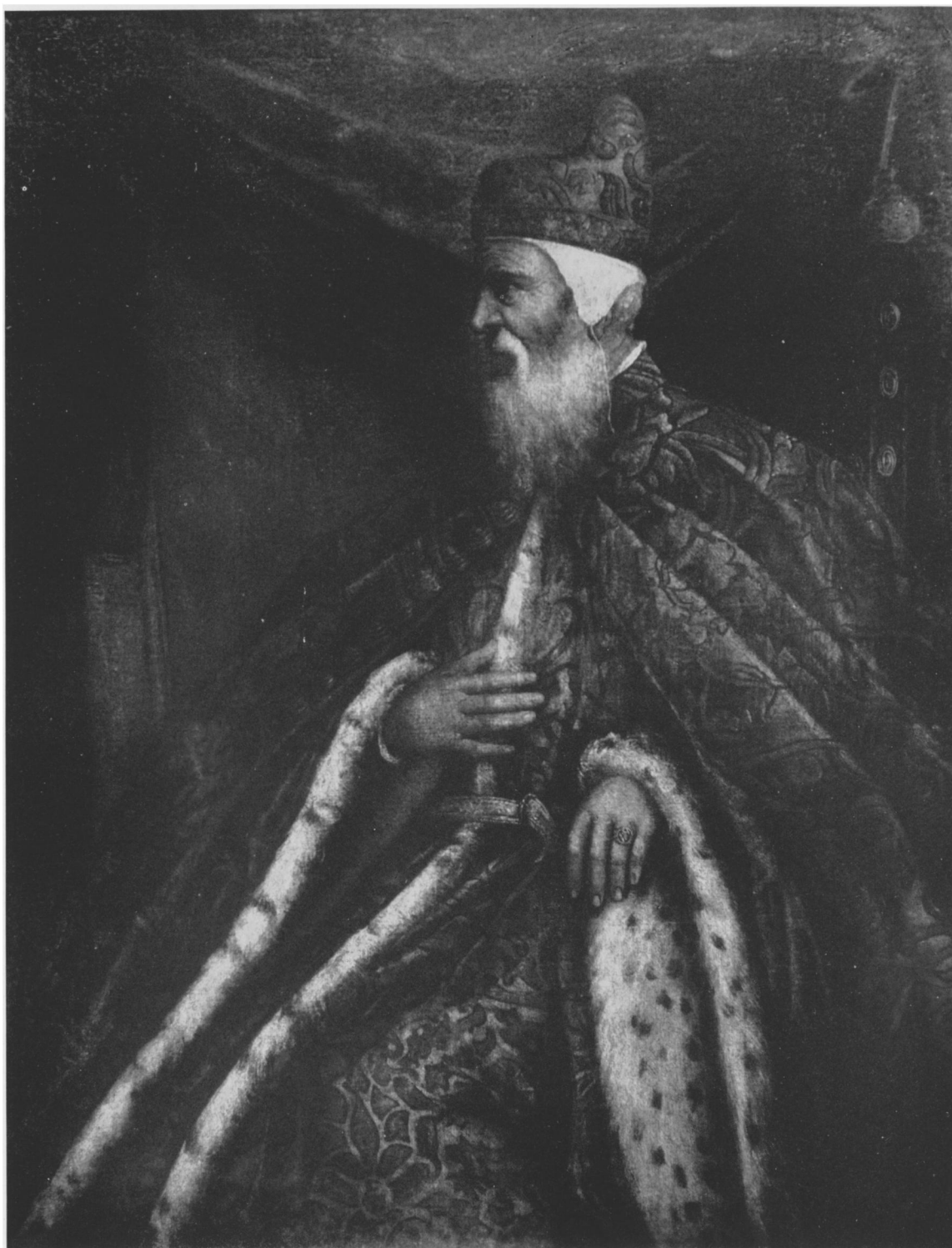


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIETRO MALOMBRA
Portrait of Doge Marino Grimani

SHORT NOTES

BRIEF DISCUSSIONS OF INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

A PORTRAIT OF DOGE GRIMANI

BY E. TIETZE-CONRAT

Toledo, Ohio

THE PORTRAIT of a Venetian Doge in the Walters Art Gallery as far as I know has never been discussed in the literature of art.¹ Its old label reads: "School of Tintoretto."² My first impression on viewing the original was that this general attribution could not be correct. The portrait is pompous in color and pose as Tintoretto's portraits never are. Since by "school of an artist" we usually mean a work in the master's style, but not of his quality, we may suppose that the school of Tintoretto would have exaggerated still more the master's reserve in color and action. This Doge here sits in an armchair, but bends his knee as if to rise; he leans back, but turns his head in profile, a posture always meant to indicate alertness. One of his hands rests on the arm of the chair, but the other is raised to his breast in the conventional gesture of liveliness.

Although the portrait insists more on the handsomeness of the bearded old man than on his characteristic features it is easy to identify him, since we find him again in several thoroughly described historical paintings. He is Marino Grimani, Doge of Venice from 1595 to 1605. Leandro Bassano painted him in a historical scene for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Ducal Palace, in the rôle of the half mythical Doge Zi-

ani, and again with his wife in a "Rosary" in the Cathedral in Bassano and, alone, in a picture now in the Gallery in Dresden. Giovanni Contarini painted him kneeling in adoration before the Virgin enthroned and surrounded by saints, in an upright painting in the Sala della Quattro Porte in the Ducal Palace. Domenico Tintoretto painted him and his wife with members of a Confraternity adoring God the Father, in San Giovanni Elemosinario in Venice.

While these various representations are helpful for the identification of the person represented, their stylistic discrepancy makes it certain that neither Leandro Bassano nor Contarini painted our portrait. The seventeenth-century writer, Carlo Ridolfi, however, enumerates another painter who made two other portraits of Grimani. In his chapter on Pietro Malombra³ he describes a semi-circular painting by Malombra placed over a door in San Jacopo di Rialto in Venice, where again Marino Grimani appears in the rôle of Doge Ziani in the suite of Pope Alexander III who puts his foot on the neck of the kneeling Emperor Frederick; Ridolfi adds on the same page, as the first on his list of other portraits—"for he painted many which were beautiful and true likenesses"—the portrait of the Doge Grimani, "but in another form than described before." The semi-circular painting in San Giacomo di Rialto is lost, but I have identified an excellent drawing in the Metropolitan Museum as a sketch for it. In a forthcoming issue of the

Art Quarterly this drawing will be more amply discussed. The sketch seems only to have prepared the general composition, since the Doge still shows the well-known conventional beardless features of Ziani which in the completed painting, following Ridolfi's description, were changed into those of the then reigning Grimani. Since this figure, according to the drawing in New York, was shown standing and turned toward the right, the painting in Baltimore which I propose to identify with the one listed by Ridolfi among Malombra's portraits, might rightly be described by Ridolfi as different from the other representation. Normally one would expect a single portrait to be a repetition of one invented for an important composition.

We know too little about Malombra's paintings to venture an attribution of the Grimani portrait to him merely in virtue of his style. He was born in Venice in 1556 and lived there until 1618; he was a pupil of Giuseppe della Porta (Salviati) and the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum shows, indeed, some relationship to authentic drawings by his master. As the latter are still unpublished, I have to refer to the *Catalogue of the Venetian Drawings of the XVth and XVIth Centuries* which I am preparing in collaboration with Hans Tietze. The pompous pose of the Grimani portrait may be a reminiscence of Malombra's studies with Roman-trained Salviati. The saint in the lower left corner in Malombra's altar-piece in San Trovaso⁴ displays in his pose a superficial agitation very similar to that of the portrait in the Walters Art Gallery, here ascribed to Malombra.

¹ Walters Art Gallery No. 37.591. Oil on canvas; Height 56 in. Width 43 in. (1.423 x 1.092 m.). Not at present on exhibition.

² This attribution derives from the catalogue of the Massarenti collection which was purchased by Mr. Walters in 1902, where the picture was given to Tintoretto (see *Catalogue du musée, etc., au palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), no. 379.

³ Carlo Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell'arte*, ed. A. von Hadeln (Berlin, 1924), II, p. 157.

⁴ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, IX, vii (Milan, 1934), fig. 147.



FIGURE 5

GEORGES WILDENSTEIN COLLECTION

W. DE BRAILES

Lot Receives the Angels

ADDITIONAL MINIATURES BY W. de BRAILES

BY ERIC MILLAR

Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum

THE REMARKABLE way in which the work of the thirteenth-century English artist, W. de Brailes, has come to light since his name first became known in 1906 must always be a matter for surprise. It seems that the supply is still not exhausted. Only as recently as 1938 Dr. Hanns Swarzenski published in Volume I of this Journal his discovery of twenty-seven miniatures by

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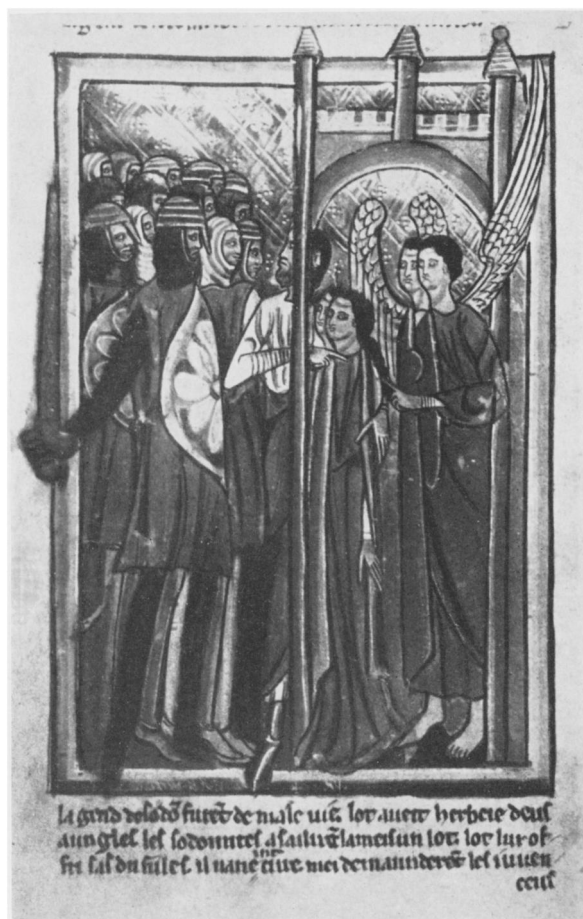


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• SHORT NOTES •

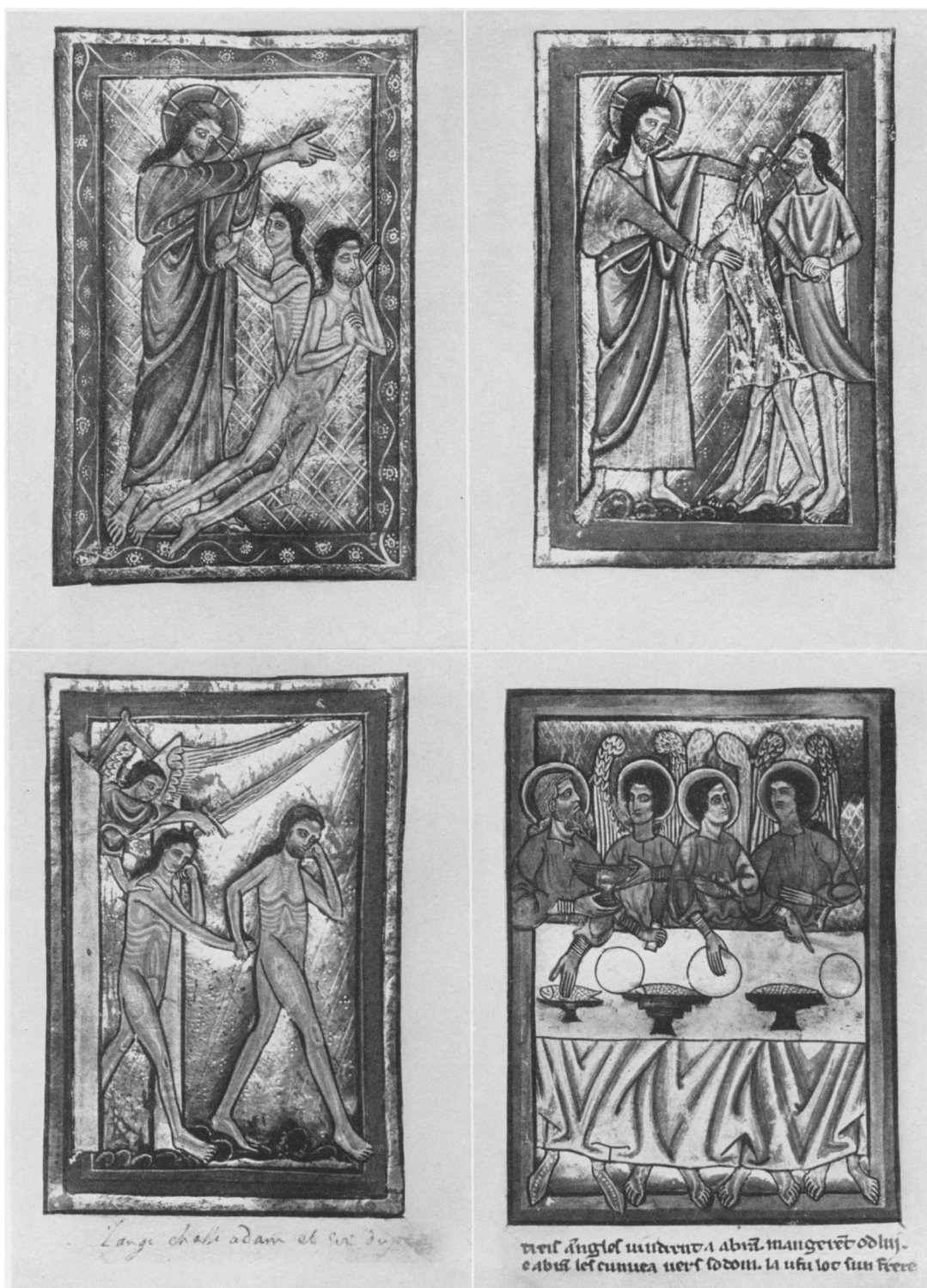


FIGURE 1
FIGURE 3

PARIS, GEORGES WILDENSTEIN COLLECTION

FIGURE 2
FIGURE 4

W. DE BRAILES
Scenes from Genesis



FIGURE 6 GEORGES WILDENSTEIN COLLECTION
W. DE BRAILES
Joseph Sold into Egypt

this very individual artist in Ms.500 of the Walters Art Gallery,¹ his attribution being, of course, beyond dispute. I am happy to be able to announce that seven more miniatures from the same series have now been identified in the collection of M. Georges Wildenstein, of Paris, by whose kindness they are here reproduced.

The subjects are as follows:

1. The Creation of Eve. (Genesis II.21-22).
2. The Almighty clothes Adam and Eve. (Genesis III.21).
3. The Expulsion from Paradise. (Genesis III.23-24).

The above three miniatures should follow f.1 of the Walters Ms.²

4. Abraham entertains the three angels. (Genesis XVIII.2-8).

Legend: treis an(n)geles uindrent a abra(m). mangere(n)t od lui. e abra(m) les eunuea uers sodom. la ufu lot sun frere.

This miniature should precede f.4 of the Walters Ms.³

5. Lot takes the two angels into his house. (Genesis XIX.2-9).

Legend: La gend de sodo(m) fure(n)t de male uie. lot auait herbeie deus aungles les sodomites asailire(n)t la meisun lot. lot lur offri sas du files il naueint cure. mei demaundere(n)t les iuueus.

This miniature, which should also precede f.4 of the Walters Ms., is presumably the next picture to no. 4 above.



FIGURE 7 GEORGES WILDENSTEIN COLLECTION
W. DE BRAILES
The Plague of Flies

6. Joseph sold into Egypt. (Genesis XXXVII.28).

Legend: *les fiz iacob uendirent ioseph lur frere atres passau(n)s e il lamenerent en egypte.*

This miniature should follow f.14 of the Walters Ms.⁴

7. The plague of flies, here resembling fish. (Exodus VIII.24).

Legend: *La quarte fu tut gendre de musches.*

This miniature should follow f.5 of the Walters Ms.⁵

As will be seen, the series is still incomplete, and it is greatly to be hoped that the remaining pictures may yet be discovered.

¹ Hanns Swarzenski, *Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brailles* in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I (1938), 54-69.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58, fig. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 5.



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY
Ivory Mirror-Case

A GOTHIC IVORY MIRROR-CASE

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery



FIGURE 1

Ivory Mirror-Case

PARIS, LOUVRE

RAYMOND KOECHLIN'S monumental book on French Gothic ivories¹ brings together so much material and contains so many interesting ideas that it must remain for years to come indispensable to all students of the Gothic period. Because of its scope, however, there are details that from time to time require rectification as more information becomes available on the subject. The opinion expressed by Monsieur Koechlin concerning an ivory mirror-back in the Louvre (fig. 1) is an instance of this need for small corrections; for his statement that it is a nineteenth-century forgery will not bear close scrutiny. He writes:

Le no. 105 du Catalogue des Ivoires du Louvre (donation Sauvageot) représente un couple en somptueux costume sur fond guilloché; le jeune homme, lui-même couronné, offre une couronne à sa dame de-

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FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Ivory Mirror-Case

A GOTHIC IVORY MIRROR-CASE

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery



FIGURE 1 PARIS, LOUVRE
Ivory Mirror-Case

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FIGURE 3

VENICE, MUSEO CIVICO

GREVEMBROCH

Drawing of Gothic Ivory Mirror-Case

bout devant lui, une banderole avec l'inscription *En gré flottant au-dessus d'eux*. Le style nous paraît dénoncer évidemment un faussaire du XIX^e siècle.² The style is coarse but the ivory cannot be of the nineteenth century, for it was in the "Museum" of Pietro di Giacomo Gradenigo at Venice, where it was seen and sketched in the mid-eighteenth century by Grevembroch (d. 1808). His drawing is now in the Museo Civico at Venice³ (fig. 3). The details of the ivory and of the drawing correspond so closely that the one can only be considered a representation of the other.

In the Walters Art Gallery is another mirror-back⁴ in excellent preservation except that the four leaf-like projections at the corners have been trimmed off in comparatively recent times (fig. 2). This ivory is approximately the size of the Louvre mirror-back and furthermore corresponds exactly to the second ivory sketched by Grevembroch, minus, of course, the four corners. In one, the man presents a flower, in the other a wreath, to the lady advancing toward him. Above the

two figures on the Baltimore piece floats a banner inscribed *Prenes*, the first part of the inscription that is continued on the ivory in Paris. Even such details as the holes for fastening together the two pieces match. The only conclusion to be arrived at from these comparisons is that the companion piece to the Louvre ivory is now in Baltimore, the two being the "diptych" sketched in Venice by Grevembroch nearly two centuries ago.

Although sketchy carving of the leaf-like corners, as on the Louvre ivory, appears on a number of ivory mirror-backs tentatively identified as Italian in origin,⁵ the French inscription suggests that these two ivories were made in France. The costumes are very distinctive and occur again in the illustration to the psalm *Fortis Vivas* in a Book of Hours also in the Walters Art Gallery.⁶ The scene depicts men and women in a garden (fig. 4). The women in this miniature wear the same dresses with long flowing sleeves and skirts and similar hats. The men have low-waisted tur-



FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Ms. 219. *Book of Hours*

atics with short skirts, as well as shoes and hats very like those worn by the men carved on the ivories. This manuscript has a Paris calendar but shows the influence of Flemish art and so was probably illuminated at Paris by Flemish artists. The date of this manuscript is about 1400-1415. Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*⁷ illustrates a lady's coiffure quite like those to be seen on the ivories, the original from which the engraving was taken being in a French manuscript of about 1400 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. He pictures as well a man's costume (such as on the mirror-backs) that comes from a miniature in a manuscript of the Duc de Berry (d. 1416).⁸ The style of the carving on the mirror-case suggests the very first years of the fifteenth century, the closest comparison being a comb in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁹

Because they were seen and sketched together as early as the mid-eighteenth century, we can conclude that the two ivories in Paris and Baltimore are genuine and were originally intended to fit together, thus adding another complete mirror-case to the short list given by Koechlin. Because the costumes are so like those in the early fifteenth-century manuscripts from the region between Paris and Flanders, it seems safe to conclude that the ivory was carved in that region and at approximately the same time. French ivory carvings of the fifteenth century are rare in comparison with the many fourteenth-century examples, and so these two have a documentary interest beyond their artistic merit.

NOTES

¹ *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924). A number of ivories in Koechlin's *corpus* formerly in European collections are now in the Walters Art Gallery. For the use of students his catalogue-numbers of these items are given here: 9, 12, 13, 40, 123, 184, 235, 298, 346 ter, 400, 503, 569, 625, 642, 665, 677, 697, 705, 717, 719, 757, 761, 814, 836, 982, 1001, 1043, 1067, 1070 (?), 1097, 1114, 1213, 1281, and 1294; under 713 (Carmichael), 866 (Magniac), 1115 (Carmichael); under 1027, two mirrors confused, ours from Sneyd collection; the writing tablet (vol. II, p. 440) mentioned as lost, but illustrated by Montfaucon, also is now in the Walters Art Gallery.

² Vol. II, p. 402 under no. 1115.

³ P. Molmenti, *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata* (Bergamo, 1906), I, p. 292.

⁴ No. 71.107. Diameter 82 cm. Acquired in 1914.

⁵ Donald Egbert, *North Italian Gothic Ivories in Art Studies*, VII (1929), 169, figs. 66 and 67. For the same inscription on a mirror-case see M. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, (London, 1926), p. 54.

⁶ Ms. 219. Fol. 86vo. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States* (New York, 1935), I, p. 791, no. 215. I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Miner, Keeper of Manuscripts, for information.

⁷ (Paris, 1872), III, p. 224.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

⁹ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1151.



FIGURE 1
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Psykter

That the identification is correct is shown by a small group of vases of which the Walters Art Gallery possesses one.² They are of the shape of the others, but have a pair of small handles, each handle being a double pierced lug. The vase could be hung on strings through the lugs and suspended in a bowl. The shape of the handles reminds us of the puzzling description of Pollux, who called a psykter a vase "with *astragaliskoi*." *Astragaliskoi* were small "knuckle-bones," the bones from the ankle, which frequently, copied in clay, stone, or glass, served as playthings for Greek children. The handles of these vases are indubitably shaped like knuckle-bones. We can, therefore, be quite sure that vases of this shape were called psykters. Pollux was describing an unusual, not a usual, feature of the vase when he mentioned the small knuckle-bones. His allusion to this feature, which formerly was held against identification of vases of this shape as psykters,

A WINE-COOLER WITH SMALL KNUCKLE-BONES

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL
The Walters Art Gallery

ONE OF the most difficult problems which confronts the student of antiquity is to identify the shapes of vases which Greek writers called by various names. Sometimes it has proved impossible to connect any one of the many vases which we see in our museums with an interesting discourse of an ancient writer, and we are deprived of knowledge which we feel we should have.

An especially puzzling shape is the psykter. The name means "cooler," and the contexts suggest that it was a container for cooling unmixed wine by immersion in a larger vessel of cold water. Archaeologists have provisionally classed as psykters a number of vases which have a bulbous upper part and a small columnar lower part.¹



FIGURE 2
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Psykter

has now become final evidence that this identification is correct.

The vase from which we have determined this fact has had an interesting history. It was found in an Etruscan tomb at Tarquinia, north of Rome, by the Marzi brothers in 1874-1875. When Hartwig was writing his famous work⁴ on Greek vases he found drawings of it in the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and photographs of it at the shops of Roman dealers, both of which he incorporated in his work. Before his book was published a strange, badly restored vase came on the market in Rome, only to vanish quickly. Hartwig wrote mournfully of this latter vase that only a good cleaning could show whether or not it was the same one that he had discussed.

The buyer of the restored piece was Don Marcello Massarenti who kept his antiquities in the Accoramboni Palace in Rome, until in 1902 he sold Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore the entire collection, including the vase in question. Restored it certainly was. But recent cleaning has brought it to the state which appears in the photographs. It is certainly the vase which Hartwig discussed, for every crack corresponds to one in his drawing, although the draughtsman

had reversed his copy of one side and included two fragments and a cover which we do not have. And the amount of restoration which had to be removed was certainly enough to account for Hartwig's being unable to be sure of the actual vase when he saw it.

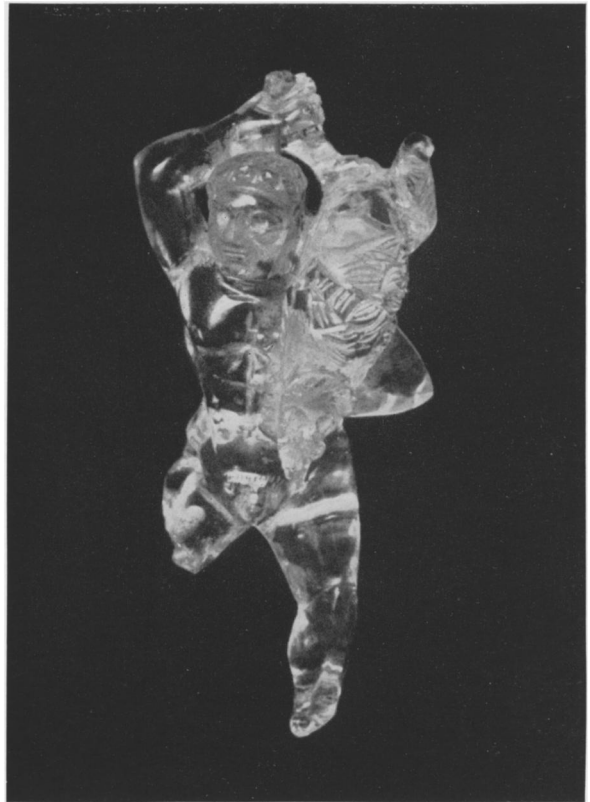


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Rock-Crystal Statuette

A ROCK-CRYSTAL STATUETTE OF HERACLES

BY BERTA SEGALL

Dumbarton Oaks Collection

OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE carvings in precious stones very few pieces have come down to us. They are today scattered through the museums of the world and are highly valued, as they were in

¹ Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), pp. 12 f.

² Number 48.77. Height: .245 m. Formerly Massarenti Collection. E. Van Esbroeck and others, *Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni*, II (Rome, 1897), pp. 41, 196. The lower portion of the bulbous part of the vase is restored, and the shape of this part is therefore untrustworthy. Restored portions are painted black, except a piece in the torso of a youth which is red; the line of his back is the only restored drawing. A red-figured example was found in Rhodes, *Clara Rhodos*, VIII (Rhodes, 1936), pp. 127-130. Two examples in black glazed ware are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Fasc. 1, Pl. XLVIII, 25 and 26. Another in black glazed ware is at Bowdoin College. Another was found in the Agora at Athens, Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), p. 231, fig. 27.

³ Pollux, *Onomastikon*, VI, 99.

⁴ Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 264-7, figs. 38 a, b, c. See also the *Nachträge* at the end of the volume. Side B of Hartwig is reversed. The two missing pieces make up the body of the boy holding the vase. Only the arm and vase exist in the painting. The restorer had drawn a bearded man to hold the vase, copying him almost exactly from the other bearded man.

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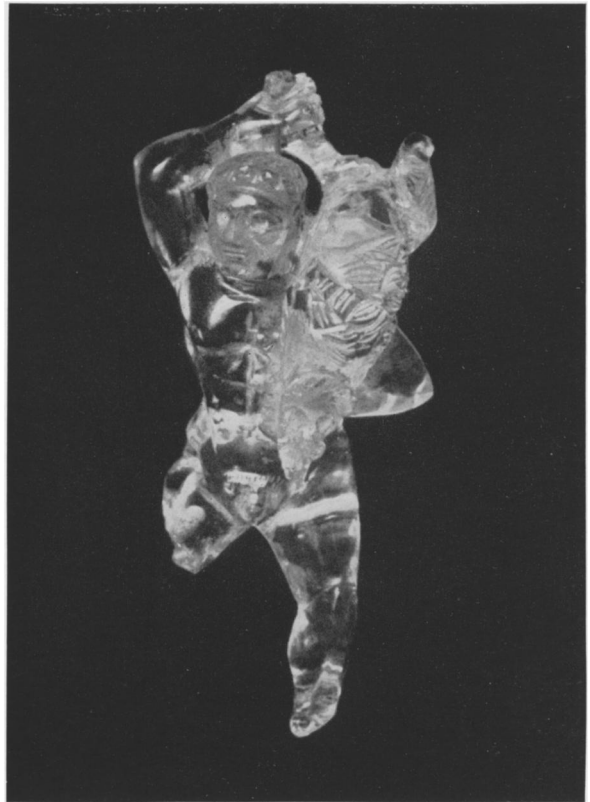


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FIGURE 2
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Rock-Crystal Statuette

antiquity, as rare collectors' items.

Preference in the choice of the stones changed with the varying styles. Some of the stones known to the ancient world were less frequently used than others. Rock-crystal, which Pliny said was made of rain and a little snow, seems to be absent during long periods; at least not very many pieces of sculpture in this material have been discovered up to the present. To the list of ancient rock-crystal carvings compiled by Walter Dennison in the publication of a statuette in the Freer Gallery in Washington¹ can now be added a piece from the fine collection of engraved and carved precious stones in the Walters Art Gallery,² a statuette of Heracles throwing the Erymanthian boar (figs. 1, 2, 3, 5).*

This piece will attract interest even of one who is not aware of its rareness from the collector's point of view, because of its vigor and strength. Closer observation reveals a strange mixture of stylistic features, which seem contradictory at first sight: the outline of the group is full of movement, but there is also a certain rigidity and stiffness; the motif is classical, but the execution of the body, and especially of the face, is somewhat remote from classical stylistic tradition.

Heracles is represented as a short, muscular youth with curly hair and a square face. Though parts of the legs are broken away, the movement of the body is quite clear. He is stepping for-



FIGURE 3
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Rock-Crystal Statuette

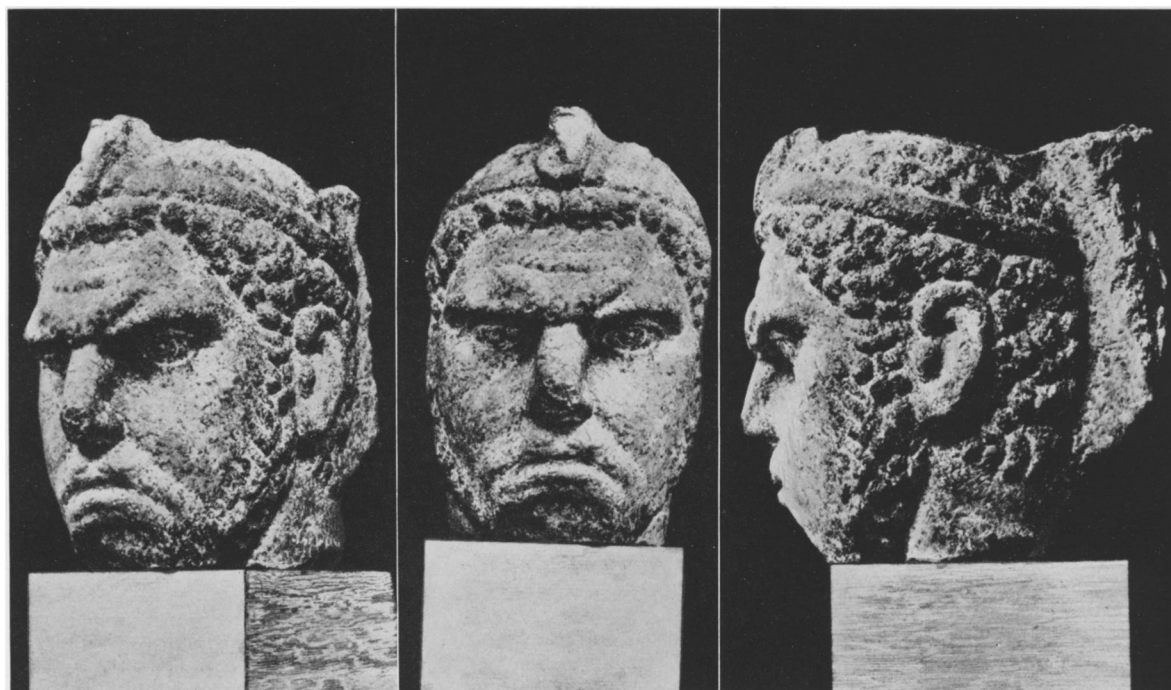


FIGURE 4

Colossal Head of Caracalla
(After Graindor)

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

ward on his left foot and is lifting the boar over his head. The boar is thrown, head downward, over his left shoulder. With his right hand Heracles grips one of the animal's legs, while his left hand supports its head. The modeling of the body reveals considerable knowledge of human anatomy, the exaggeration of the muscular development being customary in ancient representations of Heracles. But in this case the exaggerations are carried out in such a way that the ancient hero is depicted almost as a barbarian. The square head is placed on the shoulders so as to show scarcely any trace of the neck. In the rendering of the head the barbarization is most obvious. The forehead, crowned by two rows of schematic curls, is low and receding. The eyes, deep circular hollows, stare distantly into space. The square jaw, the straight, wide mouth with protruding lower lip, all add to the impression of sullen brute strength, untouched by any trace

of animation or intelligence.

The sculptor has treated his material as if it were wood. He has used narrow grooves for the indication of the boar's fur, for Heracles' brows and mouth, for rendering the curls, the fingers, and for much of the detail of the body, such as the angular breast-muscles, the ribs, and the bulging muscles of the back.

All these features help to determine the date of the statuette fairly closely. The classical motif, rendered with a certain barbarization, the loss of the subtlety of classical modeling, the square face with big jaws, and the round staring eyes, all point to the same phase in the development of ancient sculpture in late Imperial times.

A more precise date is suggested by the resemblance of the head of our statuette to a group of portrait-heads sculptured in porphyry, representing several Roman emperors dating around 300 A. D.³ A bust found at Athribis, in the Nile

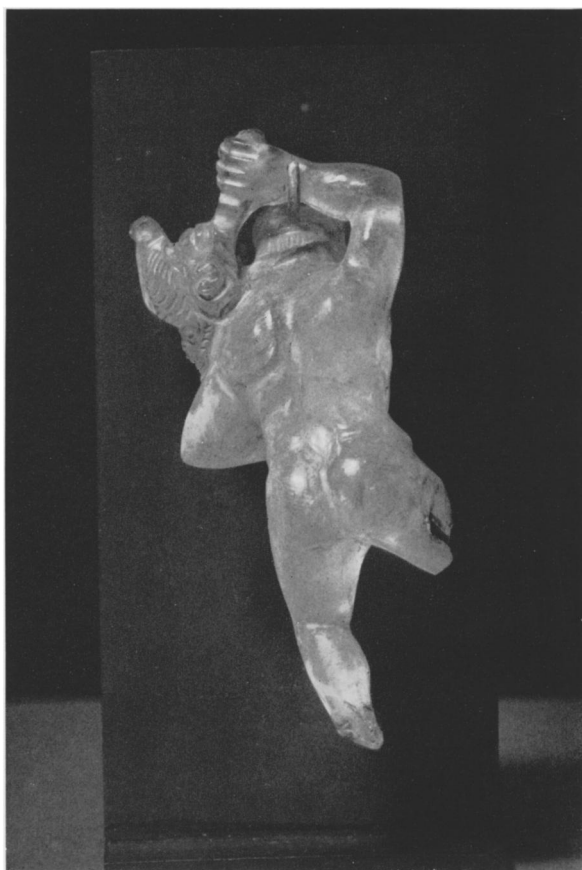


FIGURE 5
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Rock-Crystal Statuette
(Back)

Delta, now in the museum in Cairo, which has been connected with the name of the emperor Licinius (307-324 A. D.);⁴ resembles our statuette in the square face with exaggerated jaw and low forehead and the round open eyes. Coins of this period show analogies to the statuette even more clearly. On coins of Maximianus Herculus (286-305) and Constantius I (250-306) the eyes are represented with similar circular hollows for the iris (fig. 6).⁵ The profile of Constantius I even has a certain "family resemblance" to that of the Heracles statuette: in both one sees the same outline of hair and forehead, the same pointed nose, the thick lower lip and the angular protruding chin. The resemblance is sufficiently

close to date the statuette at about 300 A. D.

The stylistic resemblance of the statuette to the porphyry portrait-busts suggests that they all originate in closely related workshops. The place of origin of the porphyry sculpture has long been disputed. In the opinion of some scholars⁶ it seems to appear from nowhere, without roots and without subsequent developments. Others have pointed out that similar stylistic features occur in some sculptures of the Roman west and that western provincial craftsmen might be responsible for this.⁷ L'Orange, convinced that they belong to eastern Roman art,⁸ speaks of a general eastern type at that period. But since lately more material from the various Roman provinces has been published, we can today be more precise than formerly in determining the place of origin of late Imperial works of art.

Years ago, when comparatively little material was known, Oskar Wulff pointed out that a stylistic link exists between the porphyry sculptures and certain Hellenistic and Imperial sculpture from Egypt, which carries on some traditions of ancient Egyptian art, only slightly influenced by Hellenistic art of Greek origin.⁹ Recent research seems to confirm this theory. A number of busts and statues from Roman Imperial Egypt have been collected and published recently by Paul Graindor,¹⁰ and this publication makes it possible to trace their development. Particularly interesting is a head of the emperor Caracalla (211-217) from Coptos, today in the University Museum at Philadelphia (fig. 4).¹¹ It shows most of the features which are characteristic of the head of the Heracles statuette and proves that this style was far advanced in Egypt as early as the beginning of the third century A. D. There seems, therefore, to be little doubt, that our statuette was carved in a workshop in Egypt, contemporary with the workshops of the porphyry group, and that it was the heir of old local traditions. But it provides also an important link with later

art. Some features of the modeling of the body as well as of the rendering of the face recall later Coptic sculpture. We find, for instance, the pointed form of the breast muscles and the use of narrow grooves for the outline of anatomical details in a Coptic torso in the Cairo Museum¹² and in later Coptic representations of Heracles.¹³ The characteristic features of the face, schematic curls, low forehead, grooves for brow and mouth are repeated in the figures of two Coptic angels holding the cross.¹⁴



FIGURE 6 (ABOVE) COIN OF MAXIMIANUS HERCULUS
(BELOW) COIN OF CONSTANTIUS I

These facts make the little statuette even more important for the historian than its connections with earlier art. It was stated in a recent study on Coptic art:¹⁵ "We have not found any figure sculptures in Roman Egypt of which the Coptic ones could be regarded as the direct heirs." The Walters Heracles statuette is a proof to the contrary. A direct line of development can be traced from Roman Egyptian sculptures such as the Caracalla head in Philadelphia to the Heracles and from there to Coptic pieces such as the torso and the angels mentioned above. The statuette, moreover, helps to establish more firmly a similar place in the history of late Egyptian art for the famous porphyry group. It gives one answer to the much disputed question of the sources of Coptic art.

* In all views except figure 1, the surface has been sprayed for purposes of photography.

¹ Walter Dennison, *A Gold Treasure from the Late Roman Period. University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series*, XII, part II (1918), p. 165 f. Cf. also the amulets in the Benaki Museum Athens, *Katalog der Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Athens, 1938), by B. Segall, no. 94.

² Walters Art Gallery. 42.208. Height: 3 in. (.075 m.).

³ R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphywerke* (Leipzig, 1932), pl. 31 ff. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Portraits* (Oslo, 1933), p. 16 ff.

⁴ R. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pls. 38 and 39. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 111, no. 14.

⁵ R. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 58, nos. 2 and 4.

⁶ H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, I (1932), p. 33 and p. 37: "un art nouveau, jailli tout d'un coup, nous ne savons d'où".

⁷ R. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 25 f.; von Schönebeck, *Berliner Museen* (1937), p. 58.

⁸ L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁹ O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst. Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, I (1914), p. 154 ff. Two such pieces, both in the department of Egyptian antiquities in the Berlin Museum, are illustrated in H. Schaefer-W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients, Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, II (Berlin, 1925), pp. 443 and 436.

¹⁰ Paul Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Egypte Romaine le Caire. Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté de lettres. Université Egyptienne* (1937).

¹¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI, cat. no. 80.

¹² G. Duthuit, *La Sculpture copte* (Paris, 1931), pl. VII c.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. XII c.

¹⁵ E. Kitzinger, *Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture in Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1938), 205.

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EXHIBITIONS

DURING THE season of 1938-1939 the following special exhibitions have been presented. These, as is customary, have been organized entirely from material belonging to the Walters Art Gallery, drawing particularly upon objects not on permanent exhibition.

1938

November 6: A collection of drawings in pencil, pen and ink, and water-color by Gavarni, French illustrator and caricaturist. Gallery XII.

November 14: Objects illustrating the background of Jewish history. Court.

December 2: Medieval objects of secular use. Foyer.

December 18: Daily life in the Middle Ages, eleventh to fifteenth century. Work and play of noble, peasant and townsman. Gallery XII.

1939

February 12: Drinking vessels through the ages. Gallery XV.

April 1: French Renaissance enamels. Gallery XV.

May 15: Greek tradition in painting and the minor arts, in collaboration with the Baltimore Museum of Art. Court and Foyer.

June 24: Paintings of scenes of Mohammedan lands by nineteenth-century artists. Gallery XV.

October 6: Art of the Medicis, in cooperation with the Baltimore Museum of Art. Gallery XV.

March 3: Opening of a permanent exhibition in newly rearranged Gallery III containing alcoves devoted to jewelry of the ancient world, Etruscan art, and Coptic and later medieval arts of Egypt.