the

JOURNAL

OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

volume 42/43
1984/1985

the

JOURNAL

OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

volume 42/43
1984/1985

Published by the Trustees
of The Walters Art Gallery

600 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201
ISSN 0083-7156

The Walters Art Gallery welcomes contributions on all aspects of art history deriving from or related to its collection. The preferred language is English, but contributions in other Western European languages will also be considered. Send submissions, prepared according to the following instructions, to:

William Johnston
Executive Editor
The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery
600 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Form of Manuscript

All manuscripts must be typewritten and double-spaced (including quotations and footnotes). Submit the original, not a xerox. Articles may also be submitted on computer disk; please check with the Editor as to compatibility of systems.

Include on a separate sheet your name, work and business addresses, and phone numbers.

Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and typed (double-spaced) on separate pages, subjoining the text of the article. Author's name and affiliation should appear after the title and before the text of the article.

Form of Citation

Monographs: Initial(s) and last name of author followed by comma; title of monograph, underlined, followed by comma; title of series (if needed) not underlined; volume number(s) in Roman numerals (omitting "vol."), place and date of publication enclosed by parentheses, followed by comma; page numbers (inclusive, no f. or ff.) without p. or pp.

C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 330-333, fig. 22.

Periodicals: Initial(s) and last name of author followed by comma; title of article, followed by comma, with double quotation marks; title of periodical, underlined, followed by comma; volume number in Arabic numerals (omitting "vol."); year of publication enclosed in parentheses, followed by comma; page numbers (inclusive, not f. or ff.) without p. or pp.

F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France,* 27 (1977), 235-237. For the first citation, always use a full reference.

Subsequent Citations

For both monographs and periodicals, use the author's last name and a short form of the title (first significant word or phrase) followed by a comma; page number (inclusive, not f. or ff.) without p. or pp.

Vermeule, *Roman Imperial,* 335, 356.
Villard, "Une tête romaine," 237-239.

Illustrations

Supply sharp, glossy prints made, whenever possible, from the original work of art. If photographs have of necessity been made from reproductions, supply full bibliographical information in the appropriate footnote.

On the reverse of each photograph indicate its figure number in soft pencil; indicate cropping, where necessary, on the front of each photograph in crayon in the margin. Supply a double-spaced list of captions for all illustrations (on a separate page, subjoined) with the following information:

- artist or object type
- title or iconography
- medium
- present location (city, museum, and accession number)

Permission to reproduce must be obtained by the author. All photographs must be submitted at the time of the submission of the manuscript.

Procedures

All submitted manuscripts will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, at times in consultation with outside experts. The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery will be published each fall; articles submitted before March 1 of that year (and accepted) will, space available, be included in that fall's issue. Authors will have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after the initial editorial process has been completed and in galleys.

Joyce Duncan, *Design and Production*
Pamela White, *Production*
Charlotte Zinser, *Editing*
Troy Moss, *Editing*
Typeset by BG Composition, Inc., Baltimore and printed by Collins Lithography, Baltimore

Editorial Board

CONTENTS

the

JOURNAL

OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

A Helmeted Ionian

WILLIAM R. BIERS
University of Missouri—Columbia

Among the many small vases made to contain perfumes and precious unguents in the Greek world of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., a number were fashioned in various shapes, such as those of animals, birds, humans and parts thereof, and as mythological beasts. These "plastic vases" were manufactured in centers ranging from the coast of Asia Minor to the cities of Etruscan Italy. A favorite and therefore common type was that of a male head wearing a helmet. A previously unpublished example of one of these helmeted heads is in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri (figs. 1-3)[1]; close counterparts can be found in the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England; The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The Missouri vase was made in a two-piece mold, back and front, with the exception of a wheel-made vase mouth and handmade ridge and cheek-pieces. It is decorated with black glaze-paint, added red and white, and incision. The object is complete and in good condition, except for some incrustation and several chips and scratches in the black glaze, partially as a result of overcleaning before acquisition by the museum. The vase is small and gives a solid impression to the viewer—"small, compact, and cosy in the hand," as Beazley put it in his comments on plastic vases of this type.[2]

The warrior's face seems to peek out from between the massive cheek-pieces of the helmet. His features are dominated by the large, arched eyes on either side of the straight, narrow nose. The outline of the eyes is in relief and painted black. Although there seem to be no traces of added white, other examples of helmeted-head vases lead to the expectation that the eyeball originally would have been painted white. The pupil is rendered in relief and is covered by black glaze-paint that does not touch either lid. A dot in added red can be seen at the center of each pupil. The face is further enlivened by narrow black eyebrows, a straight groove for the mouth, and a black mustache and beard, the latter indicated only by a blob of black glaze-paint. The remainder of the face was left in the natural color of the clay, or reserved, providing a contrast to the relatively highly decorated helmet that encloses it.

The helmet of the Missouri vase is of a distinct type known as an Ionian helmet, and is familiar to us from plastic vases and a number of other artistic representations. Unfortunately, no actual helmets of this kind have been found or at least identified. The Ionian helmet is distinguished from the more common Corinthian helmet by the lack of a strip to protect the nose and by a distinctive curved frontpiece (*metopon*) over the forehead. Ionian helmets are also distinctive in having a ridge that runs from back to front along the

Figs. 1-3. Helmeted head Vase, Ceramic, East Greece, University of Missouri—Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, no. 79. 79.

top of the helmet. This ridge terminates above the metopon in a rectangular projection. The intended use of this projection is debated; perhaps it had something to do with a crest that may have fitted into the ridge, or maybe it served simply as a reinforcement at a particularly vulnerable spot.[3]

Each cheek-piece of the helmet is decorated by a double-incised line around its border, while the outer edges are left in reserve. A stripe in added red is contained within the incised lines. The large cheek-pieces extend slightly below the chin of the warrior. They were apparently to be understood as hinged, since horizontal hinges at their upper ends are indicated by incision. The metopon is also incised around its circumference with a double line containing a red stripe. In the center are the traces of a nine-pointed red-dot rosette.

The rounded sides of the helmet are supported by a vertical neck guard that flares out gently at its base. The sides are decorated towards the front by an added red stripe between two incised lines and, towards the rear, by a roughly drawn and uncharacteristically horizontally set acanthus bud. The three-petaled bud was red, but the central petal preserves some traces of added white.

The helmet is topped by the previously mentioned ridge, which was painted red on its upper surface. The vase mouth is set into the ridge, perhaps where a real helmet would have had a vertical plume or other decoration. The mouth has a simple vertical neck, capped by a rounded lip. The upper surface of the vase mouth is decorated with red dots arranged around the filling hole.

These little vases in the form of helmeted heads are products of East Greece; most of them come from Rhodes, although there are examples from elsewhere

and in other materials.[4] Many helmeted heads, as well as the Missouri example, belong to what is known as the "Gorgonian Class" of plastic vases, which is characterized by a dark fabric and the use of added red and white for decoration. It has been suggested by Nicholls that Gorgonian Class vases may have been manufactured in Kamiros on Rhodes.[5] Scholars have studied these vases in some detail in an attempt to divide the numerous examples into reasonable groups and to assign a relative chronology to them. There has been little outside evidence available from controlled excavations, and attempts to provide chronology based on stylistic changes have provided rather widely differing results. Development based on differences in helmet shape, presence or absence of incised decoration and its shape, or other perceived differences have yielded a general framework of the last years of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century B.C. or slightly later, which also is the dating for plastic vases of the seventh and sixth centuries in general. The subject clearly needs further work.[6]

Several helmeted-head vases can be associated with the Missouri example on the basis of general shape and the treatment of the eyes. One of these is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (figs. 4 and 5).[7] A comparison of the two vases, particularly in profile view, indicates the close similarity in overall shape. Although the eyes of the Cambridge example have been somewhat recut in modern times, it is clear that they are also wide and staring. The Missouri and the Cambridge specimens both have incised opening lotus buds on the side of the helmet, and buds are a common decorative motif on helmeted-head vases.[8] On the Cambridge vase, a broad red band runs down from the peak of the helmet and swings upward, terminating in a vertically placed lotus bud that is quite broad for its height—perhaps an indication of an early date. A comparison of the bud on the Cambridge vase with that on the Missouri example is not encouraging for the latter. Here the lotus is separate from the red band, but seems to run next to it, although there is an illogical cross line just at the point where the upper incised line begins to curve towards the back. The horizontal placement of the bud is unparalleled, and its shape is also unusual.[9]

The helmeted head in Cambridge is made of a white creamy clay, similar to Corinthian fabrics with which this white clay is sometimes confused. This fabric classifies the vase as belonging to the "Pomegranate Class" of plastic vases, named after a common shape in this ware. These vases are also apparently from Rhodes, and have been assigned to Ialysos by Nicholls, who considers the Cambridge vase to be the earliest helmeted head attested so far in the "Pomegranate Class."[10]

Figs. 4, 5. Helmeted Head Vase, Ceramic, East Greece, Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. GR. 1.1980.

Another excellent example, at The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, may perhaps be grouped with the two previous vases (fig. 6).[11] Although lacking a lotus bud, the Baltimore example shares a general similarity in shape, as well as in the great staring eyes, whose pupils do not touch the eyelids. The fabric is dark, so the vase belongs with the Missouri head in the "Gorgonian Class."

The final vase to be added here is the well-known helmeted head in New York (fig. 7).[12] Here again are

Fig. 6. Helmeted Head Vase, Ceramic, East Greece, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.2126.

Fig. 7. Helmeted Head Vase, Ceramic, East Greece, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 41.162.74, Rogers Fund, 1941.

the large, staring eyes and a general similarity in shape, though this example is proportionally somewhat taller than the other three and is certainly more highly decorated with the unique Gorgon's head in the metopon and the elaborate use of incision. This vase has been dated as belonging to the late seventh century B.C.[13]

The four vases presented in this article are associated with one another by the general shape of the helmet and the large, seemingly archaic eyes. The helmet has an early feature in the slightly curving neck guard; later examples have much more widely spreading guards. One might not be far wrong in assigning these vases to the beginning of the series of helmeted-head vases and placing them at about 600 B.C. or in the years immediately following.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 79.79. Gift of the Charles Ulrick Bay and Josephine Bay Foundation. H. 0.065 m; L. 0.06 m; W. 0.041 m.

2. J. D. Beazley, "Charinos," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 49 (1929), 40.

3. The latest study on this particular type of helmet is K. H. Edrich, *Der ionische Helm* (Göttingen, 1969) (hereafter, Edrich). See also J. Ducat, *Les vases plastiques rhodiens* (Paris, 1966), 27-29 (hereafter, Ducat). R. M. Cook has recently suggested that the projection might have originated in the "seaming of a wholly leather helmet." His remarks also contain the significant earlier bibliography on the Ionian helmet—R. M. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi,* Kerameus 3 (Mainz, 1981), 123, n. 99.

4. For another East Greek plastic vase in the collections of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, see W. R. Biers, "The Dozing Duck: A Rare Plastic Vase," *MUSE* 18 (1984), 26-34. For a brief discussion of non-Rhodian examples, see Ducat, 20-23.

5. The term "Gorgonian Class" was coined by M. I. Maximova in *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité,* trans. M. Carsow (Paris, 1927), vol. 1, 174-75 (hereafter, Maximova), and refers to a relatively rare form of plastic vase that has the characteristics as described in this article. The term and the grouping it designates seem to have been accepted. For the attribution to Kamiros, *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957), 304. In a paper delivered at the 11th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, R. A. Higgins suggested that on the basis of clay analysis, these vases may have been made at Ephesos, *Aspects of Ancient Greece,* exh. cat. (Allentown, 1979), 135, n. 8.

6. Ducat, 7-27, divides the material into some eleven classes with many subdivisions and overlaps ranging in date from slightly before 610 B.C. (for N.Y. 41.162.74, see below) to slightly later than 570 B.C. Edrich, 5-70, places much of the same material into three main groups, also with many subdivisions, dating from 610-530 B.C. and slightly later. The same object often finds quite different dates in each scheme.

7. Inv. no. GR. 1. 1980. MH. 0.062 m; W. 0.049 m. I must thank Christopher Simon of the Fitzwilliam for permission to publish photos of this vase.

8. For the motif, see Ch. Kardara, *Rodiake Aggeiographia* (Athens, 1963), 265, fig. 251; 266, fig. 253; 285, fig. 283. Also, Ducat, 180.

9. Microscopic examination of the incision on the Missouri vase reveals no recutting other than some overzealous cleaning out of the incision.

10. For the Pomegranate Class, see Maximova, 173. For the attribution to Ialysos, *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957), 304. Ducat dated the helmeted heads of the "Pomegranate Class" to 570-560 B.C., 15-18, 25, 165. The information concerning the Cambridge vase was given to me orally by Dr. Nicholls, and I would like to thank him for discussing plastic vases and particularly the Cambridge example with me. See the *Annual Report of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate for the Year 1980,* 13, 23.

11. The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 48.2126. H. 0.07 m. D. K. Hill, "Accessions to the Greek Collection," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 24 (1961), 44-45; Ducat, 8, no. 10 (Series B variant a). Appreciation goes to Dr. Ellen Reeder Williams for permission to publish the photo of this piece.

12. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 41.162.74. H. 0.073 m; L. 0.06 m. Ducat, 7, no. 1 (Series A). Most recently published in *Aspects of Ancient Greece,* exh. cat. (Allentown, 1979), 134-35, no. 64. I would like to thank Dr. Joan Mertens for permission to illustrate this vase.

13. Ducat, 25, considers the vase as being slightly earlier than his series B of *ca.* 610-600 B.C.

De Lycurgo Insano: The Dionysiac Frieze on a Silver Kantharos

JON VAN DE GRIFT
Columbia University

For Ernst Künzl

André could do no more. Thinks the finders tried to clean with acids."

This is the information from an antiquities dealer to Henry Walters in a letter of 1913 regarding an ancient silver wine cup he had recently acquired. Thus, even before the vessel entered the collection of The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1–5),[1] the Parisian restorer André had found the object in a deplorable state. The corrosion of the surface of the cup has obscured conclusive identification of the repousée frieze, and prevented the vase from receiving the critical recognition it deserves.

The vessel is a kantharos, a type of wine cup with a deep bowl, two loop handles and a high foot. With its present restored foot, the kantharos stands 5⅝″ (14.4 cm) high. The two handles reportedly found with the vase disappeared before Mr. Walters acquired the object. The circumstances of the discovery of the vessel are not known. Apparently, the kantharos came to light sometime before 1907, and although it is said to have been found at Cyzicus (Kirmasti) in the Upper Nile area, there is no evidence to substantiate this claim.

The subject matter of the relief frieze, situated below the vine scroll pattern on the rim, has commanded most of the attention among scholars who have studied the vase. Dionysos, the god of wine and ecstasy (fig. 1) stands in a *biga* being pulled by a pair of brawny centaurs (fig. 2). Presently, only the outline of the god's mantle remains, but the raucous crew of satyrs, silenoi, and maenads who precede the biga makes it certain that we are dealing with a Dionysiac tale (figs. 3–5). The maenad leading the centaurs crashes her customary cymbals together as the beasts stampede over a fallen victim. This particular part of the relief frieze has led nearly all scholars to identify the scene as the Indian Triumph of Dionysos, one of the god's most celebrated exploits.

B. Segall suggests that the triumphal procession is played by actors in a Dionysiac mime.[2] Some of the figures, such as the centaurs and "Silenos," (figs. 2 and 5) display wide, gaping mouths, resembling the masks of Greek and Roman theater. According to Segall, who dated the cup to the late third century B.C., the scene may be related to the royal procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This pageant, colorfully described by Callixeinos and quoted by Athenaeus, was replete with mimes and tableaux on the god's mythical biography and miraculous powers.[3] From this point of view, the kantharos has been regarded as a product of Alexandrian metalwork, reflecting the Dionysiac themes intimately linked with the dynastic imagery of the Ptolemaic court.

In a review of Segall's study, F. Matz, a leading authority on Dionysiac imagery, noted some peculiar iconographic features, discussed below, which led him to question the authenticity of the vessel.[4] These doubts were dispelled after a recent examination by E.

Fig. 1. Kantharos, *Dionysos in a Centaur Biga,* Silver, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.929.

Künzl.[5] In the present study, Terry Weisser, director of The Walters' Division of Conservation and Technical Research, reveals her findings on the technical and structural aspects of the kantharos. The traditional interpretation of the chronology and iconography of the vessel are open to question, however, and need to be reconsidered.

The Baltimore kantharos conforms both technically and stylistically to the type of embossed silver vessel characterized by D. Strong as belonging to the first century B.C. and again in vogue around the time of Claudius and Nero.[6]

Iconographic details of the frieze are also consistent with this chronological range. Centaur pairs with raised forelegs pulling the triumphal wagon of Herakles, in a scheme similar to that on the kantharos (fig. 2), first appear as a numismatic type on coinage minted by M. Aureli Cotta in 139 B.C.[7] A silver skyphos of Tiberian date from the Boscoreale Treasure shows a triumphal biga with an eight-spoked wheel comparable to the one on the Baltimore cup.[8] Furthermore, the triumphal biga becomes a prominent motif on the Alexandrian coinage of Domitian.[9] Each centaur on the frieze appears to have held some object,

Fig. 2. Another view of Figure 1, *Centaur Biga and Maenad with Cymbals.*

Fig. 3. Another view of Figure 1, *Maenad with Torch, Satyr Restraining a Panther.*

Fig. 4. Another view of Figure 1, *The Raging King Lykourgos Trapped in the Vines.*

Fig. 5. Another view of Figure 1, *Silenos on a Donkey, Followed by a Satyr with a Sacrificial Bowl.*

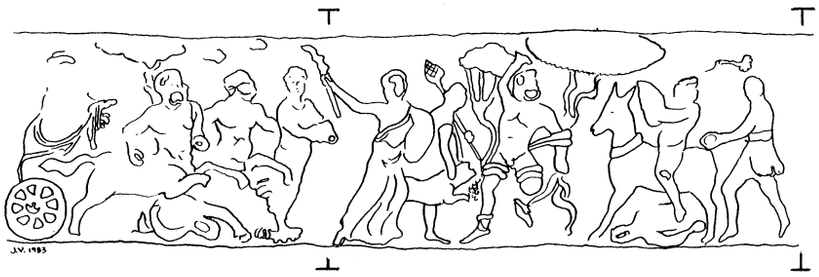


Fig. 6. Drawing after Figure 1 with hypothetical position of handle attachments indicated (J. Van de Grift).

now missing. Likewise, the centaurs in Domitianic coinage hold a small Nike figure.[10] Although the damaged condition of the kantharos precludes assignment of a precise date, the evidence presented above points to the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., and not earlier as Segall suggested.

The triumphant centaur biga conveying Dionysos is the only portion of the frieze to which iconographic importance has been attached. A consideration of the entire frieze, however, leads to a new interpretation of the scene.

The frieze consists of eleven figures arranged in what hitherto has been called a procession (fig. 6). Despite the missing handles, which usually are placed on a cup to coincide with the beginning and end of each scene on the frieze, the division between two sides of the Baltimore cup is apparent from the placement and movement of the figures. This frieze, in fact, constitutes a unitary, continuous composition. The handles, which originally extended from the rim to the curving underside of the bowl,[11] would have been situated on either side of Dionysos and his centaur biga, and the maenad who leads them. The remaining five bacchants (figs. 3–5) are then relegated to the other side of the cup. This division is warranted because of the break between the god and the figure immediately behind, who strides forcefully in the opposite direction (fig. 1).

The bacchants on the other side all converge upon a central figure who apears to be writhing violently as if in an orgiastic dance (fig. 4). From the left, a maenad brandishing a blazing torch and a tympanum follows a bearded satyr clad in a faunskin (fig. 3). He seems to be restraining a panther that lunges forward with one forepaw raised before a cluster of grapes. Because of its grace and savage bestiality, the panther was the principal animal sacred to Dionysos.[12] Silenos, the wise old satyr, approaches the central figure from the right astride a charging donkey (fig. 5). He is followed by another male figure, clad in a short apron, who holds out a small circular object, perhaps a sacrificial bowl. The donkey wears a broad collar, and tramples a victim in the same way that the centaurs do on the other side of the cup. Silenos holds a winesack, or perhaps the cultic winnowing fan, and a thyrsos—a Bacchic wand consisting of a staff tipped with a pinecone, ivy, or vine leaves—raised over his head. Because Silenos usually appears as a drunken old man about to fall off his reluctant donkey, this depiction of him as a mounted combatant is notable.[13]

The animated composition of the frieze, therefore, is not a procession; this is clear if the scene is "unrolled" from the cup, as in Figure 6. The bacchants converge on the writhing figure, who is placed in the center of the scene on the other side of the cup. Dionysos and his centaur biga are also part of the train of figures who approach from the left. The two converging groups, as well as the fallen victims trampled by the centaurs and donkey at either end of the frieze, produce a symmetrical composition.

The focus of the continuous scene around the cup, consequently, is not Dionysos, but rather, the solitary figure toward whom all charge. The true identity of this figure provides the key to unlocking the enigmatic Dionysiac subject of the frieze.

Designated as a masked participant portraying a snake-wielding Silenos in the supposed Dionysiac mime,[14] the figure leans backward, with one knee bent and his right arm raised overhead. His position is further emphasized because he is the only figure to appear frontally, framed between the branches of two leafy trees or shrubs. Presented in this way, the agitated "Silenos" constitutes a significant contrast to the poised, stately figure of Dionysos on the other side of the kantharos (fig. 1).

Matz was particularly dubious about this "snake-swinging Silenos," and he rightly observed that even by the Hellenistic period silenoi were no longer

Fig. 7. Rothschild Cup (copy drawing), *Punishment of Lykourgos,* Glass, London, British Museum.

depicted in art as grotesque dancers with snakes.[15] Indeed, it was this figure that led Matz to judge the cup as suspect. A more detailed inspection of the "Silenos" reveals that the figure, and consequently the subject of the entire scene, has been misinterpreted.

The masks supposedly worn by the centaurs and "Silenos" are misreadings of the pitted surface caused by an early overzealous attempt to clean the vessel. Photographs of the kantharos taken soon after its discovery reveal that the centaurs were once fully bearded and did not possess the mask-like mouths.[16] On closer inspection, moreover, the supposed mouths of the centaurs and "Silenos" are not in alignment with the vertical axis of the face. Similar lacunae appear on nearly all of the projecting areas of the relief. Thus, the scene is not a procession of masked figures in a mime, but rather, some other Dionysiac episode.

"Silenos" appears to be struggling with the serpentine forms that entwine his limbs in thick, double coils, recalling the Vatican Laocoön.[17] These serpentine forms are actually plant tendrils stemming from a thick, knotted trunk near the figure's legs. The cluster of grapes suspended from the vines offer further proof for the vegetal nature of the coils. Thus, the figure is not Silenos engaged in a wild orgiastic dance, but rather, a victim trapped in the tendrils, and consequently ready prey for Dionysos and his aggressive cortege.

This problematic figure is not a member of Dionysos' circle of devotees, but rather, one of the god's principal mortal opponents: the legendary Thracian king, Lykourgos.[18] Lykourgos, like Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae,* despised the cult and followers of Dionysos and so was ultimately destroyed by the god's wrath.

A nearly identical depiction of the Punishment of Lykourgos appears on a glass cage-cup of the fifth century A.D., the so-called Rothschild Cup in the British Museum.[19] Scholars have linked the scene on the Rothschild Cup (fig. 7) to the story of Lykourgos' demise as it is recounted in Nonnos' fifth-century epic, the *Dionysiaca.*[20] According to this source, Lykourgos is about to slay the maenad-nymph Ambrosia with his double-edged ax, the *bipennis,* but at the very last moment the earth mother Gaia transforms her into a grapevine whose tendrils trap Lykourgos, rendering him defenseless against the revengeful god.

A comparison between the friezes of both vessels (figs. 6 and 7) clearly reveals the schematic and iconographic similarity of the two scenes. In both cases, Lykourgos appears as the trapped victim—frontal, bearded, struggling with the vines—as Dionysos and his throng rush in from both sides.

The story presented in Nonnos' eclectic compilation is only one of many different versions of Lykourgos' demise. The persecution of Dionysos and his ensuing triumphant revenge, in fact, constitute some of the most characteristic Dionysiac themes in Classical literature and art.[21] Other mortal opponents of the god who meet their doom include the Tyrrhenian pirates, Pentheus, and the daughters of King Minyas of Orchomenos and of King Proitos of Argos. Narrative episodes in the life of Dionysos, including these tales of revenge, were featured in the Temple or

Fig. 8. Mosaic, *Lykourgos and Ambrosia,* Delos.

Sanctuary of Dionysos at Athens.[22] Among the legends of Dionysiac hostility, the Lykourgos tale is one of the earliest attested in Classical literature. According to Homer (*Iliad,* 6.130), Lykourgos is blinded by Zeus and dies. Sophocles (*Antigone,* 955) portrays the Thracian king finally submitting to Dionysos' power after having been walled up in a stony prison. Mythographers of the late Hellenistic period elaborate further on the Punishment of Lykourgos. He is variously blinded by Dionysos and then crucified (Diod. 3.65), tied to horses and torn asunder (Apoll. 3.5.1), or blinded and exposed to panthers (Hyg. *Fab. 122*). The grapevine, however, is one of the most prominent motifs in literary versions by authors during the Roman Empire. Servius relates a rendition in his commentary on Virgil (*Aeneid* 3.14) in which the king, raging in a fit of delirium inflicted on him by Dionysos, kills his own sons and chops off his limbs, mistaking them for the vines of the god.

The pictorial tradition of the legend is first attested in red-figured vase painting in which the raving king stands over a fallen maenad, or in some cases over his son, ready to strike with his *bipennis.*[23] The vine episode first appears, however, in a second-century B.C. mosaic from Delos (fig. 8) and is elaborated in reliefs and mosaics of the second and third centuries A.D., such as on a sarcophagus from Frascati (fig. 9) and a floor mosaic from Piazza Armerina (fig. 10).[24] As on the frieze of the Baltimore kantharos, Lykourgos caught in the vines and wielding his *bipennis* is the central element of these compositions. Dionysos appears along with the *thiasus,* including a charging panther. Lykourgos is shown attacking a maenad on other luxury art objects contemporary with the Baltimore kantharos,[25] but this vessel is the only extant version in early Imperial art in which the punishment of the king is depicted.

The vine miracle also plays an important role in the legend of Telephos. Dionysos Sphaleotas (i.e., who causes one to stumble) traps Telephos in grapevines during his pursuit of the Achaeans at Mysia. The episode was given monumental expression on the destroyed Scopaic west pediment of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea and on the center of the east wall of the Telephos frieze from the Pergamon altar in Berlin. The scheme on the Telephos frieze, fragmentary though it is, is similar to the Hellenistic and Roman depictions of the Lykourgos episode, especially with regard to the epiphany of Dionysos.[26]

The Lykourgos episode presented on the Rothschild Cup, therefore, constitutes important evidence for the identification of the problematic scene on the Baltimore kantharos. Both rely on some common

Fig. 9. Sarcophagus (copy drawing), *Lykourgos and Ambrosia,* Marble, Frascati, Villa Taverna.

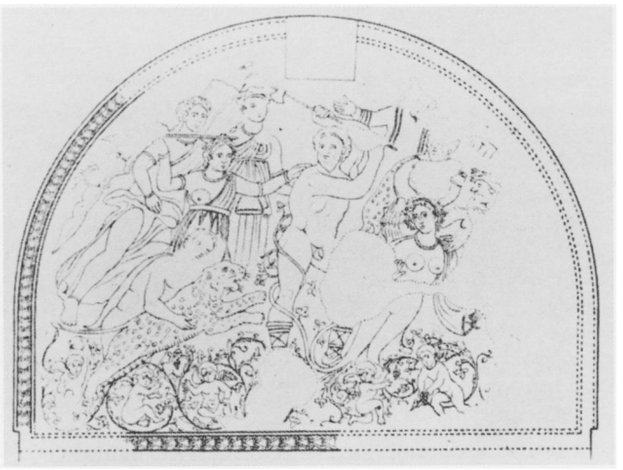


Fig. 10. Mosaic, *Lykourgos and Ambrosia,* Piazza Armerina.

scheme, and in each case the artist has adapted the scene for a decorative frieze on a costly wine cup.

The two compositions, as well as the mosaics and reliefs associated with the Rothschild Cup, differ however, in two significant respects. On the Baltimore kantharos, neither Gaia nor Ambrosia is present. The vines spring from two separate trunks on either side of the doomed king. Moreover, the repeated image of the trampled victim at either end of the frieze is without parallel in the extant repertoire of this Dionysiac story. These two iconographic peculiarities must now be addressed.

The fallen victim trampled by a horse is a standard motif in the repertoire of Hellenistic battle scenes. Comparable types are found, for example, on the frieze from the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia.[27] The scheme of the fallen figure with one arm outstretched beneath a horse is also found on Roman sarcophagi of the Amazonomachy series.[28] In addition, the motif occurs in a Bacchic context on a sarcophagus from Cortona, illustrating Dionysos' battle with the Amazons.[29]

The Silenos who drives his donkey over the victim is, as remarked earlier, unusual in the Bacchic repertoire. Here again a figural scheme has been adopted from another iconographic context. The mode of attack with one shielded arm outstretched and the other hand holding a lance ready is a scheme exemplified by the icongraphy of the Furies. The Fury on a sarcophagus in the Lateran extends one arm wrapped with a large serpent in a depiction of Orestes' bloody revenge.[30] Since Furies were spirits of punishment and avengers of the violation of respect, law, religion, and social customs, this modification of the pose of Silenos implies the role of a Fury, an appropriate gloss on the Lykourgos story.

The presence of two trodden bodies on the kantharos, however, may be more than just a general reference to the triumph of Dionysos over Lykourgos. A literary version of the episode may explain these two victims, as well as the absence of Ambrosia and Gaia.

An anonymous *Hymn to Dionysos*[31] compiled in the third century A.D. but consisting of older epic material provides a close literary analogue to the Lykourgos episode depicted on the Baltimore kantharos. According to this account, the doomed king is confounded first by thunder and lightning sent by a revengeful Dionysos, and following this he is scourged with branches wielded by satyrs and maenads.[32] Driven to madness, Lykourgos imagines that he is being attacked by serpents. Cytis and two sons Astacius and Ardys try to rescue their father Lykourgos, but in a rage he mistakes his offspring for serpents and kills them both. As a reward for past attempts to warn Lykourgos of his hubris, Cytis is rescued from the carnage by Dionysos. One last punishment is inflicted on Lykourgos before he is sent to Hades:

> Still Dionysos abated not his wrath: as Lykourgos stood unflinching, yet frenzied by distress, the god spread vines about him and fettered all of his limbs. His neck and both ankles imprisoned, he suffered the most pitiable doom of all men on earth.[33]

In both the *Hymn* and the frieze of the kantharos, the action is focused on Lykourgos and the fate he suffers at the wrath of Dionysos. As on the kantharos, neither Gaia nor Ambrosia plays a role. Lykourgos first suffers the tragedy of killing both of his sons whom he mistakes for avenging serpents. Following this, the vine trap is effected directly through the agency of Dionysos.

Thus the two trampled victims on the kantharos may serve as both a general image of defeat and also as a specific reference to the version of the episode recorded in the *Hymn.* The imagery of the serpents and of the vines sent by Dionysos may also reflect the distinctive narrative version that is preserved in the anonymous *Hymn.* The Baltimore kantharos is the only known pictorial representation of this version of the Lykourgos episode, and the earliest example in which Gaia and Ambrosia are omitted. The miniature frieze on the kantharos may reflect some lost late Hellenistic or early Imperial scheme, perhaps a monumental

painted panel or relief, upon which subsequent representations of the same scheme on Roman mosaics and sarcophagi depend. The episode in the *Hymn* and the scene on the frieze of the kantharos, therefore, both may ultimately depend on a common mythographic source.

At first view the use of the Lykourgos theme as decoration for an expensive wine cup can be understood as a reference to the great power of Dionysos: a lively story from the mythology of Dionysos is a fitting accompaniment to the drinking of the gods' sacred liquid. Further consideration of the way in which the same episode is treated by Greek and Latin poets roughly contemporary with the manufacture of the kantharos provides new insights into the choice of the Lykourgos theme as decoration for costly drinking silver.

As early as Homer the episode of Lykourgos' demise provided a Classical example of the terrible fate resulting from hubris.[34] This particular aspect of the theme is most popular among poets of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. One of the anonymous poems of the *Palatine Anthology* (16.27) describes a bronze statue of Lykourgos ready to swing his ax at a vine; he is characterized as overbold and insolent. A number of other poets from the *Anthology* consistently refer to the vine episode of Lykourgos when addressing the subject of wine, and in particular, unsuitable wine made from unripened grapes.[35]

In one of his most elegant epigrams Philip (9.561) embellishes an invective against sour wine by referring to Lykourgos' zeal in ripping the vine shoots of Dionysos out of the ground. To illustrate his caution against harvesting unripened grapes, Leonidas of Alexandria urges the reader to remember the fate of Lykourgos (9.79).

Tiberius Iulus, writing early in the first century A.D. curses the person who harvests unripened grapes and condemns him to be an enemy of Dionysos "because, like Lykourgos, he quenched good cheer in its youth. Haply by that drink had some man been moved or found relief from plaintive grief" (9.375).[36]

Horace makes similar use of mythological examples to warn against the excesses of wine.[37] In *Ode* 1.18 he cites the rowdy Sithonians,[38] and then the centaurs. The centaurs were also used in a similar vein for the frieze on a pair of early Imperial silver scyphi from the Berthouville Treasure, where they are part of an elaborate allegory on the diverse effects of wine.[39]

Opposition to, as well as overindulgence in, the gifts of Bacchus are thus both contrary to the ideal of moderation demanded by the god. Those who refuse to drink the wine of Dionysos are struck with mania.[40] In opposing the god, ripping out his vine shoots, and stalking his maenad devotees, Lykourgos became a notorious spoiler of Dionysos' most precious gift to humankind. The legendary triumph of Dionysos over Lykourgos as presented on the kantharos is thus consistent with the moralizing use of this theme by early Imperial poets. For both the poets' audience and the owner of the costly kantharos, the mythical demise of Lykourgos served as an appropriate and entertaining theme for convivial enjoyment, and perhaps also as a warning not to drink too much.

The Lykourgos kantharos, as the wine cup in The Walters Art Gallery may now be designated, constitutes a significant example of the use of Dionysiac imagery in luxury art of the late Republic and early Empire. Dionysiac themes pervade many aspects of private life during these eras, especially as ornament for wine vessels fashioned from silver, precious stone, and cameo glass, marble and stucco reliefs, and wall paintings. The repertoire, including scenes from myth and cult, depends on models from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, from which time the imagery of Dionysos and the idea of luxury had been intimately linked. The interpretation offered here of the Lykourgos kantharos sheds light not only on the choice of Bacchic imagery for a costly wine cup, but also on the creative processes of adaptation manifested in the art and poetry of Rome during a critical phase of Hellenization.

NOTES

1. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, acc. no. 57.929. D. K. Hill, *Greek and Roman Metalware,* exh. cat. (Baltimore, 1976), no. 64, and additional bibliography. The present study is adapted from my Ph.D. dissertation, "*Dionysiaca:* Bacchic Imagery in Roman Luxury Art of the Late Republic and Early Empire" (Columbia University, 1985), 135–64. A preliminary version of my research on the Walters vessel was presented at the 85th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (Cincinnati, 1983); for an abstract see *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), 263. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Diana Buitron, former Curator of Greek and Roman Art at The Walters Art Gallery, who gave me permission to study the vessel, and to Dr. Ellen Reeder Williams, current Associate Curator of Ancient Art, who encouraged me to publish it along with the technical report by Ms. Terry Drayman Weisser, director of Conservation and Technical Research. I also wish to thank the following scholars who commented on earlier versions of the research: Ernst Künzl, Richard Brilliant, Andrew Oliver, Jr., Warren G. Moon, Dorothy Kent Hill, and Evelyn Harrison.

2. B. Segall, *Tradition und Neuschöpfung in der frühalexandrinischen Kleinkunst. 112/120 Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (Berlin,1966),29-44.

3. Ath. 5. 197c-203b. For commentary, see E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1983), *passim,* and P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), 202-05.

4. F. Matz, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), 426 (hereafter, Matz, *Gnomon*). See also A. Greifenhagen, *Gnomon* 40 (1968), 297.

5. E. Künzl, personal communication.

6. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), 114-15 (hereafter, Strong, *Silver Plate*). For additional comparisons of the kantharos form, see the first century B.C. vessels from Olbia: A. Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods,* exh. cat., (Toledo, 1977), 124-25, nos. 78, 79 (hereafter, Oliver, *Silver*) with additional bibliography; and a late Republican silver kantharos whose relief frieze presents the myth of Orestes and Iphigenia on Sminthe (London, British Museum): P. E. Corbett and D. E. Strong, "Three Roman Silver Cups," *British Museum Quarterly* 23 (1960/1961), 68-86, and S. Haynes, "Drei neue Silberbecher im British Museum," *Antike Kunst* 4 (1964), 30-36.

7. M. Crawford, *Roman Republic Coinage* (London/New York, 1974), 263, no. 229, pl. 35.

8. H. Villefosse, "Le trésor de Boscoreale," *Monuments et mémoires publ. par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Fondation Piot* 5 (1899), pl. 35.1; L. Polacco, "Il trionfo di Tiberio nella tazza Rothschild di Boscoreale," *Accademia Patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti. Atti e memorie* 68 (1954/1955), 253-69.

9. J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinische Münzen. Grundlegung einer alexandrinischen Kaisergeschichte,* 2 (Stuttgart, 1924), 22; J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of the Alexandrian Coins* (Oxford, 1933), 529-31, no. 523.

10. For Nikephoric centaurs in Domitianic coinage, see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesenart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhrs. n. Chr.* (Mainz, 1967), 92, no. 551.

11. No trace of the handle attachments is detectable; the kantharoi from Olbia (Oliver, *Silver*) give some idea of the form and placement of the handles originally on the Baltimore cup. The handle in early photographs of the Baltimore kantharos, as in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 22 (1909), 361-62 (ills.) may not belong to the vessel.

12. In general, see W. F. Otto, *Dionysos, Myth and Cult,* trans. R. B. Palmer (Bloomington/London, 1957), 110-12, 114, 155.

13. For example, on a fresco from the House of Pacquius Proculus at Pompeii: A. Maiuri, *Roman Painting* (Geneva, 1953), pl. 113.

14. Matz, *Gnomon, 426.*

15. Ibid.

16. See note 11, above, and *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1907), cols. 358-59, figs. 3, 4.

17. For the most current study of the Laocoön, with earlier bibliography, see G. Daltrop, *Die Laokoongruppe im Vatikan: Ein Kapitel aus der römischen Museumsgeschichte und der Antiken-Erkundung* (Constance, 1982), *passim,* and F. Hiller, "Wieder einmal Laokoon," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 86 (1979), 271-95.

18. On Lykourgos, see Marbach, *s.v.* Lykourgos, *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 13 (1927) cc. 2433-40; von Geisen, *s.v.* Lykourgos (1), *Der kleine Pauly* 3 (1975), 822-23; Drexler, *s.v.* Lykourgos, in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1894-97) cc.2191-2205. See also notes 19 and 24, below.

19. E. Coche de la Ferté, "Le verre de Lycurge," *Monuments et mémoires publ. par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, Fondation Piot* 48 (1954) 131-62 (our Figure 7 is taken from their fig. 1.) ; D. B. Harden and J.M.C. Toynbee, "The Rothschild Lykourgos Cup," *Archeologia* 97 (1959), 179-212; R. C. Chirnside and P.M.C. Proffitt, "The Rothschild Lykourgos Cup: An Analytical Investigation," *Journal of Glass Studies* 5 (1963), 18-23.

20. Nonnos, *Dionysiaca,* Book 21.

21. See note 18, above and note 24, below.

22. On the imagery from the Temple of Dionysos Eleutherios at Athens, see Paus. 1.20.3; for catalogues of the persecutors of Dionysos, see Diod. Sic. 3.65.1-7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.1-2; see also Horace *Carm. 2.19;3.25.* For the ritualistic basis of these persecution legends in Latin poetry, see A. Hendrichs, "Horaz als Aretologe des Dionysos," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978), 203-11.

23. For example, L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris, 1926), 63-79; F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage,* 2d ed. (1960), 355.

24. For the pictorial tradition of Lykourgos in Greek and Roman art, see, in addition to the references in note 19 above, P. Bruneau and C. Vatin, "Lycurgue et Ambrosia sur une nouvelle mosaïque de Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 90 (1966), 391-427 (hereafter, Bruneau and Vatin). (Our Figure 8 is taken from their fig. 1.)

Figures 9 and 10 are taken, respectively, from F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* (Berlin, 1968-74), vol. 4, no. 235; and *Bollettino d'arte* 37 (1952), 35, Fig. 7.

25. Examples of Lykourgos attacking a maenad in early Imperial luxury art include: a floor mosaic from Herculaneum (Bruneau and Vatin, n. 24, p. 408, fig. 7, p. 409, no. 3); a fresco from the House of Gaius Rufus at Pompeii (*ibid.,* fig. 6); a fresco from the House of the Regina Margherita at Pompeii (*ibid.,* p. 409, no. 2); and a neo-Attic marble crater from Prima Porta, now in the Vatican (W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* 4th ed., (Tübingen, 1963) vol. 1 , no. 518 [W. Fuchs]).

26. For a reconstruction of the Tegea pediment, see D. Delvorrias, " 'Skopadika (I),' Télèphe et la bataille du Caïque au fronton ouest du Temple d'Aléä à Tégée," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 97 (1973), 111-35. For the Telephos frieze fragment, see C. Bauchheness-Thuriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst* (Wurzburg, 1971), 57-58, fragments nos. 30-31, with additional bibliography. For Dionysos Sphaleotas and his connections with the Attalids, see E. V. Hanson, *The Attalids of Pergamon,* 2d ed. (Ithaca/London, 1971) 293, 343, 469; G. Daux and J. Bousquet, "Agamemnon, Télèphe, Dionysos Sphaleotas et les Attalides," *Revue archéologique* 19 (1942/43), I, 113-27; II, 19-40; see also Bauchheness-Thuriedl, *ibid.,* 16-18, and Delvorrias, *ibid.,* 115-116.

27. C. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art* (Greenwich, 1970), no. 158 (ill.), with additional references.

28. R. Redlich, *Die Amazonensarkophage des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Berlin, 1942), 7-9, pl. 12, no. F-3; see also type E.

29. F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage.* Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs, (Berlin, 1968-74), vol. 4, 428-29, no. 237. The figure types are also related to battle schemes on the shield of Athena Parthenos: compare E. Harrison, "Motifs of the City-Siege on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981), esp. 283, ill. 1, nos. 4-5.

30. Helbig, n. 25, above, no. 1127 (B. Andreae).

31. D. L. Page, ed., *Select Papyri, 3: Literary Papyri. Poetry* (Cambridge/London, 1970), 520-25, no. 219. The passage is also discussed by Bruneau and Vatin, note 24 above, pp. 405, 425-27, but they make no reference to the Baltimore kantharos.

32. Page (note 31 above), *ibid.,* lines 15-18 (lightning and thunder) and 19-20 (scourging).

33. Translated by Page (note 31 above).

34. *Iliad 6.130.* For the use of the Lykourgos episode as a paradigmatic motif in Classical literature, see J. H. Gaisser, "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 100 (1969), 165-76; P. Vicaire, "Place et figure de Dionysos dans la tragedie de Sophocle," *Revue des études grecques* 81 (1968), 352-73, esp. 356-58.

35. For commentary on the relevant epigrams, See A.S.F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and some Contemporary Epigrams,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1968), 334-35 (Philip 9.561); D. L. Page, ed., *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981), 524, no. 18 (Leonidas 9.79), 554-55, no. 7 (Tiberius Iulus, 9.375).

36. Loeb Classical Library translation by W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology,* vol. 3 (Cambridge/London, 1917), 19.

37. A similar poetic use of the Lykourgos theme appears in Horace *Carm. 2.19; Propertius, 3.17;* and Statius *Theb. 4.386:* here the poet refers to a revengeful Dionysos "bidding the vine groves creep over Lykourgos' realm"; Loeb Classical Library translation by J. H. Mozley, *Statius. Thebaid* (Cambridge/London, 1928).

38. Lykourgos was also a Sithonian—that is, an Edonian Thracian. Horace refers here not to Lykourgos, however, but to the proverbial immoderate behavior of Thracians. For commentary on this passage, see M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I* (Oxford, 1970), 233.

39. J. Van de Grift, "Tears and Revel: The Allegory of the Berthouville Centaur Scyphi," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), 377-88.

40. Cicero, *Tusc.* 451.

The Walters Silver Kantharos: A Technical Study

TERRY DRAYMAN WEISSER
The Walters Art Gallery

Although the authenticity of a late Hellenistic silver kantharos depicting Dionysos and Lykourgos in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery (57.929) is now generally accepted,[1] perplexing questions remain, which may be elucidated by a review of the object's history and an examination of its present condition. Some of the questions addressed in this study are: How and why has the vessel changed throughout its history? How was it made? What parts of the extant vessel are original? What are its metallic constituents? What was its appearance when it left the hands of the craftsman?

The earliest known photographs (figs. 1 and 2) and description of the kantharos appear in the 1907 *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäeologischen Instituts.* In an article describing objects from the Egyptian delta, O. Rubensohn says of the kantharos:

> Nur durch zwei vor der Reinigung angefertigte Aufnahmen . . . kann hier sodann der kostbare silberne Becher veranschaulicht werden, als dessen Fundstätte das Delta bezeichnet wurde. Das prächtige Prunkgefäss ist später einer gründlichen Reinigung unterzogen worden, aus der es sehr gut hervorgegangen sein soll. Ich habe es in diesem Zustand aber nicht mehr gesehen, kann darum über Technik und Einzelheiten keine Angaben machen. Von den in einer Blüte endenden Henkeln ist nur der eine erhalten, von dem anderen sind nur Reste der spiralförmig gewundenen Ranken, mit denen die Henkel am Gefässrand ansitzen, vorhanden. Ein von Rundstäben oben und unten eingefasser Eierstab umgibt die Mündung des Bechers, darunter sind, den Reliefstreifen oben abschliessend, Girlanden aufgehängt. Das Hochrelief, mit dem der Becher geziert ist, stellt Dionysos mit seinem Gefolge in der Gigantomachie. . . .[2]

There are several points to note in the preceding text. Rubensohn gave a detailed description of a complete handle, terminating in a flower with a spiral of twisting tendrils at the join with the rim, and mentioned the remnant of a second handle of which only the spiral remained. He wrote of decorative motifs and garlands around the rim above the narrative frieze. He described the high relief frieze that depicts Dionysos, standing in a *biga* drawn by centaurs and accompanied by his retinue. Of equal significance is that he mentioned a thorough cleaning of the vessel that was carried out. Rubensohn stated that he had not seen the kantharos in its cleaned condition and therefore had to wait to make a more thorough examination of the cleaned original in order to describe individual features and technique. The photographs that accompanied his text (figs. 1 and 2) show the vessel before it underwent cleaning.

Through a purchase arranged by the dealer Dikran Kelekian in 1913, the kantharos entered The Walters from the Dattari collection in Cairo. Its state at that time, which also represents its present state, can be seen in Figures 3 and 4. There are several important changes to be noted in the later photographs. Both the complete handle and the remnant of the other handle are missing; a foot has been added; losses in the decorative band around the rim make the motifs noted

Fig. 1. Kantharos, Silver, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.929 (pre-restoration photograph).

Fig. 2. Another view of Figure 1 (pre-restoration photograph).

Fig. 3. Kantharos, Silver, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no.57.929 (present condition).

Fig. 4. Another view of Figure 3 (present condition).

Fig. 5. Another view of Figure 3 (present condition, detail).

by Rubensohn unrecognizable; many features in the narrative frieze have become less distinct; there are holes through many of the high points of the relief—and the figure of Dionysos, which once occupied a focal position in the scene, is missing; only his drapery remains (see fig. 5).

It is unclear who was responsible for the alterations to the kantharos, which took place sometime between Rubensohn's viewing of it prior to 1907 and its acquisition by Henry Walters in 1913. The changes may have been due to the "cleaning" mentioned by Rubensohn in the 1907 publication, for at that time it was not uncommon for objects entering the art market to undergo "cosmetic" treatment in an attempt to bring out their original attributes or, in some cases, to enhance their general appearance. Damaged pieces were often rendered "whole" in appearance by the replacement of missing parts and, in some cases, by the removal of incomplete original parts. Alterations of this kind were meant to improve the marketability and value of an object. Original parts removed from one object were sometimes "married" to another. It is thus possible that the beautiful handle with a flower and a spiral of twisted tendrils from the Walters kantharos today graces another vessel in another collection.

The kantharos passed through the hands of Léon André, a well-known restorer in Paris, before it reached The Walters' collection. According to a note by Kelekian in 1913, "André could do no more. Thinks the finders tried to clean with acids."[3] What is not clear is whether André was responsible for the thorough cleaning mentioned by Rubensohn, the removal of the handles, the loss of surface detail and/or the addition of a foot; or whether any or all of these changes occurred before the kantharos reached André.

According to a report from the files of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the kantharos was scrutinized by Francis Taylor, then director of the Worcester Art Museum, early in 1937. Taylor's observations are of interest; he was convinced of the antiquity of the object, but felt that it "had suffered rather than improved in the restorer's hands." In the same document Taylor recalled André's procedures on other silver objects, which may provide some insight into this restorer's techniques:

> . . . after cleaning the book-covers had been washed down with a toning fluid, and this same fluid, I believe, has been used on the chalice. Its counterpart in metal restoration is what Marcel Aubert calls in stone sculpture "jus des antiquaires." What apprently happened in this case of the book-covers when they were originally cleaned was that they came out too bright, and André decided to put back a little of the antique appearance by washing down with a silver chloride solution.[4]

The kantharos has not undergone any significant conservation treatment since it entered The Walters' collection.

The body of the kantharos is composed primarily of three separately made but joined pieces: an outer shell, an inner liner, and a decorative band. The silver outer shell comprises the narrative frieze and the ribbed section below the frieze panel. It was decorated by working from the reverse in the repoussé technique, and most likely was chased on the exterior surface to create crisp detail. The wheel of the biga was made separately and attached, probably by a rivet. Appendages of some of the figures (for example, the legs of the centaurs) stand out freely above the surface and may also have been attached.

Through microscopic examination of the narrative frieze, traces of gilding have been found in several areas, mostly preserved within the corrosion layers. Figure 6 shows the suspected areas of gilding in the original design, based on the locations of these traces. Other areas may also have been gilded.

Within the outer shell a plain silver liner can be seen, which shows evidence of lathe-turning marks on its surface. The uppermost part of the liner can be seen

Fig. 6. Drawing after Figure 3 with possible areas of gilding shaded in (J. Van de Grift).

on the exterior since it extends beyond the height of the outer narrative frieze and forms the rim of the vessel. A separate band, once decorated with ivy garlands and other motifs, was joined, probably with solder, to the flange of the rim on the exterior to bridge the gap between the rim and the outer shell's narrative frieze. The method of joining the band to the frieze may also have been by soldering. Due to its present condition, however, it is no longer possible to determine the technique used to decorate this band.

Modern alterations to the kantharos make further study of the structure difficult. There is no trace of the attachment sites of the original handles, which were probably cast. The method of manufacture and attachment of the original foot, now missing, cannot be determined from the physical evidence that remains. The replacement foot may, in fact, be ancient, but it is not from this kantharos.

Figure 7 shows the structure of the kantharos as revealed by radiography. The liner within the repoussé shell and the airspace between the outer shell and liner can be seen quite clearly. The decorative motifs below the rim can be discerned more easily in the radiograph than on the object itself. The replacement foot appears to be attached only to the outer shell of the vessel.

There are several extant vessels from the Hellenistic period that are decorated by the repoussé technique in high relief backed with an inner liner.[5] The purpose of the liner was probably both practical and aesthetic. In order to create the high relief of the narrative frieze, the metal had to be stretched and, consequently, thinned to its limit. Sometimes the craftsman might have misjudged this limit and actually broken through the silver metal. In any case, the thinnest areas of metal—those areas in highest relief—probably required strengthening. The usual method was to reinforce with lead filling on the reverse.[6] The liner would cover up the lead fills and, in addition, would prevent the contents of the vessel from collecting in the hollows of the design during use. The liner also makes the vessel sturdier. One can only speculate, thinking in

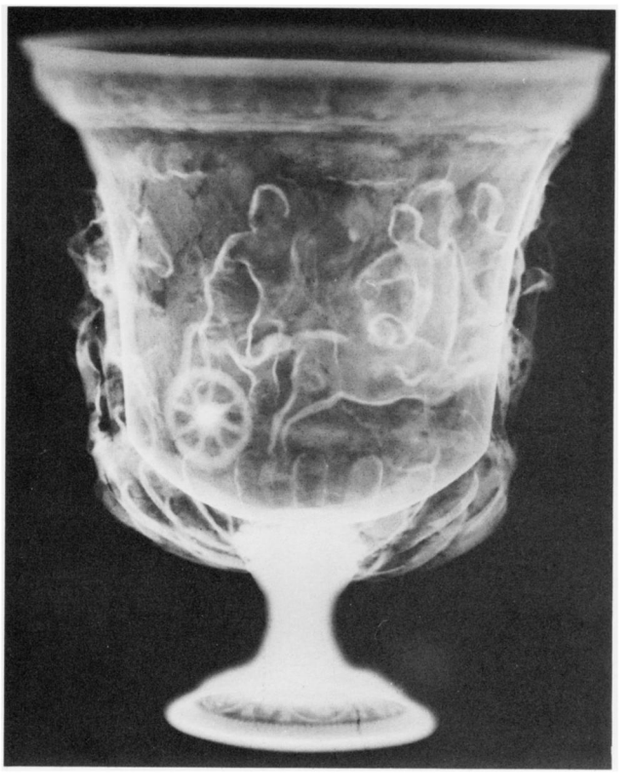


Fig. 7. Radiograph of Figure 3.

modern-day terms, that another reason for the construction of the kantharos might have been to insulate the contents of the vessel, since the airspace created between the inner liner and outer shell would slow down changes in temperature. Another possibility is that the kantharos was so designed to create the illusion of greater capacity than the actual volume of the liner, as in some of today's thick-walled sundae glasses and some cosmetic containers.

It has been stated that the missing figure of Dionysos, who once stood in the centaur-drawn biga, was cast separately and added to the surface.[7] This is certainly plausible since the technique was in use during the Hellenistic period. It is difficult to understand why one figure would have been cast and added separately, however, unless it was intended to contrast with the rest of the design. Since Dionysos was the most important figure in the frieze, he may have been cast separately in gold to emphasize his significance. If the surface of the frieze was at least partially gilded, though, as the remaining traces suggest, it seems more likely that Dionysos would simply have been gilded to create the contrast.

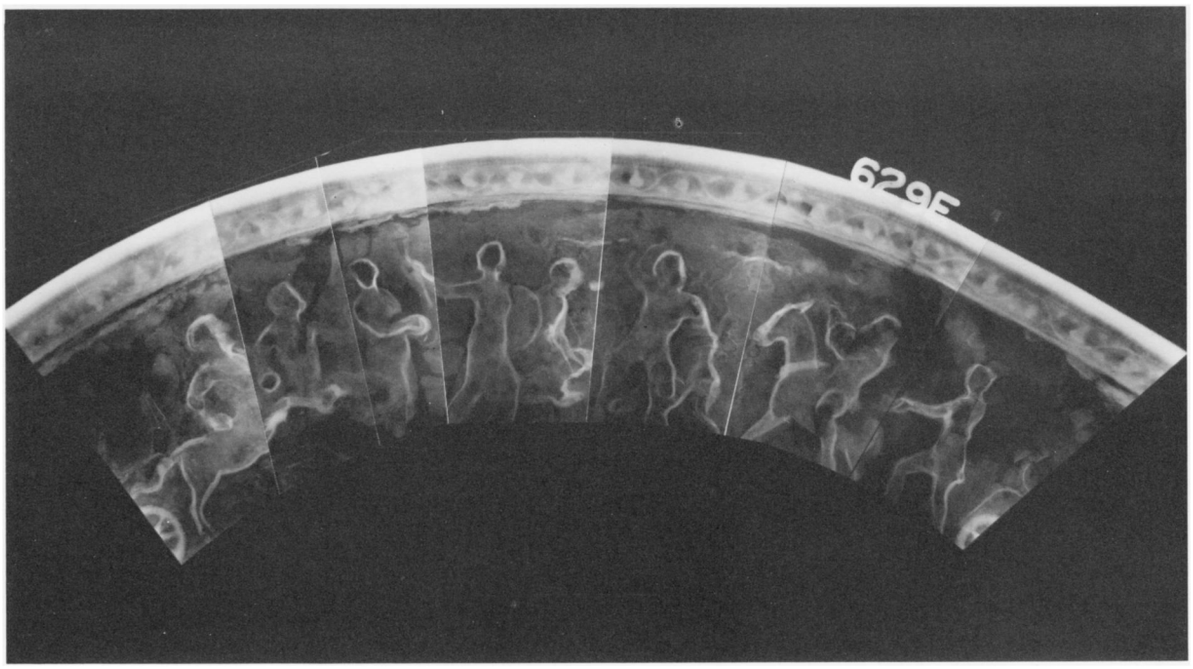


Fig. 8. Radiograph of Figure 3 (composite view).

From an examination of the condition of the metal around the missing figure, the most likely explanation for the figure's removal is overzealous cleaning. The figure of Dionysos may have been very brittle or completely converted to corrosion products, leaving it especially vulnerable to damage. During cleaning or improper handling, it may have been accidentally crushed or inadvertently removed by chemicals.

Some scholars have raised questions regarding the authenticity of various parts of the kantharos.[8] The foot is justifiably suspect since it was added after the photographs in Rubensohn's article were made. It is not clear, however, why the inner liner and at least parts of the rim have been doubted. The fine condition of large areas of the inner liner may have prompted some concern. It should be noted, though, that the liner contains areas of severe corrosion and loss that correspond to equally corroded areas of the outer shell. A new liner used as a restoration certainly would be complete, and an attempt would have been made to give strength to the weakened areas of the outer shell by supporting it with the sturdy liner.

In theory, the good state of preservation of the liner can be explained by the differences in the manufacturing techniques between it and the narrative frieze. As a rule, when two similar metals are together in a burial environment, the one with the most stress in its structure will corrode first, and even afford some protection to the less stressed metal. In the case of the Walters kantharos, the narrative frieze would have been highly stressed from the techniques used to produce the design. Moreover, the craftsman probably did not remove the stress through annealing after working, since the process would have left the metal of the frieze too soft and vulnerable during use. By comparison, the liner would have been relatively unstressed and therefore less likely to corrode while in contact with the narrative frieze during burial.

The edge of the rim appears to be one piece with the liner. A flange on the rim abuts the separate decorative band on the exterior around the top of the vessel. Since the original decoration on the band, described by Rubensohn but apparently now missing from the surface, is preserved in the remaining corrosion layers (see radiograph, fig. 8), there can be no question about the authenticity of this part.

In general, the state of preservation of the kantharos is poor. Aside from about two-thirds of the inner liner and the rim, the vessel is fragmentary and brittle. There is no evidence that the original foot was ever found, and the whereabouts of the handles is unknown.

The extent of the corrosion, combined with inappropriate cleaning techniques, has led to further loss.

Apparently, motifs on the decorative band below the rim were preserved only in the corrosion layers. The method of cleaning employed did not take this fact into account, and that led to almost total loss of this decorative element. It is likely that the narrative frieze lost detail for the same reason.

There are holes through almost all of the high points of the relief. These holes were thought by some scholars to be intentional, since the holes gave many of the faces a mask-like quality. This mistaken interpretation led to serious problems in understanding the iconography of the frieze scene.[9] The most probable explanation for these holes, however, is corrosion. The highest points in the relief would also be the thinnest and most stressed from working, which would lead to a rapid rate of corrosion and loss of metal. Many of these areas would likely have been filled or backed with lead during manufacture. Lead is particularly susceptible to attack by both acids and bases. This fact, combined with the lead's proximity to the silver, which would stimulate galvanic corrosion, would also explain loss in these high relief areas during burial and subsequent cleaning.

Radiography, as well as a study of the surface with the naked eye, under the microscope, and with ultraviolet light, demonstrate the extent to which the kantharos has been damaged and repaired. Radiographs (see fig. 8) confirm that beneath a gray, putty-like restoration material and the corrosion, the metal is cracked and broken in many places and completely lost in others. From all indications the figures are original, and although they have suffered loss of detail, and some holes remain, there are no major areas of restoration on them. A major loss comprising approximately one-third of the liner, and several losses in the background areas of the outer shell have the gray, putty-like material applied to them. A thin wash of a mat gray substance can be easily removed from the well-preserved areas of the liner and some well-preserved areas on the outer shell by rubbing. Is this thin gray layer a natural corrosion product, or could this be the *jus des antiquaires* applied by André to tone the too-bright areas, as mentioned by Francis Taylor?

The kantharos was analyzed by the energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence technique.[10] This method was chosen because it does not require the removal of samples from the object, although there are drawbacks associated with it. The results are qualitative or semi-quantitative at best, and the analysis is restricted to the accessible surface of the object. These findings can lead to misinterpretation, since the surface of a metal object is not necessarily representative of its composition as a whole. In addition, leaching and corrosion from burial or from cleaning can occur, leading to an alteration in the composition of that surface. This analytical technique can be used, however, to determine which elements higher than 18 on the Periodic Table are currently present on the surface.

The data obtained from the analysis shows that the silver is fairly pure and consistent overall, with the exception of the foot. Approximately 1.5% copper is present, along with smaller amounts of lead and iron. Bromine was found over the surface, which may be a result of corrosion during burial or perhaps was added during "restoration." Chlorine content could not be determined, since it is not within the detection range of the instrument that was used. A minimum of 0.5% gold was found over the entire surface of the kantharos, with higher levels in the relief areas. Zinc was found in the foot, but no significant amount was detected elsewhere on the kantharos.

Silver of the Hellenistic period has been reported to be quite pure, with additions of copper and gold in small amounts.[11] Such a small amount of copper found on the surface of the kantharos can be misleading, since this element could easily have been leached out during burial or cleaning. It is likely, therefore, that a higher percentage of copper than the data indicates was originally alloyed with the silver. The presence of iron could be due to impurities and soil accretions on the surface of the vessel. The lead may have been an intentional addition to the alloy, or may be present as a constituent of the original ore source, or may simply have been used as a fill material in the holes on the surface. The quantity of gold found overall indicates either that gold was an intentionally alloyed element or that the entire surface of the vessel was gilded. The higher amounts of gold found in the relief areas would indicate that the former is true and that only areas of the frieze were gilded, as is supported by the traces of gilding found in the corrosion layers of the frieze. Since the foot is not original to the object, it is not surprising that the data obtained for it is at least somewhat different; the difference in the amount of zinc found in the foot is significant.

The Walters silver kantharos, at the time of its manufacture, must have been magnificent. From an examination of its composition, structure, and traces

of its original decoration, we are able to imagine a gleaming footed vessel with graceful handles that terminate in floral motifs. A decorative band of ivy vines running around the rim ties together the decorative elements with the iconography of the frieze, as Dionysos rides in triumph and Lykourgos struggles with vines that entwine his limbs. The figures in the frieze stand out in high relief and are partially gilded, giving additional richness to the cup as light and shadow play over the forms.

By tracing the history of the kantharos, one can see how it has changed physically through deterioration and so-called restoration. These physical changes led to a misinterpretation of the iconography of the frieze design and questions concerning the vessel's authenticity. It is hoped that this study, along with forthcoming metallographic examination and conservation treatment, will lead to a clearer understanding and greater appreciation of the kantharos by future scholars.

NOTES

1. J. Van de Grift, "*Dionysiaca:* Bacchic Imagery in Roman Luxury Art of the Late Republic and Early Empire." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985, ch. 3 (hereafter, Van de Grift, *Dionysiaca*).

2. O. Rubensohn, "Funde in Ägypten," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 22 (1907), 358.

3. Note in curatorial file, The Walters Art Gallery.

4. Copy of document by Francis Taylor on file, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), 114 (hereafter, Strong); A. Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods, 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver,* exh. cat.,(Toledo, Ohio, 1977), 79.

6. Strong, 10, 135; D. Strong and D. Brown, *Roman Crafts* (London, 1976), 19.

7. Van de Grift, *Dionysiaca,* ch. 3.

8. *Ibid.* and catalogue card, The Walters Art Gallery.

9. B. Segall, *Tradition and Neuschöpfung in der frühalexandrinischen Kleinkunst* (Berlin, 1966), 29-44; F. Matz, Review of *Tradition und Neuschöpfung in der frühalexandrinischen Kleinkunst* by B. Segall, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), 426.

10. The analysis was carried out by Janice Carlson, Museum Chemist, Winterthur Museum Analytical Laboratory, using Hewlett-Packard equipment with a 1/2" aperture.

11. Strong, 4, 215.

A Bronze Matrix in The Walters Art Gallery

ELLEN REEDER WILLIAMS
The Walters Art Gallery

Among those objects surviving from Antiquity are a small number that did not function as finished works of art, but rather as implements for the use of artisans. Such items are of special interest both because they shed light on ancient technical procedures and because they constitute a kind of personal legacy from the ancient world. Used often by their owners, these pieces were not intended for public display and were unintentionally bequeathed to us. Within this category of objects are those used in the metalworking technique of matrix hammering, a process by which a sheet of metal was pressed against an intaglio representation to produce a thin metal relief. Although the technique was widespread among Greek and Roman metalworkers,[1] surviving matrices are disappointingly few, probably because once their usefulness had ended, matrices were melted down to salvage the substantial amounts of bronze that they contained.

Because of the paucity of examples, an unpublished matrix in The Walters Art Gallery takes on particular interest[2] (figs. 1–7). Of unknown provenance, it has a rectangular shape and bears representations on each of its six sides. The carving is very shallow, with no undercutting that would impede the removal of the relief from its matrix. As seen in the casts (fig. 7), a narrow ridge on each side functions as a ground line. One of the short ends bears the device of a rampant winged griffin seen in right profile (figs. 1, 7). On the opposite end a spherical vessel is flanked by two symmetrical rearing rams whose forelegs almost touch (figs. 2, 7). Two of the long sides bear images of a winged Eros. In one scene he strides forward in right profile, a long staff with a curving tip resting in the crook of his left arm. Drapery hangs behind his back and over his left arm, and in his right hand is what appears to be a bird (figs. 3, 7). On the adjacent side Eros is seen again, turned three-quarters to his left. His left arm is not shown and his right forearm is concealed by drapery. Behind him is a Corinthian column and, in front of the shaft, as if clinging to his left elbow, is a rabbit (figs. 4, 7). Depicted on the adjacent side is Athena, who turns slightly to her right, where we see an incense burner towards which her right arm is extended (figs. 5, 7). Her left leg is relaxed and in her left arm she carries a spear, which is partly concealed by her shield. Her triple-crested helmet is pushed back upon the crown of her head, and underneath her aegis is a peplos whose overfold is girded just beneath her breasts. The remaining side of the matrix bears an image of Zeus, who stands facing, his left hand clasping a long staff to his side. His head is inclined towards an eagle that is perched in his lowered right hand (figs. 6, 7).

The approximate date of the matrix can be established without difficulty because the motifs of the griffin and the rams with a vessel find parallels among the Campanian terra-cotta reliefs that date from the first

Figs. 1-6. Matrix, Bronze, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1191.

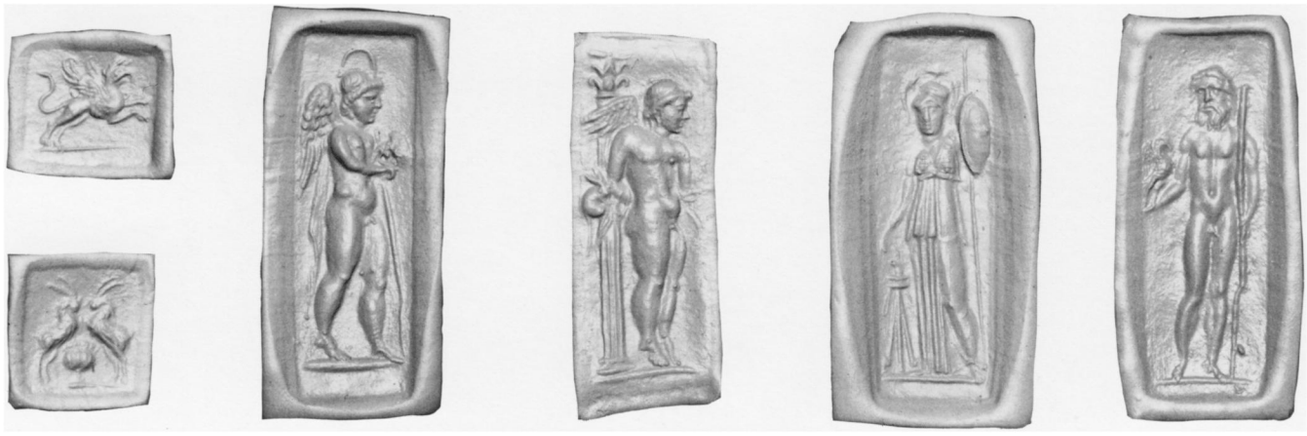


Fig. 7. Casts made from Figure 1.

century B.C. to the beginning of the second century A.D.[3] The ancestry of the figure of Athena lies in the late Hellenistic period, when elongated proportions and high girding were in fashion, and when incense burners of a similar type were being made.[4] The multiple crests of her helmet, as well as the manner in which they are shown without foreshortening, compare with late Hellenistic renderings of the Athena Parthenos, whose elaborate helmet was surely the prototype for the version on this matrix.[5] Further compatible with the neoclassical leanings of the late Hellenistic age is the archaizing tiptoed stance of the Erotes. All of these features suggest a date for the matrix between the first century B.C. and the early second century A.D.

The function of the reliefs made in this matrix is more difficult to determine. Although the incense burner accompanying Athena has religious connotations, the decorative tone of the griffin, rams, and Erotes are best suited to secular use. Reliefs made in this matrix were almost certainly intended for decorative use, perhaps as appliqués for clothing, or as ornaments for a belt or a diadem.[6] The artist probably worked with a silver sheet, which is more malleable than bronze and cheaper than gold, which certainly also could have been used.

Surprisingly few Greek and Roman bronze matrices are known. Reliefs made in a seventh-century B.C. example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,

Figs. 8a–d. Matrix, Bronze, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. G 437.

Figs. 9a–d. Casts made from Figure 8.

were used to produce funerary bands (figs. 8, 9).[7] Like the Walters example, the matrix is small and every side bears representations in intaglio so that no part of the bronze surface is wasted. A second example, of late Hellenistic or Roman date, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, served for the manufacture of votive reliefs.[8] This specimen is larger than the others and very flat, but both sides are economically filled with a profusion of discrete images. Somewhat different is a bronze matrix at The Johns Hopkins University, which was used to produce cuirass *pteryges* that were possibly applied to parade armor of the first or second century A.D. (figs. 10, 11).[9] The dimensions of the matrix were obviously dictated by the size of the image so that no space on the obverse is unused, but the reverse is completely unworked, an indicator of either carelessness or affluence.

A fourth bronze matrix is in The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has the shape of a thin disc, which is worked on both sides (figs. 12–14).[10] The circumference of the matrix coincides with and was determined by the dimensions of one of the representations. In that scene (figs. 12, 14) a guilloche border in relatively low relief surrounds a convex field in which a hybrid being is seen in left profile. A nude female torso segues into a snaky form from which protrude three canine heads and five or six canine forelegs. The maiden's hand is drawn back and holds the end of a trident, which she is about to thrust forward. In her outstretched right hand is a snail or a squid. The figure is undoubtedly Scylla, whose marine habitat explains her flowing locks of hair. The representation on the opposite side of the matrix also has a circular border, but one of smaller circumference (figs. 13, 14). A slightly raised band of arcs and dots surrounds a convex field in which a draped female is seated sideways on a hippocamp whose equine head and forelegs are joined to a snaky tail. The maiden carries a helmet in her left hand and a shield with gorgon emblem over her right arm. She is surely Thetis, the sea nymph who procured for her son Achilles the special armor made by Hephaistos.

Fig. 10. Matrix, Bronze, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University, no. 9159.

Fig. 11. Cast made from Figure 10.

Figs. 12, 13. Matrix, Bronze, Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum, no. 1960.477.

Figs. 14a, b. Casts made from Figures 12, 13.

Parallels to this latter motif appear on rings dated to the fourth century B.C.,[11] and it is likely that the Fogg matrix is a contemporary work used to make hair ornaments or pendants.[12] It is also posssible that the reliefs made in this matrix were applied to vessels; the perimeter of a Hellenistic silver medallion from Macedonia carrying a similar image of Thetis bears numerous holes for attachment.[13] An appropriate recipient for that disc, and conceivably for reliefs made in the Fogg matrix, would be a silver pyxis for toilet articles similar to one now in Boston.[14] In the center of the lid and worked in low relief is a rosette within two concentric bands of relief ornament. In profile the convex rim encloses an inner depressed ring surrounding a raised finial.

All of the matrices discussed above exhibit similar characteristics: the intaglio work is shallow with no undercutting, and in deference to the cost of bronze, all available space on the matrix is utilized. For most of the representations, parallels in metalwork can be cited, so that we can be confident that the matrices were intended for reliefs of metal rather than of terra-cotta, which could be made much less expensively in terra-cotta molds. There can be little doubt, therefore, about the function of a bronze object from Olympia that bears in intaglio a facing female head in sixth-century style (fig. 15).[15] Because a cast made in the piece finds parallels among terra-cotta protomes, and because no metal relief of this type is known, the object has been described as a mold for terra-cotta images. Certainly, however, we are dealing here with a matrix from which were impressed votive offerings of silver, or possibly of bronze.

It has long been assumed that bronze matrices were made by carving directly into the hard bronze surface in the manner in which gems were engraved. Certain features of the Walters matrix do indeed suggest that it was at least partially made in this way. Details like drapery and wings are worked to such a shallow level that they are little more than engraved; moreover, the angularity of the griffin's tail indicates that the tool encountered the kind of resistance a hard metal surface would offer. The representations were probably not executed entirely by cold working, however. Surely the easiest way to make such a matrix would be to cast a wax model, which would be produced either by carving a wax block in intaglio or by impressing into a warmed wax block a positive hub made of metal, plaster, terra-cotta, or even hard wax.

Fig. 15. Matrix, Bronze, Athens, National Museum, no. 6139.

A mistake made in wax can be corrected, whereas one made while carving a bronze matrix is not so easily fixed, and could prove to be an expensive mistake if part of the bronze surface proved unusable. A procedure involving casting is thoroughly compatible with evidence offered by the matrices themselves. The Olympia example has such depth in the intaglio that it is almost unthinkable that it could have been made in any way other than by casting a wax positive, and the fluid contours of the Hopkins and Fogg matrices are far more appropriate to a wax surface than to an unyielding one of bronze. It is reasonable to conclude that matrices were made by casting a wax model and then adding detail through coldwork, the same method in which metal statuettes were traditionally produced.

While the number of surviving Greek and Roman bronze matrices is discouragingly low, stone matrices are somewhat more common, with most examples of Hellenistic and Roman date.[16] These examples exhibit the same characteristics as bronze matrices, although every surface may not be so pru-

Fig. 16. Matrix (and Cast), Stone, West Berlin, Antikenmuseum, no. TC 7440.

dently rationed. Stone was also employed in Antiquity for molds used in bronzecasting, and these can be recognized in several ways.[17] Distinctive features of stone molds are a pour hole for molten bronze, holes by which a cover slab could be secured, and signs of burning. In many instances, a stone mold can be readily distinguished from a stone matrix, but a curious object in the Antikenmuseum, West Berlin, bears features of both kinds of objects and thus invites reconsideration after its long absence from scholarly attention (fig. 16).[18] The piece consists of a square stone block that has been worked on only one side, which bears a hole in each corner. A funnel-shaped depression extends from the edge of the stone into the representation. The cast represents the upper surface of a small vessel whose flaring rim is ornamented with a raised band of ivy enclosed by two circles of dots. In the center of the bowl is the nude figure of Apollo seated three-quarters to his left on an *omphalos,* his left hand supporting a kithara on his knee. His head is turned slightly to his right, where we see a winged Nike, who approaches with a wreath in her outstretched hand. Surrounding these figures is a band of seven-petal palmettes, whose flanking petals show alternating upturned and drooping tips. While the three-quarter angle of Apollo's body might initially suggest a fifth or fourth century B.C. date, the Nike's elongated torso and high girt peplos point to a Hellenistic or early Roman date, when figures posed similarly to the Apollo appear frequently in Pompeian wall painting.[19]

The Berlin piece is curious because it bears the disinctive characteristics of a mold used in casting: holes for dowels, which would slide through a covering piece; a funnel-shaped pour hole, through which molten bronze could be carried to the representation; and signs of burning on the edge of the pour hole. These features suggest that at some point in its history the stone functioned as a mold. It is unlikely that the piece was originally conceived for this use, however, because the difficulty involved in such a technical procedure is hard to justify. The easiest way to cast a bowl like this one is to fashion by means of a terra-cotta or plaster mold a wax positive, which could then be cast by the lost wax method. A far more laborious process is to carve out of stone two matching pieces that must fit together and yet maintain a sufficiently consistent distance from each other to result in a cast vessel of uniform thickness. Even should this challenge be met, the finished casting would still display an unsightly protrusion where the pour hole interrupted the ornamental border. For these reasons, the Berlin slab seems almost certainly to have been a matrix, which at some point, still in Antiquity, was unsuccessfully transformed into a mold by someone emulating the age-old practice of casting simple bronze tools and dishes in open stone molds.[20] We know that the project failed because burn marks exist only on the pour hole, indicating that the endeavor was abandoned not long after it was begun, probably because the makeshift cover slab contained only a hemispherical cavity for the bowl; without a corresponding depression for the rim, however, the orifice adjacent to the pour hole would be too small for the bronze to enter without cooling almost immediately.

Despite the unfortunate outcome of the experiment conducted on the Berlin slab, the venture reminds us that in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, bronzecasting and matrix hammering were very much in use. We have long known that by the fifth century B.C., complicated bronze and silver relief work were executed in repoussé, a freehand technique whereby each side is alternately worked, with the definition and detail chased or engraved from the front.[21] But while repoussé may have eclipsed matrix hammering temporarily, it by no means replaced the technique; even in the fifth and fourth centuries precious items like *phialai* and *gorytoi* were made in this way.[22] It can be difficult to distinguish, however, between a matrix-hammered relief and one made in repoussé without undercutting, because both reliefs will bear on the reverse side the mirror reversal of the representation. A complex matrix-hammered relief will occasionally carry "slip marks," where the relief slipped in its matrix,[23] but for simple, discrete motifs like the ones on the Walters matrix, slipping is unlikely. Probably,

closer scrutiny of ancient reliefs will facilitate our ability to distinguish between these techniques, and as more matrices are recognized, we will become more fully aware of the kinds of objects for which matrix hammering was employed.

The popularity of matrix hammering in Antiquity is significant for several reasons. Not only did use of the technique facilitate multiple production and consequent widespread dispersal of iconography and style, but the matrices themselves inspired apprentices and customers and thus served as further sources of dissemination. The use of matrix hammering and the tendency to include many motifs on the matrices also remind us of the fundamentally eclectic nature of the ancient artist. Both the matrices and the multiplicity of images on them are difficult to reconcile with the modern concept of originality as an independent creation. The evidence examined herein serves to remind us rather that the contribution of the ancient artist often lay not so much in the freshness of the devices themselves as in the innovative ways in which traditional images could be reemployed.

NOTES

1. For the technique of matrix hammering, see D. K. Hill, "Ancient Metal Reliefs," *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 97–115; R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery,* 2d ed. (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1980), 13–15 (hereafter, Higgins, *Jewellery*); D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, 1961), 81–84.

2. Inv. no. 54.1191 (5.3 x 1.9 cm); approximate length of cast from each long side 5.6 cm; approximate length and width of cast from each short end 2.6 cm.

3. A. Borbein, "Campanareliefs: Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 14 (Heidelberg, 1968), 14–21, 28–29; H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit: Die antiken Terrakotten,* ed. R. Kekule von Stradonitz, 4.2 (Berlin, 1911), pls. I, II, LXIII.

4. K. Wiegand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbuch* 122 (1912), nos. 90–93, pl. III.

5. Compare medallions on Megarian bowls and a terra-cotta mold that is certainly Hellenistic in N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos* (Toronto, 1971), no. 63, fig. 57a; no. 64, fig. 57b; no. 53, fig. 52.

6. Compare the treasure from Palaiokastron in H. Hoffmann and P. Davidson, *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (Boston, 1965), 278–84, nos. 130–36. For use on a belt, see no. 82, 207–08; for a diadem, see 67, no. 7, figs. 7a, 7b (hereafter, Hoffmann and Davidson, *Gold Jewelry*).

7. Inv. no. G 437 (12.5 x 1.6 cm; depth about 1 cm). H. Stuart Jones, "A Greek Goldsmith's Mould in the Ashmolean Museum," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 16 (1896), 323–34; H. Maryon, "Metal Working in the Ancient World," *American Journal of Archaeology* 53 (1949), 124, pl. XX.A; R. Higgins, "Jewellery," *Roman Crafts,* ed. D. Strong (London, 1976), 54–55, figs. 55, 58; *Ibid.,* 15, 102, pl. 1. (Figure 8 is from Maryon; Figure 9 is from Higgins.)

8. Inv. no. 20.2.24 (22.7 x 13.5 cm). O. Untracht, *Metal Techniques for Craftsmen* (New York, 1968), 82. This matrix is under study and will be published in a forthcoming article.

9. Inv. no. 9159 (9.4 x 6.9 x 1.7 cm). D. M. Robinson, "A State Seal-Matrix from Panticipaeum," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), 306–13; E. R. Williams, "A Bronze Matrix for a Cuirass Pteryx," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977), 233–35; *Idem, The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1984), 90, no. 69.

10. Inv. no. 1960.477 (4.6–4.7 x 1 cm). D. M. Robinson, "The Bronze State Seal of Larissa Kremaste," *American Journal of Archaeology* 38 (1934), 219–22; S. Miller, *Two Groups of Thessalian Gold, University of California Publications in Classical Studies* 18 (Berkeley, 1979), 19, no. 110 (hereafter, Miller).

11. A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeit in Edelmetall* (Berlin, 1971–75), 75, pl. 56.13–15; Hoffman and Davidson, *Gold Jewelry,* and 241, no. 99; Miller, 18, 56, no. J 6. See also Hoffmann and Davidson, *Gold Jewelry,* 253, no. 111.

12. For hair ornaments see Hoffmann and Davidson, *Gold Jewelry,* 223, no. 90 and 224–25, no. 91; for pendants, *ibid.,* 232, no. 94 and 234–35, no. 95.

13. *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia,* ed. K. Ninou (Thessaloniki, n.d.), 62, no. 181, pl. 28, which is 3.5 cm in diameter; see also no. 180 (hereafter, Ninou, *Treasures*).

14. A. Oliver, *Silver for the Gods: 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver,* exh. cat. (Toledo, 1977), 53, no. 21. The diameter of the entire lid is 5.7 cm. Probably also for pyxis lids were 89, no. 52; Ninou, *Treasures,* 53, no. 55, pl. 12, which has a diameter of 6.4 cm; and T. Hackens, *Catalogue of the Classical Collection: Classical Jewelry. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, 1976), 66–71, no. 22.

15. Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 6139 (9.3 cm high). A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia: Olympia 4* (Berlin, 1890), 27, no. 88, pl. 7; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), 92, no. 7; W. D. Heilmeyer, "Giesserbetriebe in Olympia," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 84 (1969), 25, fig. 29. (Figure 15 is from Heilmeyer.)

16. T. Hackens, *Studies in Ancient Jewelry, Publications d'histoire et de l'art et d'archéologie de l'université catholique de Louvain* 14 (Louvain, 1980), 132–49, pls. 7, 8; I. Kriseleit, "Antike Guss- und Treibformen," *Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* 20/21 (1980), 197, fig. 7; G. Davidson, *Corinth XII: The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952), 307–309, [nos. 2661–62], pls. 126–127; E. R. Williams, "Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985), 109–19.

17. E. T. Vermeule, "A Mycenaean Jeweler's Mold," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 65 (Boston, 1967), 21; R. Wartke, "Vorderasiatische Gussformen aus den Staatliche Museen zu Berlin," *Forschungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* 20/21 (1980), 223–24; E. Poulsen, "The Manufacture of Final Models of Roman Mass Produced Pail Handle Attachments," *Bronzes hellénistiques et romains: tradition et renouveau, Actes du Ve colloque international sur les bronzes antiques* (Lausanne, 1979), 242 (hereafter, Poulsen, "Manufacture"); A. Mutz, *Die Kunst des Metalldrehens bei den Römern* (Basel, 1972), 38 (hereafter, Mutz, *Kunst*). For the practice of casting in stone molds see E. Pernice, "Untersuchungen zur antiken Toreutik," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 7 (1904), 180–97 (hereafter, Pernice, "Untersuchungen").

18. Inv. no. TC 7440. L. Curtius, *Das archaische Bronzerelief aus Olympia, Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1879), 4, and no. 6 on pl. III; Pernice, "Untersuchungen," 192, no. 36.

19. L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig, 1929), (esp. 41, fig. 27 from "The House of the Tragic Poet") and 286, fig.

169 (from "House IX.5.18"); compare also 175, fig. 108, and 253, fig. 150.

20. Poulsen, "Manufacture," 241–42 and 245, no. 6; Mutz, *Kunst,* 37–38, figs. 54–57.

21. D. K. Hill "More About Ancient Metal Reliefs, *Hesperia* 13 (1944), 87–89. For a recent and thorough description of the technique, see A. Stewart, "A Fourth-Century Bronze Mirror Case in Dunedin," *Antike Kunst* 22 (1979), 24–33.

22. For *phialai,* see G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 45 (1941), 363 (hereafter, Richter, "Silver Phiale"); and "Greek Fifth-Century Silverware and Later Imitations" (hereafter, Richter, "Silverware"), *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 (1950), 357–65. For *gorytoi,* see *The Search for Alexander,* exh. cat. (New York, 1980), 183, no. 160. See also a sword sheath in G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, 1953), 97, 238, pl. 78c.

23. See Richter, "Silver Phiale," 375; and Richter, "Silverware," 357–58.

On Byzantine Boxes

ANTHONY CUTLER
The Pennsylvania State University

The traditional view of Byzantine art, particularly of its so-called Middle period (from the end of Iconoclasm in 843 to the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204), is of a body of work often of high quality, given over to canonical and even codified subject matter, and endeavoring, though not always successfully, to attain Classical standards of form. Despite the probability that few cultures are likely to display a set of social relationships and religious values sufficiently static to allow such norms to shape aesthetic performance over the course of more than three-and-a-half centuries, the art of Constantinople in the Middle period is generally seen as having been sponsored by the emperor and an elite (which may have included a considerable number of men of provincial origin, as well as a fair proportion of ecclesiastics and monks) and, at least ostensibly, as devoted to well-defined and broadly accepted Christian purposes. It is therefore considered highly serious in purpose and as lacking in interest in the contemporary world as it is in humor, carnality, and other human concerns. Such a view creates problems not only of a general order—for example, the supposed identity of this era ignores marked changes in its political and economic fortunes, as in its social and cultural structures—but presents other, more specific difficulties when tested, for example, against extant products of the period such as those which, for reasons to be explained, this author calls Byzantine boxes.

These boxes challenge every one of the notions just described. They are not so few in number that they can be safely admitted on the grounds that they do not disturb our general picture of the artistic tenor of the times, as can, say, the sober canvases of Chardin seen against the background of the Parisian Rococo; nor are they so devoid of practical function that they can be neglected in any discussion of the interdependence of the makers and users of the artifacts of a particular period, as can Fabergé's Easter eggs in the context of late nineteenth-century Russia. As will be seen, these boxes were made in quantity—indeed, "mass-produced"—probably for a variety of purposes for a broad, urban clientele. More than 125 such objects, preserved either complete or in a more-or-less fragmentary state, were recorded in the standard catalogue[1] published more than fifty years ago. Since that time, perhaps a dozen others (some of them unacknowledged forgeries) have come to light. Of the total number preserved, fewer than forty have been identified as bearing religious iconography. The remainder, then, constitute the largest single class of Byzantine secular art to have survived, and thus, stand out immediately as anomalies in terms of at least one of the views outlined above. For this, if for no other reason, the boxes deserve closer scrutiny than they have heretofore received.[2]

Such an examination must start with the materials and techniques involved in their manufacture, and

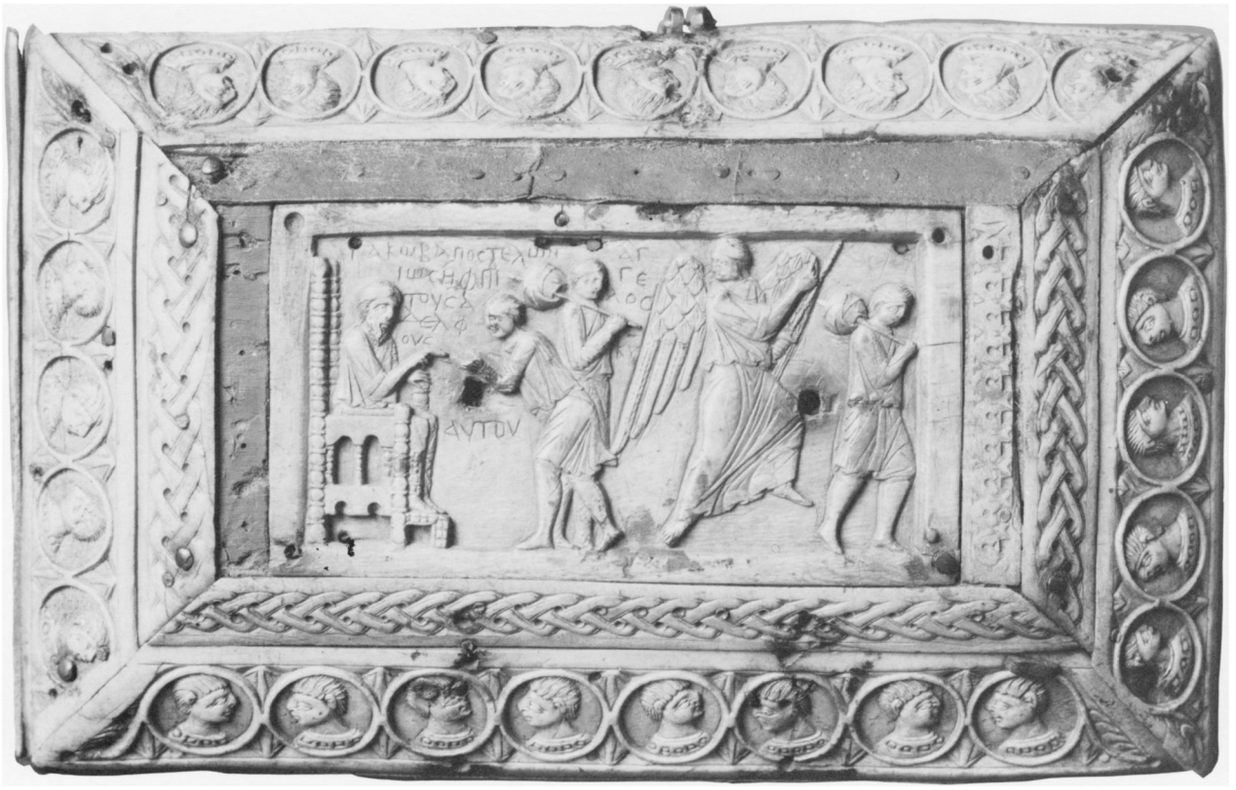


Fig. 1. Byzantine Box (lid), *Jacob and Joseph,* Ivory, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 71.295.

the nexus between technique and styles of carving, then proceed through a study of iconography to the nature of the public that bought them and the culture of which they were a part. Only so systematic an approach can shed new light on their date, place of origin, and function—vexed questions that art historians have long sought to answer. Beyond these concerns looms the larger question of how objects should be addressed that fail in one or more ways to conform to the norms defined for the society from which they issue, and which, in one way or another, they should reflect. One may reexamine the objects per se or one may question the "rules" we have drawn up for that society. This paper attempts to both reexamine and question.

The complexity of the undertaking may be appreciated if we begin by examining a box in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery which, at least in the content of the plaques attached to it, accords with much that is familiar in Byzantine art. Inserted into the upper surface of the truncated pyramid that forms its lid, the largest panel on the box shows Joseph being ordered by his father, Jacob, to follow his brothers, and then setting out under the aegis of the angel of the Lord (fig. 1).[3] There is no immediate biblical basis for the details of these scenes yet, in their essentials, they follow the Vienna Genesis. The short sides of the box and most of its back lack revetment, but, disordered as the narrative sequence now is, the story of the Temptation and the Fall clearly begins with the one plaque remaining on the back, which shows Adam beside the tree. The story continues on the front at right, where Eve encounters the serpent, followed on the left by Adam's transgression, and concludes in a small panel under the lock-plate, where he is shown grieving (fig. 2). All but the last of these scenes are identified by legends, incised probably by the carver himself, following an ancient tradition in which ivories were inscribed in the shop where they were made rather than sent out to an expert in lettering.[4]

The epigraphy, clumsy as it is, is useful for our purposes, since it shows that all of the plaques were inscribed by the same individual: for instance, on the lid in Figure 1, the *phi* in Joseph's name takes precisely the same oblique form as that in the word *ophis,* the snake talking to Eve on the front of the box on the right in Figure 2. The similarity is important because it strongly supports the reasonable supposition that all the panels were carved in the same shop; this observation, in turn, shows that craftsmen carved those materials that were available rather than insisting, in the manner of a modern trade-union member, on working

Fig. 2. Front of the box in Figure 1, *Adam and Eve.*

only in the substance in which he is a specialist. That the lid panel is of ivory is indicated by the characteristic grain evident on Joseph's advanced left leg as he bows before his father, and again over his legs and the adjacent portion of the panel's frame as he leaves the scene at right. It is no less certain that the remaining plaques are carved of bone, betokened by both the so-called cancellous material between Eve and the serpent and the dense pattern of black flecks—the foramina denoting the vascular system of bone—apparent on the body of the seated Adam at the center in Figure 2. Neither of these traits is found in elephant dentine, which has an entirely different structural system.[5] The decision to reserve ivory—which, even though it is rarer, normally offers much larger sections than bone—for the lid, and to employ the more abundant and cheaper material for the smaller plaques, is a rational one.

The use of bone alongside ivory was pointed out by Kurt Weitzmann,[6] but for more than half a century the observation has been ignored, and the extent to which the materials appear together in Middle Byzantine carving therefore gone unrecognized. The phenomenon is of considerable significance, nonetheless, perhaps as an index to the amount of ivory available during the period and certainly to the frugality practiced by the makers of the boxes, either as a result of the limited supply of ivory at their disposal or as a way of reducing the cost of their products. Whether both or only one of these conditions prevailed (a determination that can be made only after other examples have been examined), the result has considerable bearing on the price of, and therefore the public for, the objects under discussion.

For now, it will suffice to remark on other aspects of the Walters box that point to the careful husbanding of both materials and labor. Most obvious of all is the fact that the Joseph panel does not fit the space allocated to it on the lid. Originally, this piece was designed to be held by pegs set in four holes neatly situated in the corners of its frame. That one of these holes (at upper left) remains undrilled shows that, at the assembly stage, these preparatory borings were rejected in favor of four others driven through the panel proper;[7] one of these impinges upon the inscription of Jacob's name—a sort of intrusion we shall find by no means uncommon in the process by which such boxes were put together. Immediately to the right of

the departing Joseph is an ornamental strip cut in very low relief. Together with its missing counterpart at left, it clearly served the function of filling an area inadequately covered by the panel. It follows that the Joseph scene was cut not for this particular box but prepared independently.

Nowhere can one see more clearly the disruption of the carver's schemes when his plaques came to be assembled than on the lid of an ivory-clad box in Cleveland (fig. 13)[8] with which we shall be much concerned in a moment. Here the Creation scenes, obviously intended to be set horizontally, are applied in the only way that the design of the box would allow. It is true that many of the pegs originally used on this box to fasten these and other plaques have been replaced with iron pins, thus theoretically allowing that their positions have been disturbed. But nowhere on this box, planned with vertical panels on all sides, is there any place for plaques of this format.

A related point is made by the larger Adam and Eve plaques on the Walters box in Figure 2, which are cut to a standard size (6.4 x 5.0 cm) but which, with the aid of filler strips, could be fitted not only to this box but to many others of similar design. Indeed, the overall dimensions of the Walters box closely approximate those of at least ten others,[9] and many more if we do not impose on the Byzantines an exactness appropriate only to an age of genuine mass-production. Two modular systems were employed, in both of which the length averaged twenty-seven centimeters, the height seventeen centimeters, and the width either seventeen-and-a-half or twenty-two centimeters. If we allow for the variations inherent in all handicraft, and the deformations caused by the aging of both the wooden cores and their osseous revetment, the inference is all but inescapable that the boxes were produced serially and decorated according to a predetermined system. The recognition that the rosette borders were prepared in advance and cut to size ad hoc[10]—evident at the top of the vertical strips on the front of the Walters box in Figure 2—only strengthens this conclusion. An identical approach was taken towards the second body of ornament, the strips of medallion-enclosed busts which, inverted on the slope above the Joseph panel in Figure 1, are clearly truncated and thus must also have been prefabricated.

Only an anachronistic romantic prejudice against such means of production will confuse prefabrication with poor design. The ivory panel on the lid is skillfully arranged so that the eye travels sequentially from Jacob's injunction to his son's departure, the two scenes elegantly linked by the figure of the angel advancing to the right but looking back towards our left. No such subtleties were possible in the much smaller plaques on the sides. Even here, however, the parallelism between Eve raising her hand to her mouth and Adam eating the apple, each standing beside the balancing device of a tree, reveals a compositional finesse that would have held true even if the relative positions of these two plaques were originally reversed. What is lacking in the bone carving is the "depth of field" that is achieved in the ivory. At their frames, all of the panels on the Walters box are remarkably thin (varying between 2 and 3 mm), but the relief in which Jacob, Joseph, and the angel are carved is considerably higher, projecting, in places, well beyond the frame. The result of this technique is that in critical areas the figures take on a marked substantiality. While none of the limbs are undercut, even cut straight back to the ground, Jacob's commanding gesture, the angel's raised arm, and the departing Joseph's right leg each has a plasticity almost entirely absent from the shallower plaques on the sides of the box. There, overlapping is the means used to suggest depth. While this thoroughly medieval method is apparent also on the lid—notably in the two superimposed figures of Joseph—Jacob's chair gives the impression of existing in space and a convincing torsion animates the figure of the angel.

Linking all of the panels of the Walters box is a technique of scored guidelines, incisions made before internal details of modeling and decoration were added. It is important to notice that these lines do not circumscribe the entire figures but are purely local indications introduced here and there by the carver as he blocked out his general design. In its finished form, the contour of the angel's right leg and wing follow these preliminary outlines quite closely, but in shaping the right hip and thigh of the departing Joseph, the carver, by ignoring his first, summary indication, achieved a more realistic contour. On the bone panels, the carver's attitude towards these early drafts was even more casual. While the scoring along the left side of the standing Adam's torso defines a properly sinuous form, that running up the back of the little seated figure in the central panel on the front of the box is extrapolated in a manner which, had it been followed in the final carving, would have precluded the affecting

Fig. 3a. Plaque from a Byzantine Box, *Adam,* Ivory, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 71.296.

Fig. 3b. Reverse of Figure 3a.

forward cast of the head. Not for a moment should one suppose that such a correction was made as a result of naturalistic observation.

For a similar figure, said to represent Herakles, on a box in Xanten, a manuscript exemplar has been suggested.[11] It seems more probable that our bone plaque derives from an ivory model, quite possibly from a box clad in this more expensive material. Such a panel, larger (6.6 x 7.3 cm) and more skillfully carved, is preserved in The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 3a).[12] Originally attached to its core by an ingenious arrangement of beveled and stepped levels cut into its reverse (fig. 3b), it presupposes a box that would have been not only larger, but altogether more elaborate.[13] Befitting this more painstaking creation (and undamaged by peg-holes),[14] this Adam epitomizes the characteristics of Middle Byzantine ivory carving. While quite malproportioned—note the ratio of the legs to the torso and of the figure as a whole to the tree beside it—he is a convincing simulacrum of prototypical dejection. Although not undercut (the photograph, lit from the left, is deceptive in this respect), the head, the hand in which it rests, and the tree trunk present a genuine impression of volume, while Adam's sunken chest, hunched back, swollen abdomen, and bulging calf convey an almost expressionistic approach to form. Altogether, these properties suggest a very refined and large casket, a work of a quality likely to evoke imitations, many or most of which—if the demand were sufficiently widespread—would have been produced in bone.

Our hypothesis that elaborate ivory boxes carved in high relief and probably as *unica* were serially copied in multiple versions of thin bone receives some support from the survival of ivory plaques so deeply cut that their figures appear to stand within a shadow-box. One such plaque, at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 4a),[15] smaller in area than those on the Walters box, is excavated so that five of its seven millimeters of depth are given over to the relief. Despite this unusual depth, emphasized by the beveling of the internal walls, the presence of three peg-holes and the fact that the soldier holds his spear in the wrong hand (in order to serve as a correctly rendered counterpart) leave no doubt that the panel once belonged to a casket. Clad in chlamys and *pteryges,* the figure is echoed on two boxes devoted to battle scenes and individual warriors,[16] which, like the Walters box with Adam and Joseph, have lids fitted with ivory, and smaller panels of bone on their flanks. Although clearly made for the side of a casket, the Dumbarton Oaks plaque is carved in ivory.

It is important to note that such prodigality in itself was no guarantee of diligent craftsmanship: there is no necessary correlation between ivory and what, by Classical standards, would be considered carving of the highest quality. The point can be made with an oblique view of the Dumbarton Oaks warrior. His legs and left arm are fully undercut, but his head, turned three-quarters away from the spectator (fig. 4b), presents a surprising reduction. Rather than attempt the difficult task of imposing features on the further side of the face, the sculptor continued the helmet, eye, and cheek, merely setting them in a plane at a grossly obtuse angle to the right side of the head. It is true that the left side, disfigured in this way, is almost invisible

Fig. 4a. Plaque from a Byzantine Box, *Warrior,* Ivory, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 52.11.

Fig. 4b. Detail of Figure 4a.

when the piece is seen *en face.* But this is scarcely less true of The Walters' Adam plaque, where the carver took considerable pains to render the features on the farther side of the patriarch's head. Lest it be thought that the distorted face of the Washington warrior is a passing aberration, it must be pointed out that such economy of effort is found in other Middle Byzantine ivory carving. An oblique view of a much larger panel, the Incredulity of Thomas (fig. 5), also at Dumbarton Oaks,[17] shows the heads of both Peter and the apostle behind him treated in an identical manner.

This sort of simplification occurs much more frequently on boxes than on ivory icons, and especially often on those clad entirely in bone. On the central plaque on the back of a very well preserved example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,[18] heads, cut so that they appear to be constructed from two planes meeting at an obtuse angle at the nose, characterize the winged nude (fig. 6, center); a soldier about to mount his horse (fig. 7, front of box); and, particularly clearly, a rider at the left side of the box's lid (fig. 8). This does not mean that the workmanship is sloppy—indeed, the Metropolitan box exhibits a quality of carving as high as that of any comparable object and serves to rebut any overhasty assumption that the use of bone, ipso facto, implies an automatic lowering of standards. Most striking of all is the skill with which the figures are adapted to the miniature setting. The dignified figure seated at the far left appropriately fills the frame, achieving an astonishing monumentality within so small a space. As against this, the left foot of the mobile winged figure shows that the sculptor was unconstrained by the geometry of the space within which he was working, a freedom carried even further in the vignette of the soldier with one foot in his horse's stirrup (fig. 7). All in all, the variety of relationships between the figures and the frames around them is as diverse as on the metopes of the Parthenon.

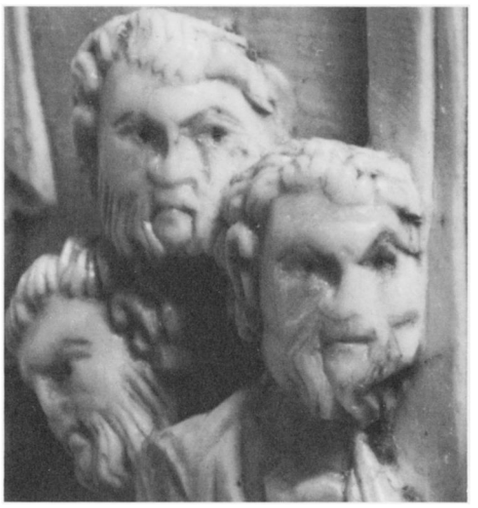


Fig. 5. Plaque (detail), *Incredulity of Thomas,* Ivory, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 37.7.

Convincing illusions of depth are conveyed by the extensive use of undercutting, as seen in the rider's raised arm and the legs, belly, and neck of his horse, and by the creation of a large number of planes, so that this creature's farther legs are carved in much shallower relief than are their counterparts nearer the spectator. This ability did not carry with it, however, an understanding of the importance of, or the means to achieve, a figure in three-quarter view. The old man at

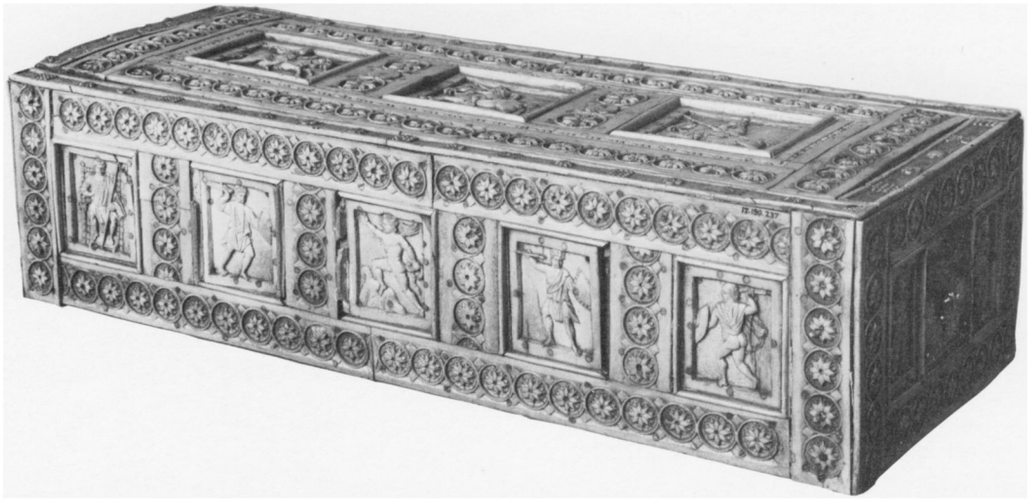


Fig. 6. Byzantine Box (back side), *Various Subjects,* Ivory, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.237 (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan).

the far right on the back of the box assumes an almost maenad-like pose, impossibly turning his chest and buttocks into the same plane; similarly, the median line running through the winged nude's chest is somewhat misplaced. At the same time, this figure shows a surprising care for detail. His rib cage, abdominal muscles, and genitalia are as meticulously recorded as are the manes, fetlocks, and stirrups of the horses on the lid.

This loving attention to minutiae leads to the conclusion that the carving of the plaques and their attachment to the wooden core represent quite different stages of production. It might be argued that the insertion of pegs through the rider's chest and at two different points along the border of his saddlecloth (fig. 8) are attempts to conceal the pegs' existence, but their very presence is unnecessary given the superfluous number—fourteen pegs to hold a plaque of no more than five-by-four centimeters—around its frame. Nor can the majority be replacements: the fact that the carving of the rider's chlamys and his saddlecloth continues through the heads of the pegs shows that these dowels are original.[19] What their excessive number does suggest is that the unreliability of the pegs was very well known. In an attempt to emulate the carpentered schemes of attachment applied to creations in ivory, as shown in Figure 3b, the assembler put his faith in redundancy. The expedient was, and was probably understood as, vain—the price to be paid for a serially produced object. The pegs could crack the soft bone that they were meant to hold—as has happened on the plaque at the far left of the back of the

Fig. 7. Detail of the front of the box in Figure 6, *Soldier Preparing to Mount His Horse.*

Fig. 8. Detail of the lid of the box in Figure 6, *Horseman.*

Metropolitan box—and cause breaks which, in modern times, have been filled with new material, as have those in the plaque on the far left of the lid in Figure 8. Most often, as on the sides and back of the Walters box, and on many other examples, plaques have simply fallen off.

Many of the features of the box in New York are found also on another example in The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 9).[20] Although the subject matter of this box is obviously secular, the box is constructed according to the same principles as the first that we examined in The Walters' collection. Like the lid of the Joseph and Adam box, the large panel on the lid of the second Walters box is of ivory, but in this case it is surrounded by spandrels, plaques, and ornamentation carved from inferior, porous bone. The rosette bands have been lost from the back of the box, as have the filler strips from around most of its side panels. Once again we see an inordinate number of pegs and, once again, some of them transfix the figures and bear the marks of the carver. This implies that the core below the revetment is the original matrix, an impression that is strengthened by the appearance of the back of the box. Here the combination of rotting wood and the scars from lost pegs suggests the transitory nature of this mode of fastening. The inside is lined with old paper, which conceals the manner in which the attachment is effected, but a similar box at Dumbarton Oaks,[21] also with a truncated pyramidal lid, but now stripped of its later lining (fig. 10), discloses both the length of the bone dowels—averaging about one-and-a-half centimeters, they were evidently another device intended to prevent plaque loss—and the "hit-or-miss" manner in which they were inserted. The interior of the Washington box also shows the extreme thinness (1-2 mm) of the strips of rosette-bearing veneers. On two, and originally on all four sides of the second Walters box,[22] this floral decoration is interspersed with heads in medallions (fig. 11). Each rosette and medallion is pierced in the center with a peg-hole.

The recurrence of this system on the so-called Apostles casket in Washington (figs. 12a and 12b)[23] demonstrates not only that this mode of fastening was quite common, but that such ornamentation was considered as appropriate to sacred as profane contexts. On both boxes, the dichotomy between the care taken in carving and the casual manner of assembly is again in evidence. The heads on the Washington box, while they all display the same physiognomical type—more

Fig. 9. Byzantine Box, *Mythological Scenes,* Ivory, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 71.298.

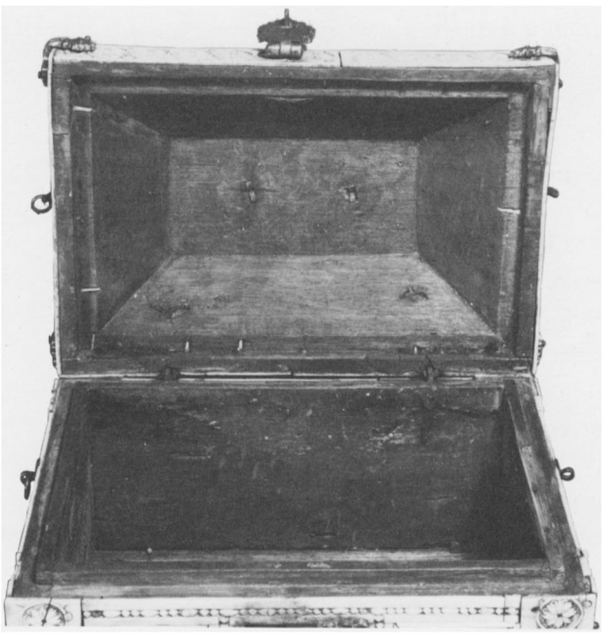


Fig. 10. Byzantine Box (interior), Ivory and Wood, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 53.1.

Mayan than Greek—wear a sort of skull cap decorated with a variety of patterns. On the Walters casket the heads are bare, save for a sort of outsize diadem that descends behind the neck. When to these varieties are added those of the facial features (in Washington, the eyes are treated as if seen from the front) and the

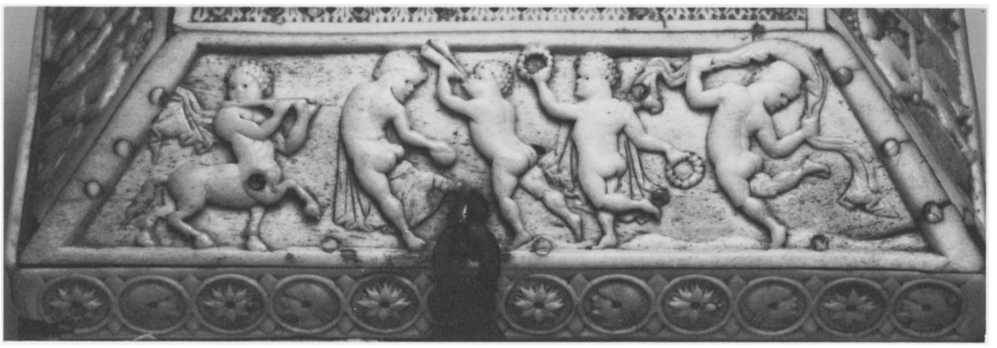


Fig. 11. Detail of the lid of the box in Figure 9, *Mythological Figures.*

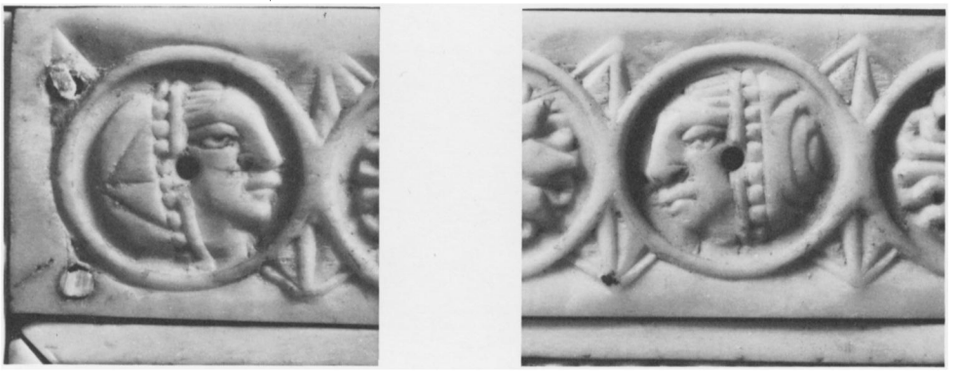


Fig. 12a, b. Byzantine Box (details of borders), *Profile Heads,* Ivory, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 47.9 ("Apostles Casket").

carriage of the head (upturned on the Baltimore box, as on late Antique coins), the diversity of detail among surviving specimens, and hence the great number of types of boxes available, can be glimpsed if not measured.

The only resemblance between the Apostles casket and the "mythological" box in The Walters is that both employ a mixture of ivory and bone, a combination that suggests that there was no automatic reservation of the finer material for Christian iconography.[24] Generally, however, considerably more plaques with secular subjects were carved from bone and, as we have seen, the material per se did not determine the quality of carving. Certainly, the mere use of sacred subject matter did not result in more Classical figures. Even from the inferior material at his disposal, the carver of the Walters box in Figure 11 achieved fully and, in such details as the youths' buttocks, even excessively rounded forms. The contrast between the agile, undercut limbs of the centaur and his companions on the one hand, and the puppetlike postures on a Cain and Abel box at The Cleveland Museum of Art on the other (fig. 13), could hardly be greater. The sculptor of the Cleveland box exploited his material to create convincing individual parts of the body, modeling and polishing arms, abdomens, and thighs, but he had no sense of how these parts should cohere. In one of the most telling mistakes in the history of medieval ivory carving he gave the hoeing Adam what are, in effect, three arms, having originally placed one hand (in the traditional gesture of grief) under the figure's chin, a hand that survives as a *pentimento* beside the forefather's left shoulder (fig. 14).

No such confusion appears on the corresponding panel of a box in Leningrad,[25] a creation so similar in style and iconography that, even while differing in format and ornamentation, it argues for the closest relationship between the two objects. It is the context here that at once justifies the presence of this particular scene and, even if the plaque were not inscribed,

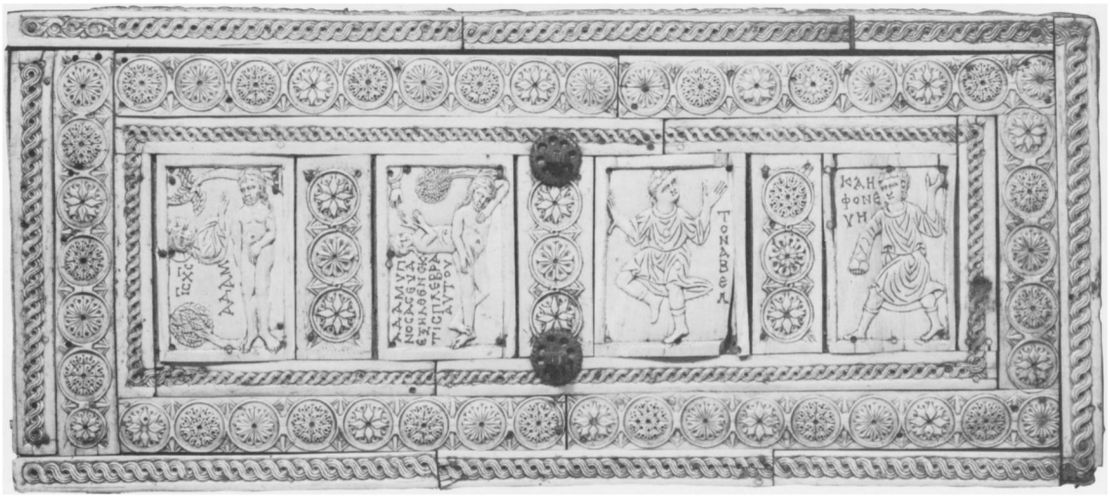


Fig. 13. Byzantine Box (lid), *Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel,* Ivory, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 24.747. (Gift from J. H. Woods, John L. Severance, W. G. Mather, and F. F. Prentiss.)

Fig. 14. Detail of the back of the box in Figure 13, *Adam.*

would allow us to identify its subject accurately. But the secular boxes meet neither of these conditions. Ineluctably, therefore, they have been categorized as displaying subjects such as "warriors" and "mythological figures." The difficulty here may lie not in the absence of a text to which they can be related, since, as we have seen, some of the Old Testament subjects do not depend directly on the Bible, but rather in the way the objects that carry these subjects were put together. Certainly, it is easy to recognize the cast of characters who recur, with the same degree of variation as is found in the Christian plaques, in example after example. Thus, the old man who strides into battle on the back of the Dumbarton Oaks box (fig. 15) is obviously no more than the paunchy and arthritic dotard of the Metropolitan box (fig. 16) given new life. But, even if his companions have been properly identified as ultimately deriving from the Joshua Roll and a bacchic vintage scene,[26] their relationship to each other and to the elderly aggressor is far from clear. Conversely, because the winged and curly-headed nude on the box in Washington lacks any inscription, the means to identify him may lie instead through his nimble twin in the same situation on the New York box in Figure 6 rather than through his immediate neighbors. When a figure is best explained by reference to its recurrence on another object rather than to the context in which it is found, we are dealing with a method of organization different from the systematic programs that allow unequivocal readings of most Middle Byzantine sacred art.

There does not survive a sufficient number of elaborate secular objects for us to determine if this lack of a strict progam characterizes genres other than the boxes. However, there is no doubt that the identification of the subjects on a related piece, the so-called mythological bowl in Venice,[27] is made more difficult by the tendency to assimilate one figure to another, even if each ultimately reverts to a discrete personage in Classical iconography. On this unique, painted vessel the clothing and ornament of one "hero" is often transferred to another. Just so, on the spandrel of a pyramidal casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 17),[28] a figure, in which the classicist might be tempted to see Herakles fighting the lion, assumes the conical helmet worn by the mounting warrior on the first box from the New York collection that we examined (fig. 7), while the bowman to the left, wearing the same headdress, recurs as a leitmotiv, subject to ornamental variation, on half a dozen boxes.[29]

Fig. 15. Back of the box in Figure 10, *Mythological Figures.*

Fig. 16. Detail of the front of the box in Figure 6, *Old Warrior.*

The subjects on the secular boxes, then, are not assembled according to a principle of combining scenes with precise and specific meanings into a whole that is of greater significance than the sum of its parts in that it is held together by narrative order or typological relationships. Instead, if the present hypothesis is correct—that of a radical disjunction between the carving of the plaques and their final assembly as boxes—the method by which they were arranged is meaningful primarily in terms of an emotional tenor and superficial aesthetic considerations. Once a workshop embarked on the production of a "warrior" or "mythological" box—or rather, a group of boxes—figured plaques and ornamental strips were drawn from stock and assembled with an eye to symmetry, balance, and a unifying tone, as in Figure 6. For this reason, no two boxes are identical and, for this reason, again, few introduce elements of iconography that do not find a match, an echo, or a variant elsewhere within their class.

Moreover—perhaps because the makers of boxes with purely profane content seem also to have worked on caskets with Old Testament subjects, as in Figures 1, 2, and 13—we find examples of the incursion into such religious contexts of figures from the repertoire of warriors, putti, and mythology,[30] as well as admixtures of these various types of secular iconography. In contrast to programs of church decoration where, for example at Kiev, profane decoration is shunted off to a stair-tower,[31] or to manuscript illumination, where it is admitted by virtue of the fact that dancers and musicians served well to illustrate the Psalms,[32] ostensibly Christian caskets neither preclude nor co-opt profane subject matter. Nice distinctions between the "secular" and the "sacred," either as a way of categorizing their content or as a basis for deducing the nature of their purchasers or functions, may be inappropriate.

Fig. 17. Byzantine Box (left side), *Warriors,* , Ivory, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.239 (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan).

Since, however, what for the sake of convenience we call profane subjects are overwhelmingly dominant in the decoration of the boxes, it is these that have occasioned the most commentary and given rise to serious problems of identification. Best known are the various interpretations of the scenes said to represent the Rape of Europa on the Veroli casket.[33] A detailed

Fig. 18. Veroli Casket (detail, lid), *The Rape of Europa,* Ivory, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 216-1865.

Fig. 19. Detail of the back of the Veroli Casket (fig. 18), *Aphrodite and Ares, Parody of The Rape of Europa, Erotes Playing with a Horse.*

Fig. 20. Detail of the right side of the Veroli Casket (fig. 18), *Triton on an Altar, Nereid on a Sea Horse.*

Fig. 21. Front of the box in Figure 17, *Maenads and Warriors*.

analysis of the difficulties raised by this box (and its imitations) requires a separate study[34] but a few of the problems are directly germane to our investigation. In view of the method by which the bone caskets seem to have been assembled, it is interesting to note that only slightly less arbitrary juxtapositions occur on the ivory exemplars which, as is here suggested, prompted emulation in the cheaper material. Thus, on the lid of the Veroli (fig. 18), there can be no disputing the identity of the bull and its rider. Yet the significance of the stone-throwers to the right is perhaps greater. They may ultimately come from the Joshua Roll, as Weitzmann has suggested, or they may represent Typhon's assault on heaven, as Simon preferred, but the point is that they are independent of the Europa myth, in which no such reception is described. Whatever their origin, they depict a sequel to the story that is comic in its very inconsequentiality; when things do not turn out as the beholder expects, the effect is one of farce, not of high drama.

This flavor is further suggested by the version of the scene on the back of the same object (fig. 19). Here the stoners are missing and the bull is inserted between iconographically unrelated groups. While a Europa seen from the rear is known in one ancient representation of the incident,[35] it is necessary to point out that the figure shown in this way on the box in London is probably male. Where female "putti" are shown from the rear they are identified as such by their costume, as is the nereid lolling on a sea horse like a Boucher nude on her sofa (fig. 20). Farce, like tragedy, has its conventions, and on this class of objects male putti are shown nude or, at most, draped in a short mantle, while females—witness the maenads on the front spandrel of the pyramidal casket in New York (fig. 21)—invariably wear some sort of girdle. On the back of the Veroli, the rider is nude and therefore is to be understood as a putto *playing at* being Europa.[36] Hence, the scene is a parody, just as the rendering on the lid represents a staged version rather than a straight account of the myth.

This attitude towards mythology is one of anything but pious homage. To understand the widespread appeal of the myths — attested to by the plaques on the great number of boxes that survive —rather than to search for the ancient stories that may underlie such scenes, it would be better to respond to what is self-evidently comic and then test this judg-

Fig. 22. Back of the box in Figure 13, *Adam and Eve* (detail).

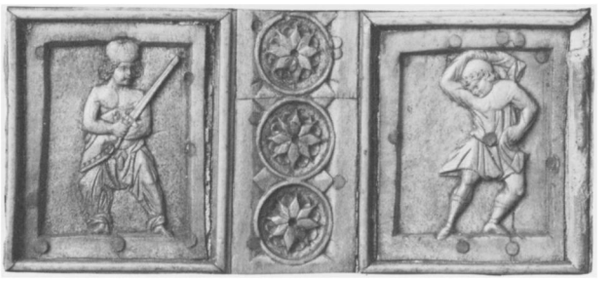


Fig. 23. Left side of the box in Figure 6, *Türkoman Warrior and Dancer.*

ment against the literature and social history of the period. The old fool going into battle, as shown in Figure 16, heavily armed but bare-bottomed, is amusing for the same reason as is the widespread motif of the boy diving headfirst into a basket represented in Figure 19. It was Herbert Hunger who was the first to see the comic side of the Veroli casket[37] and, since his and this author's reasoning agree, it seems proper to expand this insight. Wherever one looks, the bone plaques present a travesty of one sort or another. In all their variety, the hook-nosed heads in the medallions, found on boxes both with sacred and with profane scenes, are caricatures, not merely weak versions of ancient coin-portraits. The putto squatting on an altar of Aesculapius in Figure 20 is as amusingly lacking in respect for Antiquity as the fellow in Figure 9, shown aping a Classical philosopher by pensively sucking his finger. The schematic torsos of emaciated warriors depicted rushing into the fray in Figures 17 and 21 may not be merely the formal antitheses of the Adam carefully rendered in ivory in Figure 3a, but rather, intended to provoke derision. It is even possible that the clownlike postures of Cain and Abel on the Cleveland box (fig. 13), which resemble the dancer on the right of the Metropolitan box (fig. 23), are parodies of the primal tragedy known in nobler versions.[38]

The enactment of such travesties was far from rare in Constantinople: only in a mythical Byzantium, always supposed to be universally and unwaveringly devout, is the notion of biblical parody inconceivable. In fact, in the reign of Michael III (842–67) a parody of the Last Supper, with the emperor in the leading role, was played out to mock a Patriarch; accompanying a hymn with zithers, a "Dionysiac" procession, which included senators and other worthies, wound its way through the streets of the capital.[39] As Franz Tinnefeld has shown, testimony to the existence of mimes, who were officially—and vainly—banned in 691, is almost incessant in tenth- and eleventh-century sources.[40] Clerics dressed up as soldiers or women, and monks and animals paraded through the Great Church,[41] while in the twelfth century the canonist Balsamon proves the popularity of rope-dancers and organ- and bellows-players—all of whom appear widely on the boxes—by protesting against them.[42] Nor were these diversions the exclusive preserve of the people. Niketas Choniates tells of "young aristocrats who had just grown their first beards" participating in such games at the palace of Blachernae in 1200. In one, a "noble child" kicked the buttocks of the eunuch who was orchestrating the performance.[43] Thus, while a scene such as the spanking administered on the right side of the Baltimore casket in Figure 9 may refer to a mythological event[44] (or even to a scene of Christian martyrdom), the climate that immediately engendered it is more likely to have been that of the contemporary theater than a mythological handbook of which only a few copies could have been known. At the very least we have here mockery of, rather than piety towards the Classics, in the spirit of the patriarch Photios, who reproved pedantic scholars for what he called their "hyperatticism."[45]

But the milieu inhabited by the figures on the boxes is not that of the patricarchate nor of scholarly criticism.[46] These figures echo a world—the city of Constantinople—in which some of the unrestrained monuments of Antiquity were still visible. Choniates described a subject on the *Anemodoulion* (Tower of the Winds), showing naked *erotes* pelting each other with apples,[47] which could fit easily into almost any of the secular plaques that we have considered. Probably the figures on this relief and certainly those on the boxes

display a carnality unknown in other Byzantine art. In contrast to ivories on which Adam and Eve have been given inadequate and identical genitalia (fig. 22), the bodies of male dancers, warriors, and "mythological" heroes on the panels in Figures 6, 11, 15, 18, and 21 are both steatopygic and sexually complete. It was precisely this frankness in ancient art that aroused the ire of twelfth-century churchmen such as Eustathios of Salonika,[48] yet which bulks so large in the literature of the period. The hero of the novel known as *Hysmine and Hysminias*[49] enjoys explicitly erotic dreams which, if they exceed in frankness even the frolics of the figures whom we, as the heirs of Classicism, call putti, gives them their proper Byzantine name: attendants of Eros are here called *meirakia,* for which the only equivalent English word is "kids." Like the boxes, the novel is full of the flotsam of Antiquity—prayers at a shrine of Apollo, tests of virginity at a spring sacred to Artemis, etc.—and, again like the boxes, it couches these in archaizing language.

The task now is to see through such archaisms to the real world, which, in literature as in art, lies just below their surface.[50] Part of the difficulty is our own creation, for in calling these objects "caskets"—a word that to English ears recalls *The Merchant of Venice* and, in America, carries an unfortunate, funereal connotation—we turn mundane and widely distributed boxes into receptacles of high price. Against this understanding, as we have seen, much argues for the fact that they were "mass produced." The material of which most plaques were made, the lack of anything unique in their iconography, the fairly random way in which they were assembled, and the intrinsic lack of value inherent in the casual way they were attached to their cores, all suggest that they were made to serve a broad public. Neither their physical form nor any textual documentation requires that they were designed as "jewel boxes" or "bridal caskets," specific functions imposed on them by scholars in an age when objects are manufactured for highly specific purposes. This was not the medieval way. Some of the boxes have locks (original or added later); others do not. We cannot prove that none were used for the ends now attributed to them.

Nor can we, with any precision, date these boxes.[51] Some of them, such as the ones shown in Figures 11, 15, and 21, have figures whose feet enter into the ground on which they stand, a feature of the Cortona cross-reliquary of 965–69[52] and of several ivory icons that, with good reason, are supposed to be of the tenth century.[53] Others include Turkoman warriors in baggy trousers and melon-shaped headgear (fig. 23)[54] that suggest a twelfth-century date. It also seems reasonable to suppose that bone was used at this time when ivory was in much shorter supply than it had been in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[55] Much more secure is the localization, at least of the boxes with secular themes that have been treated here. If the theory presented in this paper is correct—that these plaques are not copies from the Antique, nor even directly of manuscript illuminations which preserved (or fantasized) ancient sculpture—but that at least some of them are imitations of carvings in ivory, then the demand that is reflected in the more than one hundred surviving examples could hardly have existed outside a major, urban milieu. An anthropologist might see in these bone derivatives the expression in a locally available and hence cheaper substance of values first expressed in a much rarer, imported material. When these values are taken into account, their purchasers could scarcely be other than the passionate and literate devotees of the novels, the circus, and the theater that lay so close to the heart of Constantinople.[56]

NOTES

1. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I (Berlin, 1930) (reprinted 1979), nos. 1–125; II (Berlin, 1934) (reprinted 1979), nos. 236–40, 243 (hereafter, G-W I, G-W II).

2. The most important study remains that of K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951) (reprinted 1985), esp. 152–88 (hereafter, *Greek Mythology*). See also J. Beckwith, *The Veroli Casket* (London, 1962).

3. Acc. no. 71.295 (G-W I, no. 82). We await the forthcoming catalogue of the ivories in The Walters' collection, edited by R. H. Randall, Jr.

4. A. Cutler, "The Making of the Justinian Diptychs," *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 94–95.

5. For a fuller discussion of the distinction between ivory and bone, see A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranian World: A.D. 200–1400* (Washington, D.C., 1985), (hereafter, *Craft of Ivory*).

6. G-W I, 11.

7. These secondary holes are located at or near the corners of the plaque and must be distinguished from the larger cavities along the horizontal median that once held a handle. It is clear that the Joseph plaque—which now reads properly only when the back of the box is looked at first—has been lifted and reset incorrectly. Originally, it must have faced the front (fig. 2) where the later lock-plate is situated. That an earlier lock-plate of the same size existed in this place can be inferred from the form of the plaque with the grieving Adam. Interference with the Joseph panel necessitated the re-use of, and possibly additions to, the pristine number of holes. As is demonstrated below, distinctions between primary and secondary pegs allow us to determine whether the wooden core of a box is its original matrix.

8. G-W I, no. 67. Compare the very similar box in Leningrad (*ibid.*, no. 68), where provision is made on the lid for horizontal Creation panels; on a less closely related box in Darmstadt (*ibid.*, no. 69), a designedly horizontal Creation of Eve is turned through 90 degrees, as on the box in Cleveland.

9. *Ibid.*, nos. 6, 20, 26, 47–49, 63, 84–85, 113.

10. *Ibid.*, 12.

11. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology,* 161, fig. 189. The plaques on this box are bone—not ivory as is suggested here.

12. Acc. no. 71.296 (G-W I, no. 90).

13. The Adam panel has been associated with other Old Testament plaques now in London and New York (G-W I, nos. 89, 91–93). Each of these has at least one beveled edge and/or a groove that indicates a more complicated, carpentered method of assembly than the simple peg-system of the bone boxes.

14. The hole at the upper center of the plaque is certainly insufficient for attachment to a core and must therefore represent a secondary use of the plaque. So too the triple sign in the lower right-hand corner of the frame is unlikely to be an original assembly mark. Such marks, taking the form of letters of the alphabet, are found on the backs of plaques, as on two instances in Leningrad (G-W I, no. 68).

15. K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, III: Ivories and Steatites* (Washington, D.C., 1972), no. 22 (hereafter, Weitzmann, *Catalogue*). Weitzmann observes that the plaques on a casket in La Cava (which I have not examined) are of the same size.

16. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 247.65; Musée de Cluny, Paris, no. 13075 (G-W I, nos. 32c, 41b).

17. Weitzmann, *Catalogue,* no. 21.

18. Acc. no. 17.190.237 (G-W I, no. 12).

19. This fact also strongly supports the belief that the wood to which the pegs are attached is also part of the box's original equipment.

20. Acc. no. 71.298 (G-W I, no. 40).

21. Weitzmann, *Catalogue,* no. 23.

22. See note 20.

23. Acc. no. 47.9 (Weitzmann, *Catalogue,* no. 30). The arrangement of both plaques and strips is a modern reconstruction.

24. On this point, see *Craft of Ivory.*

25. *Iskusstvo vizantij v sobraniakh SSSR,* Moscow, 1977, 2, no. 600 (hereafter, *Iskusstvo vizantij*). I have not examined this box, which is here described as being made of ivory, and gilded. See also note 8, above.

26. Weitzmann, *Catalogue,* 52.

27. A. Cutler, "The 'Mythological' Bowl in the Treasury of San Marco at Venice," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of George C. Miles,* ed. D. K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), 236 ff.

28. Acc. no. 17.190.239 (G-W I, no. 69).

29. *Ibid.*, nos. 10, 20, 43, 53, 59, 65.

30. G-W I, nos. 6, 10, 84.

31. V. N. Lazarev, *Old Russsian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 53–54.

32. A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984), figs. 41, 237, 401 and *passim;* so, too, in late monumental representations of Psalm 150, as in the Khreljo tower at the monastery of Rila (A. Tschilingirov, *Christliche Kunst in Bulgarien* [Berlin, 1978], 68, figs. 136–37).

33. G-W I, no. 21; Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology,* 183ff; Beckwith, *Veroli Casket, passim;* E. Simon, "Nonnos und das Elfenbeinkästchen aus Veroli," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 79 (1964), 276 ff.

34. Such a study is in preparation. For now it will suffice to point out that on this most famous of caskets, while the figural panels are ivory the bands with rosettes and profile heads are bone. Materially, therefore, as in other ways, the Veroli requires the same sort of analysis as is applied to the boxes discussed in the present paper.

35. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology,* fig. 249.

36. Just so a male putto pretends to be a nereid riding a hippocamp on the rear spandrel of the box in Baltimore (fig. 9).

37. H. Hunger, *Das Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz, 1965), 207 f.

38. Compare G-W I, no. 87.

39. F. Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (641)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974), 331 (hereafter, Tinnefeld, "Mimos").

40. *Ibid.*, 335 ff.

41. For the sources, see *ibid.*, 339f., to which should be added the epigrams of Christopher of Mitylene (ed. E. Kurtz [Leipzig, 1903], nos. 98, 99) addressed to actors, musicians, and a pantomime.

42. Tinnefeld, "Mimos," 338.

43. *Historia*, ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 508 f. (hereafter, *Hist.*).

44. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology,* 155.

45. On this point, see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 104.

46. Even so, scholars of the twelfth century were less uninterested in the domain of the flesh than is sometimes supposed. For example, in his *Ethiopia,* Nicephorus Basilakes offers a sympathetic and utterly non-Christian interpretation of Pasiphae's curious sexual preferences. See H.-G. Beck,"Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner," *Sitzungsberichte der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. Kl.294.4 (1974), 22.

47. *Hist.*, 648.

48. *Opuscula,* ed. T. L. Frider (Frankfurt, 1832), 330.

49. For a summary of and commentary on this complicated story that, for all its moralizing ending, is as close to the deliberate excitement of prurient interest as Byzantine literature ever got, see M. Alexiou, "A Critical Reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias,*" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977), 25 ff. The most useful survey of the genre is H. Hunger, "Antiker und Byzantinischer Roman, *"Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. K1. (1980), abh.3.

50. For allusions to contemporary events in twelfth-century literature, see A. Kazhdan, "Bemerkungen zu Niketas Eugenianos," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31(1981), 782 f.

51. On this problem see G-W I, 16 ff., the *Berichtigung* inserted into the second edition of this catalogue (p.8), and the foreword to the second edition of its second part (Berlin, 1979, p.1).

52. G-W I, no. 77; for the date, A. Guillou, "Deux ivoires constantinopolitains datés du IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles," *Byzance et les Slaves. Mélanges Ivan Dujčev,* ed. S. Dufrenne (Paris, n.d. [1979]) 209 ff.

53. Weitzmann, *Catalogue,* no. 27.

54. Such warriors appear on both the left and right ends of the Metropolitan's box (G-W I, pl.VI d, e) and on a plaque said to be of ivory, but on the basis of the photograph (p.109) almost certainly of bone, in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo vizantij* II, no. 607).

55. See *Craft of Ivory.*

56. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the aid of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute for the Arts and Humanistic Studies of The Pennsylvania State University in support of this research.

A Byzantine Anastasis Icon in The Walters Art Gallery

THALIA GOUMA-PETERSON
The College of Wooster

A Byzantine icon of the *Anastasis* (figs. 1–4) that has been in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery since 1902 provides a complex and interesting example of Palaeologan painting.[1] (See color section for Figure 1.) This study will first place the icon within the stylistic context of related fourteenth-century works and discuss its iconography. It will then present the results of a recent technical analysis of the painting that has shown that the work was carefully restored within, most likely, the first one hundred years of its existence. Finally, this paper will discuss how the restoration affected the appearance of the icon, and suggest how the changes may contain clues to the circumstances of the restoration.

The Anastasis is the characteristically Byzantine representation of the Resurrection of Christ. It is based on the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (or Acts of Pilate) and shows the resurrected Christ as He descends into Hades to free the Just from the bonds of Satan.[2] The scene almost always shows Christ in the center, striding across the chasm of Hades and its broken gates (figs. 5-9). With His right hand He grasps the hand of the kneeling Adam to raise him up and take him and the other Just out of Hell. Adam is usually shown kneeling on (or in) a sarcophagus—a very effective way of indicating that he is being raised from the dead. Eve, who is not mentioned in the apocryphal text, is usually shown standing behind Adam (figs. 5–7). The other Just are divided into symmetrical groups flanking Christ, one group behind Adam and Eve, and the other behind the Just kings, David and Solomon. David plays an important role in the apocryphal text in foretelling Christ's coming, as does John the Baptist, who, from the late eleventh century, began to be included among the Just. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the iconography of the scene became more elaborate (figs. 5, 7, 8), Abel, often holding the shepherd's crook, was added and the groups of Just were enlarged.

Within this basic scheme there was room for variation in the groupings and relationships of various figures; for example, in the placement of Adam in relation to David and Solomon (with them, or as a pendant figure on the opposite side), and of Christ in relation to Adam (whether He was shown in three-quarter profile bending to raise Adam, or frontally, pulling Adam behind him). These latter variants actually correspond to two different moments in the apocryphal narrative. The type showing Christ stepping toward Adam and raising him from his kneeling posture corresponds to the moment when "the Lord holding the right hand of Adam said unto him: Peace be unto thee with all thy children that are my righteous ones. But Adam, casting himself at the knees of the Lord, entreated him with tears."[3] It stresses the human aspect of the narrative and is the type most frequently used onward from the eleventh century. The other type, which shows the frontal Christ pulling

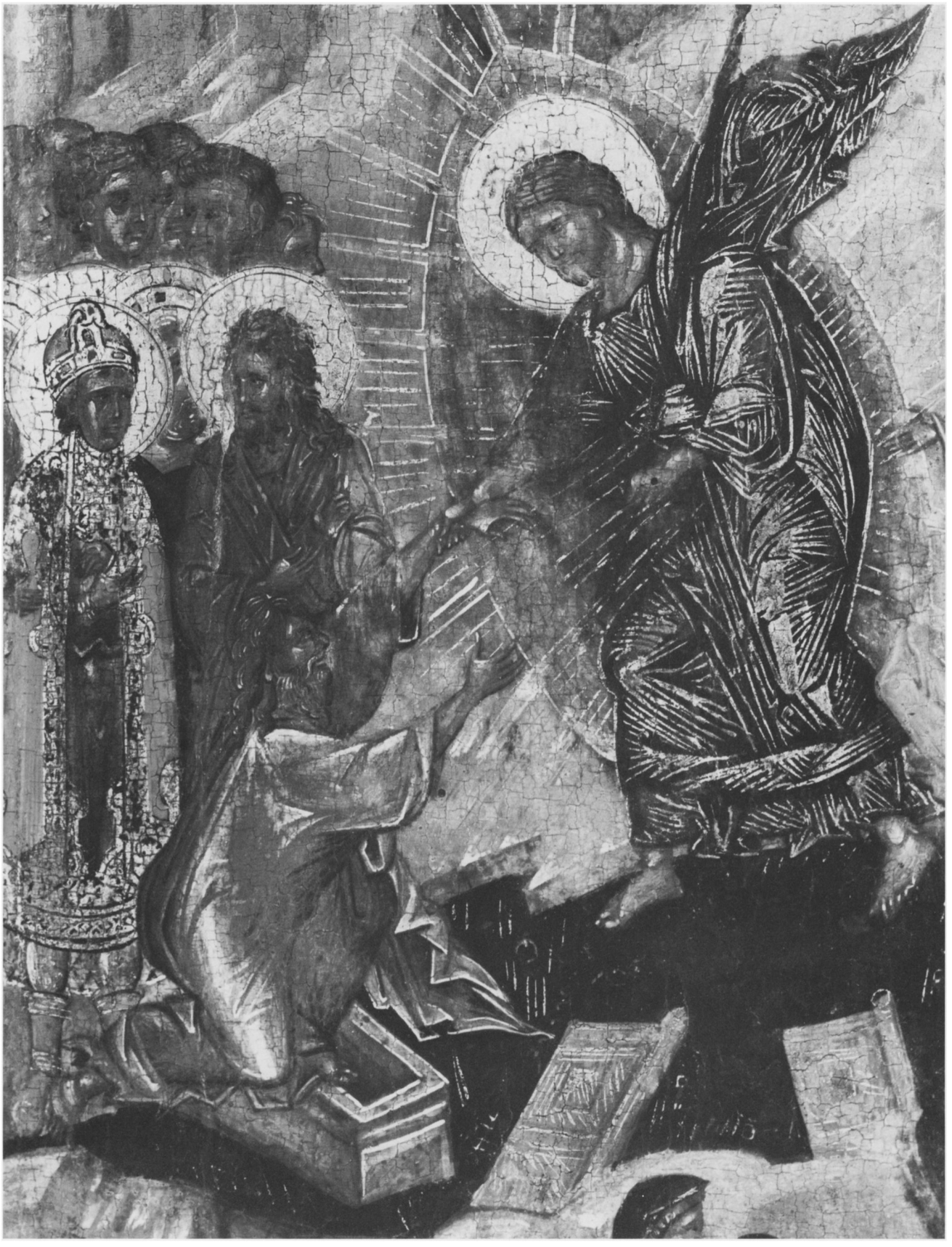


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1, *Christ, Adam, and the Just.*

Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1, *The Just* (right side).

Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 1, *The Women at the Tomb.*

Fig. 5. *Anastasis,* Tempera on Wood, Ohrid, Church of St. Clement.

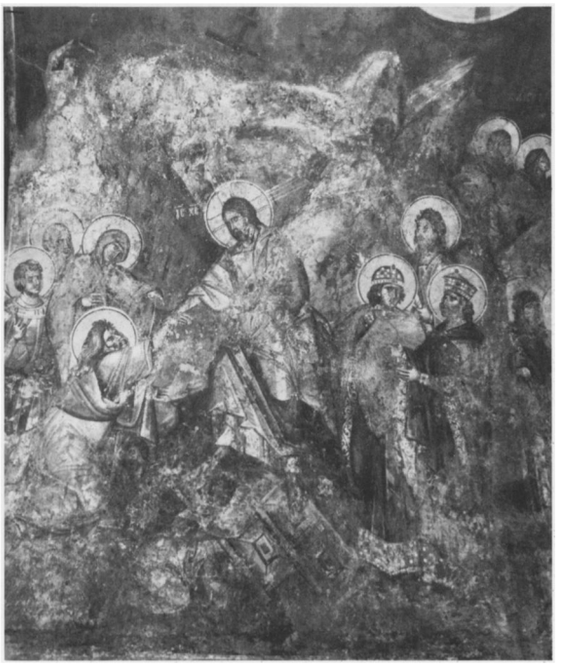


Fig. 6. *Anastasis,* Fresco, Ohrid, Church of St. Clement.

Adam behind Him, corresponds to the moment when "the Lord stretched forth his hand and made the sign of the cross over Adam and over all his saints, and he took the right hand of Adam and went out of Hell."[4] A variant of this type, which became popular during the fourteenth century, shows the frontal Christ flanked by Adam and Eve and pulling them both out of Hell. One of the finest examples of this variant is the *Anastasis* in the *parecclesion* of the Church of Christ in Chora (Kariye Djami) in Constantinople (fig. 8).[5]

The Walters *Anastasis* belongs to the first type—that is, Christ raising the kneeling Adam—but it incorporates the figure of Eve kneeling on a separate sarcophagus from the variant exemplified by the Kariye Djami. This is a rather unusual and late elaboration that occurs in only a few other examples. Behind Adam are David, Solomon, and John the Baptist, with a group of other Kings and Just. Behind Eve is the young Abel (pointing at Christ), perhaps Moses (holding the Law), and a group of Just. In addition to these canonical groups, the Walters *Anastasis* also includes two subsidiary scenes in the foreground—representations of the Marys at the Tomb (Matt. 27.61 and 28.2). This inclusion, though very appropriate, is apparently unique among surviving examples. It introduces into the composition a narrative elaboration

Fig. 7. *Anastasis,* Fresco, Mount Athos, Karyes, Protaton.

and symbolic complexity characteristic of fourteenth-century Palaeologan art.

The Walters *Anastasis* can be placed in the fourteenth-century on stylistic as well as iconographic grounds, for it belongs within a group of Palaeologan icons in Greece and Yugoslavia that have been dated between about 1300 and 1375. Three of the icons in Yugoslavia, an *Anastasis* (fig. 5), a Baptism, and an Incredulity of Thomas, come from the Church of St. Clement in Ohrid (formerly the Virgin *Peribleptos)* founded by the *heteriarch* Progonos Sgouros in 1294/95,

Fig. 8. *Anastasis,* Fresco, Istanbul, Kariye Djami.

and decorated with frescoes (fig. 6) by the famous pair of artists, Michael and Eutychios, who, it seems, originated from Thessaloniki.[6] It is generally agreed that all of the icons were executed by the same workshop, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The icons in Greece to which the Walters *Anastasis* is most closely related are located at Patmos and Meteora. Among these are two icons, an Incredulity of Thomas (figs. 11, 12) and a standing Virgin *Hodegetria* framed by busts of saints (fig. 13), both of which are at the Monastery of the Transfiguration at Meteora. These can be dated to between 1359 and 1384, since both contain portraits of the Byzantine princess Maria Angelina Komnena Dukaena Palaeologina, Despoina of Yannina, a title she inherited from her father, Simeon Uroš Palaeologos, Despote of Epiros (1348–1355) and later self-declared emperor of the Serbs and Romans.[7] In 1359, at Trikkala, the capital of her father's kingdom, Maria Palaeologina married Thomas Preljubović. Preljubović became co-ruler of Yannina with his wife but was not granted the official title of despote by his father-in-law until 1383. A very unpleasant man thoroughly disliked by the inhabitants of Yannina, Preljubović was murdered in 1384. It appears that the standing *Hodegetria* icon, with the kneeling Maria Palaeologina at the feet of the Virgin, originally formed part of a diptych with an icon of a standing Christ containing a dedication and a similar portrait of the kneeling Thomas Preljubović.[8]

In the Incredulity of Thomas (figs. 11, 12), the placement of Maria Palaeologina's portrait is very unusual in that it has been included among the group

Fig. 9. *Anastasis,* Mosaic, Thessaloniki, Church of the Holy Apostles.

of Apostles to the left of Christ (fig. 12). Xyngopoulos, who first published the icon, argued that the figure behind and to the left of Maria, looking out at the spectator, is Preljubović himself, who, unlike his wife, is not dressed in princely regalia since he had not received the official title of despote.[9] That the Palaeologina icons ended up at Meteora is not surprising since Maria had special connections with the monastery; her brother, John-Josapha Uroš Palaeologos, was its second founder and became a monk of the monastery sometime between 1372 and 1381. According to contemporary documents, Maria gave both money to enlarge the church of the Monastery of the Transfiguration and a gift of liturgical objects, some from monasteries of Yannina and others that had belonged to her husband. This gift may well have included the icons under discussion.

An icon of the Crucifixion on Patmos (fig. 10), to which the Walters *Anastasis* is closely related, has been associated with both the Ohrid icons and the Maria Paleologina icons on stylistic grounds.[10] This fairly wide range of datings (a span of some seventy years) for the same icon exemplifies the difficulties that confront the student of Palaeologan painting when dealing with works that are not precisely dated—that is, the majority of icons. In a general way, all these icons share the "classicizing" Palaeologan style, already clearly articulated by around 1310, and derived from earlier Byzantine prototypes, especially tenth-century manuscripts.[11] The prime examples of the "mature" or second phase of this style are the frescoes and mosaics of the Kariye Djami (figs. 8, 14, 15), carried out under the sponsorship of Theodore Metochites, the

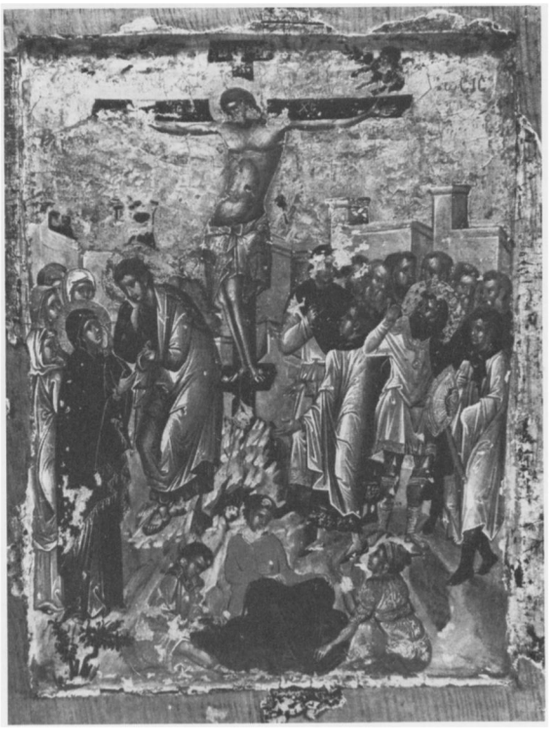


Fig. 10. *Crucifixion,* Tempera on Wood, Patmos, Chapel of the Annunciation.

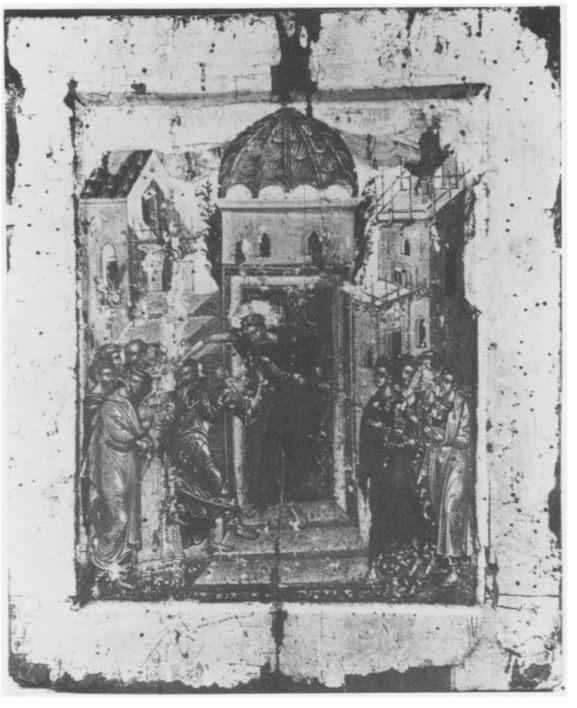


Fig. 11. *Incredulity of St. Thomas,* Tempera on Wood, Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration.

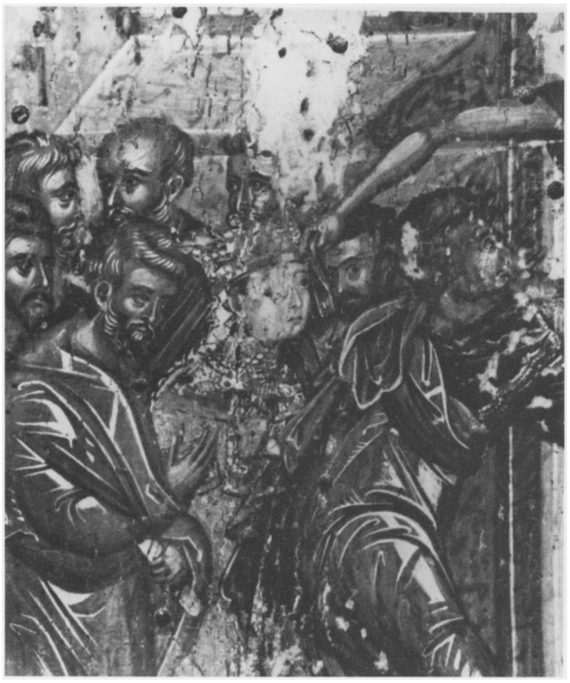


Fig. 12. Detail of Figure 11, *Portrait of Maria Palaeologina.*

Fig. 13. *Virgin Hodegetria* (detail of side panels, with saints), Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration.

prime minister of emperor Andronikos II, between 1315 and 1321.[12] This well-preserved ensemble of frescoes and mosaics provides a useful chronological dividing line that can help to place less precisely dated works.

Characteristic of both the mosaics and the frescoes of the Kariye Djami is symbolic complexity and pronounced interest in narrative. These trends were present in Palaeologan art during its formative period, in the last decades of the thirteenth century, but they became more pronounced after about 1310. Also, in the earlier monuments, the drama and intensity of the narrative had been emphasized through a "heroic" figure style, often of statuesque proportions (figs. 5, 6), while in the Kariye Djami and monuments of its time (such as the Holy Apostles Church in Tessaloniki [fig. 9; *ca.* 1315]),[13] the tone of the narrative changes. The figures become more numerous, smaller in size, and less heroic, and their attitudes, postures, and gestures become more restrained and timid—in some cases they even appear elegant and mannered.[14] Anecdotal detail increases and the narrative is less intense and expressive; the figures decrease in size and in proportion to their setting, and the setting itself becomes more elaborate. The story-telling aspect of the composition becomes most important, and to clarify it, figures are shown in a great variety of poses, looking at one another and gesturing; three-quarter back views, and even fleeing profiles become common (figs. 14, 15).

These changes, from the heroic narrative of the late thirteenth century to the anecdotal narrative of about 1310 to 1320, reached beyond Thessaloniki and Constantinople to neighboring lands under Byzantine influence. Among the most representative examples of this change are the frescoes of Saint Nikita near Čučer (fig., 16; 1307–10); of Saint George at Staro Nagoricino (1316–18); and of the Church of the Virgin at Gračanica (1318–21)—all three foundations of King Milutin of Serbia and all decorated by Michael and Eutychios and their workshop.[15] That the work of the same two painters, who around 1294–95 worked in Saint Clement at Ohrid in the "heroic narrative style" (fig. 6), changes so profoundly within one decade proves that the new anecdotal and restrained style had become the accepted mode, at least among prestigious patrons. This did not mark a break with the earlier Palaeologan traditions; rather, it was a stage of elaboration, expansion, and toning down. Variations of it continue to run through most of the painting of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century.[16]

Though it is not easy to establish with precision the chronological context of undated works, a comparison of paintings that can be securely dated to around 1300, such as the frescoes of Saint Clement at Ohrid

Fig. 14. *John the Baptist Bearing Witness,* Mosaic, Istanbul, Kariye Djami.

Fig. 15. *Mothers Mourning Their Children,* Mosaic, Istanbul, Kariye Djami.

and of the Protaton on Mt. Athos (figs. 6, 7), and ones dated to about 1310 to 1320, such as the frescoes of Saint Nikita (fig. 16), the mosaics of the Holy Apostles (fig. 9), and frescoes and mosaics of the Kariye Djami (figs. 8, 14, 15), do show consistent differences.[17] The more heroic, monumental, and dramatic style of Saint Clement and of the Protaton, with few and large figures, which creates the illusion of plastic projection and spatial recession, contrasts with the more crowded, multifigured, flatter, and less dynamic compositions of 1310 to 1320. Even the expression in the faces has changed; stoic melancholy replaces intense and vigorous concentration.

Similar differences exist between the Ohrid icon of the *Anastasis* of about 1300 (fig. 5) and the Walters *Anastasis* (fig. 1). Again, the dynamism and intensity of the Ohrid work is striking; the figures are fewer and larger, they are more statuesque, and they occupy a larger proportion of the total space. The physical and emotional drama of Christ's action as he forcefully grasps Adam with his right hand is powerful and convincing, and is the absolute focus of the composition. The Walters *Anastasis,* although a bit smaller than the Ohrid icon (36.0 × 26.5 cm vs 45 × 37.5 cm), contains almost twice as many figures; the flanking figures have more than doubled in number and two subsidiary events, involving five figures, have been added in the lower part of the composition. The Walters figures are both smaller and more crowded; they are shown in a greater variety of postures, and they interact with one another visually. Several, including Adam, are shown in complete profile and one in fleeting profile (upper left figure in the left side group). Most striking is the much less dynamic relationship between Christ and Adam, especially because their postures are almost identical with those in the Ohrid icon. Even Christ's mantle, which in the Ohrid icon swells and billows forcefully as an extension of His motion, has become an ornamental flourish in the Walters icon. All this indicates that the Walters *Anastasis* is later, and postdates the paintings of the Kariye Djami.

The structure of the subsidiary groups in these two icons, their melancholy expressions, the varied postures, and even the articulation of specific heads also occur in the Meteora Incredulity of Thomas of about 1359 to 1384 (figs. 11, 12).[19] In this icon, narrative and symbolic complexity are achieved by the inclusion of Maria Palaeologina and (perhaps) Thomas Prejlubovič among the group of Apostles. Again the composition is pyramidal, with Christ standing higher than the two flanking groups, and the base of the pyramid is formed by a sequence of three broad steps leading up to Christ and the very elaborate architectural structure that frames him. In all three icons, a shallow composition is arranged in a planar and vertical sequence, and the setting is elaborate and crowded. The similarities of the Patmos Crucifixion, the Meteora Incredulity of Thomas, and the Walters *Anastasis* clearly indicate that they emerged from the same cultural and chronological context—that is, the period from about 1350 to about 1384 of the Palaeologina icons.

Fig. 16. *Christ Purging the Temple,* Fresco, (near) Čučer, Church of St. Nikita.

In the Walters *Anastasis,* symbolic and narrative elaboration has resulted in the unusual combination of the *Anastasis* with two sequential events based on the Gospel of Matthew. The particular moments from the Gospel narrative are specified by two inscriptions: one on the left, next to the two seated women, which reads "and they were sitting opposite the grave" (Matt. 27.61), and the other, on the right, between the standing women and the angel, which reads "Mary Magdalen and the other Mary came to see where he was buried" (Matt. 28.2). The passage in the Gospel (Matthew 28.2–6) continues:

> Suddenly there was a violent earthquake; an angel of the Lord descended from Heaven; he came to the stone, rolled it away, and sat himself down on it. . . . The angel then addressed the women: "you," he said, "have nothing to fear. I know you are looking for Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; he has been raised again, as he said he would be. Come and see the place where he was laid.

This, in summary form, is represented in the icon. The angel sits on the stone that he has rolled away, looks at the frightened women, and points to the empty tomb and shroud. In an almost simultaneous sequential action, Christ is shown after "He has been raised again" and has broken the gates of Hell to resurrect the Just. We therefore have a narrative sequence of three events: Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, on the evening of the Crucifixion, looking at the tomb in which Christ had been buried; two days later, at dawn, returning to look at the grave and being confronted by the angel and, as the angel speaks, Christ resurrecting the Just. The sequence is very effective and appropriate, but the result of making the *Anastasis* the culminating event in a sequential narrative is highly unusual.

Narrative elaborations of the *Anastasis* do occur in other Palaeologan paintings, but they involve introducing angels in Heaven and in the chasm of Hades, increasing the number of the Just to the point of adding a second pair of sarcophagi below those of Adam and Eve, and showing angels binding a figure of Satan. All these details exist in the *Anastasis* of Gračanica (1318–21), which is one of the most elaborate versions of the scene.[20] Though different from the Wal-

ters *Anastasis* in both composition and iconography, the Gračanica version does share with it the unusual placement of Eve by herself on the right, while Christ holds only Adam by the hand.[21] Since Eve is not mentioned in the apocryphal narrative, her placement in the scene was presumably determined by the person who commissioned the work, by the advising theologian, or by the painter. The traditional scheme, however, from the eleventh century on, had been to show Eve standing behind Adam. She is placed independently, on her own sarcophagus, only when Christ is also holding her (fig. 8). The variant of the Walters icon and the Gračanica fresco appears to be a Palaeologan elaboration of around 1320.[22] It emphasizes the presence of Eve in the traditional iconographic type, which normally focuses on Adam and casts Eve in a subsidiary role. In the Walters *Anastasis,* the role of women in general is stressed: in addition to the two Marys represented twice in the foreground, two women are included in the group of Just on the right. This "female presence" is unusual for an *Anastasis* and may express the specific wishes of the donor, who may have been a woman. The Maria Palaeologina icons make it clear that the donor's wishes could affect the iconography of traditional devotional images. The emphasis placed on the two Marys in the Walters icon, who are identified by name in the inscriptions, may indicate that the donor's name was Maria; that this "Maria" might have been the Maria Palaeologina of the Meteora icons remains an attractive but remote hypothesis.

Early in its existence, probably within one hundred years, the Walters *Anastasis* icon underwent a thorough restoration.[23] The reasons for this are unclear, since there is no evidence of damage by water or fire, or by other external mechanical forces; the extensive insect damage that now marks the panel came at a later date. The worn, discontinuous character of the original painted images indicates that the damage was confined to the upper layer, and the extensive reworking makes it clear that it extended over a substantial portion of the object's surface. The repainting was laid directly on the remains of the original pigments and not, as was common, on the layer of oil typically rubbed on finished icons as protective varnish. This suggests that the original surface may have been damaged during the removal of that oil, which might have become sooty from the smoke of candles and oil lamps placed nearby. It is also possible that the icon had been used extensively during travel by its successive owners (its small size would make such use suitable), and that constant moving, wrapping, and unwrapping had contributed to the abrasion.

The early restoration is most evident to the unassisted eye in the retouching of garments with bright blue (Christ, the left sleeve of Adam's tunic, and robes of some Just), intense red (Eve's mantle, robes of Just [especially King David]), and dark browns (extreme right figure in the group of Just, the cloak of one of the Marys [right figure in seated group, left figure in standing group]). These observations were corroborated by examination under stereomicroscopic magnification. Restoration is also evident in the rather arbitrary outcroppings of orange and purple mountaintops behind and above the light gray rocks in the background.

Under magnification, the most readily noticeable restoration is the intense and coarse ultramarine blue that has been applied to the mandorla and to the figure of Christ, to garments, and to the angel's wings; in a much thinner, washlike form it also appears throughout the painting, where it was used to create shadows and to strengthen worn areas. Generally, this wash enhances and defines the original forms without disguising them. In the areas restored with the thick ultramarine pigment, the underlying original seems to be a thinly applied layer composed of white lead with finely divided ultramarine particles similar to, but more subdued than, the repaint. Because the restoration covers almost exactly the same area, it is difficult to differentiate between it and the original. Since the materials and technique in the intense blue areas are cruder, however, than those in the earlier portions of the painting (for example, Adam's intense blue left sleeve versus the rest of his light grayish garment), they cannot be considered to be by the same hand.

Other parts of the restoration can be identified by their relationship to the layer of intense ultramarine blue. The vermilion garments and boots of the two kings (left) and of Eve's cloak lie on top of the ultramarine glaze. The dark brown garments, on the other hand, both cover and are covered by the ultramarine glaze. In some places, a brownish red color shows under the vermilion and suggests that although these sections were originally a somewhat duller red tone, the restorer adhered to the original color scheme. In fact, throughout the icon the repainting closely follows both the shapes and the colors of the original. Only in a few areas is there a slight deviation, as, for example,

in Eve's outstretched leg, where a bluish haze of seemingly original paint appears on the upper part of her calf, suggesting that originally the blue portion of her tunic extended farther up. In other instances, the deviations are even less obvious, as, for example, in traces of duller ultramarine blue that appear below the brown strokes in the angel's right wing, underneath the shoulder of the seated Mary on the right. There are just two areas where the restorer may have taken some liberties: the rocky mountains in the background (for the orange outcroppings were added on top of gilding) and the cross held by Christ (which was certainly reinforced, and may even have been an addition of the restorer).[24] Much of the gilding in the background and on the halos appears to be original, but the gold highlights that accent the clothing, the angel's wings, the inscriptions at the bottom, and the mandorla have been applied on top of the intense ultramarine glaze and therefore must be part of the restoration. Furthermore, in the inscriptions, the gold leaf accents have been applied over brown paint, which creates an appearance similar to the other brown retouchings, and which descends into tiny cracks in the panel's surface.

There are indications that the flesh tones throughout the image have been reworked. That is, in several spots the flesh color lies on top of the intense ultramarine glaze, and in others, additional ultramarine particles are present on top of the flesh tones (suggesting that the two were contemporaneous). Generally, the relative coarseness of materials and technique, and the density of the paint mixture suggest the work of a less competent hand, as does the style and the unevenness of quality in the modeling of the faces. In fact, this unevenness of quality suggests that some of the original faces were better preserved, and that in those cases the restorer was able to retain more of the original style (for example, the faces of Christ, John the Baptist, David, Eve, the two Marys). In other instances, especially among the clustered groups of Just (fig. 3), but also in such major figures as Solomon, Adam, and the angel, faces become slightly misshapen and flattened, presumably because less of the original structure was left. Generally, the modeling in most faces of the Walters *Anastasis* lacks the density and subtle graduation of tones evident in most Palaeologan icons, and its highlights are more linear and sparse than would be expected. Furthermore, the restorer seems not to have quite understood the original structure of the mouths, and thus often added a thin red stroke between the lips.

A second restoration, which appears to have been carried out considerably later, probably in the nineteenth century, was performed primarily to correct structural damage to the icon. A cradle was applied to the back of the panel and the frame was regilded. Additions to the surface of the image were minimal and consist primarily of brown repainting on the cross held by Christ and in the chasm of Hell. Thin brown accents (for example, on the Baptist's garments) and strokes of dense blue paint (such as those on the garments of David) were added to some figures to make them more distinguishable; it also appears that gold leaf was laid on the clothing of King David. But in general, this second restoration did not affect the appearance of the image in any significant way.

A third restoration was undertaken at The Walters Art Gallery in 1947, and was confined to new splits caused by the cradle. Losses were filled with gesso and inpainted with tempera. Also, the icon was cleaned and covered with a coat of natural resin varnish.

It appears, then, that the earliest restoration was the only one that significantly affected the appearance of the Walters *Anastasis* icon. But the outstanding characteristic of this restoration is its faithfulness to the original image. Clearly, the painter/restorer, presumably at the owner's request, tried to preserve the original Palaeologan style of the panel. This suggests that at that time it was still in use as a devotional image, and was valued for its beauty and (or?) "antiquity." It also suggests that the restoration was undertaken in a milieu where the Palaeologan style was understood, and where painters well versed in traditional methods of icon painting could be found. The apparent desire to restore the image to its original brilliance may indicate that it was owned by a lay person.[25]

Of the possible contexts wherein these hypothetical conditions are likely to have existed in the late fifteenth century—the Balkan peninsula, Crete, Venice, and Russia—the latter, and especially Moscow, seems to be the most likely. For the milieu where the icon was restored had to be foreign enough for the painter to misinterpret small details and not to be completely conversant with the subtleties of the original modeling. This could not likely have happened in Crete or Venice, where icon painters continued to be trained in the traditional Palaeologan manner and could reproduce it faithfully when called upon to do

so.[26] On the other hand, this milieu had to be sophisticated, and both artistically and theologically cognizant of the Byzantine tradition to appreciate and value a Palaeologan original enough to wish to preserve it as closely as possible. Also, the owner had to be a person of considerable wealth in order to pay for the ultramarine blue and gold leaf extensively used in the restoration. It seems doubtful that such conditions would have then prevailed in the Balkan peninsula, which by about 1470 was either occupied or besieged by the Turks.

On the other hand, the Russian milieu, with its own flourishing tradition of icon painting growing directly out of Palaeologan art and its general admiration for Byzantine culture would have encouraged the preservation of a Byzantine original. A Russian owner would likely have considered it a valuable possession both as a devotional image and as an "authentic Greek painting." If a member of the aristocracy, this owner could have easily afforded the expensive pigments used in the restoration. Furthermore, a Russian icon painter of that period would have had the training to successfully restore a Byzantine icon without imposing an alien style on it. But, a Russian painter's training and taste were different from those of a Palaeologan painter of the mid-fourteenth century, and they were bound to show in unintentional changes. Hence, from the point of view of an admirer of fourteenth-century Palaeologan art, the ultramarine blues and vermilions look coarse, rather flat, and too bright; moreover, the contrast between the gray rocky mountains and the bright orange and purple additions seems arbitrary. Again, from this "Palaeologan" person's point of view, the dark brown of the cloak of one of the Marys would appear too dark and flat, and would contrast too sharply with the more restrained and modulated green of the other cloak. However, all of this was perfectly normal and desirable in Russian icons of this period, where brilliant blues and reds were frequently used to create contrasts, and where abrupt juxtapositions of darks and lights were common. Moreover, dark brown was frequently used for the Virgin's cloak, as the Russian version of the Byzantine purple. Generally, in Russian icons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, surfaces are flatter and less subtly modulated than they are in Palaeologan paintings of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Highlights are applied as linear contrasts against darker garments or dark flesh tones. Finally, the anomalous darkness of Adam's left sleeve, which stands out from the rest of his garments and which visually relates to the blue garments of Christ, also is characteristic of Russian icons. There are many Russian examples of the *Anastasis* wherein the sleeve of Adam's arm, on the side on which Christ grasps him, is painted the same color as Christ's garment.[27] This both creates a coloristic harmony between the two figures and establishes an obvious symbolic connection between the resurrected Christ and Adam in the process of being resurrected.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that by around 1470 the Walters *Anastasis* icon had traveled to Russia, where it was carefully restored. That it might have traveled there in the retinue of Sophia Palaeologina, the Italian-educated niece of the last emperor of Byzantium, who came to Russia in 1472 to marry Ivan III, seems quite possible. That Sophia might have inherited an icon commissioned by another Palaeologina some one hundred years earlier will have to remain a remote but attractive hypothesis.

NOTES

1. No. 37.751 (36.0 × 26.5 cm); acquired from the Massarenti Collection, Rome, in 1902; unpublished. This icon was "discovered" in The Walters' store rooms in November 1984, where it was labeled "Italo-Byzantine, 16th century." We are grateful to the College of Wooster for their contribution toward the color reproduction of the icon.

2. *Apocryphal New Testament,* trans. M. R. James (Oxford, 1955), 133-40.

3. *Ibid.*, 93, 94.

4. *Ibid.*, 139.

5. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami,* 3,(New York, 1966), pls. 340-59 (c. 1315-21) (hereafter, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*).

6. V. J. Djurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), 87-90, pls. XI-XIV; K. Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis, K. Miatev, and S. Radojčić, *Icons* (London, 1968), LXVII-LXIX, pls. 180-83 (hereafter, Weitzmann *et al.*, *Icons*); S. Radojčić, *Les maîtres de l'ancienne peinture Serbe* (Belgrade, 1955), 29-34 (in Serbian with French resumé) (hereafter, Radojčić, *Les maîtres*). Figure 5 is after Weitzmann, *et al.*, *Icons.*

7. A. Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopografiai tis Marias Palaiologinas kai tou Thoma Prelioumpovits," *Deltion tis Christianikis Archaeologikis Etaireias,* 4 (1964-65), 53-67 (hereafter, Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopografiai"); *Byzantine Art: An European Art,* Athens, Zappeion Exhibition Hall (1964), 250, 258, 259, pls. 193, 211 (exh. cat.) (hereafter, *Byzantine Art*); Weitzmann *et al.*, *Icons,* XXXII, pl. 73. Figures 11 and 13 are after Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopographiai;" Figure 12 is after Weitzmann, *et al.*, *Icons.*

8. Such a diptych of a Virgin *Hodegetria* and a standing Christ with dedications and portraits of Maria Palaeologina and Thomas Prejlubović exists in the Cathedral of Cuenca, in Spain. The icon of the *Hodegetria* is almost identical with that at Meteora; see Weitzmann *et al.*, *Icons,* LXVIII, pls. 196, 197. The portrait of Prejluvović has been scratched out (probably after his murder in 1384) but his dedicatory inscription exists; see *Byzantine Art,* 259.

9. Xynopoulos, "Neai prosopografiai," 55–59.

10. *Byzantine Art,* 245. Weitzmann *et al., Icons,* XXXIV, pl. 67. The Crucifixion was found in a church on Patmos and is now in the Chapel of the Annunciation. Figure 10 is after Weitzmann, *et al., Icons.*

11. In recent years the Palaeologan style and its development have been defined more precisely by Demus, Chatzidakis, Xyngopoulos, Radojčić, Djurić, Belting, Weitzmann, and others. See especially O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," *The Kariye Djami* 4 (Princeton, 1975), 109–60, with bibliography (hereafter Demus, "The Style"), and M. Chatzidakis, "Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV^{e} siècle: recherches sur l'évolution du style," *XIV^{e} Congrès International des études Byzantines,* Bucarest, septembre 1971, Actes I, (Bucharest, 1971) 153–88 (hereafter, Chatzidakis, "Classicisme"). See also H. Belting, "The Style of the Mosaics," in Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 85–111.

12. Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* 1–3, and I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," *Kariye Djami* 4 (Princeton, 1975), 19–55. Figures 8, 14, 15 courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.

13. Photoarchive, Benaki Museum, Athens.

14. Demus, "The Style," 152.

15. R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonian,* 3–5 (Giessen, 1963) (hereafter, Haman-MacLean and Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei*); P. Miljkovic-Pepek, *L'Oeuvre des peintres Michel et Euthych* (Skoplje, 1967) (in Serbian with French resumé); Demus, "The Style"; Radojčić, *Les Maîtres;* and V. J. Djurić, *Byzantinischen Fresken in Yougoslavien* (Munich, 1976).

16. Demus, "The Style"; Chatzidakis, "Classicisme"; T. Gouma-Peterson, "Manuel and John Phokas and Artistic Personality in Late Byzantine Painting," *Gesta,* 22 (1983), 159–69 (hereafter, Gouma-Peterson, "Manuel").

17. The frescoes of the Protaton on Mount Athos are not dated by a dedicatory inscription. But their striking similarity (both iconographic and stylistic) with the frescoes of the *parecclesion* of Saint Euthymios in Thessaloniki, dated by a dedicatory inscription to 1303, makes it clear that they were created by the same workshop, either shortly before or shortly after 1303. On Saint Euthymios, see T. Gouma-Peterson, "The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy Under Andronicos II," *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 168–183, and, by the same author, "Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978), 199–216. Figure 7, photoarchive, Benaki Museum, Athens.

18. The Patmos icon measures 33 × 26 cm.

19. The Meteora icon measures 39 × 28 cm.

20. See Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei,* 3, pl. 332.

21. At Gračanica, however, Christ is shown frontally pulling Adam behind him.

22. The Gračanica fresco is the earliest example of this variant known to me. It also occurs on a silver-gilt book cover in the Marcian Library, generally dated in the fourteenth century. See D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London, 1959), 331, pl. 174.

23. All technical information about the Walters *Anastasis* icon is based on a thorough report by Mary Sebera of The Walters' Division of Conservation and Technical Research, who conducted a stereomicroscopic investigation of the panel in December and January, 1984–85. I thank both her and Sian Jones, of the same division, for their friendly and helpful collaboration.

24. According to Ms. Sebera's report, the orange mountains are painted over the original gold leaf. Since gold leaf was very expensive, the gilder usually avoided affixing leaf to areas to be painted later; moreover, pigment does not adhere well to gilding. Significantly, there is no gold leaf under the purple mountains. This may indicate either that they were part of the original composition, or (less likely) that the gold covering the entire background had been rubbed away and that the restorer replaced the missing area with painted mountains rather than the more precious gold leaf.

The technical evidence as to whether the cross was only reinforced and perhaps enlarged, or whether it was added at the time of the restoration is not clear. Nor is the iconographic evidence conclusive. The structure of Christ's left hand and the position of His fingers are very similar to the Ohrid icon (fig. 5), where He holds a scroll. However, in most Palaeologan examples where Christ is shown raising Adam only (figs. 7, 9), He holds the cross in His other hand.

25. Monasteries and churches in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are notorious for not cleaning or restoring images. Surviving examples indicate that during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries damaged icons were completely overpainted. Many such examples of icons with two completely separate layers, dating from different centuries, exist throughout museums and churches in Greece, with several in the Byzantine Museum in Athens.

26. On the Cretan School and its connections with Venice, see T. Gouma-Peterson, "The Dating of Creto-Venetian Icons: A Reconsideration in the Light of New Evidence," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* (1972), 13–21; and, by the same author, "Manuel," 159–169. See also M. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts de l'école crétoise et la question de l'école dite italogrecque," *Mnemosyon Sophias Antoniadi* (Venice, 1974), 169–211; and, by the same author, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la Collection de l'Institut* (Venice, 1962). See also the recent catalogue of an exhibition at the Benaki Museum with good illustrations: N. Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Cretan School, 15th–16th Century* (Athens, 1983).

27. For examples of this, see V. N. Lazarev, *Moscow School of Icon-Painting* (Moscow, 1971), pls. 72, 73, 80; and *Icons,* ed. T. Talbot Rice (London, 1960), pl. 31.

A Pounced Design in David and Bathsheba by Paris Bordone

SUSAN F. LAKE
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, the Smithsonian Institution

In 1976 Federico Zeri attributed The Walters Art Gallery's *David and Bathsheba* (fig. 1) to the Venetian painter Paris Bordone (1500–71).[1] In his discussion, Zeri mentioned the remarkable similarity of the architectural background in *David and Bathsheba* to that in Bordone's *Annunciation* (fig. 2), in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen. In 1982 The Walters Art Gallery conservation laboratory received *David and Bathsheba* for full treatment. When discolored varnish and repaint were removed, a pounced underdrawing was discovered. Most of the pouncing was concealed by the final paint layer, but the black dots were easily visible where the paint had been heavily abraded (fig. 3).

Because pouncing is a technique used by artists for the transfer of a design, its presence implies the reproduction or duplication of an image. A technical investigation of the pounce marks in *David and Bathsheba* was therefore undertaken to help explain the similarity between the two architectural backgrounds: one painting could have served as a model for the other, or Bordone might have routinely used a pounced cartoon to reproduce a stock background. It was hoped that the investigation would establish the relationship between the two paintings.

Pouncing is a way of exactly transferring a preparatory drawing or design to a surface prepared for painting. Colored powder is forced through a drawing whose outlines have been perforated. As the paper is dabbed with a pounce bag (a loosely meshed cloth through which the powder sifts), the colored particles pass through the punctures in the paper. The resulting dots duplicate the perforated pattern, making an underdrawing that the artist then follows in creating the painting. The pouncing technique has been used extensively over a long period of time. Although perforated drawings exist from the Middle Ages, Cennino Cennini, in *The Craftsman's Handbook* of about 1390,[2] was the first to describe how perforated tracing sheets were used to transfer designs for gold brocade. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the technique of pouncing was widely used in art studios throughout Europe both to reproduce entire compositions and to duplicate portions or elements of a painting.[3]

Most of the pounce marks in *David and Bathsheba* were visible neither in infrared photographs nor in radiographs. For this reason a limited number of paint cross sections were taken. A conservator uses paint cross sections to examine the paint layer structure and pigment composition of a painting, with an aim toward better understanding the overall and specific features of a painter's technique.[4] In this case, it was hoped that the cross sections would also help determine the extent of the pounced drawing beneath the painted surface.

Of the nine cross sections prepared, five displayed particles in an underdrawing layer. These five samples were all located in the architectural background of the painting. Samples taken from the sky and from the

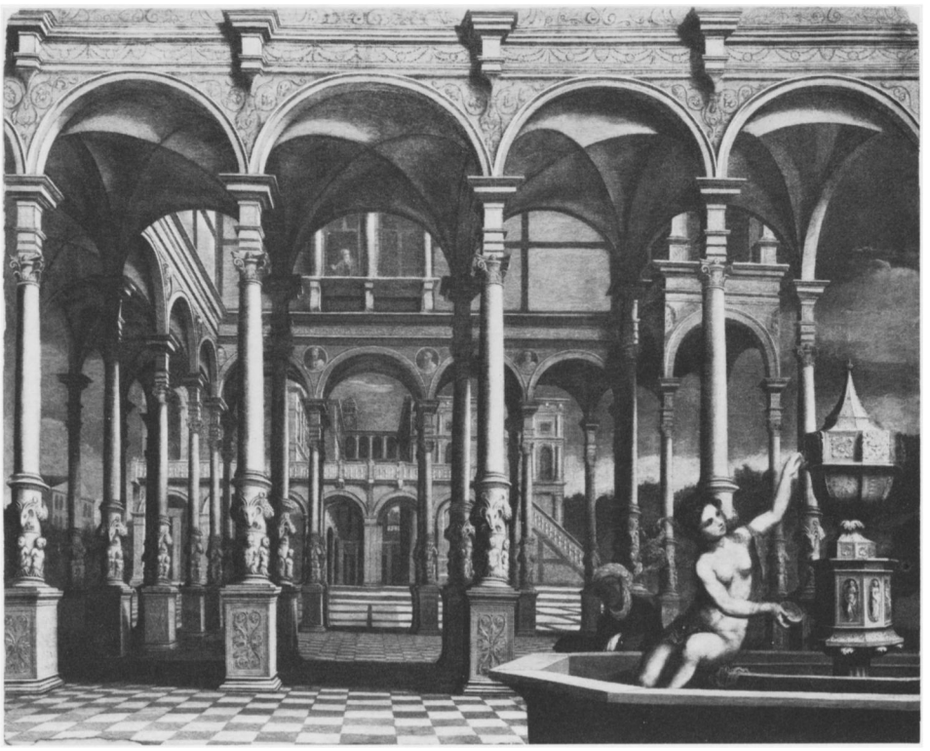


Fig. 1. Paris Bordone, *David and Bathsheba,* Oil on Canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2371.

Fig. 2. Paris Bordone, *The Annunciation,* Oil on Canvas, Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

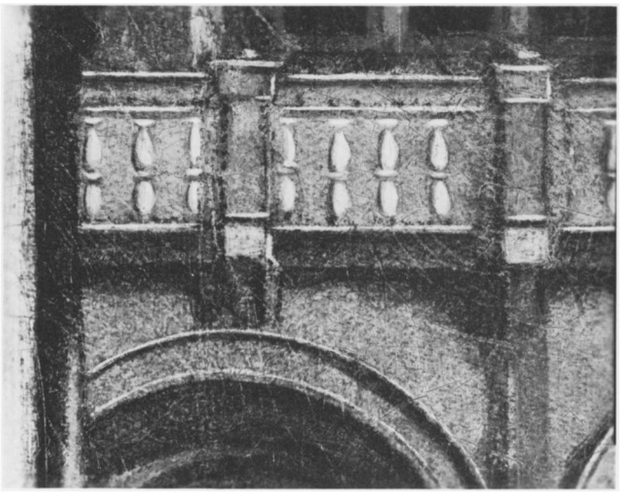


Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1: The pounce marks in the area of the balcony.

figure of Bathsheba did not reveal drawing particles, their absence being evidence that the foreground figures are not part of the pounced design. Moreover, a pentimento of Bathsheba's right leg further indicates that she was not part of the pounced drawing, for the artist apparently had some difficulty positioning her on the fountain base and probably worked out the alterations of her figure directly in paint.

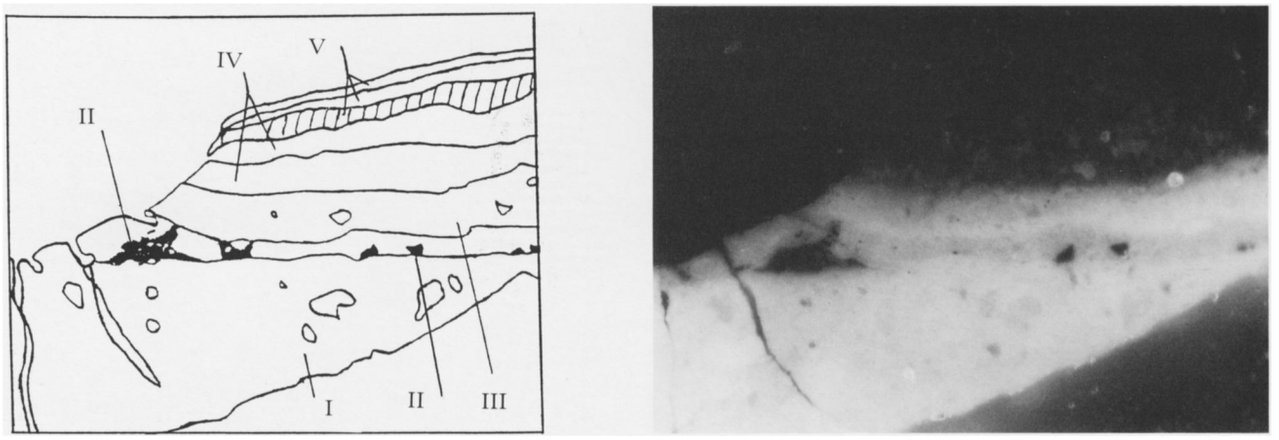
The drawing particles in the cross sections from the architectural background are for the most part very thick and heavy (fig. 4). The clusters of black particles constitute a tightly packed layer as thick as some of the paint layers. While it was not possible to isolate enough of the black pigment to carry out any specific analysis, examination of the particles with the polarizing microscope and comparison with reference samples suggest that the irregular splintery drawing particles are charcoal. The cross sections also show that the drawing particles are not between the ground and paint layer, as would be expected, but are sandwiched between two ground layers.

Unlike Venetian painters of an earlier generation, such as Titian for example, who used a thin gesso ground and with whom Bordone is said to have studied, Bordone applied a very heavy two-part ground to his linen support. In places it measures more than two hundred microns, with the lower layer about two thirds the thickness of the upper. The ground is made up of rather large aggregates of white particles, which were confirmed by laser microspectral analysis as being white lead.[5] Biological stain tests indicate that the white lead is in an oil medium.

Bordone apparently put down an initial white lead ground layer on the canvas. The pounced drawing was then transferred to this surface, and over the charcoal particles another layer of white lead was applied. This layer was thick enough to hold the particles in place, but thin enough so that the accumulation of pounced particles was still visible. The presence of this upper ground may explain why the pounce marks were not readily visible with the infrared viewer and in the radiographs.

The *Annunciation* is 10 cm shorter and 54 cm wider than *David and Bathsheba,* which is 112 cm high and 142 cm wide. A comparison of the two paintings reveals that the architectural backgrounds of both are not only remarkably similar, but also are identical in scale. The differing dimensions of the paintings simply accommodate the different scale of the figure groups in the foreground. The most obvious similarity between the two architectures is in the foreground columns and arches. In fact, measurement of them reveals that all the background architectural elements of *David and Bathsheba* that are repeated in the *Annunciation* (the columns and arches, the staircase, the balcony, the tower) are identical in size. Only the decoration or placement of minor architectural details differs. For example, the decorations of the capitals and bases of the columns in the *Annunciation* are more elaborate than those in *David and Bathsheba,* a window has been replaced by a wall, and a small projecting bay has been added. But these alterations are all minor compared to the overall similarities between the two paintings, and such details probably would not have been included in the pounced drawing.

Closer examination of the two paintings does reveal, however, that the major architectural background elements have been shifted in one painting relative to the other. For example, the diagonal row of columns in *David and Bathsheba* occurs in the first bay from the left side of the painting, while those in the *Annunciation* are in the second bay from the left. In fact, all the aforementioned shared background architectural elements have been shifted in the *Annunciation* one bay to the right relative to those in the Walters painting. This implies that the perforated drawing that was used to transfer the architectural backdrop of *David and Bathsheba* consisted of at least two parts: one included the foreground columns and arches, while the other contained the background architectural elements. One sheet could thus be easily shifted relative to the other



I. Lower white lead ground
II. Pounced drawing particles
III. Upper white lead ground
IV. Original paint layers
V. Varnish and overpaint

Fig. 4. Diagram and photograph of a cross section from near the column base at the foot of the staircase in Figure 1.

during the tracing process to allow for space to accommodate or delete the necessary figures.

Technical evidence is helpful in determining which work was painted first. It is possible that both were painted at approximately the same time and that the design of the architecture was pounced for both paintings from the same perforated sheets. There is evidence that *David and Bathsheba* was painted later than the *Annunciation,* however, and that the traced drawings used for its architectural background were taken directly from the *Annunciation.* A publication from the conservation laboratory of the Louvre that describes the examination of the *Annunciation* upon its acquisition by the museum in Caen makes no mention of pounce marks.[6] It does mention, however, that a radiograph reveals that the architecture was executed without changes. The author then suggests that the painting might have been executed from a squared-off sketch, as implied by a series of regular lines beneath the paint layer. If Bordone painted the *Annunciation* by gridding off the prepared ground of the painting and transferring the design freehand from a smaller gridded sketch, it would imply that the *Annunciation* precedes *David and Bathsheba* and that the architecture of the latter was traced directly from the Caen painting. The article dates the *Annunication* between 1545 and 1550, which suggests that *David and Bathsheba* was painted sometime after those dates.

A search of catalogues raisonné on Paris Bordone has revealed no other painting with an architectural background similar to that in *David and Bathsheba* and the *Annunciation.*[7] Because The Walters' painting is not included in either of these catalogues, it would be unwise to conclude that the pounced drawings used in *David and Bathsheba* were used only once and that other paintings with a similar architectural backdrop do not exist.

NOTES

1. F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in The Walters Art Gallery,* 2, (Baltimore, 1976), 397-98.

2. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook (Il Libro dell'Arte),* trans. D. V. Thompson, Jr. (New Haven, 1933) (reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1954), 27.

3. J. Taubert, "Pauspunkte in Tafelbidern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique: *Bulletin* 15 (1975), 387-401.

4. Joyce Plesters, "Cross-sections and Chemical Analysis of Paint," *Studies in Conservation* 2 (1956), 110-57.

5. I would like to thank Joyce Plesters and Ashok Roy of the Scientific Department, The National Gallery London for their help with the analysis of the cross sections.

6. S. Béguin, "L'Annonciation de Paris Bordon au Musée de Caen," *Bulletin du Laboratorie du Louvre* 12 (1968), 26-31. Examination of the *Annunciation* while it was hanging in the galleries in Caen did not reveal any pounce marks; like *David and Bathsheba,* however, the painting appears to have extensive overpaint.

7. G. Mariani Canova, *Paris Bordon,* (Venice, 1964); L. Bailo, *Delle vita e delle opere di Paris Bordone* (Treviso, 1900).

Recent Acquisition: Wtewael's Saint Matthew

ERIC M. ZAFRAN
The Walters Art Gallery

The Walters' most recent acquisition of a European painting is a work by the Utrecht Mannerist Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638).[1] This powerful painting of *Saint Matthew* (fig. 1)[2] is datable on stylistic grounds to about 1618–20. After 1610 Wtewael devoted much of his time to his business and political activities, and the number of his paintings decreased. He tended to paint smaller-scale works such as the *Saint Matthew* on panel, and whether the content was mythological, genre, or religious, to isolate single large figures against a dark background.[3]

The Walters painting of the evangelist is certainly from a set of the authors of the Gospels, and two of the others have been located: a signed *Saint John,* now at the Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts (fig. 2), and the *Saint Luke,* in a private collection, Washington, D.C., (fig. 3). As Anne Lowenthal has observed, it is possible that there never was a *Saint Mark,* for an inventory of paintings belonging to Wtewael's descendants lists an incomplete set of only three Evangelists, without naming them.[4]

The characteristics that the three existing paintings share are the representation of a vigorous figure crowded into a confined space with its respective distinguishing attributes—the angel, eagle, and ox—and each is shown pausing in the act of writing, as if in the throes of divine inspiration. There is particular emphasis on their large powerful hands, as if to stress that these humble men, despite the array of carefully delineated scribe's tools, were not originally trained as writers.

The color scheme of the Walters painting, with its flickering orange tonalities, retains some of the vividness of Wtewael's earlier period, but the somewhat looser handling of paint and the concern for texture reveals his style being tempered by the new naturalism that was entering Dutch painting at this time and displacing the Mannerism of which he had been a chief representative. The gaunt, balding figure that Wtewael uses to represent Saint Matthew also appears as one of the followers of Christ in his 1621 painting of *Christ Blessing the Children* (Hermitage, Leningrad) and again as one of the doctors in a painting of *Christ Among the Doctors* (private collection, New York) attributed to Joachim Wtewael and his son Peter.[5]

NOTES

1. The name is given various spellings, but "Wtewael" is the one found on most of the painter's signed works.
2. Oil on panel, 77 x 61 cm. Provenance: Francis Howard, Dorking, Surrey; sold at Christie's, London, 14 May 1965, no. 10; Schickman Gallery, New York; sold at Christie's, New York, 6 June 1984, no. 134.
3. C. Lindeman, *Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael* (Utrecht, 1929), 106, 110–12; Vassar College Art Gallery *Dutch Mannerism* (Poughkeepsie, 1970); Anne Lowenthal, "The Paintings of Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael (1566–1638)," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975, (hereafter, "Lowenthal"), 339–40, no. A-73.
4. Lowenthal, 423.
5. Both works reproduced in Anne Lowenthal, "Some Paintings by Peter Wtewael (1590–1660)," *The Burlington Magazine* 116(1974), 458–66, figs. 52 and 63.

Fig. 1. Joachim Wtewael, *Saint Matthew,* Oil on Panel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2617.

Fig. 2. Joachim Wtewael, *Saint John the Evangelist.* Oil on Panel. Massachusetts, Amherst College, Mead Art Museum.

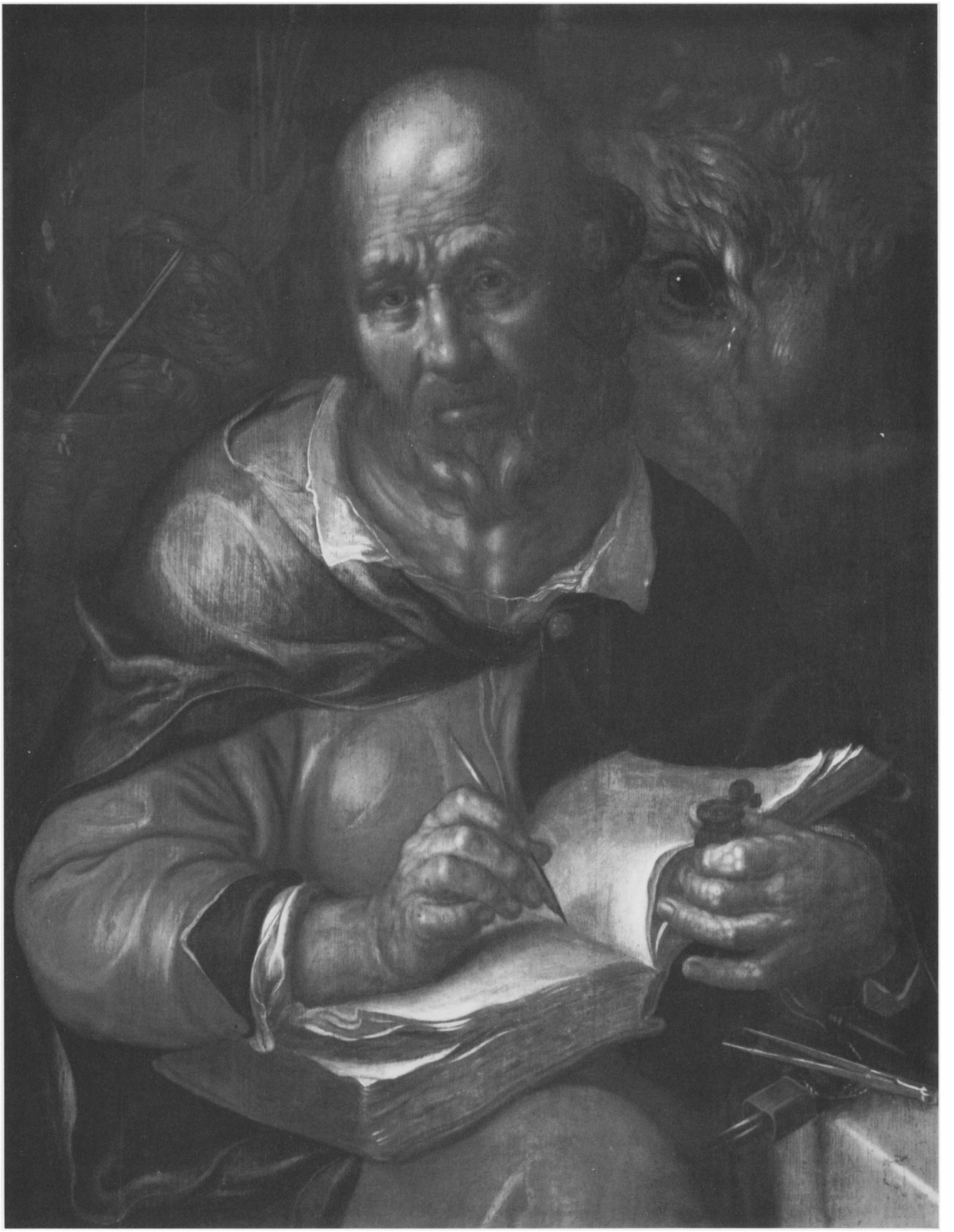


Fig. 3 Joachim Wtewael, *Saint Luke,* Oil on panel, Washington, D.C., Private Collection.

Essai de reconstitution d'une garniture de madame de Pompadour

PIERRE ENNÈS
Musée du Louvre

L'acquisition récente par le département des Objets d'art du Musée du Louvre d'une pendule en porcelaine tendre de Sèvres (figs. 1–3)[1] offre l'occasion d'évoquer une garniture ayant appartenu à madame de Pompadour, dont cette pendule fut peut-être l'élément central.

D'une forme très inhabituelle, pour de la porcelaine, la pendule du Musée du Louvre, dont le cadran et le mouvement sont signés de l'horloger parisien Romilly (fig. 4),[2] a pour particularité de reposer sur quatre pieds terminés par des sabots. La forme générale, d'un style Louis XV très affirmé, présente des détails qui rappellent les arts du métal tels des "branches de céleri", qui, partant des pieds, encadrent le boîtier. Une couronne formée de larges indentations enserre le cadran et s'élève en une double coquille concave formant une sorte de fronton surmonté par un bouquet de fleurs et de feuilles en relief. Malgré ces quelques éléments "rocaille", le décor plastique de la face et des cotés reste d'une symétrie et d'un équilibre caractéristiques du goût classique français.

Le décor peint est également, dans son ensemble, tout à fait traditionnel: une couleur de fond verte souligne la structure générale de la pendule, ainsi que les pieds et les "branches de céleri" qui s'en échappent, laissant en blanc de grandes surfaces de porcelaine: la couronne entourant le cadran, la coquille supérieure et les deux cotés. Ces parties blanches sont peintes de guirlandes de fleurs polychromes et, sur la coquille à l'avers de la pendule, d'un trophée évoquant le Temps.

Une très belle dorure vient encore souligner l'ensemble: les parties blanches sont bordées de "peignés" disposés, vers l'extérieur, en deux rangs, comme pour évoquer le mouvement de reflux d'une vague; la dorure, toujours en "peignés", forme également un dessin de croisillons sur les parties vertes; des fleurs dorées marquent l'écartement des pieds; enfin, sous la pendule, des rinceaux masquent la soudure des pieds au boîtier (fig. 5); la dorure relève encore le bouquet blanc du couronnement et dessine les nervures des feuilles.

Ce décor peint présente, cependant, quelques particularités. La couleur de fond, en premier lieu, est une sorte de vert turquoise, assez proche du "bleu céleste" mais qui ne ressemble à rien de connu à Sèvres. Les fleurs stylisées, ensuite, sont plus proches des *Indianische Blumen* de Meissen que des fleurs de Vincennes ou de Sèvres, traditionnellement naturalistes. Cette dernière règle présente, cependant, une exception au moins sur des pièces signées du peintre Ch.-N. Dodin, portant les dates de 1761 et 1763, sur lesquelles nous reviendrons. Le trophée du fronton, en dernier lieu, offre des détails inhabituels: au milieu du sablier à ailes de papillon et des ciseaux enrubannés, se dressent une faux et une quenouille terminées, l'une par un croissant, et l'autre par une superposition de

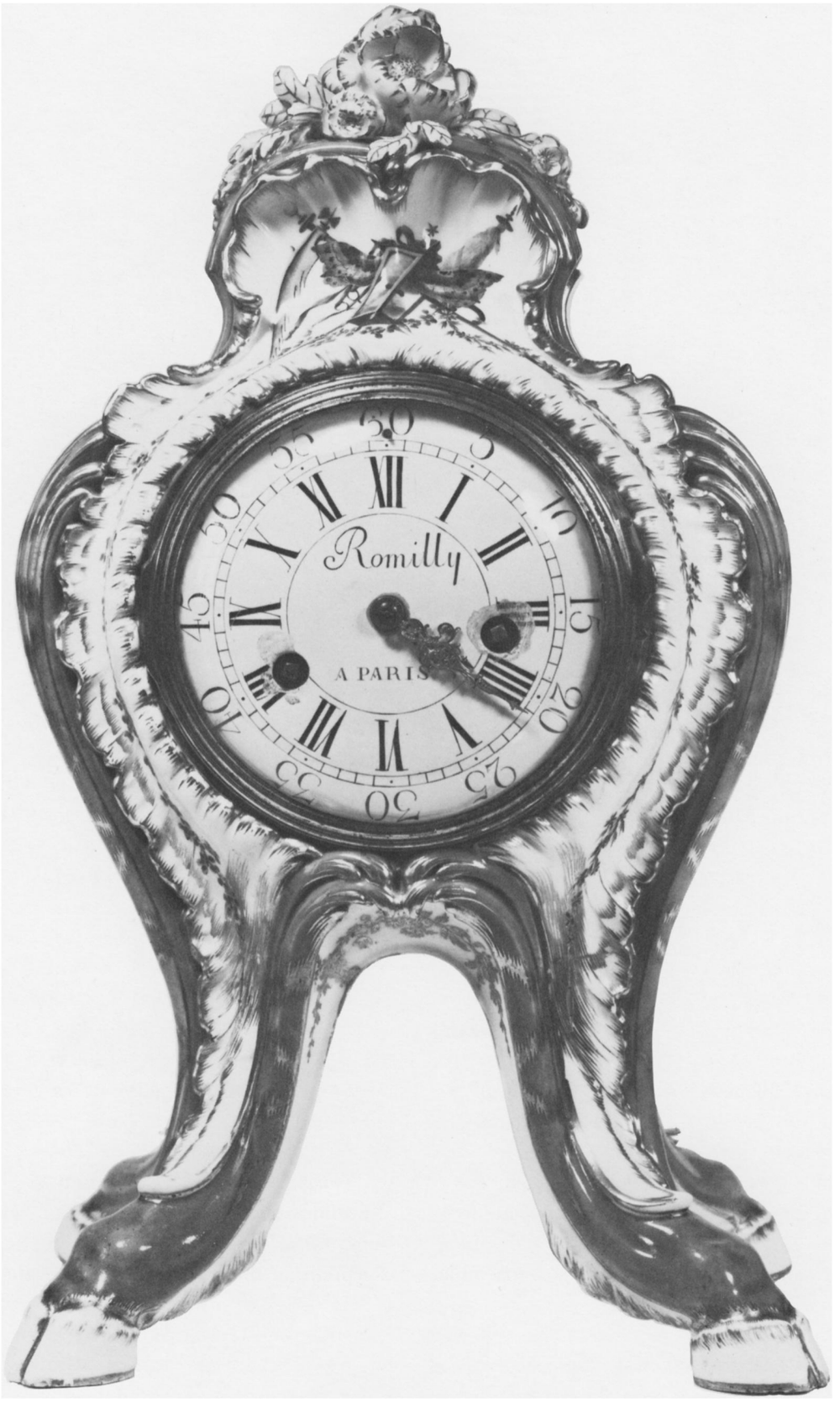


Fig. 1. Pendule (face), Porcelaine tendre de Sèvres, Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Objects d'art, no. OM 10899.

Fig. 2. Une autre vue de Figure 1, revers.

Fig. 3. Une autre vue de Figure 1, vue latérale.

petits disques qui ressemblent à un instrument de musique appelé "chapeau chinois". Nous verrons que ces particularités ont une raison d'être.

Il existe une autre de ces pendules, connue seulement par la photographie en noir et blanc et la description d'un catalogue de vente[3] (fig. 6). Cette pendule serait "bleu céleste"[4] et ressemble à s'y méprendre, d'après la photographie du cataloque, à la pendule du Musée du Louvre, à deux détails près, (si on excepte le socle de bronze doré dont cette deuxième pendule est pourvue): d'une part le trophée du fronton qui est remplacé par des fleurs (comme au revers de la pendule du Musée du Louvre), et, de l'autre le cadran qui ne porte pas le nom de Romilly. Cette pendule présenterait, en outre, d'après la notice du catalogue de vente, la signature du peintre Thévenet (certainement L.-J. Thévenet, appelé également Thévenet père) avec la date de 1761.

Si l'on se reporte aux registres de vente de la manufacture de Sèvres correspondant aux années proches de 1761, on relève une livraison de pendule verte (la première pendule qui soit mentionnée dans ces registres) au marchand Poirier, deuxième semestre de l'année 1760, pour le prix de 480 livres.[5] Cette date exclut, bien entendu, la pendule du catalogue de vente, mais pas celle, non datée, du Musée du Louvre. Une autre pendule fut vendue à madame de Pompadour le 25 juin 1762. Elle fait partie d'une garniture décrite en ces termes:

"1 pendule petit verd . . . . . 432 L.
"2 pots pouris à feuillages verds Chinois . . . . . 864 L.
" *id.* bobèches *id.* . . . . . 672 L.

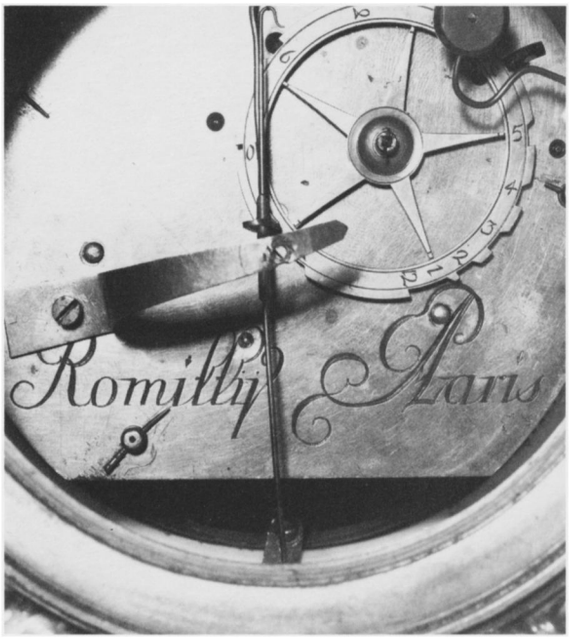


Fig. 4. Détail de Figure 1, signature de Romilly, au revers du mouvement.

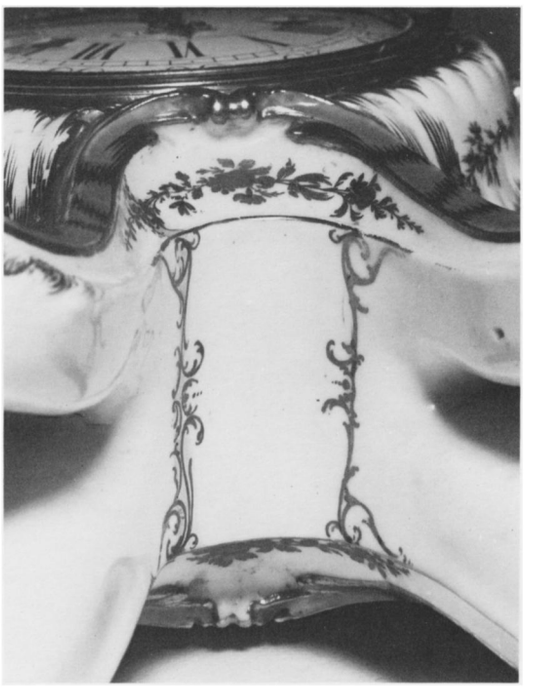


Fig. 5. Détail de Figure 1, les rinceaux dorés qui dissimulent la soudure des pieds.

Une précision supplémentaire concernant la pendule nous est fournie par l'inventaire après-décès de madame de Pompadour, rédigé en 1764, dans lequel on peut aisément reconnaître la garniture mentionnée dans les registres de vente de la Manufacture. Au château de Ménars se trouvaient, en effet, "Dans des armoires pratiquées dans le Coridor du premier étage du château, à costé du garde meuble: . . . Une pendulle, faite par *Romilly,* à Paris, dans sa boeste de porcelaine de Sève . . . " et "Quatre vases de porcelaine verte, dont deux avec bobèches de cuivre doré d'or moulu . . . "[7]

Grâce à l'important élément d'identification que constitue ce nom de Romilly, M. Pierre Verlet avait déjà pu faire le rapprochement entre la pendule de l'inventaire après-décès de madame de Pompadour et la pendule de porcelaine du Musée du Louvre.[8] Un autre élément, cependant, permet de renforcer l'hypothèse de l'identité des deux pendules: l'existence de deux pot pourris "à feuillages," maintenant à la Walters Art Gallery, qui, ayant encore accompagné la pendule jusqu'à une date assez récente[9] (fig. 7), pourraient bien être deux autres pièces de la garniture mentionnées, et dans les registres de vente de la Manufacture, et dans l'inventaire après-décès de madame de Pompadour.

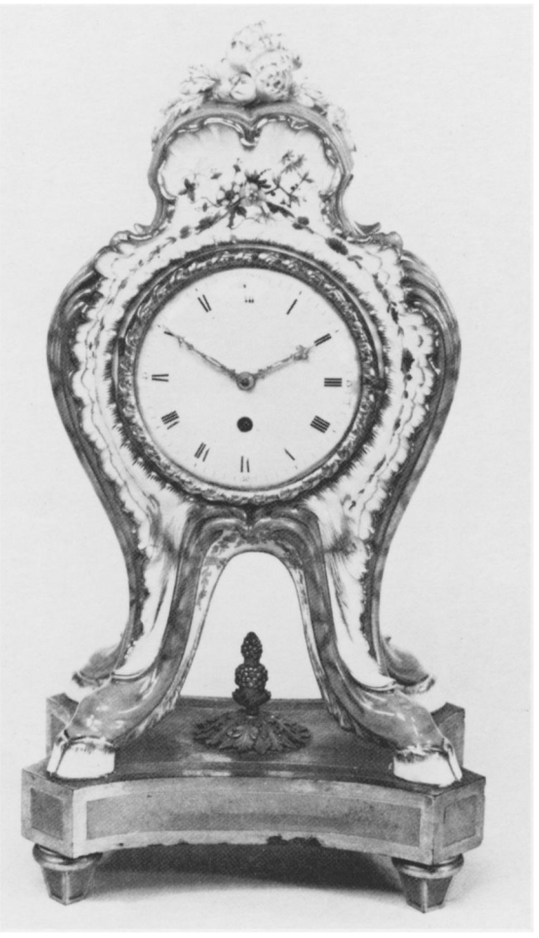


Fig. 6. Pendule, Porcelaine tendre et bronze doré, localisation actuelle inconnue.

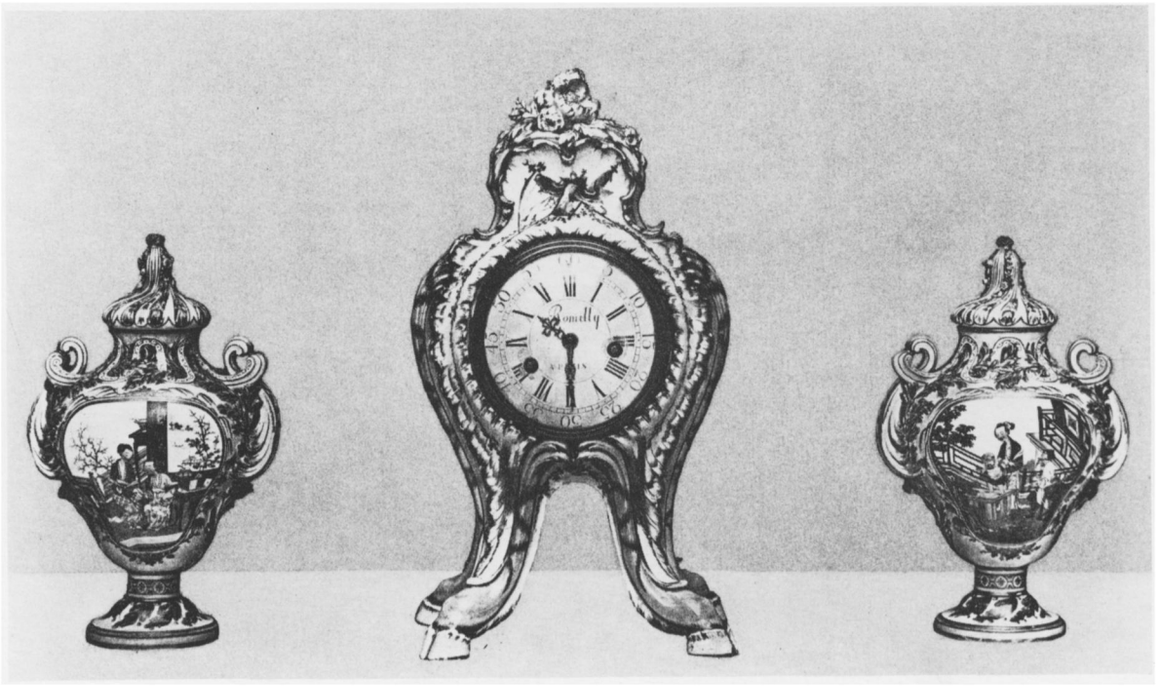


Fig. 7. Page du catalogue de la vente de la collection Chappey, en 1907, montrant la pendule du Musée du Louvre flanquée des deux pots-pourris "à feuillages" de la Walters Art Gallery.

Fig. 8. Pots-pourris "à feuillages" (face), Porcelaine tendre de Sévres, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, nos. 48.590, 48.591.

Fig. 9. Une autre vue de Figure 8, revers.

Les pot-pourris de la Walters Art Gallery[10] (figs. 8, 9) présentent bien des décors chinois et une nuance de vert légèrement différente de celle de la pendule, confirmant ainsi les mentions de "petit verd", pour la pendule, et de "verds", pour les pot-pourris. Cette curieuse disparité de couleur est très certainement accidentelle et pourrait provenir, dans le cas de la pendule, ainsi que l'a fait remarquer M. Antoine d'Albis[11], d'une trop longue cuisson, sans doute rendue nécessaire par les nombreuses difficultés techniques que dut poser sa réalisation. La légère dévitrification de la surface, par endroits, confirme bien cette hypothèse[12]. Il existe, d'ailleurs, deux autres exemplaires de cette pendule qui témoignent de ces difficultés: un exemplaire au Musée de Sèvres[13], probablement laissé en blanc et recouvert au début du XIX^{e} siècle d'une peinture mate de petit feu de couleur bleue, et un exemplaire dans une collection privée, sans doute jamais achevé, car il est amputé de ses quatre pieds à sabots, remplacés, à l'époque où fut appliqué le décor de la pendule du Musée de Sèvres, par quatre gaines de bronze doré (fig. 10).

Le parti pris du décor à fleurs stylisées, dont nous avons déjà souligné le caractère exceptionnel à Sèvres,

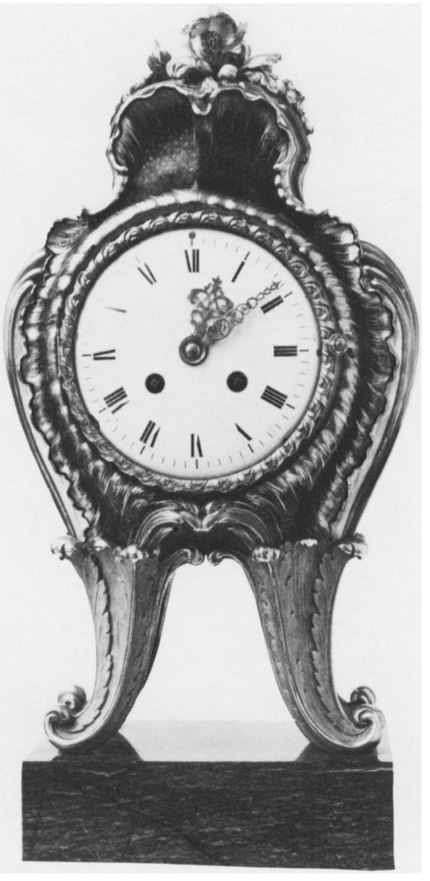


Fig. 10. Pendule, Porcelaine tendre de Sévres, bronze et marbre, Paris, collection particulaire.

Fig. 11. Pot-pourri "vaisseau," Porcelaine tendre de Sèvres, Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Objects d'art, no. OA 10965.

Fig. 12. Pendule, Boitier en bronze signé de Saint-Germain, Paris. Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Objects d'art, no. OA 6884.

Fig. 13. Pendule, Bronze, modèle attribué à Duplessis, London, Wallace Collection.

se comprend mieux si on considère qu'il devait s'harmoniser avec le décor chinois des autres pièces de la garniture, dont les pot-pourris qui présentent également, au revers, des branches ornées de fleurs directement copiées sur des décors chinois. On comprend également l'inspiration exotique du trophée sur la coquille et la présence de "chapeau chinois" au bout de la quenouille. L'auteur de ce décor est certainement le même que celui de la pendule du catalogue de vente, Louis-Jean Thévenet ou Thévenet père, qui fut actif à Vincennes puis à Sèvres entre 1741 et 1777. Thévenet était un peintre de fleurs traditionnelles et on sent qu'il eut du mal à se plier à un programme d'ensemble qui lui fut certainement imposé par le peintre de figures Charles-Nicolas Dodin.

C'est, en effet, à Charles-Nicolas Dodin[14], par rapprochement avec un groupe de pièces que nous avons déjà signalées, portant les dates de 1761 et 1763 et signées par lui, qu'on peut attribuer, en toute certitude, le décor des pot-pourris "à feuillages". La caractéristique de ce groupe est de s'inspirer de décors chinois probablement relevés sur des porcelaines de la "famille rose" ou, peut-être, comme l'a suggéré M. Ronald Freyberger, sur des émaux de Canton[15]. Le Musée du Louvre possède encore une pièce d'inspiration très proche. Il s'agit du pot-pourri "vaisseau" à

Fig. 14. François Desportes, *Pièces d'orfèvrerie, vases, pâte,* Huile sur toile, Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale.

fond rose[16] (fig. 11), non daté, ayant également appartenu à madame de Pompadour et qui, livré en 1760 à cette dernière, pourrait être le premier exemplaire de ce style[17].

La forme de la pendule du Musée du Louvre qui n'a laissé aucune trace à la Manufacture de Sèvres, ni sous forme de dessin, ni sous forme de modèle, et dont on ne connaît même pas la date de création, mérite quelques remarques à cause de son évidente parenté de style avec des pendules de métal du milieu du XVIIIe siècle. Elle est très comparable, par exemple, à une autre pendule du département des Objets d'art du Musée du Louvre, signée Saint-Germain[18] (fig. 12) sur laquelle on trouve le même écartement des quatre pieds, des coquilles surmontant le cadran, des fleurs au-dessus du boîtier et même un trophée en bronze. Une autre pendule à la Wallace Collection, à Londres,[19] (fig. 13) présente un mouvement des pied et des proportions encore plus proches, mais ces pieds, au lieu de se terminer par des sabots, disparaissent dans le mécanisme d'une boîte à musique qui sert aussi de socle. Il est intéressant également de noter que le dessin de cette dernière pendule a pu être attribué à Jean-Claude Duplessis[20], ce qui ne doit pas nous étonner, sachant le rôle que Jean-Claude Duplessis, orfèvre de formation, joua à la Manufacture dans le choix et dans

Fig. 15. Modèle en plâtre des pots-pourris à feuillages, portant le nom de "vases pot pourri myrthe" qui leur fut donné au XIX. siècle, Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale.

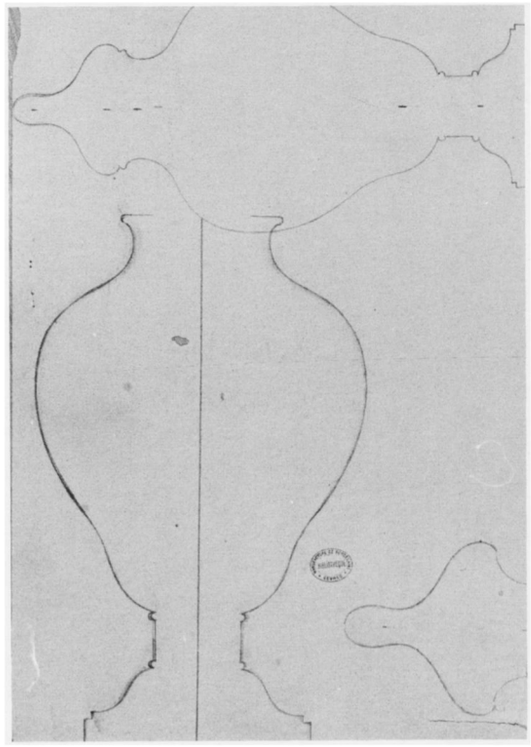


Fig. 16. Page non signée représentant les profiles des deux pots-pourris "à feuillage" de tailles differents avec leur couvercles, Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale, Archives, armoire 1, liasse 3, fol. 3.

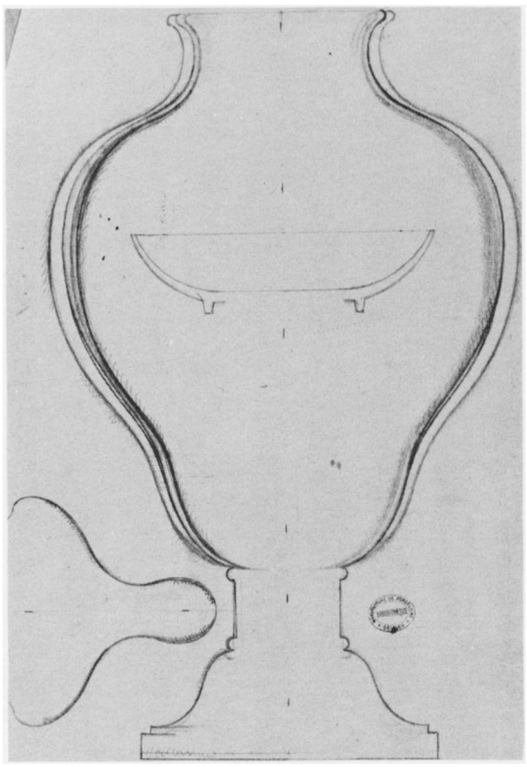


Fig. 17. Page non signée représentant plusiers profils de pots-pourris "à feuillages" de meme hauteur. Le couvercle est dessiné en bas, à gauche. Au centre est représenté le profile d'une cuvette avec indications d'epaisseurs, Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale, Archives, armoire 1, liasse 3, fol. 4.

la création de modèles. Quant aux pieds en forme de sabots qui sont une des caractéristiques du mobilier du début du XVIIIe siècle, ils se retrouvent également sur certaines pièces d'orfèvrerie de cette époque, comme on peut s'en rendre compte sur des tableaux de François Desportes, appartenant à la Manufacture de Sèvres, qui représentent des pièces réalisées pour le jeune Louis XV: un surtout[21] (fig. 14) livré en 1719 par Nicolas Besnier et des sucriers[22] qui auraient été ceux du service des petits cabinets du Roi à Versailles, livrés de 1735 à 1737 par Claude II Ballin. Une autre oeuvre[23] montre également une terrine posée sur des pieds se terminant par des sabots.

Si les archives de la manufacture de Sèvres sont muettes sur la date de création de la pendule, il n'en est pas de même pour les pot-pourris dont le matériel de fabrication, en trois grandeurs, est, en effet, signalé, sous le nom de pot-pourri "à feuillage [*sic*]" dans l'inventaire du premier janvier 1762 parmi le travail de 1761[24]. Ce pot-pourri est également appelé pot-pourri "feuilles de Mirtre [*sic*]" en août 1761 dans les registres de défournement[25], nom qui est repris en 1766

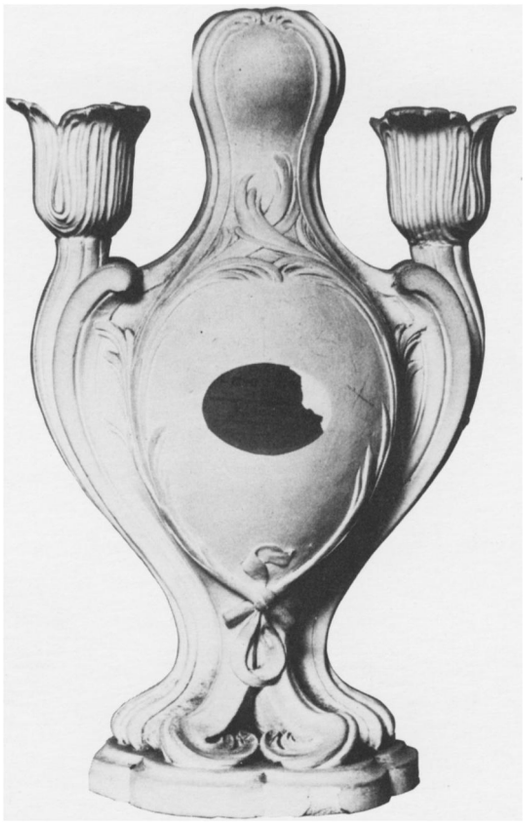


Fig. 18. Modèle en plâtre de pot-pourri "girandole" ou "à bobèches", portant le nom de "Flambeau forme vase" qui lui fut donné au XIX$_e$ siècle, Sèvres, Manufacture Nationale.

dans les registres de vente au sujet de la livraison au secrétaire d'état Bertin de deux "vases feuilles de Mirte"[26]. L'inventaire du XIX[e] siècle se fait l'echo de cette dernière appellation puisque le modèle en plâtre qui subsiste encore à la Manufacture fut baptisé "Vase pot pourri Myrthe"[27] (fig. 15). L'appellation la plus souvent usitée dans les archives reste, cependant, celle de pot-pourri "à feuillages." Les archives de la Manufacture conservent également deux dessins sur lesquels ces pot-pourris sont reproduits en trois grandeurs[28] (figs. 16, 17). L'exemplaire de la Walters Art Gallery est de la deuxième grandeur. Il correspond à la taille du modèle en plâtre. Malgré la mise en fabrication, la même année d'un modèle simplifié, sans feuillages[29], le pot-pourri "à feuillages", connut un très grand succès[30] dont témoigne le nombre important d'exemplaires ayant survécu[31].

Les pot-pourris "à bobèches", en revanche, troisième élément de cette garniture, sont beaucoup plus rares. On en connaît, en effet, seulement deux paires dans des collections publiques[32] et une paire dans une collection privée[33]. Il faut sans doute les reconnaître dans les pot-pourris "girandole" dont les moules et modèles apparaissent dans l'inventaire du premier octobre 1759. Le modèle en plâtre[34] (fig. 18), inventorié au XIXe siècle sous le nom de "Flambeau forme vase", subsiste encore à la Manufacture. Les exemplaires qui accompagnaient la pendule et les pot-pourris "à feuillages", au château de Ménars semblent avoir disparu. Deux pot-pourris de ce type, cependant, à fond "turquoise" et à décor "chinois", qui auraient pu faire partie de la garniture de madame de Pompadour, figurèrent à une vente en 1874[35] (fig. 19).

La fragilité des binets de porcelaine ajourée devait, sans doute, rendre ces luminaires très vulnérables à la chaleur des bougies. Les pot-pourris "à bobèches" de madame de Pompadour, si on accepte de les reconnaître dans la vente du duc de Praslin en 1793[36] auraient été cassés dès le XVIIIe siècle. Peut-être étaient-ils déjà cassés du vivant de madame de Pompadour, bien que l'inventaire après-décès de cette dernière n'en fasse pas mention, ce qui expliqueraient qu'ils aient été rangés dans un placard?

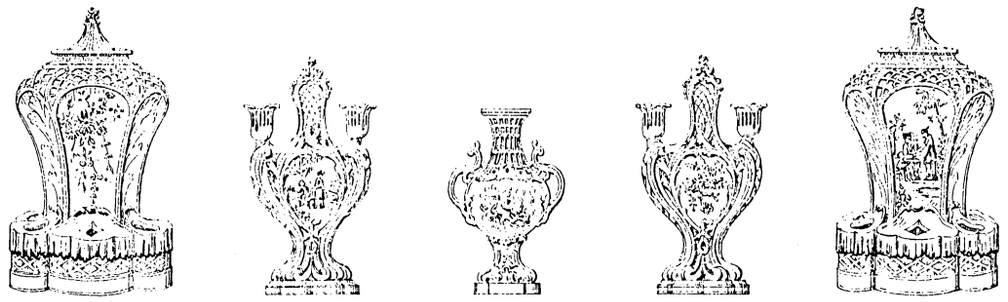


Fig. 19. Page du catalogue de la vente Goding, en 1874, montrant les deux pots-pourris verts à décor "chinois".

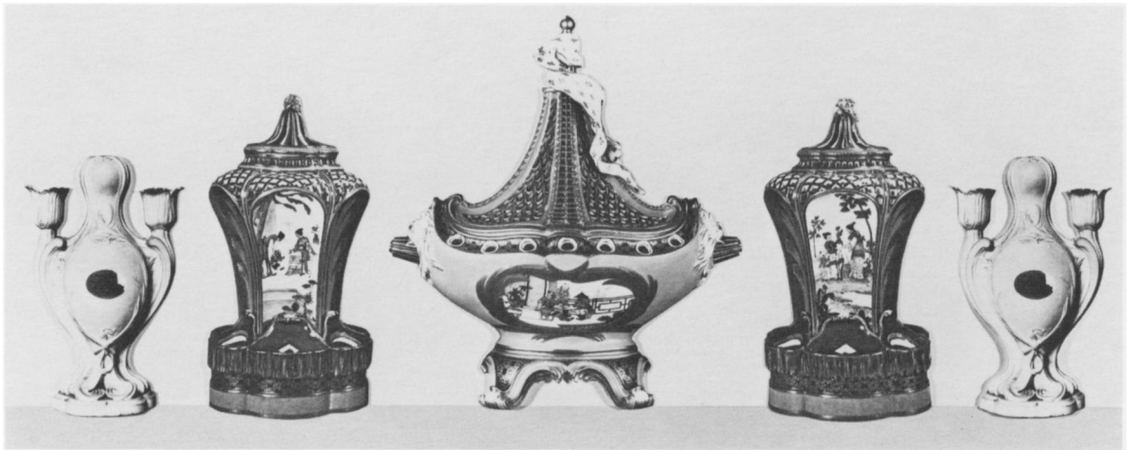


Fig. 20. Montage photographie restituant l'aspect probable de la garniture du pot-pourri "vaisseau" (Musée du Louvre), avec les pots-pourris "fontaine" (J. Paul Getty Museum), et le modèle en plâtre du pot-pourris "girandole" ou "à bobèches" (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres).

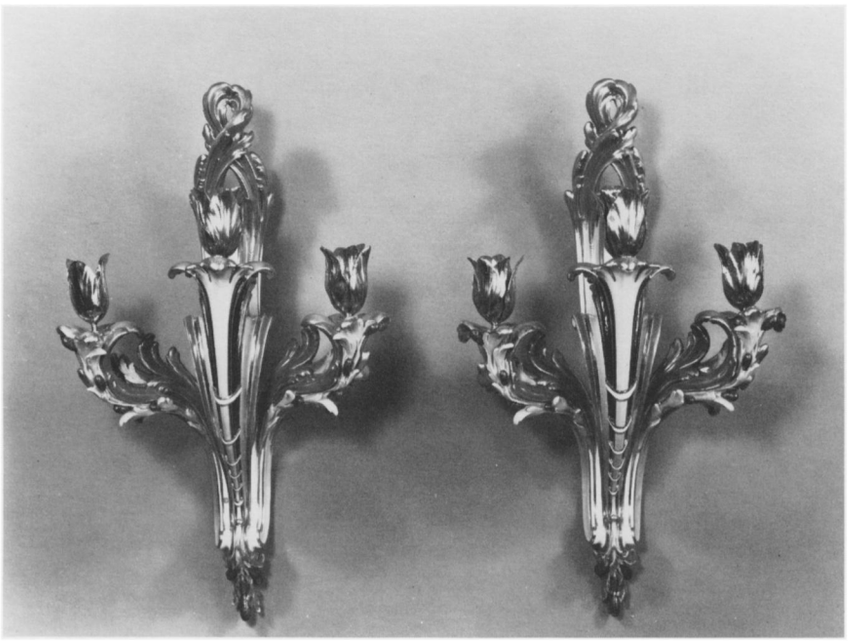


Fig. 21. Paire de "bras de cheminée duplessis", Porcelaine tendre, Sèvres, Paris, Musée du Louvre, départment des Objects d'art, nos. OA 11027-11028.

On peut se demander, également, si cette garniture n'aurait pas pu être complétée, à l'origine, par une paire de bras de lumière. La garniture du pot-pourri "vaisseau", qui d'ailleurs comprenait également une paire de pot-pourris "à bobèches, maintenant disparue (fig. 20), était, en effet, pourvue de deux "bras de cheminéee duplessis", maintenant au Musée du Louvre[37] (fig. 21). L'inventaire après-décès de madame de Pompadour signale bien qu'il se trouvait "Deux bras de cheminée à trois branches et trois bobèches de cuivre doré d'or moulu" en porcelaine de Sèvres dans le "Grand Cabinet", au rez-de-chaussée du château de Ménars[38]. On peut remarquer que la tablette de la cheminée de cette pièce semble être vide puisqu'on n'y signale aucune pendule, ni aucune autre pièce d'ornement. La garniture de la pendule du Musée du Louvre et des pot-pourris de la Walters Art Gallery auraient donc très bien pu orner la cheminée de cette pièce qui servait sans doute, comme le suppose Jean Cordey, de cabinet de travail à madame de Pompadour.[39]

Ainsi, avec la garniture du pot-pourri "vaisseau", dont trois pièces sont au Musée du Louvre et deux autres au J. Paul Getty Museum à Malibu, la garniture de la pendule, dont les éléments connus pourraient se trouver au Musée du Louvre et à la Walters Art Gallery, serait la deuxième garniture reconstituée ayant appartenu à cette grande protectrice de Sèvres que fut madame de Pompadour (fig. 22).[40]

NOTES

1. *No.* OA 10899 (H.38.0 cm). *Provenance:* marquise de Pompadour (1721-1764; jusqu'en 1764) (?), Renault-César-Louis de Choiseul, duc de Praslin (1735-1791; la vente de ses biens, dans laquelle on pourrait reconnaître cette pendule, eut lieu en 1793) (?), Edouard Chappey (jusqu'en 1907, date de sa vente, dans laquelle figure cette pendule), E. M. Hodgkins, Sir Robert Abdy, Sir Valentine Abdy. Acquise par arrêté du 2 mai 1982. *Bibliographie:* A.-J.Paillet, *Catalogue des tableaux précieux des écoles d'Italie, de Flandres, de Hollande et de France; . . . Le tout provenant du cabinet de feu M. Choiseul-Praslin,* Paris, 1792, 123, No. 338(?) (ci-après, Paillet, *Catalogue); Catalogue des objets d'art et d'ameublement, anciennes porcelaines de Sèvres . . . dépendant des collections de M. Edouard Chappey (troisième vente),* Galerie Georges Petit, Paris (27-31 mai 1907), 18, No. 1105, reproduite (ci-après, *Catalogue*); Comte X. de Chavagnac, "Porcelaines de Sèvres. Collection E. M. Hodgkins" *Les Arts* 89 (mai 1909), 23, reproduite (ci-après, Chavagnac, "Porcelaines"); "Recent Acquisitions by Major Museums," *The Burlington Magazine* /127 (1985), 339, No. 15, reproduite. *Expositions: Special Exhibition of Sèvres Porcelain on View at the Galleries of E. M. Hodgkins,* Londres 1908, 6, No. 3 (ci-après, *Special Exhibition*); *La porcelaine française de 1673 à 1914,* Paris, Pavillon de Marsan (1929), 57, No. 652; *Musée du Louvre: Nouvelles acquisitions du département des Objets d'art, 1980-1984,* Paris, Musée du Louvre (1985), No. 79, reproduite (ci-après, *Nouvelles acquisitions*).

2. Jean Romilly (1714-1796), horloger d'origine genevoise qui travailla à Paris, fut reçu maître en 1752. Il fut l'un des plus célèbres horlogers du XVIII[e] siècle. Il collabora notamment à

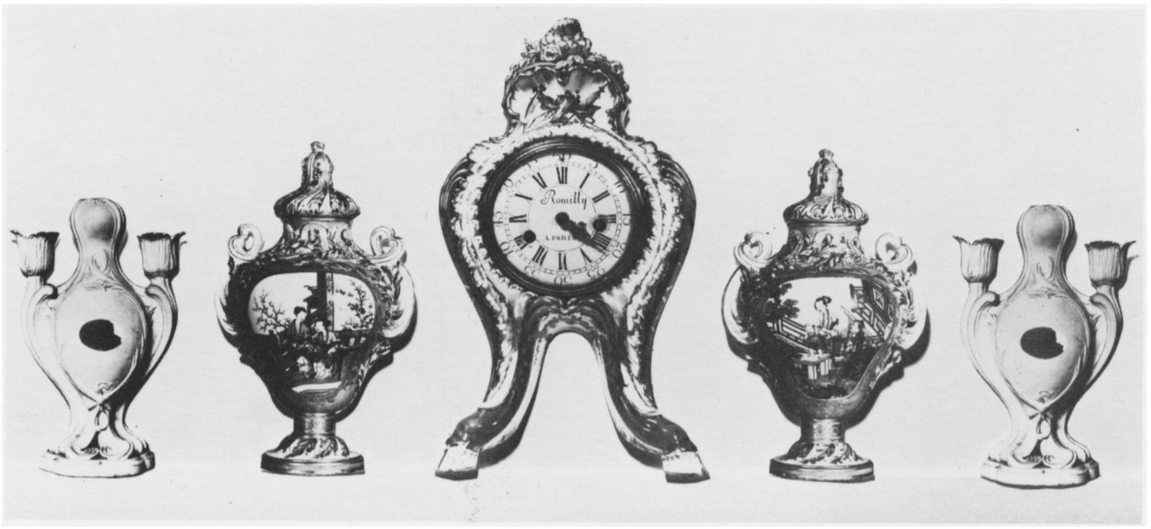


Fig. 22. Montage photographique restituant l'aspect probable de la garniture de madame de Pompadour, avec le pendule (Musée du Louvre), les pots-pourris "à feuillages" (Walters Art Gallery), et le modèle en plâtre du pot-pourri "girandole" ou "à bobèches" (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres).

l' *Encyclopédie* de Diderot (voir: C. Cardinal, *Catalogue des montres du Musée du Louvre I, la Collection Olivier* Paris, 1984, 248).

3. *Important Continental Porcelain. The Properties of the Rt. Hon. The Lord Hillingdon . . .* , Christie, Manson & Woods, Londres, (25 mars 1968), No. 66, reproduite, Photograph courtesy Christie, Manson & Woods.

4. Nous avons signalé que la nuance de vert de la pendule du Musée du Louvre est assez proche du "bleu céleste" pour qu'on puisse parfois commettre la confusion. C'est notamment ainsi qu'elle est décrite par X. de Chavagnac, dans l'article qu'il a consacré aux porcelaines de la collection Hodgkins, en 1909 (voir note 1). La couleur de cette pendule est néanmoins qualifiée le plus souvent de "bleu turquoise".

5. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, Vy 3, fol. 32v. On trouve, en fait, une mention de pendule dès décembre 1749, à propos d'un paiement effectué à Le Boiteux pour une pendule qui fut donnée à Machault d'Arnouville. Mais, comme le fait remarquer Mme Tamara Préaud, il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un exemplaire de *L'Heure du Berger,* voir: *Porcelaines de Vincennes. Les origines de Sèvres,* Paris, Grand Palais (1977-1978), 61. On trouve encore une pendule mentionnée dans les registres de défournement de biscuit, le 8 novembre 1756, accompagnée de cette observation: "fentes" (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Mss 5673, fol. 66). Peut-être cette pendule est-elle une des deux pendules de biscuit mises au rebut, citées dans l'inventaire du premier janvier 1757 (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, carton I 7).

6. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, Vy 3, fol. 115 v.

7. J. Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour après son décès,* Paris, 1939, 187, Nos. 2272 et 2274 (Ci-après, Cordey, *Inventaire*).

8. *Ibid.*, note 1.

9. La pendule du Musée du Louvre et les deux pot-pourris de la Walters Art Gallery sont reproduits sur la même photographie dans le catalogue de la vente des collections de E. Chappey, en 1907 (voir note 1). Il est à remarquer que les deux pot-pourris ne portaient pas la monture en bronze doré dont ils sont actuellement pourvus.

10. *Inv.*48.590 et 48.591 (H. 28 cm). *Provenance:* marquise de Pompadour (1721-1764; jusqu'en 1764), Renault-César-Louis de Choiseul, duc de Praslin (1735-1791; la vente de ses biens, dans laquelle on pourrait reconnaître ces deux pot-pourris, eut lieu en 1793), Edouard Chappey (jusqu'en 1907, date de sa vente, dans laquelle figurent ces deux pot-pourris), E. M. Hodgkins, Henry Walters (acquis en 1928 chez A. Seligmann, Rey & Co). *Bibliographie:* A.-J.Paillet, *Catalogue,* 123, No. 338; *Catalogue,* 18, No. 1106, reproduits; Chavagnac, "Porcelaines," 22, reproduits; *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Old Sèvres Porcelain, Louis XV and Louis XVI Period Belonging to E. M. Hodgkins. Paris,* (s.l.,s.d.), Nos. 2 et 3, reproduits; C.-Ch. Dauterman, "Chinoiserie *Motifs* and Sèvres: Some Fresh Evidence," *Apollo* 84 (1966), 479, figs. 5 et 6; R. Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Painting at Sèvres," *American Ceramic Circle Bulletin,* 1970-71, No. 1, (1975), fig. 11 (ci-après, Freyberger, "Chinese Genre"); *Nouvelles acquisitions,* fig 79a. *Expositions: Special Exhibition,* 5, No. 1; *Age of Elegance: The Rococo and Its Effects,* Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art (1959), No. 152; *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain,* New York, The Frick Collection (1980), No. 32; *The Taste of Maryland,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (1984), No. 165.

11. Communication orale.

12. Ce terme "petit verd" est cependant employé à plusieurs reprises dans les archives de la Manufacture. Le Roi, par exemple, acheta le 24 décembre 1761, trois déjeuners "petit verd et frize" ainsi que deux vases "hollandais" "petit verd Marine" (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, Vy 3, fol. 82v).

13. Inv. MNC 24973. Acquise en vente publique le 18 décembre 1981 (Vente *Faïences et porcelaines,* Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 18 décembre 1981, No. 128). La pendule du Musée de Sèvres porte la marque habituelle de Sèvres inscrivant la lettre-date C (1755), ainsi que la lettre U, pour un peintre ou doreur non identifié, dessinés à l'or. Cette marque est sans doute fausse mais on ne peut, néanmoins, pas exclure la possibilité d'une marque authentique recouverte de dorure au moment où la pendule a été décorée ou redécorée.

14. Pour la biographie de Charles-Nicolas Dodin, voir: S. Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor:*

Sèvres Porcelain, Fribourg, 1968, 323-324 (ci-après, Eriksen, *Rothschild Collection* .)

15. Voir Freyberger, "Chinese Genre," 29-44. Freyberger recense quatre de ces pièces datées portant le sigle de Charles-Nicolas Dodin: 1) une cuvette "Courteille" conservée au Metropolitan Museum of Art à New York, datée 1761 (lettre-date I); 2) une paire de cuvettes "Mahon" également datée 1761, au British Museum à Londres; 3) une paire de vases "hollandais", au Rijksmuseum d'Amsterdam, datée 1763 (lettre-date K); 4) une paire de vases "gobelet à dauphins" (sans dauphins) faisant partie des collections de Viscount Gage, à Firle Place dans le Sussex, datée 1763 également. Un petit plateau illustré dans le catalogue de la vente de la collection de madame Gemeau (Hôtel Drouot, Paris, [24-25 février 1938], No. 97, reproduit) mais dont la localisation actuelle est inconnue aurait porté la lettre-date I pour 1761.

16. Inv. OA 10965. (H. 37 cm). Voir *Nouvelles acquisitions,* No. 78.

17. Freyberger, "Chinese Genre," 41.

18. Inv. OA 6884 (H. 46 cm).

19. Voir F.J.B. Watson, *Wallace Collection Catalogues: Furniture,* London, 1956, 96, pl. 52.

20. Voir: G. Levallet, "Jean-Claude Duplessis, Orfèvre du Roi", *La Renaissance de l'art français* (février 1922), 60-67.

21. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, S. 268 (voir exp. *L'Atelier de Desportes,* Paris, Musée du Louvre [1982-1983], No. 135).

22. *Ibid.* S. 194 (*ibid.,* No. 134).

23. *Ibid.,* S. 174 (déposé au Musée National du château de Compiègne).

24. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, carton I 7.

25. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Mss 5676, fol. 14v .

26. Eriksen, *Rothschild Collection,* 168, No. 52.

27. H. 31,5 cm.

28. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, armoire 1, liasse 3, fols. 3 et 4. Dim.: fol. 3, H. 36 cm, L. 24 cm; fol. 4, H. 32,5 cm, L. 22 cm.

29. Voir: M. Brunet et T. Preaud, *Sèvres. Des origines à nos jours* Fribourg, 1978, no. 119.

30. L'inventaire du premier janvier 1762 signale six pot-pourris "à feuillages" à 36 livres en biscuit et l'inventaire du premier janvier 1763 n'en signale pas moins de treize, au même prix (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, carton I 7).

31. Voir: M. Brunet, "French Pottery and Porcelains," *The Frick Collection. An Illustrated Catalogue, Porcelains,* New York, 1974, 248. Mlle Marcelle Brunet en compte vingt de différentes grandeurs dans des collections publiques, dont la paire de la Walters Art Gallery et les trois de la Frick Collection, répartis entre la Huntington Art Gallery à San Marino en Californie, le Philadelphia Museum of Art, la Wallace Collection à Londres et Waddesdon Manor. Le Musée des Arts décoratifs de Paris en conserve un exemplaire en blanc. On peut encore ajouter à cette série une paire au Detroit Institute of Arts.

32. Au Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Voir C.-Ch. Dauterman, "Sèvres Porcelains" *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection,* New York, 1964, 204-205, no. 37 a-b, fig. 147-150) et J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (voir G. Wilson "Sèvres Porcelain at the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 4 [1977], 20-21).

33. L'auteur adresse ses remerciements à M. Adrian Sassoon qui lui a signalé une paire de pot-pourris "à bobèches" ayant jadis fait partie des collections de The Antique Porcelain Co. à New York, appartenant maintenant à une collection privée de Chicago.

34. H. 25 cm.

35. *Catalogue of a Remarkably Choice Collection of Old Sèvres Porcelain, the Property of a Well-known Collector* [W. Goding], Christie, Manson & Woods, London, (19 mars 1874), no.99 (renseignement transmis par M. Adrian Sassoon).

36. La vente eut lieu le 18 février 1793 "et jours suivants". Voir Paillet, *Catalogue,* 123, no. 338: "Une garniture de cheminée, composée de cinq pièces de porcelaine de Sève, fond bleu céleste & à cartouches de sujets Chinois. Cet article intéressant présente pour pièce de milieu une pendule, mouvement de *Romilli* (sic) à Paris, deux vases avec leur couvecle (sic) découpés à jour, & deux girandoles garnies de leurs bobêches (sic) découpés à jour, dont une est entièrement cassée." Un exemplaire annoté de ce catalogue de vente, conservé à la bibliothèque de l'Institut (Duplessis 8° 418) nous indique que le prix de vente de la garniture fut de 515 francs.

37. Inv. OA 11027-11028. (H. 43 cm) Les "bras de cheminée duplessis" sont signalés dans l'inventaire du premier janvier 1761, parmi les modèles de 1760 (Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, carton I 7).

38. Cordey, *Inventaire,* No. 1942.

39. *Ibid.*, note 1.

40. L'auteur adresse ses remerciements tout particuliers à Mlle Rosalind Savill. Il remercie également Mme Tamara Préaud, Mlle Michele Beiny, M. Antoine d'Albis, M. Hugo Morley-Fletcher, M. Adrian Sassoon et M. Michel Vandermeersch qui ont permis de mener à bien cet article.

A Classical Revival Ivory Tankard in The Walters Art Gallery

BERNARD BARRYTE
Joslyn Art Museum

Around the turn of the century, during what might be called the "heroic age" of art collecting in America, Henry Walters distinguished himself among the truly great collectors by his enthusiasm for the decorative arts. Characteristic of his taste for precious objects displaying fine craftsmanship, he accumulated more than four hundred western ivories that range in date from antiquity to his own time.[1]

Although ivory was used only infrequently in Italy after the Middle Ages, Mr. Walters was able to secure a splendid nineteenth-century Italian Neoclassic ivory tankard (figs. 1,2).[2] Bold in ornamentation, this object is notable not only for the beauty of its carving, but also for its interest as a document in the history of taste. Specifically, it provides an example in the minor arts of the "Iphigenia revival," which formed an important theme in the Neoclassical revival of the antique;[3] its subject matter, Orestes and Pylades with Iphigenia in Tauris, is associated with the imagery of several key monuments of this movement. In its treatment of the subject, however, the Walters tankard demonstrates the popularization of antique themes as decorative motifs, distinct from the antiquarian erudition and ideals underlying the Neoclassic movement.

Nothing is known of the tankard's history before 1 April 1880, when it was auctioned in Florence as part of the collection of Count Girolamo Possenti of Fabriano. A highlight of the sale, this "superb sixteenth-century Italian work" was thought to depict an "antique sacrifice."[4] Museum records affirm only that Henry Walters acquired the tankard prior to 1931 from one of his usual sources, the Venetian dealer Ferdinando Ongania. Soon after Mr. Walters' death, the tankard was correctly identified as an example of early nineteenth-century craftsmanship. In this early inventory, however, the relief was thought to represent scenes from the legend of the Dioscuri.

In fact, the earlier interpretation of the relief was more accurate: the ten figures carved in deep relief replicate figures on a second-century Roman sarcophagus ornamented with scenes from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (fig. 3).[5] The play takes up the tragic tale of Orestes after he has killed his mother in order to avenge her participation in the murder of his father, Agamemnon. Orestes follows the dictates of Apollo to free himself from the wrath of the Furies, who torment him for matricide. The hero travels to Tauris with Pylades, hoping to steal the cult statue of Artemis and bring it to Athens. Upon his arrival in this barbaric northern kingdom, Orestes and his companion are captured and taken to the temple, where local custom demands that all Greeks be sacrificed to the lunar goddess Artemis. This moment is depicted in the central scene on the sarcophagus. The ivory carver has reproduced accurately the Classical composition, which shows Orestes and Pylades bound as prisoners, facing the priestess who will purify them for sacrifice to the goddess, whose statue is visible in the background.

To fill lacunae in the marble prototype certain elements that distort the Classical narrative have been

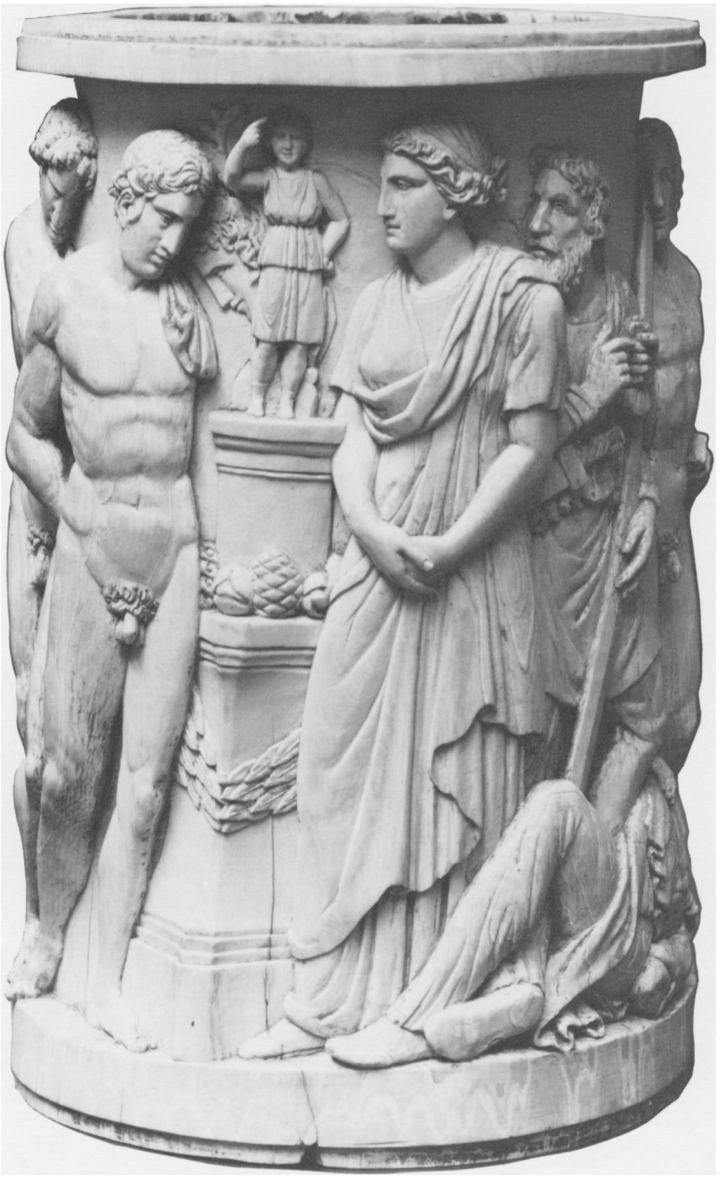


Fig. 1 Tankard, *Orestes and Pylades with Iphigenia in Tauris,* Ivory, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 71.348.

invented. The scene on the left represents the priestess reciting the letter that reveals her identity as Orestes' sister, Iphigenia. Missing from the sarcophagus are Iphigenia's right forearm and the hand in which she presumably held the writing tablet inscribed with her letter. In the ivory version of the discovery scene, Iphigenia makes an inappropriately beguiling gesture towards her brother with her invented right arm. In a similar departure from the Classical narrative, the scene on the right has been given a conspiratorial connotation on the tankard: rather than holding the sword suggested by the surviving marble pommel and the scabbard that he clutches with his left hand, the nude Orestes on the ivory appears to pass a bag of coins to the Scythian on his right. In this context, the twisted body in the foreground suggests foul play rather than the struggle to escape from Tauris described by Euripides. Although it is clearly illustrated on the extreme right of the sarcophagus, the associated episode in which Orestes helps his sister into his galley has been deleted from the ivory.

While lack of space on the tankard undoubtedly prompted this omission, the other "restorations" suggest that a lithograph published in 1831 by Antonio Sanquirico (fig. 4) served as the source for the ivory carver's design. (It is less probable that both the tankard and the lithograph depend upon a common, lost design.) Together with its Italian provenance, use of this source, which did not enjoy wide circulation,[6] suggests that the tankard originated in Italy, presumably

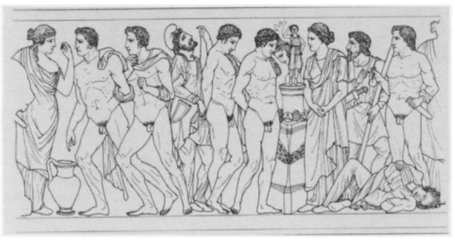


Fig. 2. Drawing after Figure 1.

Fig. 4. C. Rizzardini, *Basso rilievo del Palazzo Grimani in Venezia, rapresetante l'Oresteide. Opera greca in marmo statuario illustrate dal Signor A. L. Millin,* Lithograph, 1831.

Fig. 3. Sarcophagus, *Orestes and Pylades in Tauris*, Marble, Weimar, Schlossmuseum, no. G1744; line drawing after, from S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains* (Paris, 1912), II, 92.

Fig. 5. Engraving after the sarcophagus in Figure 3, used to illustrate Aubin Louis Millin, *L'Orestéide, ou description de deux bas-reliefs du Palais Grimani Venise. . . .*, Paris, 1817.

in Venice, and probably during the 1830s.

The sarcophagus upon which the Walters tankard is based was probably excavated on the Grimani land on the Quirinal in Rome, by either Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523) or his nephew Giovanni, patriarch of Aquileia (c.1500–93).[7] It may have been one of the *"due tavole historiate . . . tutte di marmo, antiche"* for which Giovanni sought an export license on 22 February 1575.[8] In any case, two sarcophagi with Orestian reliefs were installed as overdoor decorations in a room frescoed by Giovanni da Udine in the Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, Venice.[9] After the patriarch died, leaving his antiquities to Venice, the Grimani heirs were unwilling to dislodge the imbedded reliefs. They contested the will and won their suit.[10] The sarcophagus remained in the palace until the 1830s, when its contents were dispersed by the renowned Venetian art dealer, Antonio Sanquirico.[11]

Prior to their sale, descriptions of the two Grimani sarcophagi were published by the French antiquarian Aubin Louis Millin (1759–1818) in his essay, *L'Orestéide, ou description de deux bas-reliefs du Palais Grimani Venise . . .* (Paris, 1817). Applying the method established in his influential *Galerie Mythologique* (Paris, 1811), Millin assembled a corpus of related artifacts and literary sources and discussed the Grimani sarcophagi within this context, analyzing the Orestian myth and the cults mentioned in the legend.[12]

Sanquirico was familiar with Millin's essay when he embarked on the sale of the Grimani estate. In order to promote sales, this innovative dealer initiated publication of an elaborate illustrated catalogue, *Monumenti del Museo Grimani pubblicati nell'anno 1831,* in which he cited Millin's essay as a virtual endorsement for the sarcophagi, and also adopted the plate accompanying Millin's text for his own purposes.[13]

Whereas the actual appearance of the sarcophagus is documented in the engraving that illustrates Millin's essay (fig. 5), the damage wrought by time has been repaired without trace or comment in C. Rizzardini's lithograph for Sanquirico. It is difficult to say uncategorically that this graphic "restoration" was intended to deceive potential clients. That Sanquirico was an astute and enterprising dealer is unquestionable. It is therefore possible that he sought to represent the sarcophagus in its pristine condition. The contemporary restoration of Ludwig I's Aegina marbles (Munich, Glyptotek) by the Neoclassic sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen suggests that connoisseurs and artists continued to prefer their antique statues in perfect condition.[14] While it is possible that Sanquirico shared this taste, his "less than scrupulous attention to archaeological accuracy betrays the immediate commercial end."[15] Whereas the missing elements hypothesized in Millin's etching are consistent with Euripides' text, Sanquirico chose to disregard the Classical narrative in his reconstruction. Instead, he published a version that appealed directly to the new Romantic sensibility. In his reconstruction, the figures act out a drama with a plot that apparently involves captivity, rivalry, conspiracy, and bloodshed. This design was accepted uncriti-

Fig. 6. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *Goethe in the Campagna of Rome,* Oil on Canvas, Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

Fig. 7. Benjamin West, *Pylades and Orestes Brought as Victims before Iphigenia,* Oil on Canvas, London, Tate Gallery.

cally and reproduced by the nineteenth-century carver of The Walters' ivory tankard.

Personal taste, and perhaps family tradition, rather than Sanquirico's promotional efforts, were probably responsible for the acquisition of the Grimani Sarcophagus by Archduke Karl Alexander von Sachsen-Weimar (1818–1901) during his Italian tour of 1834–35. In 1775, the Archduke's grandfather, Duke Karl Augustus (1775–1828), invited Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1748–1832) to Weimar, where management of the court's amateur theatricals were among the writer's diverse responsibilities. When Goethe produced the prose version of his *Iphigenia in Tauris* in 1779, Karl Augustus graced the boards as Pylades in the third performanace, playing opposite the author as Orestes.[16] Goethe remained dissatisfied with his text, however, and in 1786 began a version in verse. He took this manuscript with him when, that September, he departed precipitately for Italy.

While in Rome, Goethe was befriended by the painter, Johann Heinrich Tischbein (1751–1829). In his journal, Goethe noted that on 29 December Tischbein informed him that he was working on the writer's portrait:

> I have often noticed Tischbein giving me a close scrutiny and now the reason has come out; he is thinking of painting my portrait. The sketch is already finished, and he has already stretched the canvas. He wants to paint me as a traveler, wrapped in a white cloak, sitting on an obelisk and looking toward the ruins of the Campagna di Roma in the background.[17]

A preliminary sketch in the Goethe Nationalmuseum, Weimar, also includes the suggestion of a fragmentary relief behind the tumbled obelisk upon which Goethe reclines. Six days after Tischbein revealed his plans, Goethe noted that his *Iphigenia* was finished.[18] This accomplishment no doubt prompted the painter to include in the portrait, now in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, a specific reference to the drama that Goethe had completed in his studio (fig. 6).[19]

Unlike Angelica Kaufmann, whom Goethe reports as having illustrated "the turning point in the play, the moment when Orestes comes out of his swoon and finds himself in the presence of his sister and friend,"[20] Tischbein chose to depict Orestes and Pylades bound as prisoners, an episode that twenty years earlier had been singled out for illustration by Benjamin West in his acclaimed *Iphigenia in Tauris* of 1766, which is now at the Tate Gallery, London (fig. 7). The appearance that year of a new edition of Gilbert West's 1749 translation of Euripides' play well may have inclined Benjamin West or his patron, the influential Sir George Beaumont, toward this subject. The choice of this particular episode probably was determined by Classical artifacts, which provided the motifs that West skillfully synthesized into an original composition. Both artist and patron were familiar with the ancient fresco depicting Orestes and Pylades bound as prisoners, which was preserved at Herculaneum and published in 1757; West surely knew, also, the related composition on a sarcophagus then in the

Villa Ridolfi, Rome, which provided models for his figures of Orestes and Pylades.[21]

Tischbein certainly was familiar with both West's painting and his sources. During the year following West's triumph at the Royal Academy, the Ridolfi sarcophagus was published by Winckelmann in the second volume of his *Monumenti antichi inediti* (149) and West's painting itself was engraved by James Basire for Boydell in 1771. Most significantly, the harmony between moral and physical beauty achieved by West was praised by Tischbein's friend, Johann Caspar Lavater, who included two engravings of details in the first volume of his *Physiognomische Fragmente.*[22] That Tischbein was familiar with the Herculaneum fresco is documented in his watercolor copy in the Frankfurter Goethe-Museum, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, and by his use of that composition in a watercolor variant of his own canvas at the Goethe Nationalmuseum, Weimar.[23] It is evident that Classic and contemporary precedents influenced this element of Tischbein's idealized portrait of Goethe. On the fictive bas-relief of his finished canvas, Tischbein, too, paraphrased his sources, creating a pictorial allusion to Goethe's success in paraphrasing Euripides.[24]

The torment of the protagonists, the joy of discovery, and the moral dilemma that confronted Orestes and Iphigenia provided eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists, writers, and performers with an occasion for presenting the succession of intense emotions that appealed to their audiences. In 1779, the year in which Goethe first produced his play at Weimar, the German composer, C. W. Gluck introduced his opera, with a libretto adapted by N. F. Guillard from M. de la Touche's 1757 *Iphigenia in Tauride.*[25] The year after Tischbein completed Goethe's portrait, the artist returned to the subject of Iphigenia in an independent painting, *The Recognition of Orestes by His Sister,* which is in the Furst von Waldek collection, Arolsen, Schloss. The heroine in that work is a portrait of Emma, Lady Hamilton.[26] That Iphigenia was a permanent feature in Lady Hamilton's repertoire of "attitudes" is documented by F. Rehberg in his drawing, engraved by Tommaso Piroli, and published in 1794.[27] Interest in the subject persisted into the nineteenth century. Upon entering Benjamin West's studio in 1809, Thomas Sully produced as his first project a copy of West's *Iphigenia.*[28] A general familiarity with the subject is suggested by the writer Ludwig Strack's immediate recognition of the motif when he saw the unfinished portrait of Goethe in Tischbein's studio in 1787.[29]

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Orestes and Iphigenia appeared in their original forms and in the guise of various literary and pictorial paraphrases. Their frequent appearance was symptomatic of the serious interest in Classical themes that was shared by the intellectual avant garde associated with the Neoclassic movement. The nobility with which the protagonists suffered adversity was perceived as relevant and exemplary; the rigor with which they responded to their extraordinary fate stirred the imagination. As with other historical and mythical figures who entered or re-entered the intellectual lexicon of the time, Orestes and Iphigenia exerted an appeal beyond the realm of antiquarianism in keeping with the increasing emphasis on moral and ideological rectitude.

Popularity was a consequence of the enthusiasm for the Antique, and it became a characteristic of the age to replicate antiquities in a variety of media and in different scales.[30] While the Walters tankard is related to this phenomenon, its appearance in the 1830s is symptomatic of a major transition in the perception of the Antique, concomitant with alterations in social and political attitudes. With its modified narrative, the design of the tankard is indicative of both a domestication of antique subject matter and of a persisting taste for Classical form as a preference in decorative style. Reflecting Sanquirico's lack of concern for the literary significance of the relief, the anonymous ivory carver has created a fashionable object, the antique appearance of which was intended primarily as an expression of taste; only on a secondary level does it evoke the emotional response associated with Romantic nostalgia. In this manifestation, the figures of Orestes and Iphigenia are no longer symbols of the Neoclassic ideology of virtue, but simply dramatic embellishments, making the tankard a vessel of beauty.

NOTES

1. These ivories, as well as Near Eastern and Egyptian examples, are discussed by R. Randall *et al.* in *Ivories in the Collection of The Walters Art Gallery* (forthcoming).

2. Acc. No. 71.348.

3. This phrase was coined by J. Moffitt, "The Poet and the Painter: J. H. W. Tischbein's 'Perfect Portrait' of *Goethe in the Campagna* (1786–1787)," *Art Bulletin* 65 (1983), 440–55 (hereafter, Moffitt, "Tischbein.")

4. *Catalogue d'Objets d'Art et de Curiosité formant la collection de . . . le Comte Girolamo Possenti de Fabriano* (Rome, 1880), lot 125, pl.13 (misnumbered as 124): *"Grand et beau cippe en ivoire décoré d'un relief representant un sacrifice antique. . . . Superb travail italien du XVI^me^ siècle."*

5. Weimar, Schlossmuseum (inv. no.G1744). See C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarcophag-reliefs* (Berlin, 1890), II, no. 172 (hereafter, Robert, *Sarcophag-reliefs* .)

6. M. Perry, "Antonio Sanquirico, Art Merchant of Venice," *Labyrinthos* 1(1982), 71-73 and 84-85. Perry's discussion is based upon documents collected by E. A. Cicogna and preserved in the Biblioteca Correr, Venice (hereafter, Perry, "Sanquirico.")

7. On the Grimani collection, see P. Paschini, "Le collezione archeologiche dei Prelati Grimani del cinquecento," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* (1926-27), 149-90 (hereafter, Paschini, "Prelati Grimani."); M. Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 215-44; M. Perry, " The Statuario Publico of the Venetian Republic," *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte* 8 (1972), 75-150, esp. n. 14, for additional bibliography.

8. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Veneti in Roma nel secoli XV, XVI, e XVII* (Venice, 1884; reprint Bologna, 1965), 27.

9. Robert, *Sarcophag-reliefs,* 183. The second Grimani sarcophagus is also in Weimar (Robert, *Sarcophag-reliefs,* no.178). On the decoration of the palace, see M. Perry, "A Renaissance Showplace of Art: The Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, Venice," *Apollo* 113 (1981), 215-21. On Giovanni da Udine's decorations, see V. Marpillero, "L'Opera di Giovanni da Udine nel Palazzo Grimani a S. Maria Formosa," *La Panarià* 74 (1937), 106-18.

10. Paschini, "Prelati Grimani," 167-68.

11. Perry, "Sanquirico," 67-111, esp. 70-74.

12. On Millin's accomplishments and contemporary reputation, see B. J. Dacier, "Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Millin," *Histoire et Mémoires d'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 8 (1827), 42-60.

13. Perry, "Sanquirico," 70-72. Sanquirico's optimistic identification of the sarcophagus as an "opera Greca" is characteristic of the time. Still a respected authority in the 1830s was Johann Winckelmann, whose analysis of Greek sculpture was based, initially at least, almost entirely on prints that illustrated Roman copies, frequently from the same period as the Grimani sarcophagus.

14. L. Larsson, "Thorvaldsens Restaurierung der Aegin-Skulpturen in Lichte zeitgenossischer Kunstkritik und Antikenauffassung," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 38, 1-2 (May 1969), 23-46. C. Grunwald, "Die Aeginetan Ergänzungen," *Thorwaldsen,* (Cologne, 1977), 243 ff. (exh. cat.). See also M. de Azevedo, *Il Gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche* (Rome, 1948).

15. Perry, "Sanquirico," 72. Perry also cites (73-74) an incident suggesting that Sanquirico may have been lacking integrity as a dealer.

16. *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Iphigenia in Tauris,* trans. and intro. C. E. Passage, (New York, 1963), 7. (hereafter, Passage, *Goethe: Iphigenia.*)

17. J. W. von Goethe, *Italian Journey (1786-88),* trans. W. H. Auden and E. Mayer (San Francisco, 1982), 141. (hereafter, Goethe, *Italian Journey.*)

18. Goethe, *Italian Journey,* 143.

19. C. Beutler, *J.H.W. Tischbein: Goethe in der Campagna,* Werkmonographien zur Bildenden Kunst in Reclams Universal-Bibliothek . . . 83 (Stuttgart, 1962), 26 (hereafter, Beutler,) cites a letter dated 29 December 1786, from Tischbein to J. C. Lavater:

> *Er begerthe von mir ein Klein Stupgen, wo er in Schlaffen und ungehindert in arbeiten konte, und ein ganzes enfaches Essen, das ich ihm den leicht verschaffen konte, weil er mit so wenigem begnugt ist. Da sizet er nun jezo und arbeitet des Morgens an seiner* Efigenia *ferdig zu machen . . .*
>
> [Because he is content with so very little, he has only asked me for a little corner where he can sleep and work undisturbed, and for the most simply prepared meals. Now he sits and works finishing his *Iphigenia . . .*]

See also note 29, below. On Tischbein's painting, now see C. Lenz, *Tischbein: "Goethe in der Campagna di Roma"* (Frankfurt, 1979) (hereafter, Lenz, *Tischbein: "Goethe . . . ".*)

20. Goethe, *Italian Journey,* 196, letter dated 13 March 1787. I have been unable to trace Kaufmann's painting.

21. The fresco was published in *Le Pitture Antiche d'Ercolano* (Naples, 1757) I, tav. XII. At the time, the fresco may also have been associated with the painting by Timomachos of *Orestes and Iphigenia in Tauris* that had been praised by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXV.136). On the Ridolfi sarcophagus, now in the Glyptothek, Munich, see Robert, *Sarcophag-relief* no.167. For information on West's painting and the prints after it, I am grateful to Professor Allen Staley, who, in a letter (10 May 1984) refers to a pair of drawings now at Swarthmore, which West made of the figures on the sarcophagus when he visited Rome. See also G. Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of His Time* (Carbondale, 1959), 9-10.

22. Fragment IX.11, vol. 1, tav. XII: *"Es ist harmonie zwishen körperlicher und moralisch Schönheit."* (4 vols., Leipzig and Winterthur, 1775-78), 110-111.

23. Lenz, *Tischbein "Goethe . . . ,"* 41-42, figs. 5, 31, 34.

24. The shared interest in the Iphigenia theme is discussed by K. Parlasca, "Iphigenia in Tauris: Ein Beitrage zu J. W. Goethe, W. Tischbein, und B. West," *Festschrift für Frank Brommer,* ed. U. Höckmann and A. Krug (Mainz, 1977), 231-36. Other examples of this theme are listed in A. Pigler, *Barokthemen,* 2 vols. (Budapest, 1974), I, 336.

25. Passage, *Goethe: Iphigenia,* 16, where L. Grange-Chancel's *Orestes et Pylades, ou Iphigénie en Tauride* (1734), Johann Elias Schlegel's *Die Geschwister in Taurien* (1737) and *Orestes und Pylades* (1739), and the posthumous publication of Racine's incomplete *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1747) are cited as precedents for Goethe's interest in the Euripidean tragedy. In addition, Gluck was in correspondence with Duke Karl Alexander when in 1781 he produced a German version of his opera with the libretto translated by J. B. von Alxinger. Writing at the same time, Gluck's rival, Niccolò Puccinni, also composed an *Iphigenia in Tauride* which premiered in 1789, with a libretto by A. du Congé Dubreul.

26. Moffitt, "Tischbein," fig. 10.

27. F. Rehberg, *Drawings Faithfully Copied from Nature at Naples,* dedicated, with permission to the Right Honorable Sir William Hamilton (London, 1794), pl.7, reproduced in K. G. Holstrom, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770-1815* Stockholm Studies in Theatrical History I (Stockholm, 1967), pl.45.7.

28. D. Evans, *Benjamin West and His American Students* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 151-52, fig. 115.

29. Letter to J. H. Merck, dated Rome, 30 August 1787, and published in *Der Teutsche Merkur* (1st quarter, 1788, p.270); cited in Beutler, 31:

> *Daneben liegt ein verstrummeltes Bas relief, woraus man aber noch die beste Zeit der griechischen Kunst wahrnimmt, und das die Erkennung des Orest von seiner Schwester Iphigenia vorstellt; ein Gegenstand, den unser Dichter seit mehreren Jahren fur die Buhne bearbeitet hat, und dem er in dem Museo des Kunstlers seine letze Politur gab.*
>
> [Next to him stands a mutilated bas-relief, which one understands to be representative of the best period of Greek art. It depicts "The Recognition of Orestes by His Sister Iphigenia," this being a subject with which our poet has occupied himself for several years and on which play he had put the finishing touches while living in the painter's studio.]

30. F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1982), 93-97.

A Group of Ingres Letters

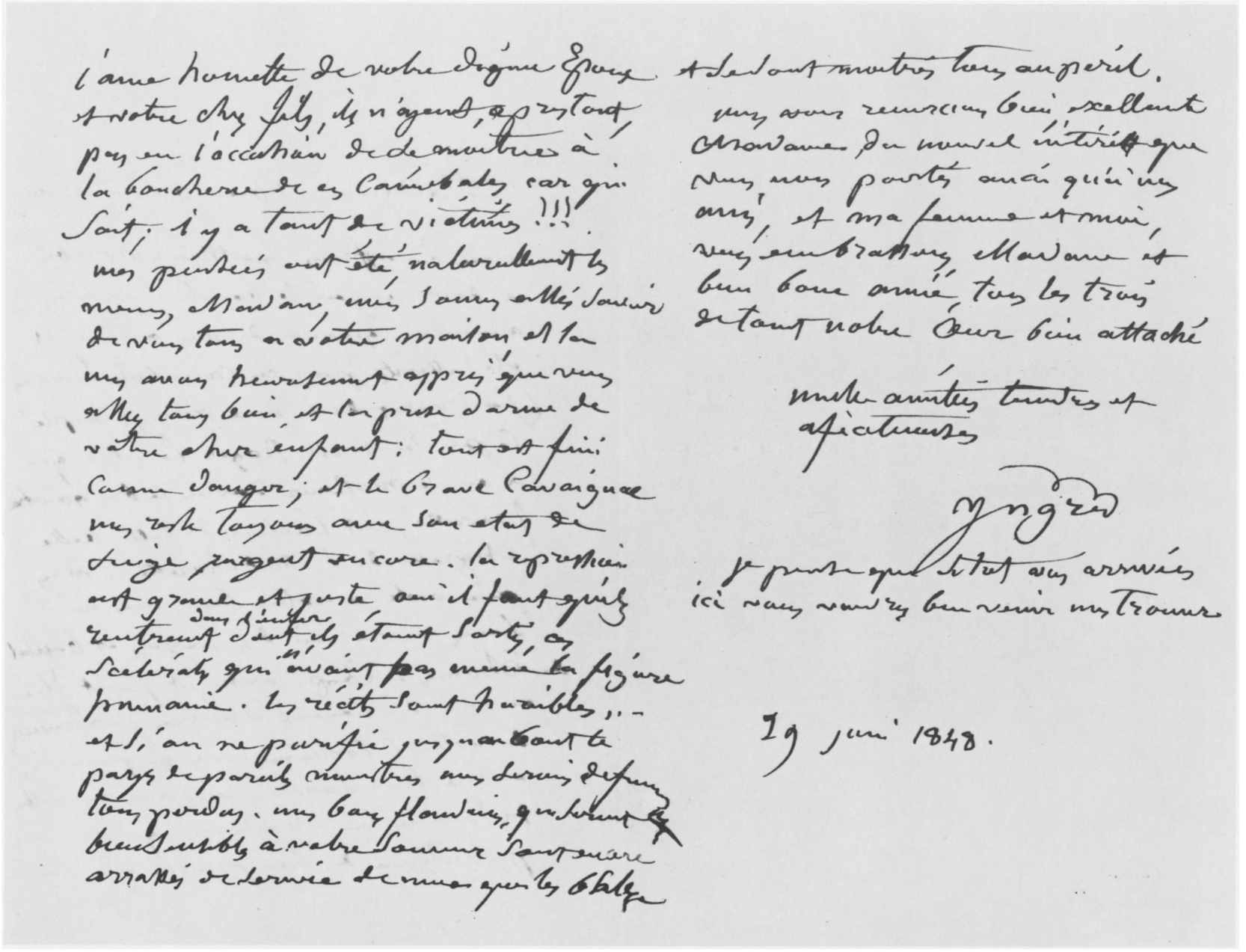
THOMAS B. BRUMBAUGH,
Vanderbilt University

The five letters of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) are published here in full for the first time. Two were written to the painter's intimate friend, the sculptor Edouard Gatteaux, and another was written to Mme J.-I. Hittorff, wife of the distinguished architect, while the other two unfortunately lack any address leaf, envelope, or contents by which the addressees might be identified with absolute certainty.[1] Nonetheless, we may not be too far afield in assuming that the letter of 29 June 1848, because of its similar greeting, is also to Mme Hittorff and the same "bien bonne amie," and that the fifth is probably the letter to the painter Albert Magimel, from which Henri Lapauze quotes the final sentence in his biography of Ingres.[2] It should be remembered, however, that under pressure of a vast correspondence, Ingres sometimes wrote very similar accounts to a number of people. All of the letters were written within a period of nine years, from 1845 to 1854. In all of them, the tone of the painter's writing is consistently personal and affectionate, although obviously less so in the fifth example, in which we see him much stirred by the visit to his studio of the emperor Louis Napoléon and the empress Eugénie.

Jacques-Edouard Gatteaux (1788–1881), recipient of the first two letters, was a successful and prolific designer of medals and medallions, who exhibited in the Salon from 1814 to 1855. A *Pomona* in marble for the Tuilleries Gardens is one of his best-known public works, but he produced, in addition to various large-scale sculptures, an impressive number of portrait and ideal busts of such worthies as Michelangelo, Sebastiano del Piombo, Rabelais, Napoléon Bonaparte, and the Empress Marie-Louise. Gatteaux inherited a large fortune that allowed him to fill a Paris house and his chateau at Neauphle-le-Vieux with the collections of a lifetime, including among them a magnificent group of paintings and drawings by Ingres.[3] The two men became acquainted in 1810, when Gatteaux visited the artist's studio in Rome, and they remained close until Ingres' death more than half a century later.

Two large murals commissioned from Ingres in September 1839, for the great hall of the chateau at Dampierre (Seine-et-Oise), were part of the eighth duc de Luynes' plans for restoration of his family seat. The painting actually was begun in August 1843, and continued, with a number of interruptions, until 1847. We learn from the second letter to Gatteaux in the series that Ingres was struggling as late as July 1845, "to render so clear in all respects" the basic composition of the *Age of Gold* and the *Age of Iron.* The design of the room itself and the wall spaces for the paintings are reminiscent of the Vatican Stanze with their Raphael frescoes, and thus the challenge was felt profoundly by one who adored the Renaissance master as a demigod. We learn too that Ingres had drawn upon the erudition and authority of Gatteaux in his role of severe and "Aristarchian" critic of the murals. The search for a

Fig. 1. Letter of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres to Mme Jacque-Ignace Hittorff, dated 29 June 1848, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.



l'une honnête de votre dogue Epouv
et votre chez Jely, ils n'agent, après tout
pas eu l'occasion de de montrer à
la bonchevre de ces Cannibales car qui
sait, il y a tant de victimes !!!
mes pensées ont été naturellement
vers, Madame, mais j'aurais allé savoir
de vos tous à votre maison et la
vue aux heureusement appris que vous
alliez tous bien, et la prise d'arme de
votre cher enfant: tout est fini
Carême Jacques; et le Grand Carnaval
vous voit toujours avec son étui de
treize jusqu'ent encore. la répression
est grande et juste ainsi il faut qu'ils
rentrent dans l'ordre dans l'intérêt
Scélérats qui n'avaient pas même la figure
humaine. les récits sont horribles,..
et, l'on ne parle que pendant tout le
pays de pareils monstres aux besoins de leurs
tous perdus. mes bons Flamands, qui sont si
bien sensibles à votre Souvenir Souvenir
arrêtés de service de nuit que les Belges
et seront montrés tous au péril.
vous vous remercions bien excellente
Madame, du nouvel intérêt que
vous nous portez aussi qu'à vos
amis, et ma femme et moi,
vous embrassons, Madame et
bien bonne année, tous les trois
de tout notre cœur bien attaché

toutes amitiés tendres et
affectueuses

Ingres

je pense que tout sera arrivés
ici sans vous y bien venir me trouver

19 juin 1848.

Fig. 2. Same as Figure 1.

Classical ideal of harmony and beauty had been aided by a number of such learned advisers, who were frequently in residence at the chateau, along with Mme Ingres, Alexandre Desgoffe, his chief assistant with the painting, and a group drawn from among other favorite pupils and their families. In fact, arranging their arrivals and departures is an important business of three of the following letters. When there was a lull in the stream of visitors, particularly when the "amiable Dames" and their children, the dear Pamélas and the lovable bébelles had gone, the "long and solitary" evenings were "killed" with games of lotto and charades.

Patiently indulgent of so many activities taking place under his roof, the duc de Luynes seems to have honored Ingres' request that he not inspect the *Age of Gold* mural until it was well advanced. Something of the difficult situation that developed during two full years of painting, is documented by the second letter of 21 July 1845. When it was at last revealed, the ill-fated scheme with its profusion of nudes was to cause a rift between Ingres and his disappointed—even scandalized—patron and, as a final blow, the death of Mme Madeleine Chapelle Ingres in July 1849, made it impossible for the deeply bereaved artist to live and work alone at Dampierre. By a contractual agreement, the project was abandoned in 1850.

In all of the following letters, we find that the familiar image of Ingres as the complete bourgeois is only reinforced. Illnesses of friends and family are discussed with a great show of sympathy, and it is characteristic to find the painter looking forward to next Sunday's dinner or worrying about the disposal of small sums of money. He is concerned that Auguste Pichon, a former pupil, may be flagging in his work on the background of an unnamed picture which will "very much advance my affairs." Pichon was forty years old at the time and although he had won a number of medals at the Salons after 1835, was to achieve a rather modest success in his career. On occasion, Ingres helped him and others with finances and, of course, it was an honor and privilege to serve the acknowledged champion of the Classical taste in French painting. We know that Pichon was working with the *Age of Iron* designs then, and it is most likely that he was developing the background of *Jesus Among the Doctors.* This large painting, now in the Musée Ingres, Montauban, had been commissioned in 1842 by King Louis-Philippe for the chapel of the Chateau de Bizy, but with the collapse of the July Monarchy, it was not to be finished until twenty years later.[4]

Certainly the fourth letter, of 29 June 1848, is the most vivid extant expression of Ingres' conservative political position. The letter (figs. 1 and 2) fairly bristles with indignation at those "scoundrels," the Paris workers, who fomented the Revolution of 1848 and brought upon themselves the terrible retributory killings of the June Days. They are "French cannibals" whose repression by the courageous General Cavaignac is "great and just." They are creatures from hell, lacking even human faces, who would threaten the stability of church and state, institutions to which Ingres rendered unquestioning fealty throughout his life. Not surprisingly, the letter closes with a sentimental effusion, "with all our hearts, a thousand friendly greetings, tender and affectionate."[5]

There are a number of contemporary accounts of the visit of Louis Napoléon and Eugénie to the painter's studio early in February 1854 to see the *Apotheosis of Napoléon I,* commissioned for the Hôtel de Ville, Paris. A letter of the second Mme Ingres, Delphine Ramel, written to her uncle, Charles Marcotte, is the most extensive;[6] but the brief fifth letter reproduced here is written with the excitement of the event still fresh in the artist's mind. The informality of the occasion, the arrival of the imperial company, "quite simply, without any guards," was a thrilling display of confidence and generosity to one who so passionately savored such recognition. After the Dampierre fiasco, it must have been particularly welcome, and we should remember Ingres' fascination with literary and art-historical anecdotes of noble condescension. They range from the *Betrothal of Raphael* (1813) to *Molière Dining with Louis XIV at Versailles* (1860). Drawing upon Vasari's account, he conceived the *Death of Leonardo da Vinci* (1818) as taking place in the tender embrace of Francis I. To have been the honored participant in a more or less analogous event at that stage of his life, was surely the ultimate accolade. The letter ends with a practical question about a photographer, and the deep sigh of the sixty-six-year-old artist, however much laden with honors, who only craves "the pleasure of being alone in my studio to finish up my old paintings!"[7]

Except for the regularizing of diacritical markings and an occasional adjusting of punctuation, I have transcribed the following letters as faithfully as possi-

ble. I have not reproduced the sometimes curious spellings (Gattaux for Gatteaux; becoup for beaucoup; seur for soeur, among others) as they seem unnecessarily distracting for the reader.

To: Monsieur Gatteaux à Nauphle-le-Vieux. Postal stamps: Chevreuse 6 oct. 1844 (72); Neauphle-le-Château, 7 oct. 44 (72)

Mon cher ami,

J'allais ainsi par une petite lettre vous rappeller notre rendez-vous à Dampierre où, attendu que j'ai beaucoup travaillé, et que malgré cela il me reste tant à faire avant de désirer vous voir, et que bien entendu M le Duc que je tiens en haleine doit voir le premier, je ne vous voudrais, malgré mon grand désir, qu'à partir du 15 de ce mois, cela ne dérangera-t-il point vos affaires. Je le désire, cependant s'il en etait autrement, vous me le direz franchement. Nous sommes bien contents de vos bonnes nouvelles, excepté de la bonne Mme Anfrye[8] que nous plaignons de tout notre coeur; à commencer par votre chère mère veuillez bien agréer à tous mes tendres amitiés. Donc à bientôt, et en chère compagnie, tout à vous cher ami. Ma femme vous remercie de votre bon souvenir.

Ingres

Ce petit mot n'a été que pour vous mieux reçevoir et savoir vos projets.

To: Monsieur Gatteaux, membre de l'institut, rue de Lille 35, Paris. Postal stamps: Chevreuse 21 juillet 1845; Paris 21 juillet

Mon cher Gatteaux,

Où êtes-vous, à la ville où à la campagne près de nous, et vous ne venez pas voir ces pauvres abandonnés depuis vingt jours avec la pluie, tous [les] jours; mais en revanche je suis en bon entrain, j'ai été plus satisfait à ma première vue, j'ai tout repris tout va bien, et je suis content. Le vingt, je compte continuer la composition que je tâche de rendre en tous points si claire que je veux n'avoir à y rien arranger excepté que mon aristarque ami ne la veuille autrement. Voici, viendrez-vous un jour nous voir tout seul; je n'ose y compter, mais vous savez d'abord nous vous désirons avec votre chère Paméla, que Mme Fournier[9] à promis à ma femme de venir passer quelques jours avec sa petite fille. Et bien, tout çela ne se pourra pour vous reçevoir tous, que du premier au 5 du mois prochain, parce que nous avons ici, ma soeur, Mme Hittorff et sa fille,[10] qui doivent nous quitter à cette epoque. Alors moi ou vous, nous écrirons pour combiner ce beau jour. Nous espérons que notre bonne petite Paméla est enfin délivrée de son mal, et que vous vous préparez à quitter Paris pour Nauphle ou Dieppe ce que je crois, ferait le plus indisputable bien à votre bonne Mme Gatteaux que nous voudrions bien revoir ici aussi. Quand vous reviendrez, cher ami, la ménagère vous prie de lui apporter un peu d'argent; et en cela je prends la liberté de tirer sur vous pour cinquante francs que l'on viendrait vous demander pour le compte de Joseph Tourtin[11] cet élève que j'ai ici avec moi. C'est Mlle Chavassieu, élève de Flandrin qui ira, vous demander cet argent. Voilà donc les Flandrins partis, je plains la pauvre aînée que nous aurions voulu avoir avec nous. Faites-moi le plaisir, cher ami, de passer à mon atelier y voir Pichon[12] lui faire bien mes amitiés. Il peint le fond de mon tableau, et l'encourager à travailler s'il y allait de main morte, et *de vouloir bien m'en donner des nouvelles,* car je suis très intéressé à ce travail qui avance beaucoup mes affaires. Adieu, à revoir, cher ami, écrivez-nous un mot sur tout ceci, et croyez à notre vive et tendre amitié.

Ingres

To: Mme Jacques-Ignace Hittorff, c. 1843–44

Madame et bien bonne amie,

Votre bonne lettre nous a fait bien plaisir, et aussi *la belle* flanelle qui certes ne s'est pas faite attendre par vos soins, les gilets sont déjà faits et je m'en pare aujourd'hui. Cette pauvre Mme Desgoffe,[13] sa santé nous afflige beaucoup, nous espérons la ramener à Dampierre avec nous, car il est bien vrai que nous quittons ce beau séjour samedi matin jusqu'à lundi, et après le bonheur de vous embrasser nous acceptons avec grand plaisir votre dîner de bonne grosse maman dimanche.[14] Nous sommes encore à jouir du bonheur d'avoir vu Gros Papa à Dampierre de quoi nous le remercions bien ainsi qu'à bon et brave petit papa. Quant à vous nos aimables Dames, s'il était possible de vous aimer encore plus, ce serait par votre si aimable séjour ici, mais cela n'était pas possible. Seulement, notre séjour est assez triste depuis votre départ, plus de vous, plus de bébelle, aimable enfant justement chéri, plus de musique . . . , nous tuyons nos soirées solitaires et longues aujourd'hui avec le loto charmant par ses variétés et ces charades de calcul; mais il n'y a

plus qu'un mois à passer, et heureusement que le jour je suis vous le savez terriblement occupé: quant au malade il a tra?ẽ encore 4 jours pas bien, mais il est au mieux aujourd'hui merci: c'est à vous Madame et à vous tous excellents amis que nous devons des remerciements de vous être séparés pour venir faire si bonne compagnie, oui, vous aurions voulu encore mieux faire pour de si bons, excellents amis que vous êtes pour nous, et pour toute la vie et toute après en attendant, madame et bien bonne amie et vous tous, nous vous embrassons bien fort de tout notre coeur, à dimanche, vos amis bien dévoués et tendres,
Ingres

M. Louis[15] vous prie d'agréer ses remerciements pour votre bon souvenir et Jarnette qui ne vit pas sans sa bébelle vous présente ses hommages et ses vifs remerciements. Mardi matin.

To: Mme Jacques-Ignace Hittorff (?) 29 juin 1848 (figs. 1 and 2)
Madame et bien bonne amie,
Dans ces affreux malheurs horribles à décrire j'ai le bonheur de vous annoncer qu'aucun de nos amis n'ont été atteints pas ses cannibales français. J'ai regret de le dire ainsi, excepté cependant M. Roger[16] peintre qui a eu le malheur d'avoir le bras gauche fracassé; c'est l'auteur de cette belle chapelle de St. M. de Lorette. Mais vous aussi à votre tour vous ne savez encore rien de Sargets (?) et Brillat (?) de Thomas le comp.[17] aussi et peut-être encore de beaucoup d'autres, car à peine revenus de notre cataclisme nous ne pouvons encore tout savoir: nous nous rejouissons de tout notre [coeur] Madame, que le patriotisme de bon français qui anime l'âme honnête de votre digne époux et votre cher fils, ils n'ayant après tout, pas eu l'occasion de le montrer à la boucherie de ces cannibales car qui sait: il y a tant de victimes!!! Vos pensées ont été naturellement les miennes, Madame, nous sommes allés savoir de vous tous à votre maison et là nous avons heureusement appris que vous allez tous bien, et la prise d'armes de votre cher enfant; tout est fini comme danger; et le brave Cavaignac[18] nous reste toujours avec son état de siège urgent encore, la repression est grande et juste, oui, il faut qu'ils rentrent dans l'enfer dont ils étaient sortis, ces scélérats qui n'avaient pas même la figure humaine. Les récits sont horribles . . . et si on ne purifie jusqu'au bout le pays de pareils monstres nous serions désormais tous perdus. Mes bon Flandrins qui seront bien sensibles à votre souvenir sont encore arrachés du service de vous qui les saluez et se sont montrés tous au péril. Nous vous remercions bien, excellente Madame, du nouvel intérêt que vous nous portez ainsi qu'à mes amis, et ma femme et moi, vous embrassons, Madame et bien bonne amie, tous les trois de tout notre coeur bien attaché mille amitiés tendres et affectueuses,
Ingres

Je pense que sitôt vos arrivées ici vous voudriez bien venir nous trouver. 29 juin 1848

To: Albert Magimel (?) février 1854
Cher et digne ami,
L'empereur et l'impératrice sont venus hier à trois heures. Je suis encore emouvé de leur visite qui'a été bonne, très bonne. Tout le quartier a été, comme vous pensez en émoi qu'ils sont venus très simplement, sans gardes aucun. Il m'a tendu tout d'abord sa main en souriant, et je crois qu'il a été content: il a traduit l'inscription à l'imperatrice,[19] et il m'en a *remercié* en s'en allant, l'impératrice etait redoublée de bonté et de grace. J'ai besoin de vous voir pour en causer avec vous; mon exposition est terminée ajourdhui, sans appel; je vois consacrer ma semaine à vite donner le dernier coup de pinceaux et puis, et puis y faire venir d'Oster, pour en avoir *le trait* puis les photographies et daguérreotypes, puis terminer les figures; puis je verrai venir, et que dieu m'octroye le bonheur de me revoir seul à mon atelier pour y terminer mes vieilles toiles. A revoir donc cher et très bon ami, votre affectueux de coeur
Ingres

Où trouverai-je Mr Oster. Si vous avez son adresse je vous prie de me la donner.

NOTES

I would like to thank the American Philosophical Society for a grant from the Penrose Fund. It has helped to support my research on this and other Ingres correspondence during a sabbatical from teaching duties at Vanderbilt University, fall 1982.

1. Collection of The Walters Art Gallery. The letters were bought in trade over a period of some twenty years.

2. Henry Lapauze, *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1911), 472. The first two sentences of the second letter, 21 juillet 1845, are quoted in Lapauze, 418. Professor Daniel Ternois, Institut d'Histoire de l'Art, Université Lyon, informs me that some fragments of the two letters to Gatteaux were published in the *Bulletin Charavay,* Paris, no. 711, mars, 1963, as no. 29137 (that of 6 octobre 1844) and no. 29136 (that of 21 juillet 1845).

3. *Collection de 120 dessins, croquis et peintures de M. Ingres, de la collection Gatteaux, du Musée du Louvre, et l'école nationale des beaux-arts, classés et mis en ordre par son ami Edouard Gatteaux* (Paris, 1873?).

4. Lapauze, 422-24.

5. Another version of this letter, addressed to Charles Marcotte, is quoted in Lapauze, 424.

6. Lapauze, 470-72.

7. Ingres' care in having his paintings photographed and engraved has preserved the general aspect of the *Apotheosis.* It was painted in a studio on the rue de Lille, provided by Gatteaux, and was destroyed in the burning of the Hôtel de Ville, Paris, during the Commune riots, May 1871.

8. Mme J.-J.-J. Anfrye, née Louise-Jeanne-Hyacinthe Dastros, was the mother of Mme. H. Fournier (see note 9). Ingres drew her portrait in 1834. See Hans Naef, *Die Bildniszeichnungen von J.-A.-D. Ingres* (Bern, 1979), 3:171.

9. Mme Henri Fournier, née Eugénie Anfrye, was the daughter of Mme Anfrye (note 8). Ingres drew her portrait in 1834. Naef, 3:173. Paméla de Gardanne was the daughter of Edouard Gatteaux's sister, Virginie, and her husband, C.-P.-L. de Gardanne. She appears as the standing figure in the Gatteaux family drawing of 1850. Naef, 2:492-501.

10. Mme Jacques-Ignace Hittorff, née Elisabeth Lepère, was the wife of the German-born architect and archaeologist. Ingres drew them in 1829 and painted her as both Juno and Minerva. See Naef, 3:68-83. Of Ingres' sisters, either Marie or Augustine, later Mme Clément Dechy, is mentioned here.

11. Joseph Tourtin was a portrait painter and a pupil of Ingres and Flandrin. His salon debut was in 1877. In the next sentence, Adèle Chavassieu d'Haudebert (1788-?) was a copyist and painter of religious pictures who made her salon debut in 1806. Hippolyte-Jean Flandrin (1809-64), distinguished muralist and portrait painter, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1832. He was at the Villa Medici at the same time as the composer, Ambroise Thomas. He came under Ingres' influence there and worked at Dampierre in 1841.

12. Auguste Pichon (1805-1900) was a landscapist, lithographer, painter of portraits, historical, and religious subjects. His portrait of Gatteaux is in the collections of the Musée Ingres, Montauban.

13. Mme. Alexandre Desgoffe, née Aline Lemaire, was the wife of the landscape and genre painter, one of Ingres' earliest pupils. Desgoffe painted much of the landscape for the *Age of Gold.*

14. "Gros Papa" and "Grosse Maman" are the architect, Jean-Baptiste Lepère (1761-1844) and his wife, Elisabeth, née Fontaine. Ingres drew them both in 1829. They were the parents of Elisabeth Lepère, later Mme. J.-I. Hittorff. In the next sentence, "bébelle" refers to the Hittorffs' daughter, Jeanne-Elisabeth. See Naef, 3:77-78.

15. I have been unable to identify either M. Louis, possibly the history and portrait painter, Jean-Baptiste Louis, or "Jarnette."

16. Adolphe Roger (1800-80), history and religious painter, was a pupil of Gros, and exhibited in the salon, 1827-57.

17. Ambroise Thomas (1811-96), opera composer, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1832. He had his greatest successes with *Mignon* and *Hamlet.* Encouraged by Ingres, he wrote chamber music and piano works while living in Rome. I have been unable to identify "Sargets" and "Brillat."

18. Louis Eugène Cavaignac (1802-57) was a French general with republican sentiments, who had been governor general of Algeria. He was made Minister of War, 24 June 1848, and was responsible for suppressing the workers' rebellion. In the presidential elections that followed, he was a candidate, but lost to Louis Napoléon.

19. The inscription on the steps of the throne was *In nepote redivivus* ("Born again in his nephew").

Manet's At the Café: Development and Structure

E. MELANIE GIFFORD
The Walters Art Gallery

Edouard Manet's *At the Café*[1] in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery well may be the greatest work from an 1878–1879 series of paintings in which Manet explored Parisian café life. The scene is the Cabaret de Reichshoffen.[2] A gentleman in a black silk hat and a woman in beige sit at a counter. The woman is lost in thought, the man watches a stage show whose singer is reflected in a mirror at the upper left. Behind them, a waitress takes a moment to drink a beer. A muted range of colors is enlivened by the greenish blues of the mirror and a napkin on the counter. The triangular grouping of three figures, each turned outward, is a strong image of private thought in a busy café.

Manet did not achieve this brilliant composition effortlessly. A technical examination of the painting reveals that he repainted the work more than once in search of this image. The investigation under discussion clarifies the place of the Walters picture in the artist's group of paintings and drawings of café scenes. The relationships within this group are complicated because Manet worked and reworked the theme of Paris night life. The study of his materials shows the complex and unorthodox ways in which he handled his paint. Comparison of the results with other technical examinations,[3] in particular an investigation by David Bomford and Ashok Roy of the London *Waitress* (fig. 2), has proved invaluable.

It is clear that the handling in *At the Café* is not consistent throughout the painting. The man in the black silk hat, and the blue coat of the man behind him at the right edge, are painted loosely, allowing the ground to show between strokes. In this man's right eye the ground serves as a light color and the gray eye appears to be a smudge of a thinly brushed preliminary design.[4] Everywhere else the paint is worked heavily and opaquely. The ground is completely covered and variations in texture imply that there are several layers of paint below the surface.

Further examination using a stereomicroscope and x-radiography shows evidence of Manet's compositional changes. A few microscopic cross sections of paint, which show the complete sequence of design layers, were removed for analysis.[5] The painting's excellent condition limited the opportunities for safe sampling to the rare paint losses along the edges.

Along the lower and right tacking edges, only the ground, which prepared the canvas for the artist's paint, is visible. This suggests that on these sides the painting is unchanged from its original dimensions. On the upper and left tacking edges, however, is paint showing details that do not relate to the present image. The assumption here can be only that the canvas was cut down along these edges, eliminating part of an earlier painting. Since the paint on the edges was dry before the picture was cut down, it must have stood in Manet's studio for some time before he cut it.

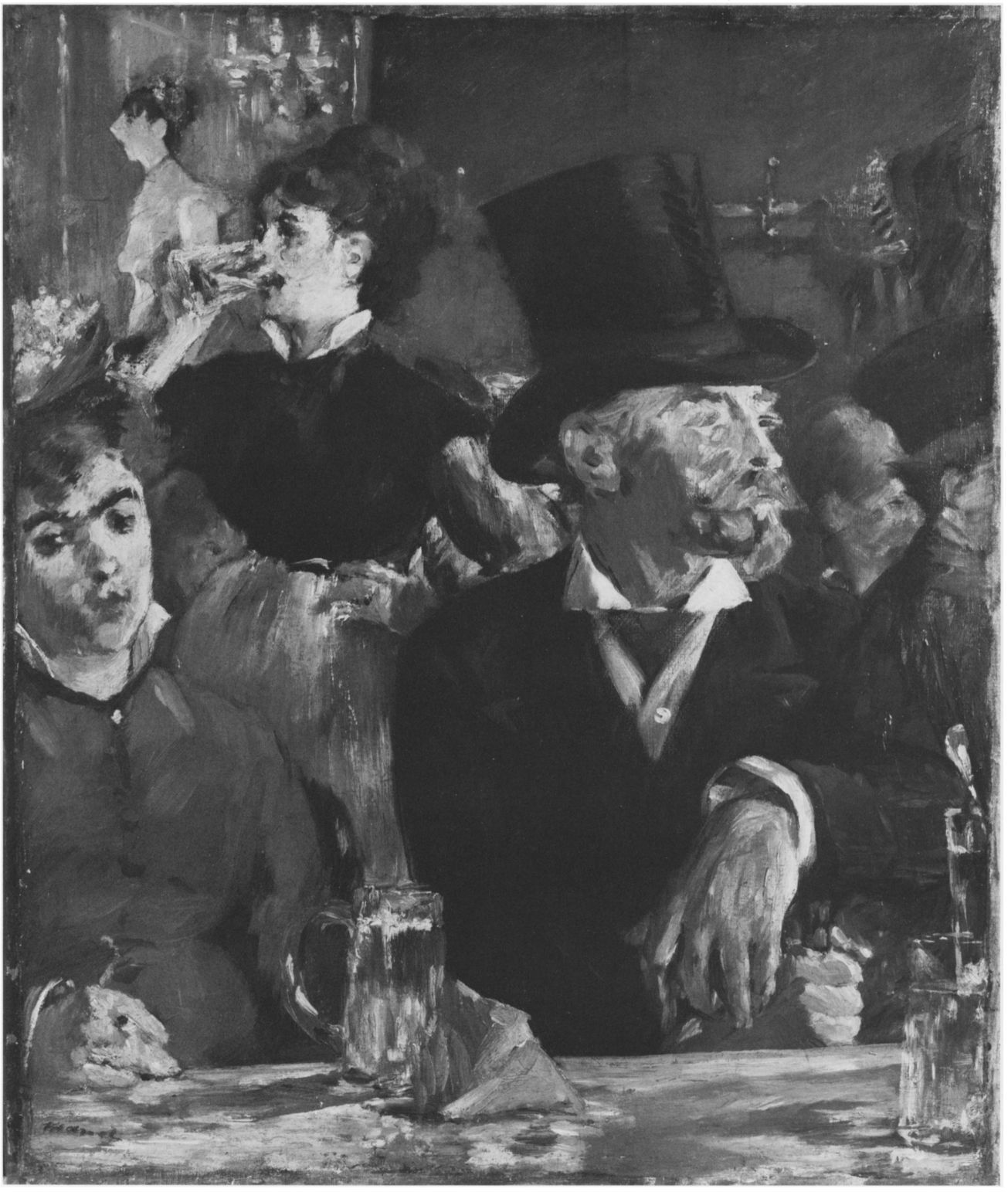


Fig. 1. Edouard Manet, *At the Café,* Oil on Canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.893.

Fig. 2. Edouard Manet, *A Waitress Serving Beer.* Oil on canvas, 98 × 79 cm. National Gallery, London, no. 3858, Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery London.

Fig. 3. Edouard Manet, *A Waitress Serving Beer.* Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 65 cm. Musée d' Orsay, Galerie du Jeu de Paume, Paris. No. R.F.1959-4.

The painted details that survive on the upper and left edges give hints of the painting's original appearance in the larger format (fig. 4). (See figures 4 through 8 in color plate section.) Along the grayish mauve upper edge are a thin yellow stripe, what appears to be a floral cluster in dark green and dark red, and two somewhat broader stripes in bright green. To the left of the green stripes the grayish paint has been dragged over a bright red lower paint layer (figs.6a, 6b, cross section #632). These elements suggest a background strikingly like that in the *Waitress Serving Beer* (fig. 3) in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, with its wallpaper of green and red clusters of flowers separated by yellow stripes. In fact, the wallpaper's background (fig. 5) in color reproductions of the Paris work seems also to be a grayish tone dragged over a bright red.

The lower half of the left edge is black, its upper border sloping up to the right. This appears to have been a figure in black placed where the woman in beige now sits. The sloping upper border must have been the right proper shoulder. Above this the background is grayish mauve with a red horizontal stripe.

After cutting down the first composition, Manet restretched the painting in the present format, and repainted the work, preserving only the man in black. There is evidence, however, that that revision is not the painting we see today. Traces of an intermediate paint layer, which relate neither to the floral wallpaper of the first composition nor to the present composition, are visible with a stereomicroscope. At the left edge an intermediate light blue paint layer suggests that a figure in blue sat to the left in the first revision. In a paint cross section (figs. 7a, 7b: #630), this layer is clearly visible between the black of the garment in the first composition and the yellowish paint of the beige dress in the final composition. A trace of flesh-colored paint suggests that that figure may have rested a hand on the bar as the woman in beige now does. A cross section (figs. 8a, 8b: #631) shows the gray-green base color of the woman's hat lying directly over the grayish mauve of the first composition's background. Most of the painting's background shows evidence of an intermediate layer of mid-blue with a dark blue pattern. A coat rail, like the one in the final composition, was in a similar position. Since the cross section does not show this blue layer under the hat, the same hat may have appeared in the intermediate composition, worn by a woman in blue. Because no traces of this layer extend onto the tacking edges, it must have been painted after the canvas was cut down and restretched. Scars visible

Fig. 9. *At the Café* x-radiograph.

with the stereomicroscope show that the artist scraped away most of this intermediate composition while it was still wet.

The x-radiograph of the painting (fig. 9) is blurred in most areas by this process of scraping and reworking. The man in black, the only passage that pleased Manet without revision, clearly shows the artist's bold, suggestive brushwork. The x-radiograph does show some *pentimenti* in the foreground. The beer glass and napkin have been moved into a close grouping. The man in black once rested his left hand on a glass of beer. As the painting appears today he rests his wrist on the handle of his cane; his glass has been moved to the side. In another change, the beer-drinking waitress was turned from a full profile slightly toward the viewer. The evidence available does not prove conclusively when these changes were made. It is possible that these *pentimenti* represent features of the intermediate composition, which Manet altered slightly as he incorporated them in his final work.

This study allows some speculation on Manet's development of *At the Café.* The first composition was larger than the work as it now appears. At the right was the man in a black silk hat, his hand resting on his glass. At his side was a figure in black. Behind them were probably other patrons of the café, and in the background was a mauve wallpaper with red and green clusters of flowers and stripes of green and yellow.

Clearly, Manet was satisfied only with the man in black. His revisions were experiments with the surrounding scene to find a setting strong enough to balance that forceful image. He cut away the top and left side of the painting, then restretched the canvas in the present format. When he first reworked the painting it probably approached the final composition. The man in black was preserved. Seated beside him was a figure in light blue. This figure may have been similar to the woman now visible, probably wearing the same hat and resting one hand on the counter. The almost entirely mid-blue background had a pattern in dark blue, with a coat rail on the right. The waitress probably appeared in this painting, turned in full profile.

Manet scraped away his still-wet paint, and with subtle variations to the intermediate composition, painted the work we see today. The predominantly blue tone was muted. The figure in light blue was replaced by the woman in the beige dress. The patterned blue background was replaced with a continuous streaky gray on the right. The arrangement on the counter in front of the figures was changed slightly. The man's beer mug was moved from under his hand to the side, and his cane was moved under his wrist. His relaxed hand now suggests his absorption in the stage show. A new focal point was added in the greenish blue mirrored reflection on the upper left. In this final composition Manet at last balanced the dominant figure of the man in black with the brilliant color of the mirror, which reflects the singer he watches outside our field of view.

Manet's paint mixtures in *At the Café* are as complex as the painting's compositional development[6]. Only the occasional color accent is a pure dab of a single pigment, and few of his mixtures show less than four pigments (see Table 1). He seems to have subtly balanced the ratios of the many component pigments to achieve specific tones. Even his black contains admixtures of several colors. The pigment mixtures seem to be consistent within the three compositions. The palette as a whole relates closely to that of the London *Waitress,* as described by Ashok Roy.[7]

Though opportunities for paint cross sections were limited, it was possible to take dispersed paint samples, which consist of only a few grains of pigment from the top surface, from many areas of the painting.

Table 1 Paint mixtures for *At the Café* [1]

Color of area sampled	Location (WAG sample #)	Version of painting	Pigment Composition: Major	Minor	Trace
Light blue[4]	garment (?) below beige dress: left edge (#638)	intermediate	lead white	colbalt blue cerulean blue ultramarine yellow earth red lake ivory black[2]	vermilion
Mid-blue	napkin on counter (#646)	final	lead white cerulean blue	vermilion	
Dark blue	background above waitress' hand (#645)	intermediate?	cobalt blue		cerulean blue ultramarine vermilion
Bright green	background: stripe in wallpaper? (#633)	first	emerald green	red lake black[2]	ultramarine (yellow earth)[3]
Bright green	napkin on counter (#641)	final	emerald green	cerulean blue Naples yellow	vermilion
Mid-green	seated woman's hat (#643)	final	lead white	cerulean blue ultramarine viridian	yellow earth
Dark green	background: floral cluster in wallpaper? (#634)	first	ultramarine red lake emerald		
Yellow	chandelier (#647)	final	Naples yellow lead white		
Yellow	background: stripe in wallpaper? (#636)	first	Naples yellow	lead white	ultramarine yellow earth red lake (emerald green)
Orange	seated woman's beer glass (#642)	final	chrome orange		
Bright red	seated woman's hand (#644)	final	vermilion		
Dark red	background floral cluster in wallpaper? (#635)	first	ultramarine red lake	Naples yellow black[2] lead white	(yellow earth) vermilion
Dark red	seated woman's hat (#648)	final	cobalt blue vermilion red lake	lead white	
Flesh (?)	associated with blue garment (?) below beige dress left edge (#639)	intermediate	yellow earth vermilion lead white	cobalt blue	cerulean blue emerald green (red lake) black[2]
Flesh	seated woman's hand (#640)	final	lead white	yellow earth vermilion	(cobalt blue) emerald green
Grayish mauve	background color of wallpaper? (#637)	first	Naples yellow lead white	ultramarine yellow earth red lake charcoal black[2]	cobalt blue
Black[5]	garment (?) below beige dress: left edge (#630)	first	ivory black[2]	cobalt blue yellow earth chrome orange[6] red lake	white lead

1. For convenience in comparison of results this table follows the format used by Ashok Roy in publishing his analysis of the London painting (see text note 3). Unless otherwise indicated limited sample availability restricted analysis to polarized light microscopy.
2. The variety of black is specified only when calcium and phosphorous were observed by x-ray fluorescence (bone or ivory black), or when splintery particles were clearly observed with a microscope in transmitted light (charcoal black).
3. Samples including only single particles of a pigment are listed in parentheses.
4. Pigment composition established by polarizing light microscopy and by x-ray fluorescence on the cross section.
5. Pigment composition established by x-ray fluorescence on the cross section.
6. Presence of this pigment inferred from microscopic observation of the cross section in reflected light only.

These samples were examined by polarized light microscopy and helped to establish the pigments Manet chose and the ratios in which he used them. Information on the layer structure must be deduced either from cross sections of the same area, if available, or by studying the surface of the painting with a stereomicroscope.

For his blues Manet used mixtures in which two blue pigments predominate. A dark blue, which probably corresponds to the intermediate composition's background, is primarily cobalt blue. The greenish blue of the napkin is a mixture of lead white and cerulean blue. The pale blue garment to the left of the intermediate composition is made of white lead tinted with small amounts of cobalt blue, cerulean blue, and the blue synthetic ultramarine. In the London painting, ultramarine was a minor component of the blues except for one added section of canvas. Likewise in the Walters work it appears in blue colors only as a minor component.

Roy reports purples made of mixtures of red and blue with a minor component of cobalt or manganese violet. No violet pigment appears in the Baltimore painting. Instead, an intimate mixture of red lake with either cobalt blue or ultramarine serves this function in dark purplish reds. Though ivory black was used in most of the painting, the grayish mauve background of the first composition includes large splintery particles of charcoal black. This pigment mixed into lead white may have given a bluer cast than the more uniform mixture of the finer black.

At the Café includes two green pigments, viridian and emerald green, but viridian is used only as a minor component. The bright green of the stripes in the first composition's background, and a touch of green on the napkin are almost pure emerald green.

Naples yellow is the primary pigment in bright yellows of both the original and final compositions. Roy reports that the yellow used in the London painting is genuine Naples yellow rather than the mixtures that were sometimes substituted for it in the nineteenth century. The pigment in the Baltimore painting is optically identical to a Naples yellow reference sample which has been analyzed by X-ray diffraction and confirmed as authentic.[8] Elsewhere, a yellow earth, which Roy does not report in the London painting, was identified optically as a minor component by polarized light analysis. Iron in corresponding cross sections confirmed its presence.

Pure chrome orange is used for the beer, as it is in the London painting. It is suspected as an admixture in a black as well.

Darker reds, as discussed above, are based on a mixture of equal parts red lake and blue. Vermilion is used pure for a brilliant touch of red on the woman's hand. In flesh mid-tones it is a major component, equally mixed with lead white and yellow earth.

Ivory black was used throughout most of the painting. The pigment showed typically fine rounded grains under the microscope, and the presence of calcium and phosphorous in X-ray fluorescence analysis of a black paint layer confirmed the identification. In pigment mixtures ivory black was used to darken the resulting color. In black paint it was mixed with five other pigments to establish exactly the tone Manet sought. As mentioned above, charcoal black was used instead of ivory black in one sample to give a blue cast to a grayish mauve paint.

At the Café may represent the culmination of Manet's experiments in the cabaret series of 1878–1879. Technical evidence implies that this painting followed others in the series. The masterful composition is a satisfying resolution to the organization of figures in a public place.

Several drawings from this period relate to the painting but none conclusively establishes its date. A drawing in Glasgow,[9] which reproduces the final composition, must have been painted after its completion. Several studies of singers[10] resemble closely the figure in the mirror, but they are not dated exactly.

Technical examination of the London and Baltimore paintings is more helpful in developing the sequence. Bomford and Roy established conclusively that the London *Waitress* (fig. 2) was originally the right half of a larger composition, with the café scene in the Oscar Reinhart collection, Winterthur, Switzerland, being the remainder. The *Waitress Serving Beer* (fig. 3) in Paris is closely related to the London painting. The basic figure group reproduces the London composition as it appeared immediately after it was cut from the large painting, and before Manet enlarged it on the right. The Paris background, with a floral wallpaper, may be a new feature. In the first version of the Walters painting a different figure group, including the gentleman in a black silk hat, was in front of the same background.

Manet continued to revise the composition around the man in black. The stronger colors were

muted. The patterned wallpaper was replaced by a neutral background tone. The dress of the figure to the left was changed to a dull beige. The space in the Paris and London paintings is closed off by the back of a man with a pipe. In this work the objects on the counter were shifted, opening up the foreground. The standing waitress provided a middle-ground reference point in the crowd of other figures. The mirror with the singer was added to imply the space outside the field of view.

In the final composition, Manet created a coherent space, open to the viewer. Working with a limited range of colors, he focused on three strong figures. Each turns away from the crowd. The image is one of private isolation in a public place.

NOTES

1. Oil on canvas, 47.5 × 39.2 cm. Signed "Manet" at lower left. The Walters Art Gallery No. 37.893

2. W. R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth-Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), 135.

3. D. Bomford and A. Roy, "Manet's 'The Waitress,' An Investigation into its Origin and Development," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* (London, 1983), 3-19 (hereafter, Bomford and Roy, "The Waitress"); T. Siegl, "The Treatment of Edouard Manet's *Le Bon Bock,*" *Bulletin: Philadelphia Museum of Art* (1966), 133-41; M. Wilson, *Manet at Work* (The National Gallery, London, 10 August-9 October 1983). Figure 2 is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, The National Gallery, London.

4. A study of George Moore at a café in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 55.193) appears to be such a preliminary design. Published by D. Rouart and D. Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné,* 2 vol. (Lausanne-Paris, 1975), I: no. 296 (hereafter: Rouart and Wildenstein, *Manet*).

5. Samples were mounted in polyester resin, then ground and polished to reveal the paint layers in cross section. Cross sections were examined microscopically. A scanning electron microscope equipped for X-ray fluorescence was used to identify the elemental composition of the paint layers. The author is grateful for the use of the equipment at the Electron Microscope Central Facility of the University of Maryland, and to Myron Eugene Taylor, the manager, for his help.

6. The support is a fine canvas, commercially primed by an artist's colorman. The white ground is composed of lead white. Biological staining suggests that the paint medium is oil. Staining for the ground was inconclusive. Analysis of the London painting by gas chromatography-mass spectrometry indicates that the medium of that work is poppy oil.

7. Bomford and Roy, "The Waitress," 14-16.

8. This sample was analyzed by Ashok Roy.

9. Rouart and Wildenstein, *Manet,* II, no. 517.

10. *Ibid.*, nos. 511-15.

Fig. 1. Gouma-Peterson, *Anastasis*. Tempera on Wood, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.371.

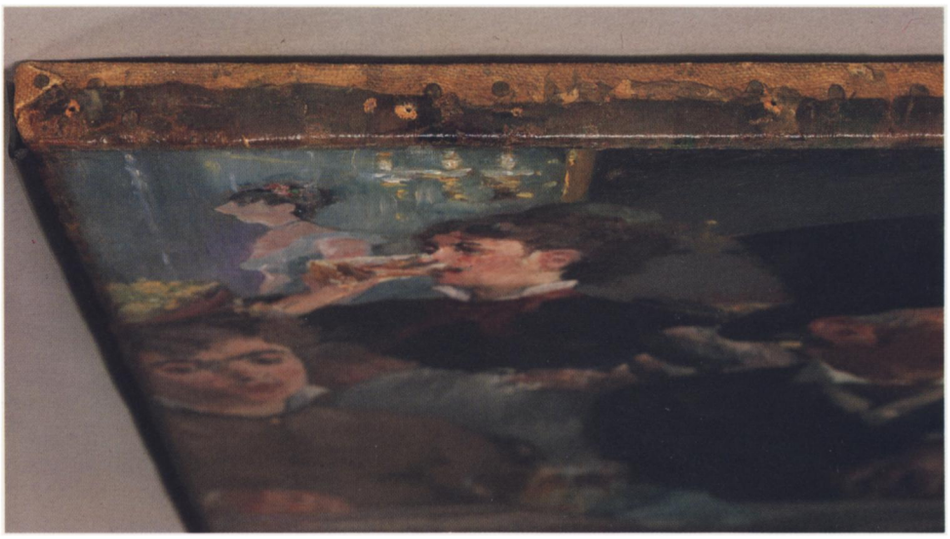


Fig. 4. Gifford, *At the Café.* Detail of Figure 1 (p. 99), upper tacking edge: first composition background, wallpaper (?).

Fig. 5. Gifford, *At the Café.* Detail of Figure 3 (p. 100), wallpaper.

Fig. 6a. Gifford, *At the Café*. Location of cross section #632, upper edge.

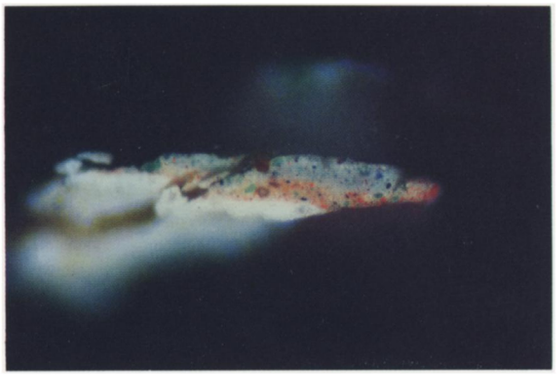


Fig. 6b. Gifford, *At the Café*. Cross section #632: first composition background.

Fig. 7a. Gifford, *At the Café*. Location of cross section #630, left edge.

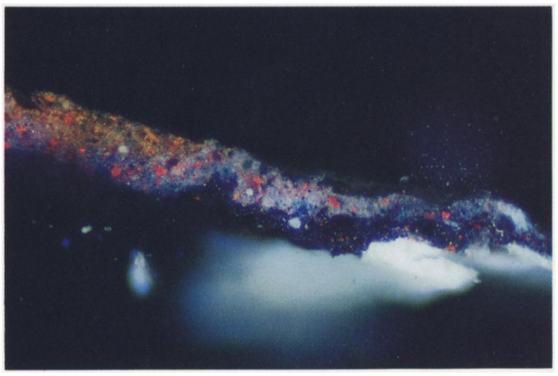


Fig. 7b. Gifford, *At the Café*. Cross section of #630: beige dress over blue garment over black garment.

Fig. 8a. Gifford, *At the Café*. Location of cross section #631, left edge.

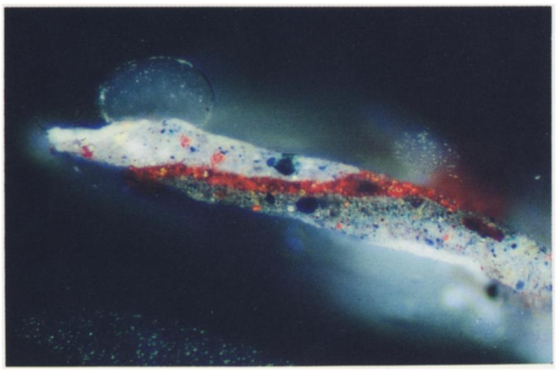


Fig. 8b. Gifford, *At the Café*. Cross section #631: green hat, red accent.