The

JOURNAL

OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

volume 55/56
1997/1998

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Published by the Trustees
of the Walters Art Gallery

This publication was made possible through the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fund for Scholarly Research and Publications.

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C.C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 330–33, fig. 22.

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F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, 27 (1977), 235–37.

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Vermeule, *Imperial Art*, 335–68.

Villard, "Une tête romaine," 235.

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Carla Brenner, *Editor*
Leigh Jordan Friedman, *Designer*

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

C O N T E N T S

Four Reliefs from the Tomb of Nespakashuty in the Walters Art Gallery

E.V. Pischikova

Four previously misidentified relief fragments from the tomb of Nespakashuty now in the Walters Art Gallery reveal different aspects of the style and subject matter of the tomb's relief decoration. They contribute greatly to our knowledge of the art of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty at Thebes.

The collection of the Walters Art Gallery includes a rich and diverse group of Egyptian antiquities, most of which were acquired by its founder Henry G. Walters in the years between the two world wars. During this period, Egyptian artifacts could be legally exported and were dispersed throughout the world, making their provenance difficult to establish. Many pieces were purchased by Walters from a well-known dealer, Dikran Kelekian.

In an attempt to document the collection, the Walters Art Gallery retained George Steindorff to produce a catalogue, which was published in 1946.[1] Steindorff, an excellent scholar, prepared entries for many individual objects, often relying on acquisition records that included the dealer's statement regarding an object's provenance.

Three fine fragmentary reliefs in the collection were included in the catalogue.[2] Steindorff assigned them to the Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly because the acquisition records indicated that, according to Kelekian, they originated from Deir el Bahri, site of the famous temple of Hatshepsut (1437–1458 B.C.),[3] a female pharaoh from the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

I first saw these reliefs in 1993, and despite the lack of inscriptions I felt that they could be iconographically and stylistically dated to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.). The pieces appeared to be from a single tomb.

The three fragments are carved in low raised relief and depict male offering bearers carrying various offerings to the deceased. All the figures have broad shoulders and slim waists, long, narrow, slanted eyes, and straight noses with drilled holes indicating the nostrils.

Relief 22.331 (fig. 1) shows two offering bearers facing left. The hand of a third bearer, who holds a round jar, is visible in the upper left corner. One figure holds the leash of a bull with one hand and grasps the wings of a goose with the other. The second bearer clasps a goose with both arms, while holding three papyrus stems and a lotus bouquet against his chest. Both wear short belted kilts and short smooth wigs that cover their ears. The faces have plastically rounded eyebrows parallel to the upper lids of the eyes.

Relief 22.329 (fig. 2) depicts a bearer lifting a basket with his raised far arm and a wine jar with his raised near arm. He also wears a belted kilt, but his wig is valanced and horizontally stepped. His eyebrow is natural and lacks the plastically rounded form found on relief 22.331. To the right appear the offerings of a missing bearer—a goose and a dish containing bread and grapes.

On the third relief, 22.132 (fig. 3), the head and shoulders of a man wearing an elaborate stepped and valanced curled wig with straight locks on the top are depicted. The facial features and plastically rounded eyebrow are similar to those of the two men shown on relief 22.331. No offerings appear on this small fragment, but the form and fashion of the man's wig suggest his location (see below).

Although the style of these reliefs strongly indicated an early Twenty-sixth Dynasty date, it was only after I had begun to examine excavation records at the Metropolitan Museum of Art that I was able to determine that the fragments originated in the tomb of the vizier Nespakashuty (TT 312).[4] This monument is one of the finest tombs of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, a period when artisans consciously turned to earlier traditions for their inspiration.[5]

The tomb of Nespakashuty is situated on the west bank of the Nile, among the great Theban cemeteries. It lies high up on a cliff flanking the north side of the causeway that leads to the mortuary temple of the

Fig. 1. Relief fragment. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.331.

Eighteenth Dynasty queen and pharaoh Hatshepsut. The first chamber of this cliff tomb was richly decorated with fine limestone reliefs.[6]

The tomb was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition, led by H.E. Winlock, between 1922 and 1923. The excavators found that the relief decoration had fallen from the walls of the chamber. The probable explanation for this lies with Winlock's note dated February 14, 1926, and addressed to Albert M. Lythgoe:

> There was at some time a tremendous fire in the burial crypt . . . the heat of this internal fire seems to have roasted the entire structure of the upper chapel, turning the lime . . . pink and baking the limestone walls until they are extremely brittle. . . . The result of the baking of the chapel walls has been that most of the sculpture has been reduced to an infinite number of small chips. . . .[7]

The condition of the relief decoration allows us to suggest that the tomb was later used as a quarry. From Winlock's same letter we also know that the fragments were shipped to New York in 1926. Only the decoration of the entrance was left in position. Winlock comments, "We have sent off to you one hundred and twenty-three boxes of antiquities, which include the coffins I wrote to you a long time ago about, some very good samples of XI Dynasty linen, and our old friend, Nesipekshuti [*sic*]. The boxes left Luxor on the 9th of Feb." The delay in dispatching of material to New York obviously caused Winlock to be apprehensive.[8]

About twenty years after the arrival of the relief fragments at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an attempt was made to reconstruct the tomb decoration. Photographs and drawings from the mid 1940s show that the first and only reconstruction undertaken, that of the relief decoration of the first chamber, was never completed and that many mistakes were made in the process. Less than ten years later, the museum decided to deaccess a majority of the finds. The largest sections of Nespakashuty tomb reliefs were dispersed to the University of Chicago,[9] the Brooklyn Museum,[10] and Princeton University.[11] Smaller fragments were dispersed to various public and private collections. (A catalogue of the dispersed relief fragments from the tomb of Nespakashuty will be provided in the forthcoming publication of the tomb.) The Metropolitan Museum retained 63 large and 250 small fragments.[12]

Some Nespakashuty reliefs appeared on the art market after Winlock had completed his work, possibly having been found in the debris on the floor of the tomb after the excavation. Perhaps that is why some Nespakashuty fragments were for sale in Kelekian's gallery before 1930–1931, where they were purchased by Henry Walters.

Fig. 2. Relief fragment. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.329.

Winlock's documentation of the tomb—his records, photographs, and plans are kept in the archives of the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art—includes some of the Walters Art Gallery's fragments. Relief 22.331 (see fig. 1) is shown on one of Winlock's negatives (fig. 4).[13]

Relief 22.329 (see fig. 2) joins reliefs recorded by other Winlock field photographs (fig. 5).[14] An offering bearer on the Walters fragment carries a basket with three loaves of bread, a bunch of grapes, and a segmented bowl in one hand, and a wine jar decorated by a lotus flower in the other. Segmented bowls, carved from a block of wood and divided into two or four parts, were popular in the New Kingdom,[15] when they were usually shown in offering scenes filled with fruit or berries. In Late Period reliefs, these bowls are empty—a loss of function characteristic of Twenty-sixth Dynasty practices.[16] The offerings of the adjacent bearer, whose figure does not survive, consist of bread and grapes. Winlock's photographs show two fragments, now lost, originally joined to the top of the Walters relief (see fig. 6). On one of these is the upper part of a wine jar decorated with a lotus stem, grapes, and lettuce, on the other, the upper part of a segmented bowl, a peace of meat, and a bunch of onions. Both of the fragments were originally part of the offering bearer scene represented on Walters relief 22.329.

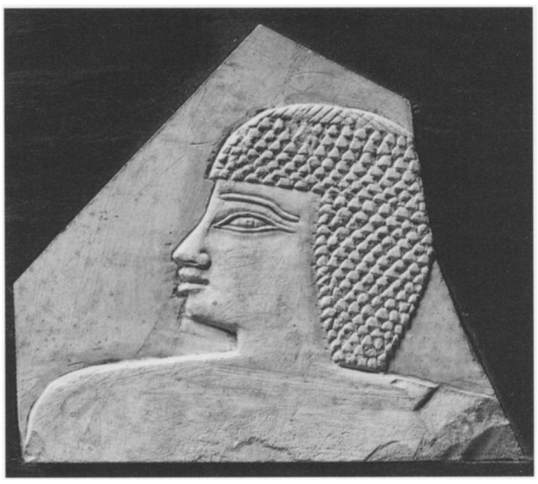


Fig. 3. Relief fragment. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.132.

The above-described figure of the male offering bearer was originally placed

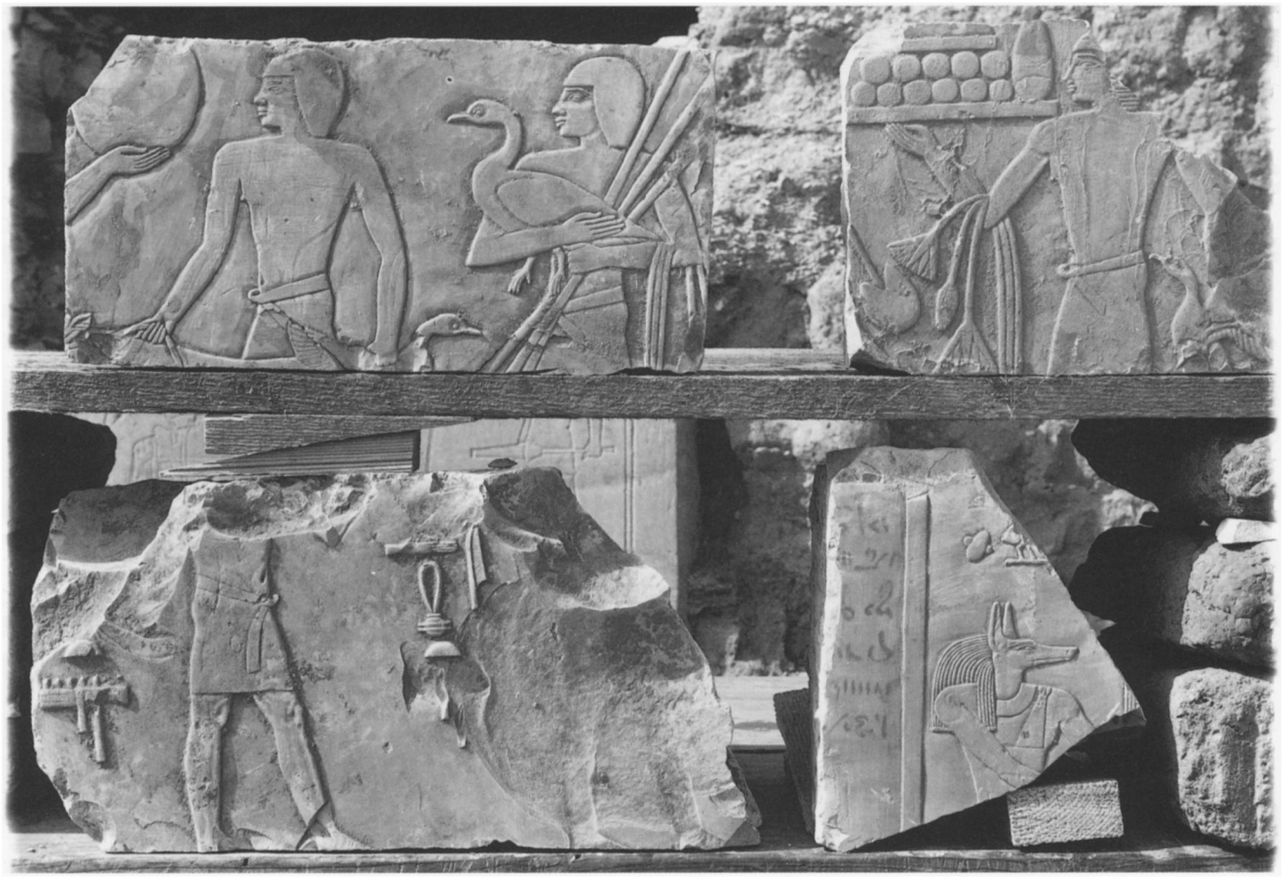


Fig. 4. Field photograph from the Metropolitan Museum excavations led by Herbert Winlock, 1922–1923. Archive neg. no. M4C 301.

on the northern part of the east wall in the first chamber of Nespakashuty's tomb. The initial composition included the large-scale figure of Nespakashuty sitting in front of the offering table, a representation of the offering list and offering rituals, a funerary procession, and a procession of offering bearers—a form of traditional decoration attested to as early as the Old Kingdom.[17] Most of the northern area of the east wall in Nespakashuty's tomb was nearly an exact replica of the north wall of the Southern Hall of Offerings at Hatshepsut's temple in Deir el Bahri.[18] This fact helps to explain why Steindorff attributed the Walters reliefs to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The Hatshepsut reliefs were sources for the poses and equipment of the male offering bearers in the tomb of Nespakashuty. At the same time, a Twenty-sixth Dynasty sculptor interpreted his prototype in a new and different style. The proportions were changed. Nespakashuty's figures are squat, heavier and wider in the waist than their New Kingdom models. Their proportions are closer to those of Old Kingdom figures. The type of kilt represented in the Hatshepsut reliefs was also changed. Instead of the New Kingdom type with a wrapped flap, an Old Kingdom type with a knot and a free-hanging end of a belt is represented.[19] The type of the kilt could be derived not only from Old Kingdom prototypes but more probably from the tomb of Harwa (TT 37), the first Late Period tomb in Asasif. The Harwa relief decoration was strongly influenced by Old Kingdom tomb reliefs.[20]

In spite of their stylistic differences, the strong iconographic similarity between the Hatshepsut and Nespakashuty offering compositions is extremely helpful in determining the placement of the Baltimore reliefs.

The prototype of Walters relief 22.329 in the Hatshepsut temple shows an offering bearer carrying a basket with three loaves of bread, grapes, meat, onions, and a segmented bowl in one hand. A wine jar decorated with a lotus stem is held in the other hand (fig. 7). Three stems with leaves and flowers are twisted around his elbow. Adjacent to him is another bearer carrying three fowls and a dish containing bread, grapes, and lettuce. It was placed in the fourth register to the right of the offering list, under the register that depicted the large-scale offerings. The Nespakashuty

Fig. 5. Field photograph from the Metropolitan Museum excavations led by Herbert Winlock, 1922–1923. Archive neg. no. 271.

counterpart must be placed at the same position as its earlier prototype.

The offering bearer with a fowl in Walters relief 22.331 also has a direct counterpart on the north wall of the Hatsepshut temple, at the end of the fifth register (fig. 8). As the fifth register of the east wall in the tomb of Nespakashuty is a mirror image of that in Hatshepsut's tomb, the position of Nespakashuty's bearer with a fowl should also be at the end of the register.

Reconstruction of the scene of which relief fragment 22.132 was a part is considerably more difficult, since only the figure's wig provides a clue about where it was positioned. Similar stylized coiffures can be found on priests performing offering rituals below the offering list.

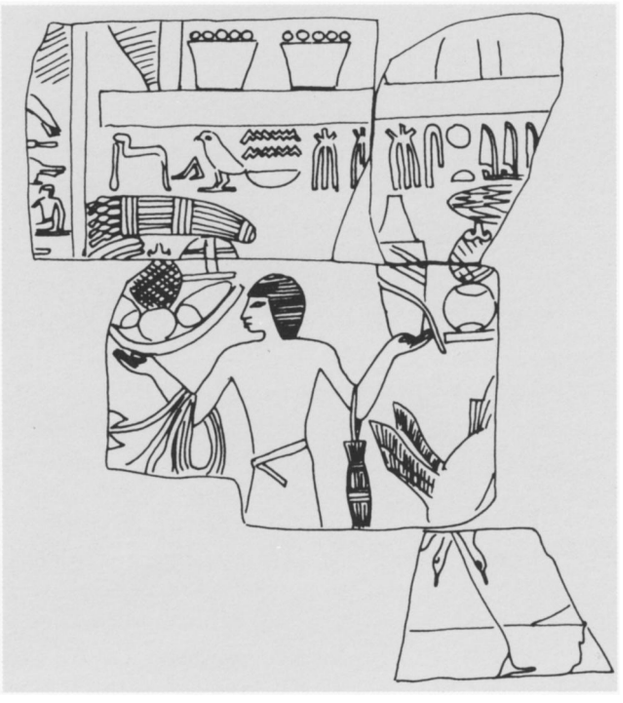
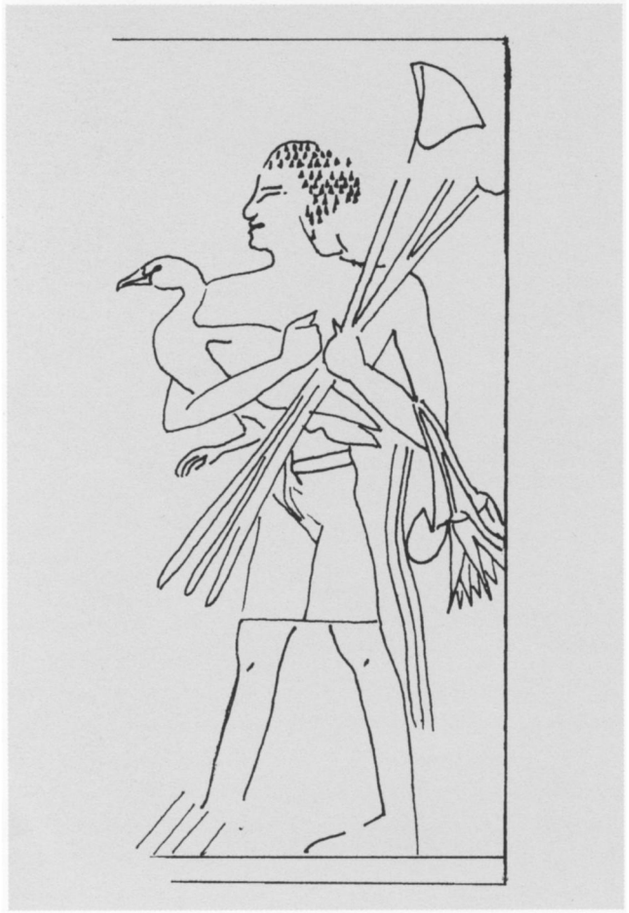


Fig. 6. Reconstruction with fig. 2, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.329. [Drawing by the author.]

It is interesting to note the variety of male wigs in the tomb of Nespakashuty. Instead of the single, short, valanced, curly wig found in the Hatshepsut scenes, the Nespakashuty reliefs show at least four different wig types, three of which are represented on the Baltimore reliefs. Relief 22.329 portrays an offering bearer wearing a valanced, horizontally



Figs. 7 and 8. Relief fragments from the northern wall of the Southern Hall of Offerings in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el Bahri. [From E. Neville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV (London, 1901), pl. CXII.]

striated wig that covers the ears. The same type of wig with a side lock was frequently used as a priestly coiffure but rarely without a curl. Bernard V. Bothmer considers the use of this wig to be an archaism of a style original to the Fourth Dynasty and cites examples from the tombs of Thery at Giza and Basa (TT 389) of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, where similar wigs are depicted.[21] Late Period examples of this wig can be found in the tomb of Iby (TT 36), a contemporary of Nespakashuty.[22] The smooth valanced wig shown on Walters relief 22.331 is utilized throughout the history of Egyptian art,[23] but it is especially common in the Late Period.[24]

The rear-stepped and valanced wig with straight locks of hair on the top, depicted on relief 22.132, appears early in the Old Kingdom. At that time, it was usually used in the representation of the tomb owner.[25] Beginning in the Third Dynasty, and continuing until the Fifth Dynasty, many tomb owners are shown wearing this wig. Its use was discontinued during the Middle Kingdom and most of the New Kingdom, but it reappears in royal portraits of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties.[26] I know only two examples of its use in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[27]

Much later, during my third visit to Baltimore in spring 1996, I found in the Walters Art Gallery the fourth and the largest relief fragment from the tomb of Nespakashuty (fig. 9).[28] Steindorff did not include this fragment in the catalogue of the Egyptian collection. He may have been trying to avoid the issue of the problematic dating in the acquisition record. The piece had been acquired from Dikran Kelekian in 1929 as an Old Kingdom fragment of unknown provenance. I knew this fragment from the Winlock excavation photograph, where it was registered together with the other fragments from the tomb of Nespakashuty, and considered it as missing.[29]

The fragment is the upper part of a representation of a priest performing an "Opening of the Mouth" ritual. He makes the libation from the ritual jar with the hand of his far arm and, with his near hand, holds another vessel with burning incense. He wears a long kilt, a leopard skin, and a short, horizontally striated wig with vertical locks on the top. A table with the tools for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and a chest are placed behind him. Remains of three vertical columns of the inscription above his head may be reconstructed as "[putting] sand on [. . .]. Recitation by the sem and jmj-ḫnt priest."[30] The inscription appears to have been deliberately damaged; long vertical chisel marks are visible on its upper part.

Fig. 9. Relief fragment. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.216.

Winlock's excavation photographs show ten fragments that initially formed the Opening of the Mouth scene.[31] Except for a few missing small chips, all these fragments assembled together would have formed an entire composition. Unfortunately, the complete reconstruction never took place. Only some of the known fragments were included in the Egyptian Department's reconstruction before the deaccession in 1947–1948. Three important fragments registered by Winlock were missing in the reconstruction. The present location of two of them—a head and a torso of the goddess of the West and a lower part of the representation of the tomb, with remains of an inscription to the right—is unknown.[32] The third fragment, with a figure of a priest, is the Walters relief (22.216) that is under discussion. On October 9, 1950, the northern part of the east wall depicting a funerary procession and the Opening of the Mouth ritual was given to the Oriental Institute in Chicago (inv. 18236).

The Baltimore fragment may be directly inserted into the northern part of the second register from the east wall. It fits exactly a Chicago fragment depicting a long skirt of a priest with the lower edge of a leopard-skin cloak, a leg of a table, and a small part of a chest (fig. 10).

The whole composition would show one of the most important parts of the funeral ceremony—the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, in which the

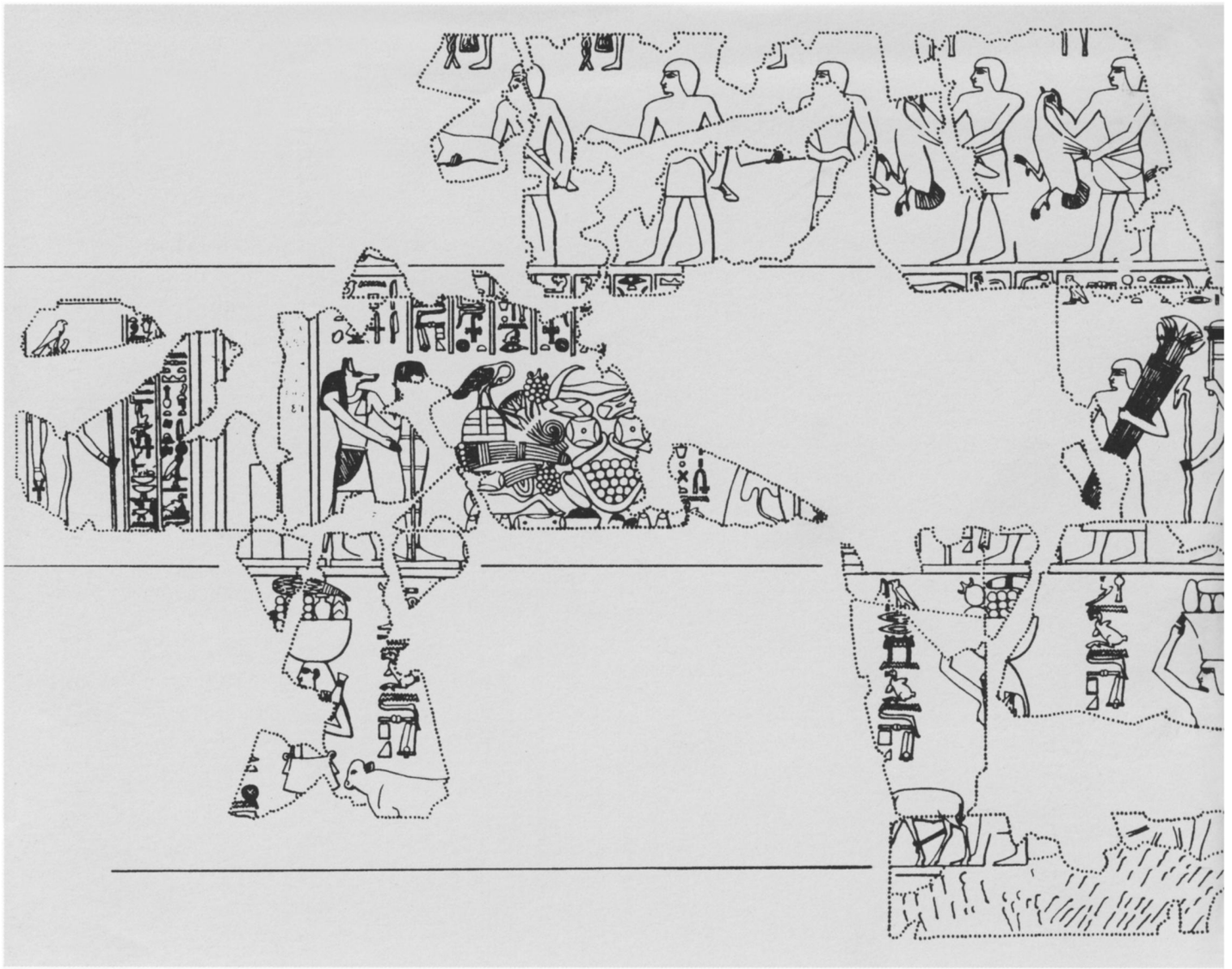
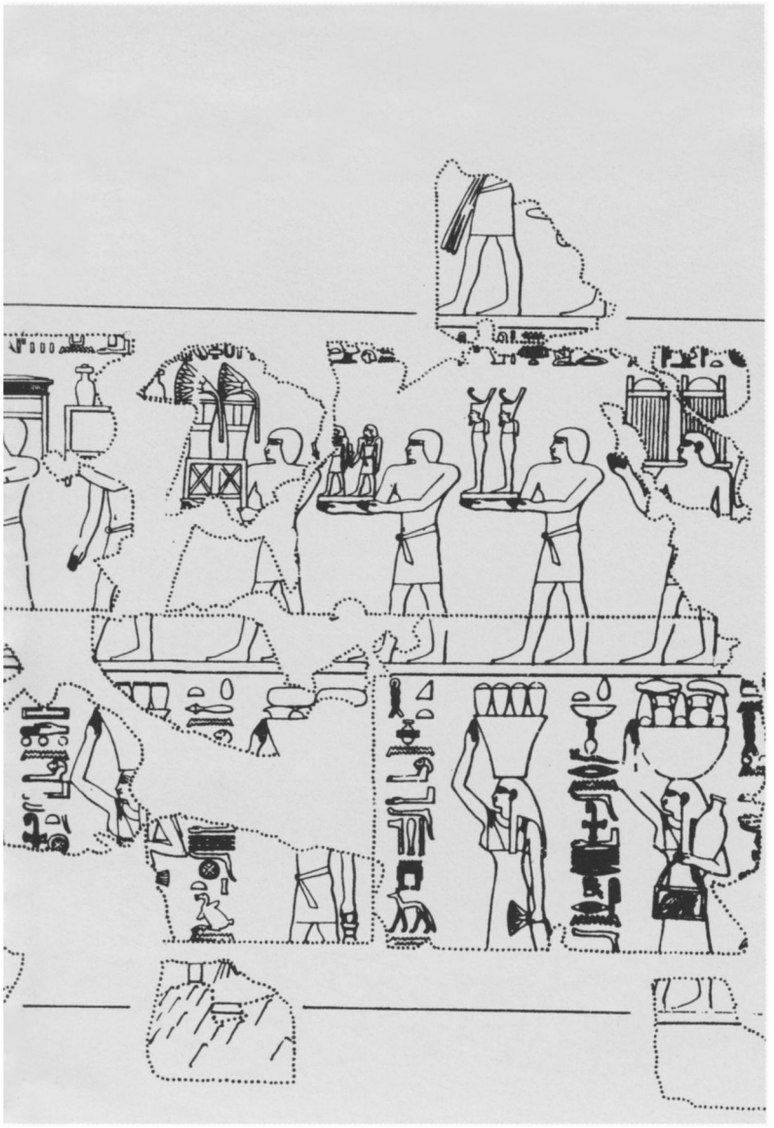


Fig. 10. Drawing of the northern part of the east wall of the first chamber in the tomb of Nespakashuty. A part of this section is now in the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, inv. 18236. [Drawing courtesy of the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.]

mummy was restored to the fullness of life.[33] The ritual is represented as being conducted outside the tomb door. The mummy, supported by the god Anubis or a priest functioning as Anubis, is placed upright. The ritual is initiated by the sm-priest, using special instruments represented on a table behind him. The priest is shown making a libation and burning incense in front of the mummy.

The representation of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth has no strong iconographic tradition in the late Asasif necropolis. The only other known example is found in the tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33).[34] Although decorated a few decades earlier than the Nespakashuty tomb, it nevertheless reflects a completely different iconographic tradition.

Even though the rite of the Opening of the Mouth is known from the Old Kingdom, the iconographic tradition may be traced only since the New Kingdom.[35] The two most widespread iconographic versions of this scene are dated to the reign of Thutmosis III and the Ramesside period. Petamenophis's composition is closer to the large-scale representations of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which consisted of many episodes.[36] The tomb of Nespakashuty, in contrast, shows the Ramesside tradition of this scene, in which the Opening of the Mouth is shown as a single act taking place at the very end of the funerary procession.[37] In fact, the whole scene of the funerary procession



and rites in the tomb of Nespakashuty was mostly influenced by the Ramesside period examples.[38]

At the same time, some unusual iconographic features reveal the individual taste and manner of Nespakashuty's sculptor. Shoulder-length wigs or the shaven heads found in Ramesside representations are replaced by the short, horizontally striated wig with vertical locks on the top, one of the favorite wig types in the tomb of Nespakashuty. The manner of the representation of the leopard-skin cloak is also exceptional. The Ramesside priest's garment looks like a skin wrapped around the body, with the forepaws on the shoulders and the head hanging down in front of the chest, leaving the near shoulder bare. On Nespakashuty's relief, the leopard head and two forepaws hang down, leaving the far shoulder bare.

The scene of the funerary procession and Opening of the Mouth is worked in one of the most elaborate styles in the whole tomb. The figures are executed in a low relief. The heavily proportioned figures, with wide shoulders and muscled legs, are definitely derived from the Old Kingdom prototypes. Their torsos and kilts have plain, almost unmodeled surfaces. At the same time, numerous small incised details on the wigs and offerings are executed with great care and diligence. This combination of the flat surfaces of bodies and garments and widely spaced decorative details evokes a style of the Eleventh Dynasty.[39]

The tomb of Nespakashuty is small and modest. Only one chamber was intended to be decorated and yet had been left unfinished. Even so, the tomb shows an individual relief decoration program, a distinguished selection of earlier patterns, and a specific style. Even incomplete, Nespakashuty's tomb demonstrates one more outstanding aspect of an extremely rich Twenty-sixth Dynasty private relief.

Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York, New York

Notes

I am very grateful to Dr. Ellen Reeder, Curator of Ancient Art at the Walters Art Gallery, for her substantial assistance and encouragement. My research on the tomb of Nespakashuty was begun while I was an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This study would not have been possible without the generous support and expertise of Dorothea Arnold, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator-in-Charge of the Department of Egyptian Art. The other members of the Department of Egyptian Art were also extremely helpful. I want to express my gratitude to Marsha Hill for her important insights. I also want to thank James Allen for his assistance in checking a translation of the inscription.

My research profited greatly from discussions with Edna Russman, Brooklyn Museum of Art.

1. G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946).

2. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.329: limestone, W 29 cm, H 19.5 cm; Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 72, no. 240, pl. 40. Acc. no. 22.331: limestone, W 38 cm, H 19 cm; ibid., 73, no. 243, pl. 43. Acc. no. 22.132: limestone, W 9.5 cm; ibid., 74, no. 251, pl. 40.

3. The dates used in this article are from J. Baines and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York and Oxford, 1989).

4. The tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312): Brooklyn Museum, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), fig. 73; D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in*

der thebanischen Nekropole, unbound plans separately boxed *(Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, 6* [Vienna, 1984], 50, fig. 26, pl. 27B); W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1981), 410, fig. 403; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, (Winter 1983–1984), 48, fig. 48; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide* (New York, 1983), 104–105, fig. 44; Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art: 1951–1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), 32–33, no. 35, pls. 56–59; H.E. Winlock, "The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 18 (1923), Part II: *The Egyptian Expedition 1922–1923*, 25, figs. 16, 17.

5. See, for example, P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past* (London, 1994); Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*; M. Bietak and E. Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Ankh-Hor*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1978, 1982); J. Assmann, *Das Grab der Mutirdis* (Mainz, 1977); J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Necropole* (Mainz, 1973); B.V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period (700 B.C. to A.D. 100)* (Brooklyn, 1960).

6. See Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition 1922–1923," 20–21.

7. Archives of the Egyptian Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art. I am grateful to Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator-in-Charge, for permission to use and cite this material.

8. Ibid.

9. Oriental Institute Museum, inv. 18236. Unpublished.

10. Brooklyn Museum, inv. 52.131.1–32, 68.1: *Five Years of Collecting*, 32–33, no. 35, pls. 56–59; R. Fazzini, R. Bianchi, J. Romano, and D. Spanel, *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), no. 73.

11. Art Museum, Princeton University, inv. 50.127. Unpublished.

12. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 23.3.468. Only a few of the Metropolitan Museum blocks are published: *Metropolitan Museum Guide*, 104, no. 44.

13. Archives of the Egyptian Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, neg. no. M4C 301.

14. Archives of the Egyptian Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, neg. nos. 271, 294.

15. See R. Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age of Living in the New Kingdom* (Boston, 1982), 115.

16. See E.V. Pischikova, "Mistakes in the Representation of Objects in Saite Reliefs of Daily Life," *Göttinger Miszellen*, 139 (1994), 69–92.

17. See, for example, W.K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kaemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1922), 11–14, pls. C, D.

18. See E. Neville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri*, IV (London, 1901), pls. 112, 113.

19. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966), pl. XXI, 4.

20. E.R. Russmann, "Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat," *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983), 140–41.

21. B.V. Bothmer, "The Brussels-Brooklyn Statue of Bakenrenef," *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'Etude 9*, 97/1 (1985), 101.

22. See K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Iby (Theban Nr. 36)* (Mainz, 1985), pls. 104b, 121.

23. For examples in the New Kingdom, see Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, pls. 6, 8, 10.

24. See examples in P. Der Manuelian, "Two Fragments of Relief and a New Model for the Tomb of Montuemhet at Thebes," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 71 (1985), pl. 7.

25. See C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire et la Première Periode Intermédiaire* (Paris, 1990), 96–111; also see W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946), 277, pls. 31, 33, 36.

26. See K. Mysliwiec, *Le Portrait Royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Varsovie, 1976), fig. 275.

27. The royal representation is on a relief of Necho II: see Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, no. 42, figs. 91–94. The private usage is found in the tomb of Mentuemhat: see P. Der Manuelian, "A Fragment of Relief from the Tomb of Mentuemhat Attributed to the Fifth Dynasty," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, 12 (1982), fig. 1.

28. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 22.216: limestone, W 35.5 cm, H 33.5 cm.

29. This fragment was found by Winlock together with the other tomb reliefs in 1922 and recorded on the field photograph that is now in the Metropolitan Museum archive (neg. no. M4C 326).

30. I am grateful to James Allen for his commentary on the inscription.

31. Archive of the Egyptian Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, neg. nos. M4C 289, M4C 273, M4C 262, M4C 301, M4C 271, M4C 292, M4C 320, M4C 326.

32. Archive of the Egyptian Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, neg. nos. M4C 289, M4C 262.

33. For the detailed description of the ceremony and its symbolic meaning, see E.A.W Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth: The Egyptian Texts with English Translations* (London, 1909); E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundoffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960); A.B. Lloyd, "Psychology and Society in the Ancient Egyptian Cult of the Dead," *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt. Yale Egyptological Studies*, 3 (1989), 125–26.

34. J. Dümichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropoles* (Leipzig, 1885), pls. I–XIII.

35. M.A.-Q Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966), 170–72.

36. The best example of the Eighteenth Dynasty narrative representation of the Opening of the Mouth is the composition from the tomb of Rekhmire, consisting of fifty episodes: N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-r' at Thebes*, II (New York, 1943), pl. XXV.

37. P. von Barthelmess, *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in der thebanischen Beamtengrabern der Ramessidenzeit* (Heidelberg, 1992), 93–114.

38. For the Ramesside parallels, see ibid., pls. 3, 4.

39. For the tomb of Neferu see B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: I, The Theban Necropolis. Part 1, Private Tombs*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford, 1960), 391–93; for the tomb of Kawit see C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), fig. 69.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, 9, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 4, 5, courtesy of the archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Early Greek Palladion: Two Bronze Statuettes in America

Beth Cohen

This study focuses on the only two Archaic Palladia in American museums. Significantly, both these small bronzes, which stand on bases and may recall lost early cult statues, wear the low-crested, open-faced Illyrian helmet—a contemporary casque of male warriors. This helmet, unusual for a female character, distinguishes these Athena statuettes from depictions of the Archaic Athenian goddess wearing an invented, so-called Attic helmet with a high crest. Athena in an Illyrian helmet—an ancient tradition that apparently began on the Peloponnesos and spread to northern Greece—may have persisted in local cult imagery even as the Athenian typology became canonical for this omnipresent goddess.

The legendary Palladion was a protective talisman sacred to Athena that was originally housed in the goddess's temple at Troy.[1] The Trojan Palladion's supposedly long and complex ancient history as well as its presumed visual appearance are recorded variously in Classical texts. According to Apollodoros, this primitive image, which fell from the sky, safeguarded the city from defeat until the Greek warriors Odysseus and Diomedes stole it.[2] From Augustan times comes Vergil's famous description of the Palladion as a statue of Athena, whose awesome power was revealed after the theft:

> . . . salt sweat poured across its body
> and quivering flames blazed from its staring eyes;
> and then, amazingly, three times the goddess
> herself sprang from the ground with trembling shaft
> and shield.[3]

A picture of how Classical Greek and Roman artists visualized the legendary Trojan Palladion emerges from depictions of its theft preserved in vase painting, sculpture, and wall painting.[4] Although details vary, these artists generally represented the Palladion as a small, hieratic statue depicting the helmeted goddess Athena standing with both feet together and wearing a long dress, carrying a shield, and brandishing a spear. Cult images with palladion-like features also appear in the context of other Trojan stories, including the rape of Kassandra (cf. fig. 9) and Menelaos's pursuit of Helen after the Trojan war.[5] In such representations, Classical artists tended to construct purposely old-fashioned-looking cult statues that probably evoked primitive images from generations past still to be seen in the ancient world.[6]

In nineteenth-century scholarship, the term palladion was inclusively applied to all rigid, early images of a helmeted, armed human figure wearing a long dress. This class was generally identified with Athena even though several female deities, including Artemis and Aphrodite, could bear a shield and spear, and the male deity Apollo could also bear the arms of a Greek warrior while wearing a long garment.[7] The known findspots in Greece and Sicily of bronze statuettes of palladion type, dating from the seventh to the sixth century B.C., suggest that these bronzes were generally dedicated in sanctuaries,[8] and thus they have often been believed to be reflections of now-lost cult images rather than direct representations of a deity. By the end of the sixth century, palladion statuettes were supplanted by a sculpturally more advanced type—somewhat arbitrarily distinguished as *promachos* (warlike) in modern scholarship—that depicts the armed goddess Athena striding into battle in an active pose.[9]

The present study will examine the only two bronze palladion statuettes from Archaic Greece in the collections of American museums (figs. 1–6). Earlier scholarship on small bronze palladia has generally been concerned with either stylistic and typological analysis or their associations with lost cult images. Beyond reconsidering these widely discussed aspects, my particular focus will be to shed new light on the way the statuettes in America are armed—a feature of critical importance in the art and cult of early Greece.

The bronze statuette at the Walters Art Gallery since 1929 (figs. 1–3) has become well known through

Figs. 1–3. Bronze palladion statuette of Athena. Greek, said to have been found at Sparta. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 54.780.

its loan to important exhibitions: *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, which opened at Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in 1967, and *Hommes et dieux de la Grèce antique* at the Palais des Beaux-Arts-Brussels in 1982.[10] The Walters palladion, 18.3 cm high, is purported to have been found at Sparta and is normally dated in the second half of the sixth century B.C.[11] The second bronze statuette in America, published here for the first time, was given to Harvard University's Arthur M. Sackler Museum by Jerome B. Spier in memory of George Hanfmann in 1984 (figs. 4–6). Harvard's palladion, which is only 8.6 cm high, appears to have been made in Thessaly before the middle of the sixth century B.C.[12] Publication of Harvard's unusual statuette invites taking a fresh look at the Walters bronze.

The Walters statuette (figs. 1–3), solid cast together with its three-tiered base, now has a dark brown patina, with traces of lighter brown, red, and green in pitted areas. The frontal female divinity in this helmeted image wears a sleeved tunic and stands with her feet together; her arms, raised to bear shield and spear, are now denuded of separately fashioned military paraphernalia. The goddess's spear arm is bent sharply upward; the missing weapon was originally inserted through a hole in the clenched right fist. Devoid of the shield, her now-exposed left arm is unnaturally short and extends forward at an exceptionally high level, making the figure's upper torso appear lopsided.

An open-faced helmet reveals the highly plastic features of this palladion's face, which together with the battle-ready position of her arms imparts an air of eager alertness to this otherwise motionless figure. Her bulging almond-shaped eyes, framed by heavy upper and lower lids, are set beneath a strongly arched brow; her pointed nose, projecting directly from the brow, stops just short of her pursed lips. No visible locks of long hair extend beneath her helmet. This palladion's skin-tight garment conforms to the well-modeled breasts and buttocks of her otherwise slab-like body. Oddly, the neckline is not delineated, in contrast to the edges of the garment's short sleeves and the bottom of its skirt, arcing over the palladion's feet. The goddess's waist is girded by a heavy belt,

Figs. 4–6. Bronze palladion statuette of Athena. Greek, Thessalian. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1984.818, Gift of Jerome B. Spier in honor of Professor George Hanfmann.

decorated with a row of circles bounded by straight lines and (presumably) tied with its ends hanging at the front.

The Harvard statuette (figs. 4–6), which is also solid cast together with a base, has a green patina, with areas of brown, particularly in indented gashes on the body, on the left arm and on the base. This rigidly erect, angular little figure is as foresquare in conception as its simple low base. The palladion's helmeted head is far too large for its body. No locks of hair from a female coiffure protrude beneath the lower edge of the open-faced helmet, and the face, which is rudimentarily indicated, is hardly feminine, save for its lack of a beard. The straight nose and projecting ridge of the brow are the most prominent facial features. The mouth is but a gash above the heavy, squared-off chin.

Fig. 7. Bronze Illyrian helmet. Greek, from Olympia. Olympia Museum, inv. BE 121.

This palladion's sleeved tunic extends clear down to the base—the statuette has no feet. The front and side profiles of the body are so flat that its rounded buttocks are the most pronounced anatomical feature. As in all examples of the palladion type, the deity's arms obviously are positioned to bear now-lost weapons. The spear arm is extended laterally at shoulder height and bent upward in a sharp angle at the elbow. Originally, insertion of a spear through a hole in the right hand suggested a clenched fist, though fingers are not indicated. The left forearm, which would have carried a shield, is broken off. (A small mound on the right side of the statuette might be a female breast; the figure's flat left side would have been hidden by the shield.)

The Walters and Harvard bronzes are notably related by their open-faced helmets with low crests,

Fig. 8. Hoplite phalanxes, Chigi Painter, Protocorinthian polychrome olpe (detail). Greek, from Veii. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, inv. 22679.

both of which, as I shall discuss shortly, are identifiable as models of the Illyrian type (fig. 7). Although the shields and spears of palladia tend to be lost, their helmets normally are preserved and thus today constitute a telling component of these armed images. An examination focusing on helmet fashions of other palladia will show how these Illyrian-helmeted statuettes stand apart from the Archaic Athenian arming of Athena that ultimately dominated the typology of such small bronzes. As we shall see, their divergence underscores the significance of early regional traditions but does not necessarily bring into question the identification of these statuettes as the goddess Athena.

Greek helmets and the palladion

In an ancient society where warriors are normally men, arming a female figure in art necessarily results in an imaginary construction. And the armor and weapons in ancient depictions, themselves, correspond to roughly the following four categories, which may sometimes be combined within a given representation and are now often difficult to distinguish from each other: 1) historicizing forms of armor and weapons that evoke ages past, 2) contemporary battle armor and weapons, 3) contemporary parade armor and weapons, and 4) fantastic armor and weapons.

Fig. 9. Rape of Kassandra, manner of the C Painter, tondo of an Attic black-figure Siana cup. Greek, from Siana. London, British Museum, inv. B 379.

The first preserved armed palladia in the art of historical Greece during the early Iron Age belong to the seventh century B.C., a time by which armorers had become masters of their craft, and metal helmets and body armor had become essential Greek military equipment (fig. 8).[13] During this century, divine and legendary characters from Greek myth also began to achieve clearer definition in visual art.[14] It is important to remember,

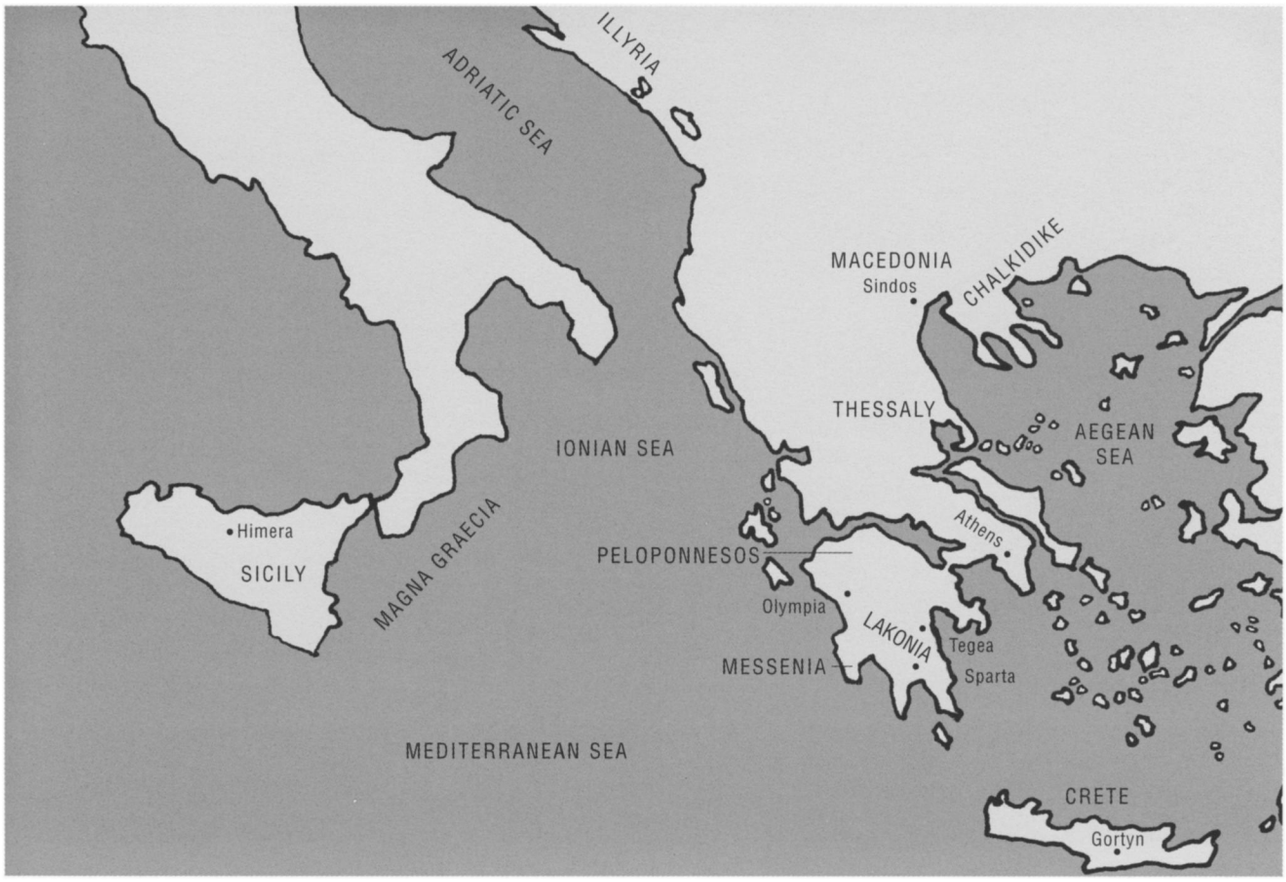


Fig. 10. Map of Greek world, 7th–5th century B.C.

however, that Athena was not armed in the art of Athens until the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., though armed goddesses had by that time long played a role in art and cult throughout the Greek world.[15] Yet the Archaic Athenian Athena, the most well known and influential embodiment of an armed goddess, has become the paradigmatic type against which all others are measured (fig. 9).

In sixth-century Athens, when Athena finally carries a round shield (*hoplon*) and wields a spear like a Greek warrior (hoplite), the rest of her panoply hardly consists of contemporary military equipment. The goddess's appearance is richly attested in Attic black-figure vase painting (fig. 9). Instead of a hoplite's form-fitting metal corslet she wears the Homeric aegis, a protective goatskin of Zeus, often represented in art as a scaley, snake-edged cape.[16] Athena's shield or, later on, her aegis often bears an apotropaic gorgoneion, the severed head of the Gorgon Medusa (fig. 9), bestowed upon the goddess by the legendary hero Perseus.[17] Athena's special helmet—an open casque that leaves both the goddess's face and her ears exposed—becomes emblematic; its modern name is the Attic helmet. In Greek art before the Late Archaic period, Athena's Attic helmet is always fitted with a high crest (figs. 9 and 11–15).[18] No Attic helmets from the early sixth century have ever been found, and there is no evidence that this exceptionally open type was employed by contemporary warriors in battle.[19] Significantly, the early examples are known solely from representations in art, where the Attic helmet served as headgear for female warriors, and, as I shall discuss in greater detail elsewhere, there is reason to believe this helmet type must initially have been invented specifically for purposes of Athenian cult. Several models of the so-called Attic helmet appear in Archaic vase painting and sculpture;[20] the one most relevant for palladia has a neck guard (but usually no cheek guards) and is surmounted by a high crest (figs. 11–15).

Archaic images of Athena from other parts of Greece (fig. 10) were overwhelmingly influenced by the Athenian typology for this warrior goddess. Sixth-century bronze palladia from Sicily, as well as Messenia (figs. 11 and 12) in the Peloponnesos, for example, wear the aegis.[21] The extraordinarily well preserved statuette from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea

Figs. 11 and 12. Bronze palladion statuette of Athena. Greek, from Nisi, near Kalamata. Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont, inv. B 31.

Fig. 13. Bronze palladion statuette of Athena. Greek, from Tegea. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 14828.

in Boeotia (fig. 13), which is still outfitted with shield and spear and may reflect the local cult statue, wears a gorgoneion upon her breast.[22] But, most significantly, for virtually all Archaic Greek palladia, including the above-mentioned examples, an open helmet of Attic type with a neck guard and a stilted high crest of prodigious proportions becomes the canonical headgear. Thus in these statuettes both the face and ears of the helmeted female deity are fully exposed, and her long hair falls onto her back or shoulders from beneath the awesome helmet.

The only Archaic bronze statuette of a palladion found on the Athenian Acropolis has neither aegis nor gorgoneion (figs. 14 and 15). Its shield and spear are missing now, but despite the bronze's badly damaged face, an Attic helmet in a model with a neck guard and a high crest can clearly be made out on the palladion's head. At the back, the tail of the crest hangs to just below shoulder level upon the goddess's mass of wavy long hair. Both findspot and helmet fashion unequivocably associate this palladion statuette with Athena. This early Athenian image of the armed goddess dates to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., and it has been linked by Hans Georg Niemeyer with a lost early cult statue on the Acropolis itself.[23] This spare palladion statuette anticipates some later representations of primitive palladion statues in ancient art by the significant restriction of its panoply to (now-lost) spear and shield, and helmet. Even more than Athenas in full Attic regalia, the Acropolis statuette bespeaks the essential Athenian transformation of an armed cult type already associated with the warrior goddess.

The panhellenic success of the open Attic helmet in visually establishing an immediately recognizable persona for Athena as armed goddess, with or without the presence of other attributes, can best be appreciated by contrasting palladia that either precede the Athenian typology or remain unswayed by it. These unusual images include the first preserved bronze statuette of a palladion (figs. 16 and 17), which stands 14.5 cm high on a .5 cm base and dates to the early seventh century B.C.; it was found in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia in the Peloponnesos (fig. 10)—the

Figs. 14 and 15. Bronze palladion statuette of Athena (side and rear views). Greek, from the Athenian Akropolis. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 6450.

Figs. 16 and 17. Bronze palladion statuette (of Athena?). Greek, from Olympia. Olympia Museum, inv. B 4500.

preeminent site for dedications of battle armor and weapons until the end of the Archaic period.[24]

Although the Olympia statuette's once-inset spear and shield-bearing left forearm are lost, its crested helmet, a closed casque known as the Corinthian type, modeled and cast as an integral part of the head (the norm in small bronzes),[25] is well preserved. The Corinthian helmet, which may have borne the same name in antiquity, is the predominant type actually worn by contemporary Greek warriors, and examples have been found in abundance at the Olympia sanctuary.[26] This technologically sophisticated helmet was generally raised from a single sheet of bronze to fit over and shield the entire head, masking the face. Even the nose was covered by a metal guard. Both the invention of the Corinthian helmet, perhaps in Corinth itself, during the late eighth century and its long-lived popularity all over the Greek world throughout the Archaic period have been associated with the utilization of the phalanx in Greek warfare and, thereby, with the level of protection desired by early Archaic hoplites fighting in the line.[27]

As Emil Kunze has pointed out, the Olympia statuette's carefully rendered Corinthian helmet (figs. 16 and 17) has a straight-sided profile like early models of the type and precise details that also recall preserved specimens. Even the horsehair from which an actual helmet crest would have been made is suggested by incised lines along the outer border of its low bronze crest (the rear lower end of the crest is broken off). This statuette's helmet has a peculiar feature, however —a pair of sculpted human ears. These strongly projecting ears seem to be a response to the casque's physical strictures: wearing a Corinthian helmet was not only hot and uncomfortable but impaired one's hearing.[28] The ears of the palladion's Corinthian helmet visually ameliorate the remoteness of a votive image with a forbiddingly masked face that otherwise would also appear deaf to the dedicator's prayers. Although real helmets can also bear elaborate repoussé decoration, this uncommon eared model was surely the inspiration of a resourceful sculptor to function in a particular cult context.[29]

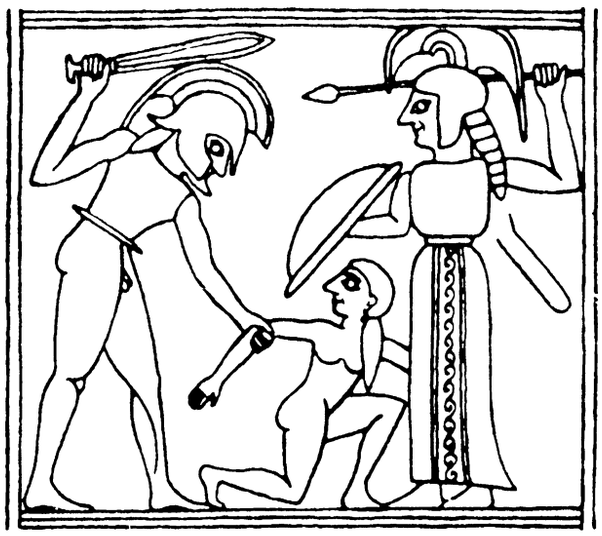


Fig. 18. Rape of Kassandra, drawing of bronze shieldband relief. Greek, from Olympia. Olympia Museum [After E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbände*, *Olympische Forschungen*, II (Berlin, 1950), pl. 7, I e.]

Concealed beneath a Corinthian helmet, the Olympia palladion's face hardly exudes femininity, and no long locks of hair clearly denoting a female fall below the casque. Thus, not only has this Corinthian-helmeted palladion's identification as Athena been questioned, but also the very gender of the deity represented.[30] While subsequent examples of the palladion also assume the frontal, battle-ready pose, they do not wear the helmet of Corinthian type. And the rarity of Corinthian helmets in later representations of armed female figures suggests that a closed casque worn down over the face may have been considered inappropriate for them.[31] In fact, this shortcoming of the mask-like Corinthian helmet in art and cult seems to be specifically addressed by the open Attic helmet characteristic of the Archaic Athenian Athena.

An alternative helmet solution appears in repoussé reliefs on bronze shieldbands of the early sixth century B.C. found at Olympia: depictions of the rape of Kassandra from the cult statue of Athena, which employ the palladion type for the image of the now long-haired war goddess (fig. 18).[32] Here Athena clearly wields a spear and bears a round shield (*hoplon*) just like a Greek hoplite, and her helmet is of a different type: an open-faced casque with long, angular cheek pieces that extend straight down to below the level of the neck guard. Kunze observed, "... on our reliefs Athena unmistakably wears an 'Illyrian helmet'."[33]

As in the case of the Olympia bronze statuette, the type of helmet worn by the palladion of the shieldbands has been adapted directly from a contemporary casque of the male warrior (fig. 7). The so-called Illyrian helmet, which was roughly contemporaneous with the Corinthian, apparently developed on the Peloponnesos, perhaps in the late eighth or early seventh century B.C., but then spread northward through Greece and up into ancient Illyria (located along the east shore of the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, today including Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania; fig. 10), where the helmet appears to have had its greatest popularity.[34] Yet the preserved specimens include examples dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia.[35] The Illyrian helmet, while affording greater comfort and freedom than the Corinthian, provided less protection in battle. Furthermore, preserved models document that early Illyrian helmets were often constructed from two separate halves (fig. 7) and thus were always fitted with a low crest running along the central axis to fortify and conceal the weak join.[36] Perhaps under the sway of this initial functional requirement low crests continued to be preferred on the Illyrian helmet.[37]

The Illyrian helmet of Athena as represented on shieldbands (fig. 18), however, always has a high crest rather than a low one. Perhaps the high crest was bestowed upon Athena's helmet as a commanding badge of military honor in visual art. This feature, which, as we have seen, will also be standard for the Attic-helmeted goddess (figs. 9 and 11–15), may have been inspired by fancy helmets devised for now-lost cult images (cf. figs. 13–15).[38] In any event, the makers of the shieldbands draw an aesthetic distinction between helmet fashions appropriate for males and females. For example, in the Kassandra scene, the helmet of the male warrior Ajax of Lokri is always a mask-like closed Corinthian type with a low crest, while the helmet of Athena is always an open Illyrian type with a high crest (fig. 18).[39] Although her ears may still be covered by the casque, the face of an armed goddess outfitted with an Illyrian helmet is exposed.[40]

This important precedent for representing Athena in an Illyrian helmet brings the statuettes in America into the picture. Significantly, on the Harvard palladion (figs. 4–6), despite the statuette's highly rudimentary form, the rendering of its Illyrian helmet clearly corresponds to real models—from a squared-off opening for the face with no nose guard, an inward-curving profile, and outward flange at the lower back to its low crest; the tail is now broken off. On each side of the little helmet, a vertical indentation in the lower edge even distinguishes between the neck guard and cheek pieces. The distinctive casque suggests a relative date for the Harvard palladion: its rather evolved

Figs. 19 and 20. Bronze palladion statuette (of Athena?). Greek, from Thessaly. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 11715.

Fig. 21. Bronze Illyrian helmet and gold mask. Macedonian, from Chalkidike. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. nos. 54.2456 and 57.1944.

form corresponds to the second or middle type of Illyrian helmet, which was produced from the late seventh to the mid-sixth century B.C.[41]

Although the Harvard statuette can hardly be far in date from the above-mentioned Peloponnesian shield-band reliefs (fig. 18), its strongest association is with the great bronze palladion statuette with an Illyrian helmet from Thessaly, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (figs. 19 and 20).[42] The Thessalian statuette, standing 28.1 cm high—more than three times the size of the one at Harvard (figs. 4–6)—is generally placed early in the first half of the sixth century B.C.[43] Despite differences in scale and quality, noteworthy similarites between these two statuettes include the sharply angular positioning of their spear arms, their simple clinging tunics that appear to have short sleeves, their square, heavy-jawed faces beneath open-faced helmets, and their lack of visible locks of hair. In the case of the large statuette, a clear demarcation of female breasts leaves no doubt about the gender of the beardless, helmeted, and (originally) armed human figure. Yet the markedly curvaceous profile of the Harvard statuette's helmet (fig. 5) suggests that this more primitive-looking bronze should be the later of the two.

The currency of the Illyrian helmet in the northern reaches of Greece by the later sixth century is attested by the well-known burials of warriors in bronze Illyrian helmets and hammered gold facial masks at Sindos near Salonika in Macedonia (fig. 10). And, fortuitously, a similar gold mask and bronze Illyrian helmet from a burial in nearby Chalkidike are in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 21); according to Dorothy Kent Hill, "By adding the mask, one turned the [battle] helmet into a grotesque effigy of the deceased, creating a substitute sepulchral image of the warrior."[44] For the modern viewer, save for their lack of staring eyes, these severely minimalist faces with big noses and arching brows topped by real helmets also evoke early cult images of a warrior deity.

Both the large statuette from Thessaly in Athens (figs. 19 and 20) and the small Harvard bronze (figs. 4–6) wear ordinary models of Illyrian helmets with low

crests rather than the high, stilted crests emblematic of Athena. And, on first impression, these Thessalian palladia seem to be straightforward cult products from this northerly region of Greece (fig. 10) that depict the local warrior goddess outfitted with a local helmet. Nonetheless, in the case of the large Thessalian bronze, although the abstraction and angularity of its form may recall the Daedalic style of the seventh century, Claude Rolley has recognized a Peloponnesian influence in its strong, carefully modeled facial features and large, wide-open eyes.[45] Rolley has labeled the large Thessalian palladion simply a "helmeted goddess" perhaps because no attribute seems to specifically identify her as Athena[46]—at least according to the Archaic Athenian visual definition. As we have seen on the shieldband (fig. 18), however, an early Archaic tradition in the Peloponnesos clearly outfitted the armed Athena with an Illyrian helmet, and this tradition may have been current in Greece, as was the helmet itself, before the adoption of the goddess's full Attic panoply in the sixth century B.C. In my view, both of these unusual Illyrian-helmeted statuettes represent Athena;[47] as the evidence discussed here suggests, they translated a Peloponnesian typology into an idiom well suited to life, death, and cult in northern Greece.

In earlier publications, the headgear of the Walters palladion (figs. 1–3) has been described only in vague terms, either simply as a "helmet," as a "clinging helmet with crest," or as "tight-fitting, with a large crest."[48] The casque encircles the goddess's head, covering her ears but leaving her face free. It has a low crest, cut in a vertical edge at the front,[49] that runs along the central axis. No detailing indicates the stuff of the crest (cf. fig. 17); its tail is broken off at the lower back. This palladion's open-faced helmet with a low crest must surely be the Illyrian type, though its facial opening and cheekpieces are imprecisely rendered as curved rather than angular. The helmet's brow arches upward slightly at the center, perhaps suggesting the central join on an early model constructed from two pieces (cf. fig. 7).[50]

As will be discussed further below, given her date to well within the second half of the sixth century, and thus well after the widespread adoption of Athena's standard panoply, the Walters palladion is the most surprising of the Illyrian-helmeted images. Said to come from Sparta, this statuette appears to be a late embodiment of the early Archaic Peloponnesian tradition of showing the armed goddess in an Illyrian helmet (fig. 18) and, thereby, invites speculation about whether the small bronze palladion was intended to evoke a venerable cult image.

The anatomy of palladion statuettes and their bases

It is significant that the Walters palladion (figs. 1–3) was cast together with a rectangular base consisting of three graduated tiers of bronze. First, beyond the statuette's reputed Spartan provenance and Illyrian helmet, its base provides further evidence for an association with the Peloponnesos. Humphrey Payne, followed by Hill, cited the stepped base as typical of Peloponnesian statuettes from Laconia and Messenia (figs. 10–12).[51] The most well articulated stepped base of a small Archaic bronze belongs to the beautiful Laconian Artemis in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 22). This bronze goddess stands 17.6 cm high on her impressive 1.6 cm base. Generally dated to circa 525 B.C., the Boston statuette has been believed to reflect a somewhat earlier cult image and its base an actual statue base. According to Marion True, "the recessed steps of the plinth are clearly architectural, adding a dimension of grandeur to the diminutive figure of the goddess that is unusual for a bronze votive statuette of this period...."[52] The cheerful and wide-eyed Walters palladion, standing erect and oriented with strict frontality on her base, seems a country cousin of the gracious and refined Boston Artemis, with whom she is surely contemporary.

Midway along the formal, stylistic, and qualitative spectrum between the Walters statuette (figs. 1–3) and the Boston Artemis (fig. 22) stands the distinctive bronze palladion in the Musée Royal de Mariemont, Morlanwelz (figs. 11 and 12). The 19-cm-high Mariemont statuette, which also has a stepped base, is reputed to have been found at Nisi near Kalamata in Messenia and is also generally dated in the second half of the sixth century B.C.[53] Recently, Maria Papili grouped the Walters bronze with Messenian rather than Laconian products.[54] And, in fact, the Messenian bronze at Mariemont provides the closest parallel for a summarily rendered, relatively flat stepped base, though here the base is in two rather than three degrees. Comparable as well are the Mariemont and Walters statuettes' large heads with exceptionally alert facial expressions empowered by staring almond-shaped eyes, their somewhat top-heavy proportions with too-slender hips and waists bound by belts decorated with circles,[55] and the upward arc of their garments' long skirts that reveals the front part of their bare feet.[56] However, the long-haired Mariemont palladion, in her fancy Attic helmet with a towering high crest and scaley aegis,[57] betrays the influence of the elaborate Athenian panoply for an armed Athena,

while the Walters palladion, with her low-crested Illyrian helmet, does not.

The Walters statuette departs from both the Mariemont Athena and the Boston Artemis in her far more slender and somewhat abstracted body type, from which the buttocks and breasts protrude markedly in profile view. Several other bronze palladia, such as an example reputedly from Piraeus (Attica) in the Bührle collection, Zurich, and one in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, have even more exaggeratedly abstracted or plank-like physiques.[58] Anatomically abstracted statuettes, whether plank-like or columnar, have frequently been interpreted as evocations of early aniconic or barely worked wooden cult images, traditionally referred to in modern scholarship by the term *xoanon*; in antiquity, like the Trojan Palladion, primitive *xoana* were often believed to have fallen from the sky as gifts of the gods.[59]

In early Greek cult, *xoana* must have co-existed with fully sculpted figures, and the veneration of both could include ritual adornment that increased their anthropomorphic qualities. Images were often bedecked with cloth garments and sashes, gold jewelry and, when appropriate, even armor.[60] Something of this practice may be reflected in early palladion statuettes from Crete and Sicily that have been preserved along with separately fashioned helmets, which fit on their heads.[61] And several features of the Walters palladion may recall venerable, ritually bedecked cult images more than monolithic statues: Witness the broad, heavy belt around her waist, her sleeved, tight-fitting tunic, which differs from the prevailing Peloponnesian fashion in sculpted female dress of a sleeveless peplos with a short overfall and a skirt that falls in soft folds (cf. fig. 22),[62] not to mention the Illyrian helmet with a low crest upon her head.

Interestingly, the helmeted Walters palladion (figs. 1–3) is one of several, including the Harvard (figs. 4–6) and large Thessalian examples (figs. 19 and 20) as well as the Corinthian helmet wearer from Olympia (figs. 16 and 17), that lack visible hair. Although I do not believe the detail to be an indication of gender, in each case it is difficult to determine whether or not it implies that the goddess's long hair is bound up beneath the military headgear,[63] and whether this lack reflects an analogous feature of an early helmeted cult image, or whether it is simply an omission by the statuette's craftsman. Interestingly, the awkward positioning of the Walters statuette's now-exposed shield arm brings to mind the strikingly high and sharply raking angle at which some palladia depicted in ancient painting and intaglio as well as on coinage hold their shields.[64]

The little Harvard palladion (figs. 4–6) is both less sculpturally refined and less anthropomorphically developed than the Walters example. Its frontally oriented, shaft-like body topped by a large head recalls the Archaic Greek herm, recently described by Christopher Faraone as "really nothing more than a decapitated head stuck on a pole."[65] Although this palladion's lack of feet probably results from its maker's limited facility and/or the minimal effort he was willing to expend on a small votive, this lack might also reflect the nature of a partially shaft-like early cult image—perhaps even one that was draped in an unbelted long tunic, outfitted with shield and spear, crowned with an Illyrian helmet, and erected upon a base.

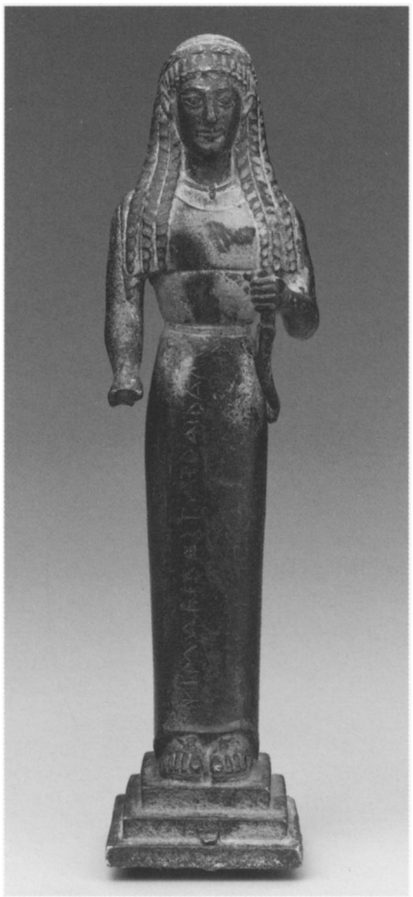


Fig. 22. Bronze statuette of Artemis. Greek, from Mazi, near Olympia. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 98.658, H.L. Pierce Fund.

While their body types, dress, and bases enhance the supposition that the Walters and Harvard palladion statuettes (figs. 1–6) bear a strong relationship to early cult types —and formal links with venerable embodiments of a deity would surely have heightened a dedication's power—it would be far from the mark to read each of these small bronze statuettes as a literal copy of one sacred palladion in particular. Classical texts and modern archaeology have both revealed the diverse materials and technologies employed for early Greek cult images, which included raw and carved wood, wood sheathed with sheets of hammered bronze (*sphyrelaton*), wood covered by sheets of gold along with elements of ivory or marble, precious stones and exotic woods, all ivory, and, by the second half of the sixth century, hollow-cast bronze.[66] Such composite or monolithic images were set up

on separately fashioned bases, often of stone or marble.[67] The variety of materials and colors that could have been displayed by even a small early Greek cult image would have had a far different aesthetic and emotional impact on the ancient viewer than the once lustrously golden-hued little metal dedications that now serve to evoke for the modern viewer what has been lost.

As wearers of Illyrian helmets with low crests, the Harvard and Baltimore bronzes count among the most unusual of preserved palladion statuettes. It is remarkable that neither of them has the Attic helmet with high crest that, as an attribute of the goddess Athena, becomes a canonical feature in this genre of small bronze throughout most of the sixth century B.C. The two palladion statuettes in America, thereby, play a vital role in expanding our understanding of Archaic cult imagery in the far-flung regional centers of early Greece.

New York, New York

Notes

1. I owe thanks to the following friends and colleagues: to Joan R. Mertens for reading this article in draft and making many valuable suggestions, to Annie Verbanck-Piérard for information on the palladion statuette in the Musée de Mariemont, Morlanwelz (figs. 11–12); to Maria José Strazzulla and H.A. Shapiro for references from European libraries; to the staffs of the Museum at Olympia and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for allowing me to examine fragile objects in their collections; to William D.E. Coulson and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens for facilitating permits for work in Greek museums; and, finally, for suggesting that I publish the bronze statuettes in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Harvard University (figs. 4–6) and the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1–3) and making them available for study, as well as for their patience during an unexpected delay in the completion of this article, my heartfelt gratitude goes to David G. Mitten and Ellen D. Reeder.

2. Apollodoros, *The Library* 3.12.3; see also for the version in which the Palladion is an image of Pallas, a daughter of Triton. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, II (Zurich and Munich, 1984), 965–69, 1019, s.v. "Athena, A 7. Le Palladion" (P. Demargne), and C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York, 1992), 4, 7.

3. Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.172–75; A. Mandelbaum, trans., *The Aeneid of Virgil* (New York, 1981), 35.

4. For the theft, see *Lexicon* II, 968, *Lexicon* VII (1994), 912, nos. 5–9, s.v. "Theano I," (A. Lezzi-Hafter) and pls. 619–20, Theano I 1–19; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique Italiote: Les myths et leur expression figurée au IVe siècle* (Rome, 1975), 90–95. For coinage of the fourth and third centuries from Argos and Pergamon that also depict palladion statues, see *Lexicon* II, 966, nos. 76, 79.

5. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis*, 89–97; Kassandra, e.g., Naples, National Museum, inv. 2422, Attic red-figure kalpis, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1963), 189,74 and T.H. Carpenter, comp., *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989), 189; T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991), fig. 335; Menelaos and Helen, e.g., Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 16535 (H 525): Attic red-figure oinochoe, Heimarmene Painter, Beazley, *Attic Red-figure*, 1173; *Beazley Addenda*, 339; *Lexicon* IV (1988), 543, no. 272bis, s.v. "Hélène, 9. Rencontre de Ménélas et Hélène," (L. Kahil) and pl. 340 Hélène 272bis.

6. On a primitive motive reflected in the Palladion of the Sperlonga sculptural group, see G. Kopcke, "More about Olympia B1701 and B 1999," in G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore, eds., *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (New York, 1979), 21. On later representations, see H.G. Niemeyer, *Promachos* (Waldsassen/Bayern, 1960), 13–14.

7. For Athena as palladion see, e.g., W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I (Leipzig, 1884–1886), 679, s.v. "Athene" (A. Furtwängler); D. Le Lasseur, *Les déesses armées dans l'art classique grec et leur origines orientales* (Paris, 1919), 142–52. For an association with the armed Aphrodite and armed Artemis, see also E. Kunze, "Ein frühes 'Palladion'," *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, VII (Berlin, 1961), 161–62; C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, trans. R. Howell (London, 1986), 87. For Artemis see *Lexicon* II, 662–63, s.v. "Artemis, IV. Autres types d'Artemis. 1. Artémis équippé d'armes autres que l'arc et les flèches, ou portant ces armes en même temps que l'arc et/ou les flèches" (L. Kahil). For armed Aphrodites at Corinth, Sparta, and Messenia, Pausanias, 2.5.1, 3.15.10, and 6.13.1. For later images of Aphrodite with arms,

see *Lexicon* II (1984), 35, no. 239; 64, no. 531; 75, no. 658; pls. 27, Aphrodite 239; pl. 52, no. 531; pl. 65, no. 658, s.v. "Aphrodite" (A. Delivorrias). For the columnar armed Apollo of Amyklai, Pausanias, 3.18.9–3.19.5; see also J.J. Pollit, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1990), 23–26, and 24, fig. 1.

8. E.g., Palermo, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, inv. 2606, from the sanctuary of Athena at Himera: C.A. Di Stefano, "Tre Bronzetti di Himera," *Quaderno Imerese, Studi e Materiali, Istituto di Archeologia Università di Palermo*, I (Rome, 1972), 63 and see below notes 25 and 61; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 6450, from the Athenian Acropolis: A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris, 1896), 297, no. 777; and see below note 23; Sparta, Museum, inv. 2018, from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta: G. Dickins, "Laconia. I. Excavations at Sparta 1907. The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 13 (1906/07), 147–49, 148, fig. 4, and see note 56 below; and Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 14828, from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: C. Dugas, "Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 45 (1921), 359–63, Athena no. 58, pl. 13, and see below note 22.

9. E.g., Niemeyer, *Promachos*, 15–16 and passim, and "Attische Bronzestatuetten der spätarchaischen und frühklassischen Zeit," *Antike Plastik*, 3 (1964), 14–22, pls. 1–13. See also B.S. Ridgway, "Images of Athena on the Acropolis," in J. Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, 1992), 127–30. G.F. Pinney, "Pallas and Panathenaea," in J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery Copenhagen August 31–September 4 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988), 465–77, for the striding, armed Athena on Panathenaic amphorae, which begin in the 560s B.C., as not dependent on a sculptural type.

10. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 54.780: D.G. Mitten and S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Mainz, 1967), 53, no. 36 (D.G. Mitten), and Palais des Beaux-Arts-Brussels, *Hommes et Dieux de la Grèce Antique: Europalia 82 Hellas-Grèce* (Brussels, 1982), 38, no. 3 (K. Van Gelder).

11. D.K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1949), 84–85, no. 183; see also *Master Bronzes*, 53; *Hommes et Dieux*, 38.

12. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1984.818; assigned to a Thessalian fabric by David G. Mitten.

13. Out of the vast bibliography, see in general A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), 41–88, and *Early Greek Armor and Weapons before 600 B.C.* (Edinburgh, 1964); P. Ducrey, *Warfare in Ancient Greece* (New York 1986), 47–67; see also A. Hageman, *Griechische Panzerung* (Leipzig, 1919); E. Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm* (Marburg-an-der-Lahn, 1936); and A. Bottini et al., *Antike Helme: Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin* (Mainz, 1988), 11–22, 42–106, 137–45. See note 27 below.

For the Chigi vase (fig. 8), a Protocorinthian olpe with the only preserved depiction from the seventh century of warriors advancing in phalanx formation, see D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988) I, 32, no. 3.

14. E.g., K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (Munich, 1964), 13–46; and G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation* (Jonsered, 1992).

15. M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed. (Lund, 1950), 406–12, 498–501, on the Bronze Age origin of the Greek armed goddess in the palace goddess of Mycenaean warrior-princes. On the development from an unarmed to an armed Athenian Athena, see H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989), 37–38.

16. M. Halm-Tisserant, "Le gorgonéion, emblème d'Athéna: Introduction du motif sur le bouclier et l'égide," *Revue archaeologique* (1986), 253–64, 265, fig. 3,1–15.

17. Cf., ibid., 247–76, 269, fig. 4,1–4; and J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* (Münster Westfalen, 1977), 9–62; see also *Lexicon* IV (1988), 285, 300–303, s.v. "Gorgo, Gorgones," (S.-C. Dahlinger and I. Krauskopf).

18. One of the earliest armed Attic Athenas is shown in the depiction of the Rape of Kassandra (fig. 9) on the tondo of a black-figure Siana cup, in the manner of the C Painter, London, British Museum, inv. B 379: J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956), 60,20. Cf., e.g., the low crest on Athena's helmet on Athenian coinage, C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London, 1976), pls. 10–11.

19. Cf., Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 69–70; later in the sixth century, the Attic helmet is associated with the so-called Chalcidian helmet, a frequently preserved type which was employed in battle, see H. Pflug, "Chalkidische Helme," in *Antike Helme*, 137–45. For early depictions of Amazons in Attic helmets, see D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957), pls. 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 19, 25, 26, 28; for Artemis in an Attic helmet, see Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1960.1: J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971), 40; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York, 1974), fig. 60.

20. A. Fürtwangler, *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Finde von Olympia*, IV (Amsterdam, rpt. 1966 [1890]), 170; cf. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 69.

21. See the palladion statuette of Athena from Selinunte, Switzerland, collection of George Ortiz: Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis*, 128, 146, no. 2; for the statuette from Messenia (figs. 11–12), see below and note 53; cf. lead figurines of Athena from Sparta, M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1987), 45–46, figs. 67–68.

22. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 14828; this statuette is generallly dated to the third or last quarter of the sixth century and thought to reflect a cult statue—perhaps the Athena Alea by Endoios, see A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven and London, 1990) I, 123, II, fig. 182; D. Viviers, *Recherches sur les ateliers de sculpteurs et la Cité d'Athènes à l'epoque archaique: Endoios, Philergos, Aristoklès* (Brussels, 1992), 155–58; and cf. Dugas, "Le sanctuaire," 262–63; B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines, Aspects of Anthropomorphic Dedications, Boreas* 18 (Uppsala, 1989), 46–48; M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia* (Goteborg, 1990); on the statuette's gorgoneion, see Floren, *Gorgoneion*, 83–84, and Halm-Tisserant, "Le Gorgonéion," 272–74, 273, fig. 6.1; for Peloponnesian influences on this statuette, see below note 56.

The Tegea statuette's shield has no central device (fig. 13), and, as the shields of other palladion statuettes are missing, the nature of their devices cannot be documented.

23. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 6450, see note 8 above and H.G. Niemeyer, "Das Kultbild der Eupatriden?" in E. Homann-Wedeking and B. Segall, eds., *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin* (Waldsassen/Bayern 1964), 106–11; also Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, 28–29, and J. Floren, *Die geometrische und archaische Plastik* (Munich, 1987) 305; cf. Pinney, "Pallas," in note 9 above, and Ridgway in Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis*, 129–30, who sees this statuette as a reflection of the "Pallas," believed to have been the Trojan

Palladion, which was located elsewhere in Athens. There is little basis for Ridgway's conclusion that the missing spear "was not brandished but held upright."

24. Olympia Museum, inv. B 4500. Kunze: "'Palladion,'" 160–63. For an important seventh-century palladion in terra cotta from the sanctuary of Athena at Gortyn, Crete, see G. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il Sanctuario sull'Acropoli di Gortina*, I (Rome, 1968), 161, no. 59, pl. XI, 59. Early examples of the palladion type also occur in vase painting, e.g., the Protocorinthian krateriskos in Samos, *Lexicon* II, pl. 705, Athena 26, and the Protocorinthian aryballos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. G 146, *Lexicon* II, pl. 711, Athena 68; see Pinney, "Pallas," 466.

25. For early palladia with separately made helmets, see the bronze statuette from Himera in Palermo, notes 8 above and 61 below, and the terra-cotta figure from Gortyn, Crete, notes 24 above and 61 below.

26. Perhaps the form referred to by Herodotos, 4.180; see the seminal study by Kukahn, *Der Griechische Helm*, particularly 22–23, 24–29, and 50–51, on the fact that helmet crests, made from emphemeral materials, are known only from representations in art. Over 200 examples of Corinthian helmets have been found at Olympia: Kunze, "'Palladion'," 56–116; see also H. Pflug, "Korinthische Helme," in *Antike Helme*, 65–99.

27. On metal armor and weapons in early historical Greek warfare see, e.g., Ducrey, *Warfare*, 47–64; V.D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (New York, 1989), 27–39, 65–88, and "Hoplite Technology in Phalanx Battle" in V.D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London, 1991) 63–84, including the tendency to lighten armor in late Archaic times; cf. A.M. Snodgrass, "The Hoplite Reform and History," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 85 (1965), 110–22, regarding the old debate of whether the armor or the tactics came first.

28. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 51–52; Hanson, *Western Way*, 71.

29. See Kunze "'Palladion'," 160. For Olympia Museum, inv. B4376, a Chalcidean-Corinthian helmet of ca. 500 B.C. from Magna Graecia, with curls of hair and human ears in relief, see A. and N. Yalouris, *Olympia: The Museum and the Sanctuary* (Athens, 1989), 69, 73, and 71, fig. c; for the seventh-century Cretan helmet with hair, beard, and human ears in relief, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. 1970,26d, and other elaborate helmets from Afrati, see H. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers* (Mainz, 1972) 1–2, 5 and pl. 12,1–3, also pls. 1–6, 14–17; and Herodotos, 7.76, for helmets with ox ears and horns.

30. Kunze, "'Palladion'," 161, questions the identification of the Olympia palladion as Athena, and even as female, citing an inadequate indication of female breasts. For identification of this statuette as either Athena, Aphrodite, or Artemis, see Yalouris, *Olympia*, 73–74; in P. Demargne, *The Birth of Greek Art*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1964), figs. 407–409, the statuette is called only an Archaic palladion; for identification as Athena, Floren, *Archaische Plastik*, 231.

31. Rare images of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet down over her face are preserved in depictions of her birth, e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 861, Attic black-figure amphora, Omaha Painter, ca. 560–50: Beazley, *Paralipomena*, 33,1; *Lexicon*, I, 987, no. 348; pl. 744, Athena 348; Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 60.23, Attic black-figure amphora, Group E [D. von Bothmer], ca. 540: Beazley, *Paralipomena*, 56,48; *Lexicon* II, 987, no. 351, pl. 744, Athena 351; Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis*, 144–45, no. 1. For the motive on Amazons, see Pipili, *Laconian*, 5–6 and 7, fig. 9, 111, no. 14: Laconian cup, Villa Giulia, Arkesilas Painter, ca. 560 B.C.; for examples in Attic vase painting, see Bothmer, *Amazons*, pls. 2.1, 9.1, 17.2, 21.2. On the Corinthian helmet as battle mask see, recently, M. Shanks, "Art and Archaeology of Embodiment: Some Aspects of Archaic Greece," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 5:2 (1995), 217, 219.

Beginning in the Late Archaic period, the Corinthian helmet worn pushed up atop the head becomes popular in Greek art not only for warriors, Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 93–94, but also for Amazons, see, e.g., red-figure volute-krater by Euphronios, Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale G.C. Mecenate, inv. 1465: Beazley, *Red-figure*, 15,16; Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Euphronios der Maler* (Milan, 1991), 128–36, no. 13. And this helmet fashion is also worn by Athena, e.g., on Corinthian coinage, Kraay, *Coins*, pl. 13, nos. 225–40.

32. E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbände*, Olympische Forschungen, II (Berlin, 1950), 161–63; pls. 7, 17, 18, 50, 56, 57.

33. Ibid., 163, n. 1: ". . . Athena auf unseren Reliefs unverkennbar einen 'illyrischen' Helm trägt." Athena also wears the Illyrian helmet in depictions of her birth on shieldbands, see 77–82, pls. 28, X b and 31, X d. For Amazons in Illyrian helmets, see pls. 20, V c and 60, XXXII b.

34. H. Pflug, *Schutz und Zier: Helme aus dem Antikenmuseum Berlin und Waffen anderer Sammlungen* (Basel, 1989), 19; *Antike Helme*, 42–64; Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 52.

35. Yalouris, *Olympia*, 63–65, nos. B5065, B4557; Kunze in *Bericht Olympia*, VI (1958), 125–51, and in *Bericht Olympia*, VIII (1967), 116–35.

36. *Antike Helme*, 43–46; Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, 52. It appears to have developed from the Geometric *Kegelhelm*, which was made out of five separate sheets of bronze, see Kunze in *Bericht Olympia*, VIII (1967), 116.

37. Evidence is provided by preserved crest fasteners and the demarcated channel for the crest that remained a common feature of this helmet type, see figs. 7, 21.

38. See notes 22–23 above; cf. the fragmentary Laconian statuette of a palladion, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Br 145: Pipili, *Laconian*, 45.

39. Kunze, *Schildbände*, e.g., pls. 7, I e; 18, IV b; 56, XXIX y.

40. Some late Illyrian helmets were actually designed with ear openings, see *Antike Helme*, 43, fig. 1, 52, 54–55, 56, fig. 12.

41. *Antike Helme*, 43, fig. 1, 48–52.

42. Inv. 11715: H. Biesantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs: Studien zur Nordgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1965), 33, no. 85, 160, pl. 76.

43. Ibid., 160; Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, 84, 87.

44. *Antike Helme*, 50, fig. 16; Thessaloníki, Archaeological Museum, *Sindos, Katalgos tēs ekthesēs* (Athens, 1985), particularly 148, nos. 239 and 240 from grave 24 of ca. 520 B.C. and 276, nos. 451 and 452 from grave 53. For the mask and helmet in the Walters Art Gallery, acc. nos. 57.1944 and 54.2456, (fig. 21) see D.K. Hill, "Helmet and Mask and a North Greek Burial," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 27–28 (1964–65), 9–15, and see also F.J. Hassel, "Ein archaischer Grabfund von der Chalkidike," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseums, Mainz*, 14 (1967), 201–205, pls. 49–54, for all of the finds from this burial, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century.

45. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, 87.

46. Ibid., 84, fig. 57 and 87.

47. Ridgway, in Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis*, 212, n. 36, expresses the opinion that of armed goddesses "Athena alone wears a helmet."

48. *Hommes et Dieux*, 38; *Master Bronzes*, 53; Hill, *Classical Bronze Sculpture*, 84.

49. For the vertical front edge of helmet crests, cf. other representations in Greek art, e.g., Ducrey, *Warfare*, 41, fig. 23, 47, fig. 25, 51, fig. 33, 63, fig. 44, 69, fig. 48, 96, fig. 66, 97, fig. 67. The overhang of the low crest at the front on the Walters palladion

does not reflect the normal attachment; perhaps this overhang betrays the influence of high helmet crests, cf. Ducrey, *Warfare*, 49, fig. 28, 50, fig. 30, 57, fig. 39, 62, fig. 43.

50. E.g., *Antike Helme*, 43–44, 46, 45, figs. 2–3, 46, fig. 5.

51. Hill, *Classical Bronze Sculpture*, 85.

52. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 98.658: A.P. Kozloff and D.G. Mitten, *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze* (Cleveland, 1988), 62–65, no. 4 (M. True).

53. Inv. 31: F. Cumont, *Collection Raoul Warocqué: Antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines* (Mariemont, 1916), no. 31; G. Faider-Feytmans, et al., *Les antiquités égyptiennes, grecques, étrusques, romaines et gallo-romaines du Musée de Mariemont* (Brussels, 1952), 86, G. 54, with bibliography; P. Lévêque and G. Donnay, *L'Art grec du Musée de Mariemont belgique* (Bordeaux, 1967), 53–55, no. 18; and *Trésors inconnus du Musée de Mariemont III, Grandeur de la Grèce, Musée de Mariemont 4 mai–31 octobre 1968* (Morlanwelz, 1968), 23–24, no. 14 (G. Donnay).

54. Pipili, *Laconian*, 45.

55. Circular ornament is popular on Laconian bronze statuettes, e.g., Pipili, *Laconian* 45, fig. 65 Sparta 2018, p. 115, no. 122; for Peloponnesian associations of the bronze statuette from Tegea (fig. 13), see Dugas, *Warfare*, 361; M. Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (Munster, 1986), 26; Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, 120, fig. 95.

56. Cf. the different tradition of an above the ankle skirt, e.g., Olympia Museum, inv. B4500 (figs. 16–17) and Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 16352, from Tegea, M. Jost, "Statuettes de bronze archaïques provenant de Lykosoura," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 99 (1975), 349, fig. 19.

57. Ibid., 348–49, on the short aegis without snakes, which may be a misunderstood transformation of the overfall of a Peloponnesian peplos.

58. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. A 3278: H.G. Niemeyer, "Ein Palladion in Brüssel," in D. Rössler and V. Stürmer, eds., *Modus in Rebus: Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler* (Berlin, 1995), 46–49, pl. 1.1–4; Zurich, collection of Emil G. Bührle: S. Zellweger, "Ein frühes Palladion," *Antike Kunst*, 16 (1973), 139–42, pl. 30.1–5.

59. Niemeyer, "Palladion"; Faraone, *Talismans*, 4, 7 on "heavenly origin"; see also L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I (Chicago, rpt. 1971 [1896]), 335. On the problematic nature of the term, see A.A. Donahue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta, 1988), and on differences between literary sources and early Greek sculpture, see also S.P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1992), particularly 237–56.

60. On the clothing and adornment of cult statues see, recently, Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 104, and, on the olive-wood Athena Polias in Athens, recently, Ridgway in Neils, ed., *Goddess and Polis*, 120, 122, 124; for the addition of a helmet, see J.H. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias," *Hesperia*, Suppl. 20 (1982), 69–70.

61. For the statuettes with separate helmets from Himera and Gortyn, see notes 8 and 24 above.

62. True in *Gods Delight*, 63–65, with bibliography; and B.S. Ridgway, "The Peplos Kore, Acropolis 679," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 36 (1977), 54. For earlier female images wearing a tight, belted garment represented as if it has sleeves, see G.M.A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens, A Study of the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture* (London, 1968), "the Nikandre-Auxerre Group," particulary 33–35, nos. 22–31, figs. 85–112; Richter refers to it as a belted peplos. Cf. E.B. Harrison's explanation of the construction of the early Greek female garment which appears to have been closer to a chiton, "Notes on Daedalic Dress," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 36 (1977) 37–48; see also, particularly on the tightness of female garments in visual representations, E.B. Harrison, "The Dress of the Archaic Greek Korai," in D. Buitron-Oliver, ed., *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 217–39. I would like to thank Evelyn Harrison for a discussion of Greek dress. For the sake of clarity the word "tunic" is employed in this article for a long garment without an overfall.

Niemeyer, *Promachos*, 23 and n. 41, suggests the Walters palladion may reflect the Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta; see note 66 below.

63. For binding up of hair on arming warriors, see the Athenian red-figure cup by Douris, Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, inv. 3694, Beazley, *Red-figure*, 427,3; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-figure Vases* (Mainz, 1995), 73, no. 11; pl. 7.

64. E.g., Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 16535 (H 525), Attic red-figure oinochoe, see note 5 above; Taranto, Museo Nazionale, Attic red-figure volute-krater, *Lexicon* VII, 912, no. 7; pl. 620, Theano I 7; and Naples, National Museum, inv. 81392 (H 3231), Apulian red-figure pelike, *Lexicon* VII, 912, no. 5; pl. 619, Theano I 5.

65. Faraone, *Talismans*, 119.

66. On the materials employed, see I.B. Romano, "Early Greek Cult Images," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980; Donahue, *Xoana*, 211, 231. See also C.C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary: From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C.* (Ithaca and London, 1988), particularly 40–50. On the lack of Archaic marble statues as cult images, see B. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977), 39. Cf., for example, the possibilities for the reconstruction of the Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta by the sculptor Gitiades (mentioned by Pausanias, 3.17.2–3), B. Alroth, *Gods and Figurines*, 28–32.

67. See M. Jacob-Felsch, *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen* (Waldsassen/Bayern 1969), 14, 24–25, 46.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, 21, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 4–6, Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sacker Museum, Harvard University; figs. 7, 13–17, 19, 20, Athens, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; fig. 8, Rome, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; fig. 9, London, Trustees of the British Museum; figs. 11, 12, Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont; fig. 22, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Nuptial Eros: The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens

Robert F. Sutton, Jr.

In contrast to most surviving literary evidence on ancient Greek marriage, nuptial scenes on Classical Attic pottery are remarkable for their rich erotic imagery. From the earliest Archaic examples on, the ambivalent romantic figure of Helen is a major figure in nuptial iconography, and images first applied to her are adopted for ordinary wedding scenes. Early Classical vase painters represent a close emotional and sexual bond between bride and groom primarily through touch and glance and by appropriating so-called courting motifs for nuptial use. High Classical artists culminate the development of nuptial eroticism by employing the personification Eros to express a variety of meanings and by introducing both male and female nudity into wedding iconography.

Vases decorated for use in the Classical Athenian wedding are remarkable for their idealized erotic imagery. Using a rich variety of expressive means, vase painters present Eros—meaning both love and desire—as a central element in the wedding, a positive emotional force that unites man and wife to form the household (*oikos*), the basic unit of the Athenian Democracy. Surprisingly, though consistent with this romanticized outlook, Helen, particularly in her adulterous union with Paris, emerges early as a nuptial figure, and her iconography is closely intertwined with that of the wedding. This imagery of vases stands in clear contrast to much surviving Greek literature and many modern reconstructions, which describe marriage in ancient Athens essentially as a business contract between two men with little emotional link or affection between spouses. For us, who (ostensibly at least) marry for love, this romantic imagery on nuptial vases seems natural and unsurprising. For Classical Athens, however, where marriage was contracted between the groom and the bride's *kyrios* (her father or a surviving male relative) for professed practical purposes, and where love matches were suspect at best, it seems contrary to the ideals presented in most contemporary prose texts, including history, forensic oratory, and philosophy. The representation of nuptial Eros on Attic pottery is also significant for understanding the Classical revolution in Greek art, demonstrating a variety of means vase painters used to express emotion and abstract concepts. These scenes also allow us to trace one of the innovative images in vase painting back to Zeuxis, a leading master of Greek painting, and appreciate vividly the crucial role of monumental painting in redefining both the subject matter and style of Greek art in the Classical period.

The idealized erotic imagery on Classical vases reflects traditional ideals of marriage that can be recognized as far back as Homer's *Odyssey*.[1] The poem's presentation of the marriage of Odysseus and Penelope idealizes a deep emotional and erotic bond between spouses, and the wedding bed appears in Book 23 as the central symbol on which the house is literally founded. In later literature, we catch only occasional glimpses of this outlook in surviving lyric poetry and tragedy, and it becomes a central theme only in New Comedy, in works like Menander's *Samia*, a long-lost masterpiece of the early Hellenistic stage that was restored to us only in 1969. As the material presented here will show, Menander's image of romantic young lovers striving to marry for love is based on a distinctively Classical conception of marriage preserved for us in the popular medium of vase painting. Viewed by Athenians in the course of their daily lives, these paintings brought to the average citizen significant artistic conceptions, many probably appropriated from works of the leading image-makers of the day, the great masters of ancient painting.

Previous studies have recognized both the appearance of Eros as a nuptial figure in the art of the fifth century B.C. and nuptial elements in the iconography of Helen. This paper explores this imagery in greater detail, drawing on my own work and taking advantage of the recent synthetic study of the Athenian wedding by J. Oakley and R. Sinos and two basic works on

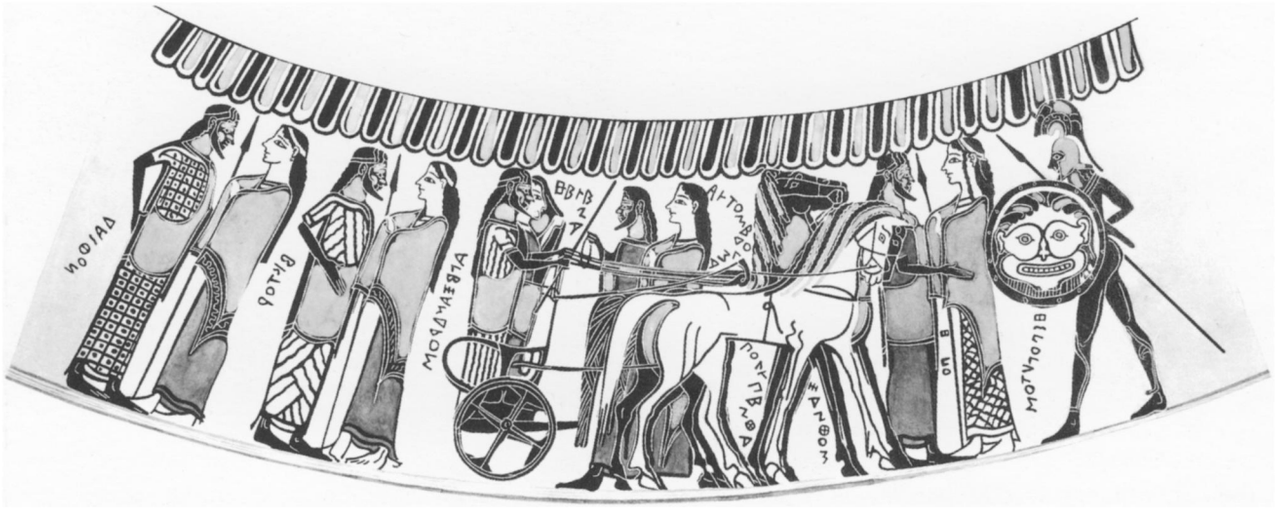


Fig. 1. Middle Corinthian krater, ca. 585 B.C. (drawing). Menelaos drives Helen in a chariot, accompanied by other Trojans. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 27.116, funds from various donors, 1927.

Helen by L. Kahil.[2] From the emergence of nuptial themes in the early sixth century through their end in the fourth century, Attic vase painters present Helen as a nuptial figure, adapting images connected with her to the wedding and vice versa. In the Early Classical period, vase painters create a new, romantic image of the wedding by exploiting touch and glance in a new pedestrian nuptial type that replaces the Archaic chariot procession, and by adapting older conventions of erotic seduction to the nuptial setting. The last third of the fifth century represents the culmination of romantic tendencies in nuptial imagery, as artists deploy the language of personification to manifest fully the emotional content of their scenes, introduce both male and female nudity into the nuptial setting, and utterly blur distinctions between contemporary life and the mythic union of Paris and Helen. These innovations of the late fifth century continue and are fully integrated in the fourth century.

Touch and glance

The Classical visualization of the wedding can be understood best when viewed against the earlier traditions of Archaic black-figure painting from which it emerged.[3] Black-figure artists present an external, public view of the wedding, with little emotional expression. Employing the image of a physical passage to convey the social transition the wedding represents, painters show the nuptial couple riding in a chariot accompanied by attendants on foot, who usually carry objects that signify the wedding: torches, musical instruments, and elements of the bridal trousseau. Elements from the divine, heroic, and contemporary mortal worlds are combined, including a variety of gods and the chariot itself, a heroic translation of the mule cart that was actually used to convey the wedding party in contemporary life.[4] In two of the earliest of these processions, the bride is explicitly labeled Helen, initiating the close link between Helen and nuptial iconography that will endure for two centuries. On a Middle Corinthian krater in New York (fig. 1), Helen's partner is specifically identified as Paris (using his alternate name Alexander), appearing with his new bride in Troy, while on an Attic nuptial lebes by Sophilos, the identity of the bridegroom is uncertain.[5] In both these scenes, as in virtually all black-figure wedding processions, the groom gazes straight ahead as he drives (or later mounts) the chariot, unmindful of the bride beside him. She also gazes straight ahead, and although she unveils herself in the distinctive nuptial gesture of *anakalypsis*, the image functions strictly on the iconic rather than expressive level.[6] These chariot scenes present an external, public view of the wedding without indication of an emotional union between bride and groom, an appropriate emblem for the ancient Greek wedding arranged without regard for love, even if the bride may be identified as a celebrated beauty.

In contrast, and almost in contradiction to the continued practice of marriage by arrangement, vase painters of the Classical period employ iconographic schemes that present an internal view manifesting the physical, emotional, and spiritual bonds that bind

husband and wife in marriage. This new vision of the wedding is first visible in the adoption of a new pedestrian type that appears at the end of the sixth century, best represented by Makron's skyphos in Boston illustrating Paris' abduction of Helen in the guise of a wedding (fig. 2).[7] In this new scheme, the groom leads his bride on foot, grasps her by the wrist or hand, and usually turns back to look at her. The groom's hold on the bride's arm or wrist was probably a traditional element in the wedding that signified the legal transfer of the bride to her husband's control (*kyreia*).[8] It has a long history in abduction scenes from the Geometric period and conveys a compulsive force that is appropriate to the ideology of the ancient Greek wedding, where scenes of abduction, sometimes called rape, serve as a major nuptial motif.[9] This new image of the wedding is close to a common black-figure type in which a hoplite, usually with sword drawn, leads off a woman who unveils in the familiar bridal gesture. This type is usually understood as Menelaos recovering his wife Helen after the fall of Troy, though some variants are thought possibly to show her abduction by Paris.[10] In those that are securely identified as Menelaos and Helen, he usually pulls her by the edge of her veil.[11] As she unveils, however, he glimpses her face—a sight which makes him take her back unharmed. In early red-figure works, Menelaos still threatens his wayward wife, but now grasps her arm instead of her veil, bringing the imagery more closely in line with the nuptial gesture.[12] In the early fifth century B.C., the Brygos Painter, by omitting the threat and naming Menelaos, transforms the type into the wedding of Helen and Menelaos, and allows us to identify other examples lacking names.[13]

This pedestrian scheme is (on current information) first adapted to nuptial context on a fragmentary red-figure cup by Euphronios from the Acropolis and subsequently occurs on a few other Late Archaic scenes, including at least one in black figure.[14] The abduction scheme is made distinctively nuptial by the inclusion of nuptial trappings, particularly a *nympheutria* (bridal attendant) to tend and support the bride, usually by adjusting her veil. On Makron's skyphos (fig. 2), Aphrodite as *nympheutria* adjusts Helen's veil, Eros tends her diadem, Peitho (Persuasion) attends, and Paris turns back to gaze at his lovely new bride. This scene illustrates why the pedestrian type is adopted by Classical vase painters, for it creates greater emotional warmth than the chariot processions by allowing the couple to touch and gaze upon one another.[15] The only unusual feature of Makron's scene is that, unlike other weddings, the procession

Fig. 2. Attic red-figure skyphos signed by Makron, ca. 485 B.C. Abduction of Helen in the guise of a wedding. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 13.186, Frances Bartlett Fund.

Fig. 3. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to Polygnotos, ca. 430–20 B.C. Wedding (detail): the groom prepares to lead the bride to the bed chamber. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 929.22.3.

Fig. 4. Attic red-figure kylix signed by Peithinos, ca. 510 B.C. Heterosexual courting. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2279.

moves to the left, as do the red-figure weddings of Menelaos noted above, possibly as a sign of ill-omen.[16]

In its nuptial use, this pedestrian scheme appears primarily in red figure, where it becomes the favored type and is employed at different moments of the wedding, both on the road and inside the home. Although the personification Eros appears in Makron's Abduction of Helen, he is almost completely absent from proper wedding processions for another half century, and vase painters rely simply on pose and glance to convey their new romantic outlook. These types can be treated briefly, for they have been much discussed since first described by E. Haspels.[17] Especially in earlier pedestrian processions, the bridegroom sometimes strides ahead without looking back.[18] In the fully developed type, he is usually shown as a beardless youth, presenting a more romantic image than the bearded groom of the Archaic period, and turns back to the bride to create a much warmer atmosphere with a glance of desire, love, and reassurance to a woman who might be a virtual stranger.[19] The bride usually lowers her head to display her proper modesty (*aidos*). Polygnotos created the most profound and expressive version of this type on his loutrophoros in Toronto (fig. 3), where bride and groom exchange deep and meaningful glances that signify their union on a spiritual level.[20] The bride is a dignified, mature woman who meets the glance of her handsome young husband. They are about to enter the bridal chamber, for she holds the fruit traditionally consumed there, and the belt that he will shortly loosen is prominently displayed, a polite reference to the sexual act to follow.

The nuptial appropriation of images from the theme euphemistically described as courting shows how thoroughly Early Classical vase painters reconceptualized the wedding in romantic terms. Courting, which could usually more accurately be termed seduction, appears in Attic painting in both pederastic and heterosexual guise by the mid-sixth century.[21] It is well represented by the cup in Berlin signed by Peithinos (fig. 4), which juxtaposes pederastic and heterosexual courting on its two exterior sides, with Peleus capturing Thetis on the interior.[22] The theme is treated variously but often shows outright prostitution, for the targets of seduction, whether women or boys, are regularly offered foodstuffs and purses of money, along with more sentimental offerings, including wreaths, flowers, fruit, and small pets. The graceful gestures of Peithinos' couples convey the gentle affection found in some of these scenes. Though a few courting scenes might have had nuptial meaning earlier,[23] this only becomes certain around 470–460 B.C. On a lebes gamikos by the Pan Painter in Providence (fig. 5), a woman gestures in conversation with a youth leaning on a staff, as a

second youth stands behind her holding a wreath and turns away to look out of the scene.[24] This scene belongs securely in the tradition of courting, and there would be no reason to connect it to the wedding were it not decorating a nuptial vase shape. It is to convey the sense of romantic affection and flirtation found in Peithinos' scene that the Pan Painter has introduced this conventional subject of street-life and brothel into a nuptial setting.

A contemporary alabastron in the Cabinet des Médailles belonging to the same iconographical tradition uses inscriptions to make its nuptial significance clear.[25] There, the young Τιμοδεμος καλος (Timodemos is handsome) offers a scarf of nuptial type to a woman inscribed *h*ε νυμφε καλ̣[ε] (the bride is beautiful). She twines a nuptial wreath for her young fiancé, as a girl looks on. The symmetry of the couple's modestly lowered glances, exchanged nuptial headgear, and *kalos* inscriptions contributes to the polite romantic tone.

A fragmentary pyxis from the Acropolis by the Penthesilea Painter was similarly inscribed to praise the beauty of both bride and groom, and seems to exhibit a similar tone, from what can be determined (fig. 6).[26] The scene is a unique representation of the *anakalypteria*, the ritual in which the groom came to claim his bride, when she first unveiled herself to him, and gifts were exchanged.[27] The bridegroom can be recognized in the fragmentary male figure on the left, preserved only to the level of his hem, while the bride's father is the bearded complete male figure to his right who turns back to him, away from the bride. A fragmentary *kalos* inscription between the two males probably named the groom, as on the Timodemos alabastron, though only the final -ΩN survive, followed by *kalos*. The bride is on display, seated on a chair set on a low platform and draped with colored fillets; her head is veiled, though her face is visible, and she gazes down with bridal *aidos*. A *nympheutria* makes a final adjustment, holding a phiale for libations or drink; possibly the woman behind held the missing oinochoe. Parts of four other women survive, one carrying a chest, while a door and Doric column define the domestic setting. An inscription above the bride can be restored as Hε[ρ]ας καλε, Heras is beautiful, apparently giving the bride's name.[28] A good sense of how the scene originally looked is provided by a later cup in Berlin (fig. 7),[29] which shows Paris introduced into the presence of Helen, not by her father Tyndareus, but by her husband Menelaos—a moment pregnant with tragedy the painter captures well. Though Helen's internal debate

Fig. 5. Attic red-figure lebes gamikos attributed to the Pan Painter, ca. 465 B.C. Courting (above); on the stand, Poseidon pursues a woman. Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, inv. 28.020, gift of Mrs. Gustav Radeke.

is clear from the way she turns aside, trying to deny her erotic impulses, Eros is already lacing the sandals with which she will depart. This cup is later than the nuptial scenes we have been discussing, and later than most courting scenes. As the theme of seduction in contemporary life declines, it emerges in two distinctly different mythic guises, first in the Bribery of Eriphyle, an unromantic tale of corruption, and after 430 B.C. in romantic guise as the Seduction of Helen.[30]

It is for her celebrated beauty that Helen appears in nuptial poetry as a paradigm of the bride,[31] and on the Berlin cup and other scenes showing Helen at her toilette she is being assimilated to a bride. As Hesiod's two descriptions of the creation of Pandora make clear (*Theogony* 570–89; *Works and Days* 60–82), a proper toilette and coiffure were important for the allure of a bride, and the ritualized toilette of the

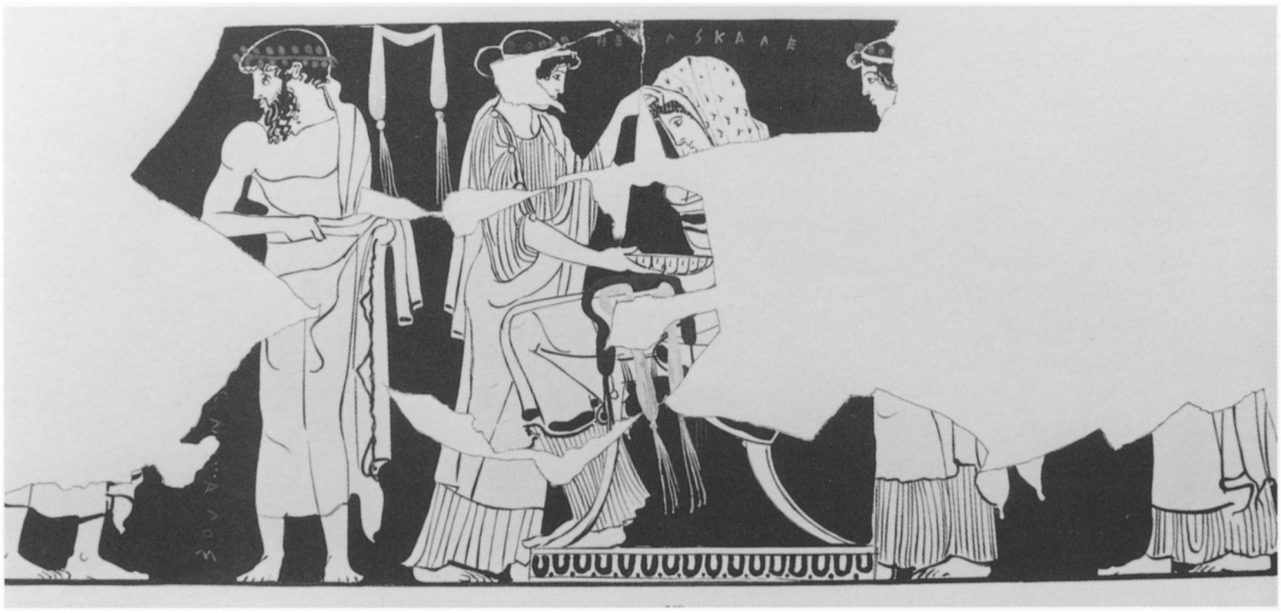


Fig. 6. Attic red-figure pyxis fragment found on the Athenian Acropolis, attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, ca. 460 B.C. (drawing). Wedding (detail): introduction of the groom to the bride at the *anakalypteria*. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection, inv. 569. [From B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1925–1933), ii, pl. 43.]

bride was an important element in the ancient wedding. It is therefore no surprise that, as Classical artists expanded the nuptial repertoire, they next turned to represent the bridal toilette, adapting an older genre subject to specifically nuptial use.[32] The most usual type of scene represents a seated bride surrounded by companions holding mirrors, perfume bottles, cosmetic chests, headbands, and wreaths. The attendant women are not servants, but bridesmaids (more accurately, bridesmatrons) known as *nympheutriai*, *nymphoponoi*, *nymphostoloi*, and *nymphokomoi*, the latter term referring specifically to their role in decorating the bride.[33]

Eros made visible

It is in this context that vase painters shortly after 450 B.C. first commonly introduce the figure of Eros himself into the wedding, employing the language of personification to elevate the nuptial scenes, while revealing the significance of the glances and touching. Before this time, Erotes had appeared in mythic representations (e.g., fig. 2) and also in pederastic courting, though almost never in the heterosexual analogue.[34] Their regular inclusion in nuptial scenes of all types is characteristic of the developed Classical wedding on vases. These nude winged boys are visual synonyms, plural visions of Love in several guises. When identified by inscription, they are given a variety of names, including especially Pothos and Himeros (Longing and Desire), as well as Eros himself,[35] and painters show considerable invention in using them to achieve a diversity of meaning.

The most conventional use of these Erotes is to enhance the beauty of the bride. Eros is no male intruder into this feminine world but a helper and companion and, in fact, is one of the *nymphokomoi* who helps outfit the bride with allure. Typically he brings an alabastron, necklace, or cosmetic chest. The Washing Painter, a master in deploying Erotes, as will be seen, shows one Eros helping dress a bride on her bed as two of his brothers wrestle before her.[36] One of the finest images of the bridal toilette appears on the eponymous epinetron of the Eretria Painter, where the bride Harmonia, seated in the center, is attended by her mother Aphrodite, assisted by Eros and Himeros, Hebe, Peitho, and Kore (Love, Desire, Youth, Persuasion, and the Maiden).[37] By the end of the fifth century, these visions of bridal Eros become fairly mundane even as the god appears with gilt wings.[38]

In one of the most remarkable scenes, on a lebes gamikos in New York by the Washing Painter (fig. 8),[39] women bring baskets, a chest, and fillet to a bride who plays her harp and who sits in a pose associated with Aphrodite that probably derives from Alkamenes' famous statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens.[40] One of the women releases Eros from her right hand, and he flies to the bride bearing two round objects, probably

Fig. 7. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Berlin 2536, ca. 430–25 B.C. Introduction of Paris to Helen. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2536.

the fruit she will consume in the bed chamber when she is alone with the groom to consummate the wedding. The woman offers Love himself as her gift to adorn the bride, after taking him from the wicker basket she holds by her side like a hairband or necklace. As Beazley recognized (though others doubt), she is no ordinary *nympheutria* but Aphrodite herself. This imagery is borrowed from the iconography of Helen, where it appears in two very different contexts. In the Recovery of Helen on a fragmentary pyxis by the Chicago Painter found at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (fig. 9),[41] Aphrodite intervenes between the fleeing figure of Helen (no longer preserved) and the armed figure of Menelaos, and extends her hand to release Eros, who empties a phiale into Menelaos' face. A similar image by a related painter appears on a fragmentary white-ground calyx krater in Cincinnati probably by the Methyse Painter that shows the introduction of Paris to Helen, with Aphrodite as matchmaker (cf. fig. 7).[42] Despite the fragmentary state of Eros, who probably holds a wreath, it is clear that the goddess releases him from her hand, as Paris (of whom only a bit of his cloak remains) looks on, backed up by the well-preserved figure of Aeneas. This same image recurs in nuptial context on a Tarrantine terra cotta altar of the late fifth century B.C., where Aphrodite visits a bride seated on her bed.[43]

Not long after Eros appears as *nymphokomos* in female company, he becomes a regular presence in nuptial processions by the last quarter of the fifth century to make explicit the emotion earlier indicated simply by sight and glance. Earlier, Eros appears in mythological wedding processions like Makron's Abduction of Helen (fig. 2), and a wedding of Dionysos on an Early Classical bell krater.[44] He generally remains in close association with the bride, either as *nymphokomos*, or as a companion or attribute of the bride. In these scenes, vase painters

Fig. 8. Attic red-figure lebes gamikos attributed to the Washing Painter, ca. 430–25 B.C. (drawing). Bridal preparations: Aphrodite, as *nympheutria*, presents Eros to a bride. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 16.73, Rogers Fund, 1916.

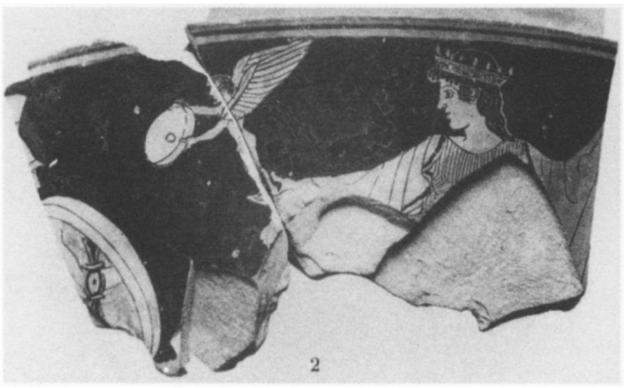


Fig. 9. Attic red-figure pyxis fragment found at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, attributed to the Chicago Painter, ca. 460 B.C. (drawing). Recovery of Helen: Aphrodite releases Eros against Menelaos. Brauron Museum. [From L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et la retour d'Hélène* (Paris, 1955), pl. LXIII.2.]

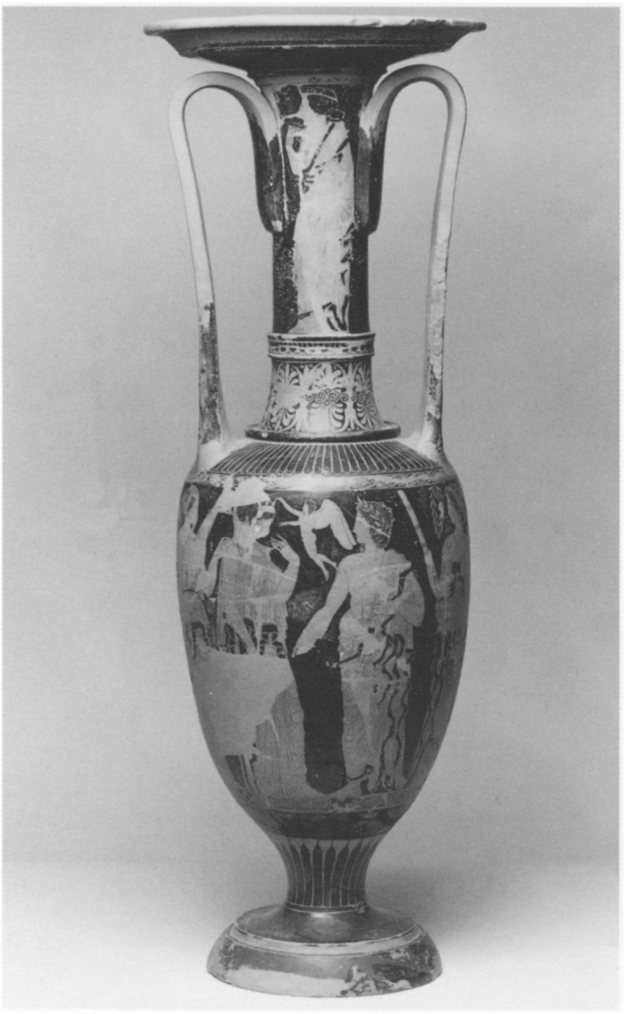


Fig. 10. Attic red-figure loutrophoros from Sounion attributed to the Manner of the Meidias painter, ca. 420–15 B.C. Wedding: Eros presents a necklace to a bride, as the groom prepares to lead her off. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2373.

assimilate the bride to both Helen and ultimately Aphrodite herself by surrounding her with imagery associated with both. In the fourth century, Eros also becomes attached to the bridegroom and Paris.

As *nymphokomos* in these scenes, Eros adorns the bride and is occupied especially around her head, the site of beauty. His enhancements include a nuptial wreath, which appears primarily in red-figure chariot processions where Eros seems to echo the many Nikai crowning victors in art.[45] The Phiale Painter shows him decorating the bride with a fillet (a functional equivalent of the wreath) at the *katachysmata*, a rite that welcomed the couple to their new home with a shower of fruit and nuts beside the bride's new hearth.[46] Finally, as on a loutrophoros in Berlin painted in the manner of the Meidias Painter (fig. 10), Eros often offers the bride a beaded necklace (which evidently could also serve as a headband, cf. fig. 24).[47] This carries over into a new nuptial context a common motif in toilette scenes, particularly on works by members of the Meidian Circle, who evidently liked the way it sparkled when picked out with gilt.[48] Eros dangles a necklace before Helen, as Paris is introduced into her presence on a Meidian acorn lekythos[49] and before a seated woman on a fourth-century pyxis that combines several moments of the wedding.[50]

On that same pyxis, another Eros adjusts the bride's veil as she is led off by the groom, a motif repeated a few years earlier on a pyxis lid in Philadelphia depicting the marriage of Herakles and Hebe (fig. 11).[51] Here, in the fourth century B.C., Eros assumes the primary action of the *nympheutria* depicted in pedestrian nuptial processions (cf. Aphrodite in fig. 2). Fundamental to the iconography of the wedding, this act of veiling the bride as she is led off is one of the most common motifs in pedestrian processions. It represents the final care of the bride's friends and family as they send her off, wrapping her in *aidos*, one of a bride's most attractive qualities. Gloria Ferrari has shown that *aidos*, a sense of protective reverence and shame, is consistently represented metaphorically in Greek literature and art as a covering veil,[52] and we may understand Eros' gesture here as enveloping the bride in its protective allure.

Sometimes it is not evident exactly what Eros is doing at the bride's head, as with the pair of Erotes on an unattributed loutrophoros in Boston painted around 425 B.C.; a third Eros bursts through the open door of the bridal chamber, jumping down from the bed and surprising a woman standing by the door.[53] Vase painters show Eros concerned with

the bride's head in wedding processions because that is where they can most easily show the god operating directly on the groom through his sense of sight. This becomes most clear in scenes where Eros does not actively beautify the bride but flies before her at eye level, imposing himself between the eyes of bride and groom to make explicit the erotic nature of their gaze. In his many nuptial scenes, the Washing Painter seems especially conscious of Eros as an optical force moving from bride to groom, as on his loutrophoros fragment in the British Museum (fig. 12), where a miniature Eros flies between bride and groom at eye level, bringing the groom a nuptial wreath in his extended arms.[54] Similarly, Eros flies above the bride Pandora as she emerges from the earth on a slightly earlier volute krater in Oxford related to the Group of Polygnotos.[55] There, the god hovers before the eyes of Epimetheus with a nuptial fillet rather than a wreath. On an oinochoe in the Vatican, Eros flies from Helen and the intervening figure of Aphrodite bearing a wreath toward the head of Menelaos, after the fall of Troy.[56] This concept of desire entering the soul through the eyes finds close correspondence in contemporary poetry. In *Antigone*, produced around 442, Sophocles writes, "Desire conquers clearly seen from the eyes of a well-wed bride" (lines 795–96).[57]

None of these images is quite as striking as what we have already encountered on the Chicago Painter's pyxis fragment in Brauron (fig. 9), where Eros empties a phiale into Menelaos' eyes. The full import of this gesture is more apparent on the completely preserved treatment of the subject on a Classical bell krater in the Louvre (fig. 13) by the Menelaos Painter.[58] Eros, conjured up by Aphrodite on the left of the scene, emanates from the fleeing Helen and flies with his phiale toward Menelaos' eyes, causing him to drop his sword, as lust for Helen overcomes his lust for vengeance. This same motif is repeated on a lekythos in the Hermitage, where Eros flies directly from Helen, and also on a fragment in a private collection in Boston.[59] On a hydria in the Torlonia Collection in Rome, Aphrodite herself empties the phiale into Menelaos' eyes.[60] This concept of desire as a liquid poured into the eyes finds echo not much later in an ode in *Hippolytos*, produced in 428 B.C., where Euripides describes the god dripping longing (*pothos*) into the eyes (lines 525–26). We see, then, that Plato's later discussion of desire entering through sight (*Phaedrus* 251B) merely articulates a popular concept expressed earlier in both art and poetry.[61]

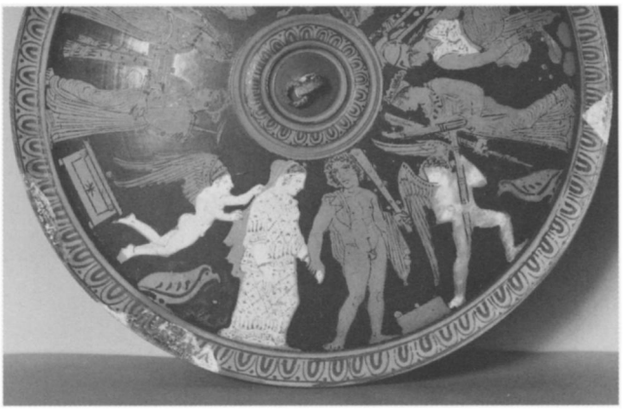


Fig. 11. Attic red-figure pyxis lid, ca. 390–80 B.C. Wedding of Herakles and Hebe: Eros adjusts Hebe's veil as Herakles leads her off. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. MS 5462.

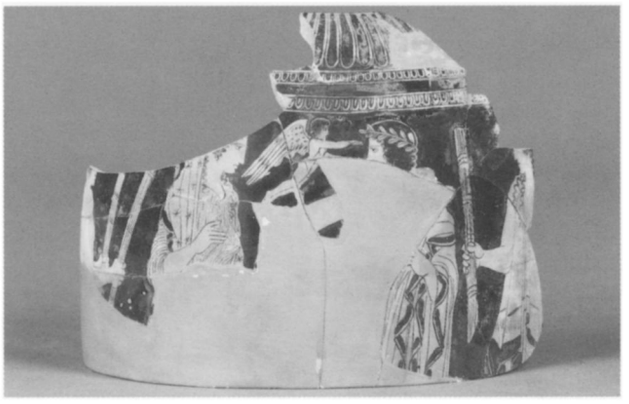


Fig. 12. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment attributed to the Washing Painter, ca. 230–25 B.C. Wedding: Eros flies from the bride, diving into the groom's eyes. London, British Museum, inv. GR 1896.12–17.11.

Fig. 13. Attic red-figure bell krater attributed to the Menelaos Painter, ca. 440 B.C. Recovery of Helen: Eros flies from Helen, diving into Menelaos' eyes. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. G 424.

This optical force of Eros is apparent even when he merely attends the bride, as on a loutrophoros by the Washing Painter in Athens, where a miniature Eros floats from bride to groom piping the wedding processional.[62] On a contemporary unattributed loutrophoros fragment in Oxford, a similar Eros carrying two miniature loutrophoroi further emphasizes the role of vision by turning back himself to gaze on the bride, taken by her beauty like the groom.[63] On a loutrophoros in Tampa, attributed to the Talos painter by D. von Bothmer (fig. 14),[64] Eros looks back as he bears a wreath toward the groom; here, however, he seems to gaze over the bride's head toward other companions in the procession.

Fig. 14. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment, attributed to the Talos Painter by D. von Bothmer, ca. 420 B.C. Wedding: Eros flies to wreathe the groom, as he grasps the bride's arm. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, inv. 86.78.

Other vase paintings assert the importance of the unmediated gaze, particularly on a hydria in New York by the Orpheus Painter (fig. 15), where a full-size Eros presents what are probably a pair of bridal shoes (*nymphides*) to a seated bride, though it has been suggested that they are a pair of miniature boats, an image repeated on other vases that has connections with the cult of Aphrodite.[65] In any case, she pays him no attention and turns away to meet the glance of her young bridegroom, who bends down to touch her. This husky Eros does not personify the glance between the couple but stands aside, offering merely the means by which the physical transition of the marriage will be accomplished. Far more significant is the spiritual union of the couple signified by their almost tangible gaze, which needs no personification to be understood and receives emphasis through the couple's self-absorbed isolation from the other figures in the scene. To enhance the erotic associations, over the heads of both bride and groom we read καλος,[66] and we have already noted that the bride's stance is associated with Aphrodite (cf. fig. 8). The chain of pomegranates hanging over the bride's head is a picturesque allusion to fertility, and the spinner

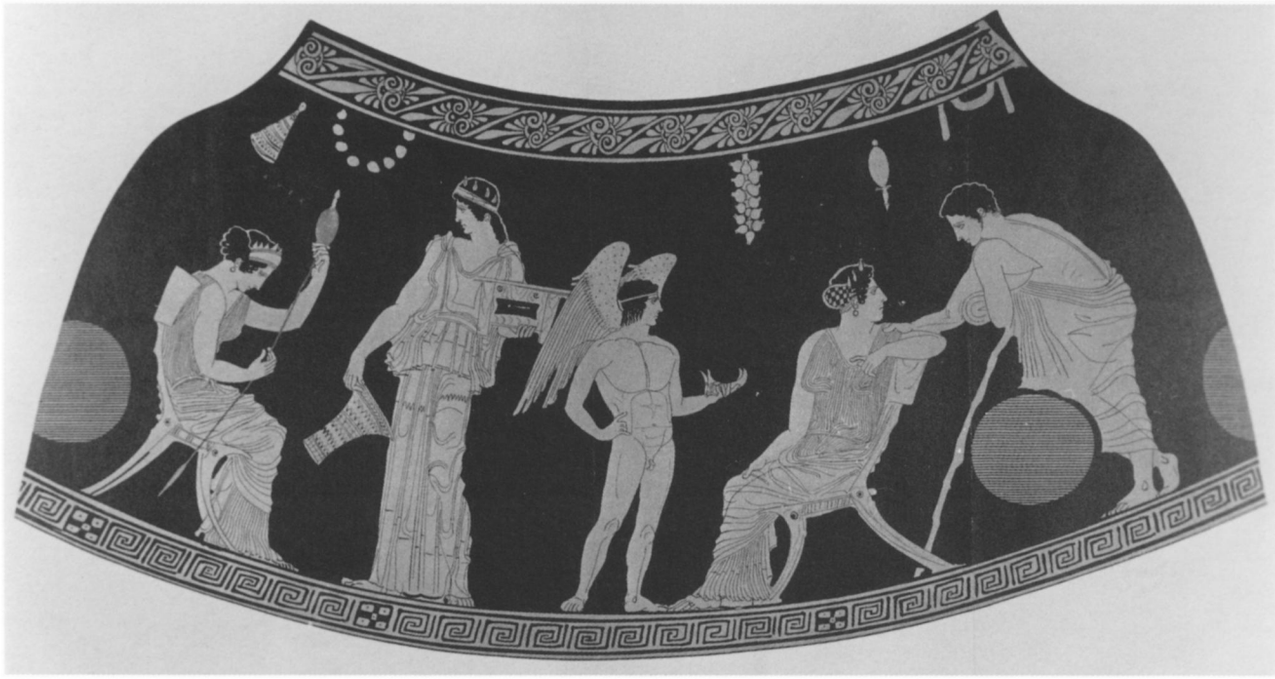


Fig. 15. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Orpheus Painter, ca. 435–30 B.C. (drawing). Wedding (detail): Eros presents a pair of *nymphides* to the bride in the presence of the groom. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.230.15, Rogers Fund, 1917. [From G.M.A. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases* (New Haven, 1936), pl. 140.]

Fig. 16a–c. Attic red-figure squat lekythos attributed to the Painter of the Frankfort Acorn, ca. 420–10 B.C. Helen and Paris(?) with nuptial divinities. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 91.AE.9.

to left shows the diligent feminine productivity of the new household.

This imagery of the gaze is developed further on an elaborate lekythos by the Painter of the Frankfort Acorn, a follower of the Meidias Painter, recently acquired by the Getty Museum (fig. 16).[67] Its rich and puzzling eroticized imagery, like that of contemporary vessels of this and related shapes, deliberately blurs the boundaries between myth and contemporary life. Before an open door, the central group is similar to the couple on the Orpheus Painter's hydria, though the figures' stance and manner are more overtly expressive. The woman and youth of the central group are obviously lovers, though their identity is not certain. Beazley identified them as bride and groom, but in a recent publication of the Getty they have been identified as Paris and Helen in Menelaos' palace at Sparta. Yet the long-haired, diademed youth bending to kiss his lover is not an armed traveler, as Paris usually appears (cf. fig. 7), but a civilian wearing an elaborately decorated himation. He holds a strigil in his hand, a common metallic item of the male toilette to match and gleam beside his lady's mirror; both were originally gilded. The two standing female figures framing them were identified by Beazley as Hera on the left and Aphrodite on the right, the major nuptial divinities; the identification of Aphrodite is certainly correct, though Hera would be most unlikely if the couple are Helen and Paris. This woman on the left throws up her arms in surprise[68] at the sight of a miniature woman driving a chariot pulled through the air by two Erotes. This is a transformation of Sappho's poetic image of the goddess driving a chariot drawn by sparrows (Fragment 1, *Prayer to Aphrodite*) common in later fifth-century art, especially on vases by the Meidian Circle. While there is often no doubt that Aphrodite herself is the driver, in other cases, as here, it is evidently one of her associates who drives, possibly Peitho as Beazley suggests.[69] Aside from the youth's lavish dress, the elaborate pillar by the door, and the attendant deities, there is nothing to indicate that this scene shows myth. Yet these elements distinguish the scene from earlier wedding scenes and urge a mythological interpretation, though they are insufficient in themselves to identify Paris and Helen, or any other couple, beyond all doubt.

Finally, the group of gazing couple recurs in modified form in the fourth century on a well-known lekanis lid in St. Petersburg by the Eleusinian Painter (fig. 17), where it is set amid women dressing and preparing for the wedding.[70] The groom is essentially nude as Eros plays with his staff, but the couple's gaze lacks intensity, since their eyes never quite meet. It is possible that the group has been transformed here into the bridegroom with his mother-in-law, as Schefold suggests, followed by Oakley and Sinos, since the bride is plausibly identified as the woman being adorned on the far right of fig. 17.

Eros appears as the groom's confidant or counsellor on nuptial vessels in scenes that should be identified as Paris and Helen. On a loutrophoros in Oxford, the bridegroom looks on as the bride dresses, distracted in her thoughts (fig. 18).[71] A small Eros appears behind

Fig. 17. Attic red-figure lekanis lid attributed to the Eleusinian Painter, ca. 340 B.C. Preparations for a wedding (detail). St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. St. 1791.

her, straddling her shoulder and the back of the chair, and turns toward the groom. The artist shows a close, almost casual relationship between these two male figures chatting confidentially, each with an arm akimbo. The groom is dressed as a traveler, however, with chlamys fastened at the neck and *ependytes*, a luxurious garment of eastern origin worn in nuptial scenes only in abductions and mythological context.[72] This is no ordinary couple, but Paris and Helen, for the fundamental conception is essentially that of contemporary scenes showing the Seduction of Helen. Particularly close are the fine example on the Heimarmene Painter's amphoriskos in Berlin (fig. 19), a Meidian chous in Athens, and neo-Attic reliefs of the Roman era that show an Eros pulling persuasively on Paris' arm and gazing into his eyes.[73] On the amphoriskos, the Eros is named Himeros; behind him Helen sits counseled on Aphrodite's lap, sunk deep in troubled thought as Peitho (Persuasion) looks on and, among other significant personifications, Nemesis points to the future consequences. The close correspondence between the two principal groups on the amphoriskos and the much later Roman reliefs has suggested common inspiration by a lost monumental prototype. Helen's deliberations are prominent, yet Paris is not presented as an eager seducer but seems to need almost as much encouragement as Helen. The Oxford loutrophoros does not repeat the type of Paris' Persuasion exactly, but shows a more relaxed Eros, similarly coaching and encouraging the groom. The parallel with the figures of Paris and Eros

Fig. 18. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragments related to the Painter of Athens 1454, ca. 425–15 B.C. Wedding: Paris and Helen. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1927.4067.

Fig. 19a, b. Attic red-figure amphoriskos attributed to the Heimarmene Painter, ca. 430–20 B.C. Persuasion of Paris and Helen. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. 30036.

would not be so compelling were it not for the groom's unusual dress suggesting a mythological scene and, especially, the bride, gazing ominously out and picking distractedly at the drapery on her lap, whose general demeanor shares much with the pensive Helen and very little with other brides.

A contemporary loutrophoros fragment in Bonn is related (fig. 20).[74] The fragment preserves just the heads of three figures, most of an erotiskos, and part of a wicker box at the far left. In the center, a groom appears at a slightly lower level than the others, as if seated, whether on chair or bed; his long hair is wreathed, but his shoulders and upper torso, preserved below his left breast, are nude, unlike the ordinary bridegroom. He reaches with his left arm to the right shoulder of the bride, who turns toward him in three-quarter view. A little Eros stands on the groom's outstretched upper arm and extends his right arm toward the groom, as his left trails behind toward the bride. His head is lost, and it is unclear if he holds something over the groom or merely directs the woman on the left, who holds up a plemochoe, or the lost figure behind her, who held the wicker box there. Though poor preservation makes interpretation risky, the subject seems to be Eros helping introduce the bride into the groom's presence, and it is likely to be again Paris and Helen. The location may be the bedroom, a motif found in nuptial scenes of the fourth century B.C. and later.[75]

Fig. 20. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment, ca. 240–10 B.C. Wedding: the bride approaches the seated groom. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn, inv. 352.

On a fourth-century loutrophoros in New York, Eros transfers his attention from bride to groom, as two Erotes bring fillets to wreathe his head (fig. 21).[76] Like several other fourth-century grooms, he is bearded, in contrast to the youthful grooms in

Fig. 21. (left) Attic red-figure loutrophoros. Wedding: bride and groom clasp hands, as Erotes attend the groom. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 75.2.15, gift of Samuel G. Ward, 1875.

Fig. 22a, b. Attic red-figure calyx krater found at Tanagra attributed to the Painter of the Athens Wedding, ca. 420–10 B.C. (drawing). Wedding: Erotes and women outfit the nuptial chariot with pillows as a bride and groom approach. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1388. [From *Archaiologikē ephēmeris* 1905, pls. 6–7.]

most fifth-century wedding scenes. The bride is not passively grasped but reaches actively to take his extended hand in a motif familiar from fourth-century grave reliefs and Roman weddings but very rare in Greek wedding scenes.[77] Winged women fly in from the sides, filling the reverse with their wings. The new erotic attention to the groom finds parallel in contemporary scenes showing Paris being introduced to Helen. While most still show Eros flying from Helen to Paris, on a hydria in the Hermitage and a lost one formerly in a private collection in Istanbul, two Erotes hover around Paris, with no direct connection to Helen.[78]

Finally, vase painters present Eros as *nymphostolos*, a specifically liminal figure who prepares the means of the bride's journey and attends the couple on the road. We have already seen him present the bride with shoes (or model ships) on the Orpheus Painter's hydria (fig. 15), and, in several scenes, Erotes lace the bride's shoes, both in the presence of the groom and without him. This motif is shared with contemporary scenes showing Helen preparing to leave with Paris (fig. 7), emphasizing the decisive role erotic emotion played in Helen's movement to Troy. This pedestrian motif finds a vehicular counterpart on the eponymous calyx krater of the Painter of the Athens Wedding (fig. 22), painted shortly before 400 B.C.[79] There, a pair of Erotes help prepare the chariot for an approaching bride and groom, who move in procession past an altar representing the bride's paternal hearth. The upper parts of the horses are visible above the handle, which is treated as a piece of landscape blocking their lower parts from view. One Eros steadies the horses, as his mate assists several women outfitting the chariot with pillows. As H.L. Lorimer saw long ago,[80] these pillows have no place in a chariot, where passengers stand, and the artist has adapted the motif of transforming an ordinary cart into the nuptial cart, *klinis*, just as the sources describe—clear evidence that the chariots in nuptial scenes are heroic transformations of the mundane cart.

Nudity

The final element in the erotic transformation of the wedding on Attic vases is the introduction of both male and female nudity around 425 B.C., an innovation that invites the viewer's personal erotic response to the image while having connections to larger trends in Greek art. Aside from an isolated portrayal of the groom's nuptial bath on an Early Classical hydria by the Leningrad painter,[81] members of both sexes—including gods, heroes, and ordinary mortals—are assiduously draped in nuptial scenes, clear evidence of the social boundaries for even male nakedness in ancient Greece.[82] From the last quarter of the fifth century through the fourth century B.C., there is a gradual increase of both male and female nudity in nuptial scenes. Most surprising is the appearance around 425 B.C. of a nude bathing bride on an unattributed pyxis in New York that illustrates the sequence of bridal preparations from bath to final words of advice (fig. 23).[83] This nude figure pushes nuptial imagery to its limits by endowing the bride with visible eroticism that operates directly as a potent erotic image (though it is worth noting that the vase shapes on which a nude bride appears are all directed at a female audience, and adult males are not included in scenes with her). The nuptial setting is clear from the women who decorate a loutrophoros. On the left, the bather kneels to wash her hair, as Eros pours rinse water over her head.

This kneeling bather is a familiar Classical type that appears on twenty-one Attic vases of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., at least two Apulian vases, and in various adaptations on engraved mirrors, figurines, and especially on gems. On one of the vases, painted not long after the pyxis, she is identified by inscription as Helen, bathing outdoors and assisted by Eros and Pothos under the direction of Aphrodite.[84] It is possible that the bride on the New York pyxis is also intended as Helen, who would be repeated again in the final episode standing fully draped by a column, as she receives final encouragement from Aphrodite, seated with Eros on her lap, and possibly Peitho, who pulls drapery at her shoulder. As I argue elsewhere, the type of the kneeling bather probably derives from one of the most famous nudes of antiquity, the celebrated Helen by Zeuxis of Herakleia, a painting that depicted Helen nude as the epitome of female beauty and redefined the female nude in Greek art.[85] It is best known from the famous anecdote describing how the painter composed her to represent feminine beauty by selecting the best parts of five maidens he was allowed to study in the city of Croton. Zeuxis came to Athens not long before the earliest kneeling bathers on Attic vases, and a version of his Helen is known to have been displayed in Athens. It is therefore quite likely that this famous and revolutionary redefinition of the female nude inspired the introduction of female nudity into the nuptial repertoire on vases and opened the way for general acceptance of female nudity as an acceptable convention of mature Classical art.

The kneeling female bather recurs on several scenes that are possibly or likely nuptial and in certain nuptial context on a lekanis lid in St. Petersburg by the Marsyas Painter showing bridal preparations.[86] In the fourth century, topless brides appear on lebetes gamikoi in settings that continue the dressing scenes of the previous century and in various contexts on nuptial lekanides; this vessel shape regularly includes a nude male figure, who usually seems to represent the groom.[87] Helen comes to be shown partially draped when introduced to Paris, a theme whose nuptial connections have been noted.[88] The kneeling nude is even adopted for the nuptial figure of Thetis caught bathing by the sea on the pelike in London by the Marsyas Painter, introducing the version of the

Fig. 23. Attic red-figure pyxis, ca. 425 B.C. (drawing). Bridal preparations: episodes include Eros assisting the bridal bath, in a group probably derived from Zeuxis' Helen. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1972.118.148, bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971.

tale familiar from later literature, including Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (11.238–65).[89]

We have already seen partially and fully nude male figures in nuptial context on the loutrophoros in Bonn (fig. 20) and the Eleusinian Painter's lekanis lid (fig. 17). An acorn lekythos attributed to the painter Aison that was found in a grave in Athens introduces the male nude into the wedding at exactly the same time as the female nude (fig. 24).[90] A. Delivorrias follows M. Brouskari in suggesting that the subject is nuptial, though it may in fact, like the Getty lekythos (fig. 16), represent a civilian version of Paris and Helen. The central group of bride with companions clearly derives from the figures of Helen and Aphrodite in the Persuasion of Helen (fig. 19). On the left, a woman pours from a jug, filling little mugs (a distinctively Laconian shape appropriate for a Spartan setting) and kalathoi resting on a table before her; she is watering sprigs that are painted in added red, recalling the sprigs kept in loutrophoroi and nuptial lebetes on the Eretria Painter's depiction of the bride Alcestis.[91] In the center, the bride, or Helen, sits pensively regarding a necklace she seems about to don. A second woman seated in her lap reaches an arm around her shoulder as if comforting or advising her. A third woman stands behind, comfortingly touching the bride's arm and urging Eros above. As he flies right, Eros glances back toward the bride but approaches the groom holding a beaded headband similar to the bride's necklace. The groom, or Paris, is nude and prepares to anoint himself as Aphrodite looks on, leaning in a familiar Classical pose used for the goddess. His action probably alludes to his nuptial bathing and toilette, a more striking reference than the strigil on the Getty lekythos (fig. 16). This nude introduces an athletic and erotic note, and his stance loosely recalls the figure of Hippomenes cleaning a strigil on the Dinos Painter's scene showing preparations for Hippomenes' race with Atalanta, another subject with erotic and nuptial implications.[92]

Conclusion

We can best appreciate how the image of the wedding was transformed in Classical vase painting by concluding with a squat lekythos in St. Petersburg, which presents the wedding of Paris and Helen in what is the final transformation of the chariot procession (fig. 25).[93] This scene provides instructive comparison with the

Fig. 24a–c. Attic red-figure acorn lekythos attributed to Aison, ca. 425–20 B.C. Preparations of bride and groom, or the Persuasion of Helen(?). Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 6471.

way essentially the same subject was first presented two centuries or more earlier in Corinth (fig. 1). The lekythos is an exquisite example of the Kerch style, with delicate drawing, fine relief line, and brilliant polychromy with added white, gilt relief, and color, now lost. It was attributed by Karl Schefold to his Helena Painter, and is close in style and technique to that artist's well-known chous in New York showing Pompe (Procession) dressing for Dionysos in the presence of Eros and Aphrodite.[94]

As Helen's brothers, the Dioscuri, watch from the left, Paris mounts his gilt wheeled chariot, enclosing Helen between his arms as he grasps the reins. She stands essentially frontally and, while she pulls the veil from her left shoulder in a late adaptation of the *anakalypsis* gesture, she also reaches around Paris' shoulders with her right arm, turning her head toward him in a three-quarter view. Though her white body now appears totally nude, the reserve edges of clothing visible below her arms and running along her body indicate that she was originally clothed with transparent added color that has flaked off the added white.[95] Two attendant Erotes, white with gilt wings, fly above, framing the couple; the foremost holds a pair of wedding torches and turns to look back at the couple. Beneath him, and in front of the horses, on a two-step pedestal a figure of Aphrodite stands like a statue holding a phiale and incense burner; traces of reserve outline at her shoulder and lower legs indicate that she too, like Helen, was once more fully draped. At the head of the procession, Hermes steadies the horses beside a second incense burner. The passionless Archaic scheme has been eroticized by employing all the elements of a typical Classical wedding. The couple touch, virtually embracing, and turn toward one another; although they do not achieve eye contact, Helen's gaze out of the pictorial field engages the viewer directly, as in contemporary grave reliefs. The inclusion of Erotes and Aphrodite manifests the couple's desire in abstract terms, while the overt nudity of the male Erotes, Hermes, and the Dioscuri, and the shapely forms of female bodies visible through their added drapery invite viewers of both sexes to react directly to the image with unmediated erotic response.

This romantic transformation of the wedding is closely connected with the creation of the Classical style, as the probable derivation of the nude bathing bride from Zeuxis' Helen makes clear. It is likely, almost certain in fact, that other images like the Persuasion of Helen and Paris also derive from significant lost

Fig. 25a, b. Attic red-figure squat lekythos found at Yuz Oba painted in the Kerch Style, ca. 380–60 B.C. Wedding of Paris and Helen. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. *yu*.0.27 (St. 1929).

masterworks by leading artists of the day. The consistency of the way Eros is shown acting on the eyes of both Menelaos and the bridegroom indicates that such artistic conceits cannot be divorced from the development of Classical poetry and philosophy and participate in larger issues of Greek culture. The transformation of vase painting evidenced by this nuptial imagery, often identified with the Meidias Painter and his circle, is not simply a matter of extravagant ornamentality or refined forms but represents a complete reconceptualization of the subject matter and basic outlook of Greek art, a true revolution of imagery that represents the full maturity of the Classical style.

In its social outlook, the visual rhetoric of the Classical wedding and marriage stands in sharp opposition to what is found in other media, particularly Greek prose. While scholars have tended to assume the greater reliability of such ostensibly objective sources as forensic oratory, philosophy, and history, in preference to the more subjective outlook of poetry and art, Connor's recent work on Thucydides,[96] for example, urges the need for greater caution in accepting at face value the claims made by any source that assumes a stance of objectivity. Both outlooks represent authentic, valid social facts, and both must be taken seriously in reconstructing a complete and accurate view of marriage as a social institution in Classical Athens. Certainly the different audiences to which these classes of evidence are aimed must be considered in comparing their different views. The practical, unemotional view of marriage is largely represented by public male discourse, while the erotic, emotional view belongs to the wedding itself, where it was intended for a private, predominately feminine audience (to judge from who is shown handling these vases). Whether this new regard for the bride and romanticized image of marriage record a significant improvement of the general status of women or represent more sophisticated, sinister mechanisms of exploitation—the feminine mystique and romantic lie—is beyond the scope of this article. The social and artistic importance of this visual discourse must be recognized, however, and take their place beside the more familiar evidence of texts and mythological subjects to create a richer, more comprehensive understanding of the Greek miracle in all its dimensions.

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Notes

This paper is a substantial revision of "Beauty and the Bride: Pandora's Hook," delivered at the symposium "Gender, Sex, and Mythology in Ancient Greece" held at the Walters Art Gallery and Johns Hopkins University, December 14–15, 1995, in conjunction with the exhibition *Pandora's Box: Women in Classical Greece*. I am indebted to Ellen Reeder and Giulia Sissa for the invitation to participate at the symposium. I am also grateful to Ellen Reeder for her patience and assistance in preparing this paper and especially for organizing the innovative exhibition. It was innovative for abandoning the practice of presenting Greek art in narrow aesthetic terms, for moving our view of women in Greek art from its strictly domestic focus, and for setting both Greek art and the way it presents women firmly in the realm of ideas.

I thank Donna Kurtz of the Beazley Archive in Oxford and Dietrich von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for granting access to collections of photographs, and Joan Mertens, also at the Metropolitan Museum, for the opportunity to study vases and books in its collections and help obtaining photographs. I am grateful to the following for help obtaining photographs and permission to illustrate them: in Athens, Aliki-Ismini Triandi of the First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Georgos Staïnhaouer of the Second Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and Maria Pilali of the American School of Classical Studies; Horst Getter and Ines Bialas in Berlin; Wilfred Geominy in Bonn; Karen L. Otis in Boston; Dyfri Williams in London and Christopher Planeaux in Cambridge; Jacklyn Burns in Malibu; P.R.S. Moorey in Oxford; Alain Pasquier in Paris; Melody Ennes in Providence; Dr. Vladimir Matveyev in St. Petersburg; Jose Gelats in Tampa; Barb Rogerson in Toronto; and others who acted anonymously; and to Irène Aghios and François Lissarrague for help at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.

1. See now C. Calame, *L'Eros dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1996), 53–63, 130–45, though his discussion ignores Eros in nuptial iconography. This important book unfortunately appeared after this paper was already in publication, and extensive revision was impossible.

So also V. Sabetái, "Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology," in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulsen, and O. Palagiá, eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford, 1997), 319–35, and V. Sabetái, "The Washing Painter. A Contribution to the Wedding and Genre Iconography in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C." Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1993.

2. R.F. Sutton, "The Interaction between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-figure Pottery," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1981, 145–275, and R.F. Sutton, "On the Classical Athenian Wedding: Two Red-figure Loutrophoroi in Boston," in *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.* (Wauconda, Ill., 1989), 331–59. J.H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, 1993). L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et la retour d'Hélène* (Paris, 1955), and L. Kahil, "Helene," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, IV (1988), 498–563, 951. See also A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis, and R. Vollkommer, "Eros," *Lexicon* III (1986), 850–942, nos. 639–49 and pp. 935–36; C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärentum, und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland* (Munich, 1993) 49–79; and E. Reeder, *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Baltimore, 1995), particularly 123–94 and, in the same volume, J. Oakley, "Nuptial Nuances: Wedding Images in Non-wedding Scenes of Myth," 63–73.

3. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 28–30; Sutton, "Interaction," 164–69.

4. See p. 40 below. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 29–30, citing earlier literature. Reinsberg, *Ehe*, 60–62, ignores the distinction.

5. Middle Corinthian column krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 27.116, attributed to the Detroit Painter by D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), 196.5, 295.8, 383, 562–63, 632–33, pl. 79: Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, 117, pl. XL, no. 112. Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, inv. 3332: J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956), 40.2; J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971), 18; T. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1989), 11; G. Bakir, *Sophilos* (Mainz, 1981), no. A 21, pls. 39–45, figs. 32–38.

6. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 25, 30.

7. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 13.186: J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), 458.1, 1654 [hereafter, *ARV²*]; *Paralipomena*, 377; *Beazley Addenda*, 243. L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford, 1931–1963), III, pls. 76–77; G. Crane, ed., *Perseus* 2.0 (New Haven, 1996), image nos. 1990.24.1498–508, 1992.11.0319–22, 1993.01.0454–56.

8. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 32, nn. 70–71; Sutton, "Interaction," 181–83; cf. Euripides, *Alcestis* 916 and *Medea* 21–22; S. Flory, "Medea's Right Hand," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 108 (1978), 69–74.

9. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "The Young Abductor of the Locrian Pinakes," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*, 20 (1973), 12–21; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings," in *Reading Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991), 58–98; A. Stewart, "Rape?," in Reeder, *Pandora*, 74–90.

10. Kahil, "Helene," 528–30, nos. 157–60, pp. 537–50, nos. 210–355, pp. 556–61.

11. Ibid., 546–47, nos. 291–305.

12. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, pl. XXXII.

13. Kahil, "Helene," no. 62, with 63–67.

14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. M 15214 (Acr. 176): *ARV²* 17.18; *Beazley Addenda*, 153; B. Philipaki, *Archaiologikē ephēmeris 1980, Arch. chron. 62–65*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, pelike G 226 by the early Syleus Painter: *ARV²* 250.15; *Beazley Addenda*, 203. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (Louvre 6), pl. 44.4–7, 9 [hereafter, *CVA*]. Black-figure tripod pyxis, Warsaw, National Museum, inv. 142319: Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, figs. 100–104.

15. On the erotic gaze see now, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "Eros, Desire and the Gaze," in N. Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1996), 81–100.

16. Note 13 above, nos. 62–65, but not 67, which probably shows another theme. Compare the discussion in Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 110 of the Peleus Painter's krater in Ferrara, where the wedding of Peleus and Thetis moves left.

17. E. Haspels, "Deux fragments d'une coupe d'Euphronios," *Bulletin de Corrrespondance Hellénique*, 54 (1930), 422–51; Sutton, "Interaction," 177–96; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 32–34.

18. As on an amphora by the Copenhagen Painter in the Levy collection showing Peleus and Thetis, Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 109.

19. E.g. a cup by the Amymone Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2530: *ARV²* 831.20, 1702; *Beazley Addenda*, 295; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, fig. 91.

20. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 929.22.3 (635): *ARV²* 1031.51; *Beazley Addenda*, 317; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, figs. 82–84; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London, 1989), fig. 134; S. Matheson, *Polygnotos* (Madison, 1995), 56, fig. 56.

21. Sutton, "Interaction," 276–447; Sutton, "Pornography," 14–20; G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin, 1983).

22. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Presussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2279: *ARV²* 115.2; *Paralipomena*, 332; Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 106; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1992.07.0097–126.

23. E.g., the pot fragments from the Athenian Acropolis by the Painter of the Munich Amphora, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 813, showing a seated woman holding a wreath to a seated youth: *ARV²* 246.12; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1925–1933), ii, pl. 73; Sutton, "Interaction," G.14, pl. 21.

24. Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, inv. 28.020: *ARV²* 552.27; *CVA* (USA 2), pl. 22.2; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1990.03.0751a–816.

25. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. 508: *ARV²* 1610; W. Fröhner, *Les musées de France* (Paris, 1873), pl. 40.2, whence Sutton, "Pornography," fig 1.6; J. Reilly, "Mistress and Maid on Athenian Lekythoi," *Hesperia*, 58 (1989), 411–44, pl. 80a. Revised reading of the inscription based on autopsy.

26. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acr. 569: *ARV²* 890.172; *Beazley Addenda*, 302; part, Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, ii pl. 43; S. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (Chicago, 1978), 84, pls. 56.7, 58.2, 59.1; Sutton, "Interaction," 201–203, pl. 15, W.64.

27. On the *anakalypteria*, see Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 25–26, who do not mention this vase; they cite instead the Phiale Painter's loutrophoros fragments in Boston (note 46 below), which show the *katachysmata*, a ritual at the couple's new house. It is unlikely that the painter would combine elements of these very different rituals, performed in two different homes, in a single scene.

28. Heras is the only non-mythological bride named by inscription and is the most popular *kale* name on vases of the period, appearing on four other examples, including two by other members of the Penthesilea Workshop: *ARV²* 1614, 1707. It would be surprising to have a woman other than the bride, or a man other than the groom, praised in this scene. Given its size and quality, this vase from the Acropolis was probably a dedication and might have been a special order commemorating the wedding of an acquaintance or member of the Penthesilea Workshop.

29. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2536: *ARV²* 1286.1, 1689; *Paralipomena*, 473; *Beazley Addenda*, 358; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, no. 15, pl. IX.1; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 244; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1992.07.0637–60.

30. Eriphyle: A. Lezzi-Hafter, "Eriphyle," *Festschrift für H. Bloesch (Antike Kunst Beiheft 9)* 1973, 71–73; Sutton, "Interaction," 369–79; A. Lezzi-Hafter, "Eriphyle I," *Lexicon* III, 843–46, nos. 1–11, 15–18. Seduction of Helen: Kahil, "Helene," 515–528, nos. 70–154.

31. R.A. Huddleston [Sinos], "The Wedding Songs of Ancient Greece," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1980, 40, 67–75, 86–87, 92–95. I am grateful to the author for sending me a copy.

32. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 16–26; E. Götte, "Frauengemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des Fünften Jahrhunderts," Ph.D diss., Munich, 1957, 35–41; cf. Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 58.

33. Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 16, n. 41; Sutton, "Interaction," 158.

34. Hermary et al., "Eros"; A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Eroten* (Berlin, 1957); H.A. Shapiro, "Eros in Love: Pederasty and Pornography in Greece," in A. Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 1992), 53–72.

35. H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Zurich, 1993), 110–24; Hermary et al., "Eros," 902–17, 933–36, pls. 643–46.

36. Reeder, *Pandora*, nos. 28, 58. Red-figure pyxis, Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität, inv. 541: M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992), 235–36; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, figs. 24–27. Sabetái, "Washing Painter," 102–17.

37. The epinetron, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1629: *ARV*² 1250.34, 1688; *Paralipomena*, 469; *Beazley Addenda*, 354; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler* (Mainz, 1988), no. 257, pls. 168–69; Reinsberg, *Ehe*, fig. 24.

38. E.g., St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 1811 (1837,4): *ARV*² 1332.1; *Paralipomena*, 480; *Beazley Addenda*, 365.

39. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 16.73: *ARV*² 1126.6; *Beazley Addenda*, 332; G.M.A. Richter and L.F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936), no. 144, pl. 147, pl. 174. Sabetái, "Washing Painter," 92-94.

40. A. Delivorrias, "Das Original der Sitzenden 'Aphrodite-Olympias'," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologisches Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 93 (1978), 1–23; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford, 1987), 27–29.

41. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, 93, no. 74, pl LXIII.2; *ARV*² 631.42; *Beazley Addenda*, 272. The image recurs later on a nestoris in the Getty Museum attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, Kahil, "Helene," no. 276, pl. 341; Matheson, *Polygnotos*, no. PGU 186, fig. 169.

42. Cincinnati Museum of Art, inv. 1962.386–388; *ARV*² 634.5; *Paralipomena*, 400; *Beazley Addenda*, 273; W. Moon and L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago, 1979), no. 114, color plate VIII; Kahil, "Helene," 139; Robertson, *Vase-painting*, 172–73, fig. 182.

43. A. Delivorrias et al., "Aphrodite," *Lexicon* II (1984), 2–151, no. 1570.

44. Reading Public Museum (Penna.), inv. 32–772-1: Oakley, in *Pandora*, 63, fig. 2. J. Neils., "'Lost' and Found: Adam Buck's Wedding of Dionysos," in Oakley et al., *Athenian Potters and Painters*, 231–40.

45. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2372: Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 27. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 2893: *ARV*² 1038.1, 1679; *Paralipomena*, 443; *Beazley Addenda*, 319; Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 110. Also loutrophoroi in Athens, Vlastou-Serpieri Collection, *ARV*² 1179, bottom, probably by the Painter of Athens 1454, and Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. Na57 Aa695, from the Sanctuary of the Nymph, dating ca. 430–20 (described, Sutton, "Interaction," 251, W.55).

46. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 10.223: *ARV*² 1017.94; *Beazley Addenda*, 315; Sutton, *Daidalikon*, 354–59; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 34, figs. 60–61; Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 26.

47. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 2373: *ARV*² 1322.20; Sutton, "Interaction," pl. 22, W.51. The unpublished loutrophoros, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, inv. A934 is similar, except that Eros kneels; the date is ca. 410 B.C. or later.

48. E.g., the lebes gamikos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1658: *ARV*² 1320.1, by a painter of the Meidian Circle; Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 58.

49. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, no. 117, pl. XIV.

50. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. 3373: Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, fig. 115; Reinsberg, *Ehe*, fig. 14 a–c; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 399.

51. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. MS 5462: *The Ancient Greek World. The Rodney S. Young Gallery* (Philadelphia, 1995), A20, attributed there to the Meleager Painter; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 400; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1991.07.0566–581.

52. G. Ferrari, "Figures of Speech: The Pictures of Aidos," *Metis*, 6 (1990), 185–200; Reeder, *Pandora*, 123–24.

53. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 03.802: Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 24; if either of the Erotes flanking the bride originally held anything, all trace has been lost. Close examination of the vase reveals the accuracy of the drawing, illustrated in Sutton, *Daidalikon*, 340–41, and Sutton, "Pornography," fig. 1.10, and allows correction of the description in the former, pp. 334–44. The *nympheutria* does hold a white fillet behind the bride (contra ibid., n. 20); the inscription to the left of the bride reads ΚΑΛΗ; over the groom's head I read [Κ]ΑΛΟ[Σ]; other suspected traces are not letters. The actions of Erotes are also unclear in pedestrian processions on two unpublished loutrophoroi in Greece: on Nauplion Museum inv. 309 by the Washing Painter, Eros holds something before the bride, and on a slightly later loutrophoros from Skorpo Potami in the Marathon Museum he once held something that has been lost (Sutton, "Interaction," 249, W.48, pp. 251–53, W.58).

54. London, British Museum, inv. GR 1896.12–17.11: *ARV*² 1127.10. Differently Sabetái, "Washing Painter," 163–65.

55. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. G.275 (V.575): Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 81.

56. Vatican Museums, inv. H525, *ARV*² 1173, bottom; *Paralipomena*, 460; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, pl. LXVI; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 309.

57. For the date, *Cambridge History of Classical Literature I: Greek Literature*, ed. P.R.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (Cambridge, 1985), 765.

58. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. G424, Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, no. 66, pl. 63.3; *ARV*² 1077.5; *Eros grec. Amour des dieux et des hommes* (Athens and Paris, 1989), 90–92, no. 32.

59. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, lekythos b 4524 (ex Botkin): *ARV*² 1194.7, Painter of Leningrad 702; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, no. 70. pl. 62.3; Kahil, "Helene," no. 272. Boston, hydria fragment, collection of Blakey Vermeule, ibid., no. 279bis, probably by an Early Mannerist (von Bothmer).

60. Rome, Torlonia Palace, Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, no. 68, pl. 57.2; Kahil, "Helene," no. 270.

61. See also Frontisi-Ducroux, "Gaze," and Reeder, *Pandora*, 125–26, and for such imagery in Archaic poetry, Calame, *L'Eros*, 31–33.

62. Athens, Third Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, loutrophoros from a tomb on Stadiou Street: *ARV*² 1127.14; *Paralipomena*, 435; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965), 63, fig. 29; Reinsberg, *Ehe*, fig. 13. Cf. also the same painter's loutrophoros, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 2027; though Eros' action is not preserved, he does not appear to play the pipes: *ARV*² 1127.11; *Beazley Addenda*, 332; *CVA* (Austria 2), pl. 148, 149.2–3.

63. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1966.888: Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 25. A full-sized Eros similarly looks back at a nude dancing girl on a lekythos by the Phiale Painter, Gela, inv. 66 (C.N. 141): *ARV*² 1021.122; *Paralipomena*, 441; *Beazley Addenda*, 316; J. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz, 1990), no. 122, pl. 98. On the unattributed

fourth-century pyxis in Berlin, inv. 3373 (note 50 above), an Eros carries a single loutrophoros and fillet; he appears further back in the procession with human figures bearing nuptial gifts, possibly in a different episode of the wedding.

64. Tampa Museum of Art, inv. 86.78: Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1991.08.0073–79. On the Talos Painter: *ARV*² 1338.40; *Paralipomena*, 481; *Beazley Addenda*, 366–67. I am grateful to Mr. J.V. Noble for bringing this vase to my attention while it was still in his possession.

65. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.230.15: *ARV*² 1104.16; *Beazley Addenda*, 329; Richter and Hall, *Red-figured*, no. 138, pls. 140–41, 172; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 193. E. Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* (New York, 1985), 121–22, oddly suggests that the woman receiving the shoes is the mother of the bride. See Hermary et al., "Eros," 936, no. 324, for the suggestion that they are model boats, which is not fully supported by the drawing on the vase or the parallels cited; it does not substantially alter my points here and below. On *nymphides* and the motif of binding sandals see Sabetái, "Washing Painter," 197–98.

66. Since vase painters often write only a single letter for double consonants, this praise of the bride should be the abstract neuter noun κάλλος (beauty), rather than the masculine adjective καλός (handsome), which appears so often on vases.

67. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 91.AE.10: *ARV*² 1317.3; Delivorrias, "Aphrodite," no. 1192, pl. 120; *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 20 (1992), 146, no. 22; see Sutton, "Pornography," 32.

68. Compare the analogous figure on Boston inv. 03.802, supra note 53.

69. Delivorrias, "Aphrodite," 117, nos. 1191–99 (with Apulian vases nos. 1200–208). Aphrodite is clearly the driver on nos. 1191 (Judgment of Paris) and 1196 (where she is named, holding the Reins of Pothos and Hedylogos [Sweet-talk]). Aphrodite seems not to be the driver on no. 1195, where she sits to the side. See Burn, *Meidias*, 26, pls. 27–29.

70. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. St. 1791: *ARV*² 1476.3; *Paralipomena*, 496; *Beazley Addenda*, 381; K. Schefold, *Untersuchung zu den Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1934), 5–6, no. 10; Delivorrias, "Aphrodite," no. 212; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 23, fig. 44; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1993.01.0384–86. Cf. Keuls's suggestion concerning our figure 15, above note 65.

71. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1927.4067: *ARV*² 1179, below; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 39, figs. 120–21.

72. M. Miller, "The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens," *Hesperia*, 58 (1989), 313–29, pls. 51–55; in nuptial context see Sutton, *Daidalikon*, 348–49, n. 50, adding the unpublished fragments of a loutrophoros or nuptial lebes in the Vlastou-Serpieri collection, *ARV*² 1179, bottom; a photograph in the Beazley Archive illustrates six joining fragments showing the groom (laureate, wearing a long chiton under *ependytes* with embroidered wreath, his cloak evidently tucked back over his shoulders) climb into the chariot, enclosing the bride between his arms as he grasps the reins; the bride (stephane, starred mantle covering the back of her head, shoulders and both hands, but open in front to reveal her chiton) gazes down at a fragmentary wreath held at her shoulder by a lost figure, most likely Eros as Beazley indicates.

73. Berlin, Antikensammlun, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. 30036: *ARV*² 1173.1; *Paralipomena*, 459; *Beazley Addenda*, 339; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, pl. viii.2, 3; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 308; Shapiro, *Personifications*, 192–95, figs. 151–54, 186. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1263: *ARV*² 1324.38; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, pl. 12.4; Crane, *Perseus* 2.0, image nos. 1992.07.0621–36.

74. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn, inv. 352; *CVA* (Bonn 1, Germany 1), pl. 15.5.

75. Reinsberg, *Ehe*, 65–66.

76. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 75.2.15: G.M.A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), fig. 42; Schefold, *Untersuchung*, pl. 49, no. 299; Hermary et al., "Eros," no. 639d, pl. 646. This is perhaps a work of the Filottrano Painter, *ARV*² 1453–55, 1694; *Beazley Addenda*, 379; cf. Boardman, *Classical Period*, figs. 416–17.

77. The couple shakes hands also on a loutrophoros, Buffalo, Museum of Science, inv. C23262, dated ca. 430–20 B.C.: Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, fig. 122, and probably also on a miniature loutrophoros in London, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 41 (1921), 143, though this is denied for the latter by G. Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89 (1985), 627–40, which mistakenly cites London, British Museum, inv. 1923.1–18.1 (*ARV*² 1103.1), where the bride's hand is wrapped in her mantle, Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 191. Reinsberg, *Ehe*, 72–76, denies that the gesture has nuptial significance in Greek art.

78. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, pl. XXIII, 1, 2.

79. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1388: *ARV*² 1317.1; *Paralipomena*, 478; *Beazley Addenda*, 363; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, figs. 87–89, omitting most of the chariot.

80. "The Country Cart of Ancient Greece," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 23 (1903), 132–51, at p. 132, n. 2.

81. Warsaw, National Museum, inv. 142290: *ARV*² 571.76; *Paralipomena*, 390; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 15–16, figs. 10–13.

82. N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1990), arguing from different evidence; L. Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93 (1989), 543–70, does not note the avoidance of male nudity in the wedding and other contexts.

83. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1972.118.148: D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New York, 1961), pls. 91, 92; Sutton, "Pornography," fig. 1.9; Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, figs. 20, 21; V. Paul-Zinserling, *Der Jena-Maler und Sein Kreis* (Mainz, 1994), pl. 63.1.

84. Private collection, formerly London, Embirikos: *ARV*² 1690, 1705; *Beazley Addenda*, 364; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler* (Mainz, 1976), pl. 140, a–d, S 101; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Eretria-Maler*, 206, n. 314; Kahil, "Helene," no. 77, pl. 305; Shapiro, *Personifications*, figs. 30, 31, 78; Christie's, *A Private Collection of Important Greek Vases*, London, April 28, 1993, 67–70, no. 30.

85. "Zeuxis, Vase Painting, and the Female Nude" (abstract), *American Journal of Archaeology*, 101 (1997), 360.

86. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. St. 1858: *ARV*² 1475.7; *Paralipomena*, 495; Delivorrias, "Aphrodite," 102, no. 933; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 391 (detail).

87. E.g., *Eros grec*, no. 41, and the lebes gamikos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1371: *ARV*² 1506.2 (also nos. 1, 3, 5–6), Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, fig. 51. Male nudes: cf. *ARV*² 1498, including no. 2 (London, British Museum inv. F138: Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 398), and *ARV*² 1503.2 (Roberts, *Attic Pyxis*, pls. 94.2, 95.2), etc.

88. Kahil, "Helene," nos. 94–96, 98.

89. London, British Museum, inv. E 424: *ARV*² 1475.4, 1695; *Paralipomena*, 495; *Beazley Addenda*, 381; P. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1961), pl.

XLVII; J. Barringer, *Divine Escorts* (Ann Arbor, 1995), pl. 84, no. 164, with chapter 4 on nuptial aspects of the subject. Sue Allen Hoyt has brought attention to a mirror image of this scene on a contemporary red-figure pelike in the Toledo Museum of Art (Ohio) attributed by R. Guy to the Painter of Athens 1472.

90. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 6471; *ARV*^{2} 1175.11; *Beazley Addenda*, 339; Delivorrias, "Aphrodite," 32–33, no. 210, pl. 24. M. Brouskari, *Musée de l'Acropole*, 117, figs. 219-20.

91. B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery (Athenian Agora XII)* (Princeton, 1970), mugs: 70–76, fig. 3, nos. 199–228, pl. 11; kalathoi: 80, pl. 13. For the Eretria Painter's scene, note 37 above.

92. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. 17370, calyx krater: *ARV*^{2} 1152.7; *Paralipomena*, 457; *Beazley Addenda*, 336; Matheson, *Polygnotos*, D7, pl. 137; Reeder, *Pandora*, no. 117.

93. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. *yu*.0.27 (St. 1929): Schefold, *Untersuchung*, no. 291, pp. 32–33, 86–87; Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements*, 188–89, no. 159, pl. VI.1; Kahil, "Helene," no. 172, pl. 322.

94. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 25.190: Richter and Hall, *Red-figured*, no. 160; Arias and Hirmer, *1000 Years*, 385, pl. 224; Boardman, *Classical Period*, fig. 394. Compare the female figures and the heads of Paris and Dionysos.

95. Schefold (*Untersuchung*, 91) suggests that fine drapery lines of her chiton have faded. Comparison with the similar figure of Pompe on the New York chous (note 94 above) suggests instead that the bodies of both Helen and Aphrodite were originally clothed in unfired added color that has flaked off the added white. Close examination reveals that the pink overpaint of Pompe's garment survives well where it is applied directly to the reserve clay, with flaking only at the edges, but did not adhere at all well to the added white of her flesh, where only traces survive, appearing slightly lighter in hue. Though these traces are interpreted as a spill by Richter, they are better explained as evidence for garments that once clothed much of Pompe's body while still allowing its form to be clearly visible in the lighter shade of the added paint. On overpaint see J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1988), 128, 140–42.

96. W.R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton, 1984).

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 8, 21, 23, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 2, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; fig. 3, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum; figs. 4, 7, 10, 19, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photography by Johannes Laurentius—4; Jutta Tietz-Glagow—7, 19a; Ingrid Geske—10; Isolde Luckert—19b); fig. 5, Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design Providence (photography by Del Bogart); figs. 6, 9, 15, 22, Indianapolis, R. Baughn and T. Hill, Photographic Services, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis (6, 22 from negatives of the author); fig. 11, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum; fig. 12, London, British Museum; fig. 13, Paris, Musée du Louvre, (photography by M. Chuzeville); fig. 14, Tampa Museum of Art; fig. 16, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum; figs. 17, 25, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; fig. 18, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; fig. 20, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn (photography by Wolfgang); fig. 24, Athens, Acropolis Museum, First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

Further Thoughts about the Necklaces with Butterfly-Shaped Pendants from the North Pontic Area

Mikhail Yu. Treister

Excavation of a Sarmatian burial in Ukraine has added another example to the series of butterfly-pendant necklaces and prompted reconsideration of their dating.

In 1982, near the village of Mikhajlovka in the Saratskij district of Ukraine's Odessa region, the Bugo-Dniester rescue expedition of the Institute of Archaeology (Kiev), headed by I.T. Chernyakov, excavated a tumulus (N 3) with a Sarmatian burial in a wooden coffin. A deceased woman, eighteen to twenty-two years old, was lying stretched out on her back, head to the north-northwest. The burial included a rich inventory: a glass jug and cups, wooden vessels, a toilet box, and various ornaments of gold and bronze.[1] A rectangular bronze mirror in a wooden frame with plaster floral decoration has already received some attention.[2]

Of special interest among the ornaments is a gold necklace with a butterfly-shaped pendant (figs. 1 and 2). This piece, certainly deserving of full publication, was briefly mentioned in the preliminary excavation report and has more recently been included in the article devoted to butterfly necklaces published by M.V. Skrzhinskaya.[3] The necklace is composed of a gold-wire chain with five oval stones in bezel settings; suspended from the largest, central setting is a butterfly-shaped pendant, which is also connected by thin chains with the two stones flanking the center one. The pendant consists of five inlays in nests decorated with granulation: a round inlay forms the head, triangular and oval ones the body of the butterfly. Two more are used for the wings. All the settings are framed with twisted wire, forming one (on the wings) or two spirals. In total there are ten inlays, eight of semiprecious stones and two of glass. The central inlay (3.3 by 2.5 cm, weighing 4.39 gr) is made of violet glass; the body of the butterfly is made of striped glass. Of the semiprecious stones, two are topaz (2.69 and 2.13 gr), three are amethyst (2.03, 2.32, and 0.39 gr), and two, in the wings of the butterfly, are onyx (0.7 and 0.7 gr).

Despite their relative rarity, necklaces of similar composition are rather well known. The current piece is the sixth in the group. The necklace now in the British Museum (fig. 3) is inlaid with sapphire, garnet, and white stone, and probably originated in Rome. It was traditionally dated to the first century A.D.,[4] although B. Deppert-Lippitz has recently suggested an earlier date in the late second to first century B.C.[5] A second necklace, in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 4), is commonly dated to the second or first century B.C. It probably originates from the rich tomb of the Olbian necropolis that was dug out by peasants in 1891.[6] Like the Baltimore necklace, the one from Mikhajlovka is composed of large stone settings. However, the butterfly pendant from the recent Odessa find has a more elaborate shape than either the London or Baltimore examples. It is, in fact, very similar to the late third-century B.C. pendant formerly in the von Gans collection, also from Olbia.[7] Perhaps from the same burial comes another necklace now in Baltimore (fig. 5), composed of beads and three medallions with inlays. The large central inlay, of oval shape, supports a pendant made of four nests with two garnet and two green stones that remotely resemble a butterfly; chains connect the two other settings with the round nests that form the wings of the "butterfly."[8] Two more necklaces come from excavations of the Chersonesos necropolis.[9] One of them (fig. 6), unearthed in 1898, with inlays of garnet and glass and evidence of several repairs, was found in a burial with a well-preserved silver coin of Domitian. The other necklace (fig. 7), from tomb 630 excavated in 1896, is also reliably dated by the burial inventory to the first century A.D.[10]

Except for the example from Rome, all the butterfly pendants are connected to their necklaces at the wings by gold chains. The most complicated manner

of attachment is exhibited by the first necklace from Olbia, where connection is made via small inlaid settings. The character of the settings in the Mikhajlovka necklace finds its closest parallel in the example from Chersonesos (1896), which has garnet, amethyst, topaz, emerald, and glass inlays, and with the necklace in the British Museum. Only the necklaces from Chersonesos (1896) and Mikhajlovka include both amethyst and topaz inlays; amethyst, emerald, rock crystal, pearl, and various glass pastes were used in the first 1891 Olbian necklace, while chalcedony, emerald, garnet, pearl, and rock crystal are found in the second Olbian piece. Garnet is often used for inlays—it seems to have been the material most favored by Bosporan gemcarvers in the first centuries B.C. and A.D.[11]

Without a special petrographic examination, it is difficult to determine with certainty the origin of the minerals used as inlays in these necklaces. Let me outline, however, some basic information about the extraction and treatment of these minerals in antiquity. The most significant source of emeralds was located in the eastern Egyptian desert, where evidence remains of ancient quarries. This Egyptian source was mentioned by Pliny, but, according to him, emeralds of better color were found in Scythia. As suggested by J. Ogden, this reference may be to Ural mines, although, with one probable exception, the characteristic inclusions of Ural emeralds are not found in ancient stones.[12] Well-dated objects with sapphire inlays are unknown in the pre-Roman epoch. In the first centuries A.D., sapphires were brought from the East, probably primarily from Ceylon, penetrating the Mediterranean via India.[13] Amethysts were mined in antiquity in various regions, including Egypt, Ceylon, the Urals, probably Cyprus, Thasos, and other places.[14] Onyx and sardonyx of fine quality were imported in the Hellenistic and Roman periods from India.[15] Particularly notable is the use of topaz, which is rather rare. Ogden, for example, states that he knows only one small topaz cameo from Roman times.[16] Also significant is the necklaces' characteristic combination of various minerals. A similar multiplicity of emeralds, almandines, topazes, agates, and glass was used as inlays in the necklace from burial 10 of the tumulus near Peschanyj, Krasnodar region, dating to the first century B.C. This necklace's use of cabochon shapes also recalls the butterfly pieces.[17] Likewise, a large, dark sapphire cabochon decorates an oval gold fibula from Kerch dated to the first to second centuries and now in the Antikensammlung, Berlin. The fibula is ornamented along its edge with inlays of garnet and

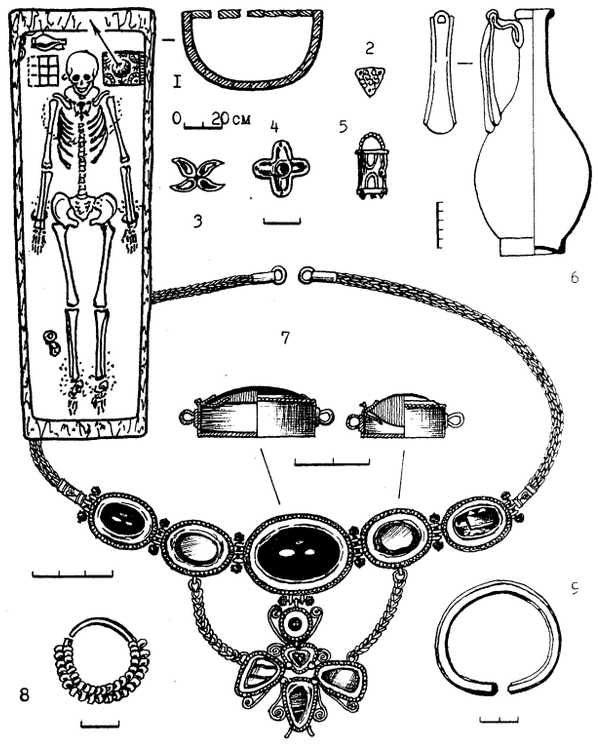


Fig. 1. Burial inventory of barrow 3, near Mikhajlovka, 1982 excavations. [From L.V. Subbotin and A.N. Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti Dnestro-Dunajskogo mezhdurech 'ya. II. Kurgannye mogil'niki Divizijskij i Belolesskij* [=Sarmatian Antiquities of the Dniester-Danubian Basin] (Kiev, 1990), 38, fig. 16.]

green glass.[18] Finally, let me point to the necklace with inlays of emeralds, aquamarines, and turquoise from Hadzhimushkaj (near Kerch) mentioned by E.H. Minns in his analysis of the Olbian and Chersonesian necklaces.[19] In every case, these comparanda point rather in favor of north Pontic manufacture of the butterfly-pendant necklaces. I will examine below how these minerals probably penetrated the north Pontic area.

If one supposes that the type of necklace under discussion developed along a course that saw the serial manufacture of inlays (of more or less standard shape and dimensions) and the simplification of both the shape of the butterfly pendant and its means of attachment, then the necklace from Mikhajlovka, which stands most closely to those from Chersonesos (1896) and Rome, could be expected to date from the first century A.D. At the same time, however, we must take into account that the necklaces may have been manufactured by craftsmen of various artistic skill. This may help to explain the discovery in the Olbian burial excavated in 1891 of two necklaces differing in execution and the degree of stylization.

Fig. 2. Necklace from Mikhajlovka. Odessa, Archaeological Museum, inv. 53982.

Is it equally possible to date the necklaces to the late second or first century B.C.? According to E. Reeder, "although the butterfly pendant necklace is unknown before late Hellenistic times, the butterfly motif is not uncommon on Hellenistic gems. Seen in the hands of Eros, the butterfly undoubtedly represented the soul, or Psyche, the erotic overtones of whose relationship with Eros were expressed in both Hellenistic art and literature."[20] Both A. Oliver and B. Deppert-Lippitz were probably unaware of the finds of similar necklaces in the necropolis of Chersonesos and based their dating of the Olbian necklaces primarily on a stylistic analysis, comparing them with such articles of Hellenistic jewelry art as the piece from Palaiokastro.[21]

Skrzinskaya likewise ignores the necklace found in the 1898 excavations of Chersonesos, considering all the other necklaces with butterfly-shaped pendants discussed to have been made in the second century B.C.—the lastest, those from the 1896 Chersonesos and recent Mikhajlovka excavations, in the late second to early first century B.C. The primary arguments in favor of the early dating are based on comparison with the necklace found in the Artyukhova barrow and on the subject necklaces' state of preservation. However, the latter argument is interpreted by Skrzhinkaya in different ways. In the case of the necklace from Chersonesos, which has signs of heavy usage during the two-century span between its supposed date of manufacture and the date of the burial, this is explained as follows: "The necklace was in use for a long time and, while it was not a part of everyday costume and was worn comparatively rarely, it arrived at its present state in the course of many decades of use." However, "the necklace from the Sarmatian barrow, in spite of its

Fig. 3. Necklace from Rome. London, British Museum, inv. 2746.

respectable age, was in a magnificent state of preservation at the time of the burial.... Belonging to a large treasury, it was carefully preserved and rarely used during the many years before it found its way into the burial."[22] I cannot but note that Skrzhinskaya's arguments are far from a true scholarly analysis.

Reeder states that the use of large cabochon stones finds parallel in the Palaiokastro necklace and those from Artyukhov barrow.[23] The shapes of the stones also compare with the glass cabochons in a diadem reputedly found in the eastern Mediterranean together with an aureus of Mark Antony of ca. 34 B.C.[24] Large oval cabochons likewise decorate the pair of gold open-work bracelets, probably though not necessarily, coming from the same Olbian burial as the necklaces.[25] At the same time, similar bracelets set with large rectangular emeralds rounded at the corners come from a tomb excavated near Eskisehir, which is dated by coins from the reign of Tiberius,[26] while a necklace with six similar emerald settings was found in a tomb in Kayseri, along with a set of precious utensils, and is dated by an aureus of Augustus of ca. A.D. 14.[27] I would also mention similar oval settings, with garnet inlay, in a gold lammelar bracelet and in a necklace with amethyst and garnet inlays (figs. 8–10), both looted from a first-century Sarmatian burial in the Crimea.[28]

Some other objects found in the Olbian burial may be dated in the first century A.D.[29] Even if the two silver bowls, at present in Hartford, date to the first century B.C.,[30] the green-glazed modiolus with the Judgment of Paris in the Pushkin Museum is still most probably a product of Asia Minor from the first half of the first century A.D.[31] That view was rather firmly established in the literature by the early 1970s, following the work of H. Dragendorff, R. Zahn, F.F.

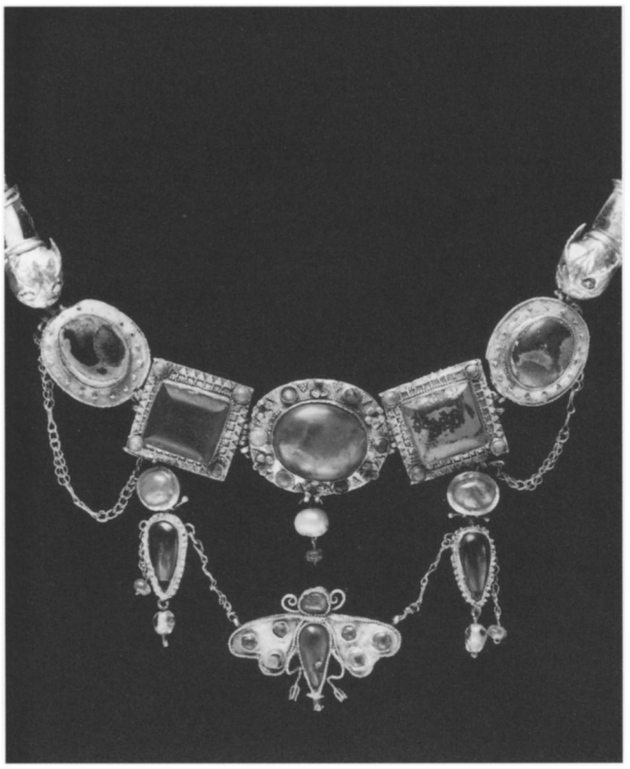


Fig. 4. Necklace from Olbia (detail). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 57.386.

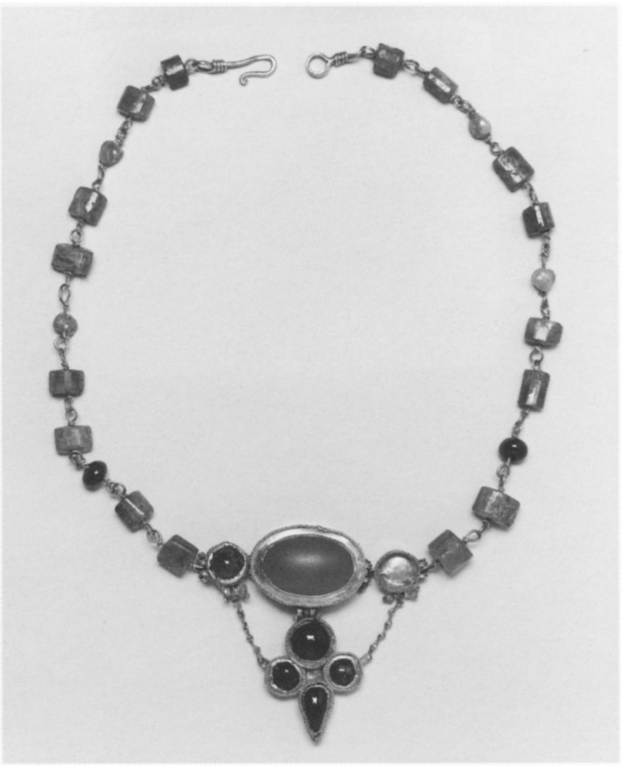


Fig. 5. Necklace from Olbia. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 57.385.

Jones, and others.[32] After the find of a similarly shaped modiolus with relief floral patterns in a burial from the eastern port of Corinth, Kenchreai, which was dated to the early first century A.D. in the preliminary publication,[33] that point of view should have been strengthened. H.S. Robinson, who devoted a special study to the piece from Kenchreai, came to the following conclusion: that the objects found in the burial may all be dated with confidence to the first half of the first century of the Christian era.[34] It is his opinion that the modioli from Kenchreai, Komotini,[35] and Olbia must have been produced in the same workshop, which was probably located in northwestern Asia Minor. An Arretine relief vessel, now in Berlin, was manufactured in the workshop of M. Perennius Tigranus and may be dated to the reign of Tiberius.[36] In 1977 A. Hochuli-Gysel's published dissertation included the modiolus from Olbia in the second group of articles manufactured in Smyrna; however, the author dated the piece to 50–20 B.C.[37] Sometimes Hochuli-Gysel's high dating finds reflection in the modern literature; so, for instance, the recent catalogue of the Antikenmuseum, Berlin, dates the modiolus from Thrace exactly to 50–20 B.C.[38] The view in favor of a later dating for that group of relief pottery was expressed by H. Gabelmann,[39] who noted in his review of Hochuli-Gysel's book[40] that the group of kalathoi with decoration in high relief, including the recent find at Kenchreai, is stylistically similar to a group of silver vessels, like the skyphoi with olive branches, from Boscoreale.[41] Unlike Hochuli-Gysel, who dated the silver vessels with high relief to the mid-first century B.C., after H.Küthmann,[42] Gabelmann prefers a date during the reign of Claudius, referring to the distinct possibility that the Boscoreale skyphoi belong to that period: on one of them is represented a divine Augustus and on the other, Tiberius (or Claudius according to another hypothesis).[43] A similar argument was used by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, who likewise rejected Hochuli-Gysel's dating.[44] Indeed, silver comparanda for the Olbia vessel are well known. In addition to the vessels from Boscoreale are the silver kalathoi from Pompeii, including the piece from Casa del Menandro.[45] Thus, the modiolus from Olbia should be dated rather to the first half of the first century A.D.[46]

The fact that several similar necklaces with butterfly-shaped pendants were found in the north Pontic area attracts attention. Different points of view have been expressed concerning the site of manufacture

Fig. 6. Necklace from Chersonesos. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. X.1898.8.

of the necklaces found in Olbia and Chersonesos: Syria or Armenia in the second to first centuries B.C.[47] The argument for Syrian manufacture was detailed by N.V. Pyatysheva, who, stating that similar necklaces were widespread in Syria, offered as evidence the necklace from the British Museum. This necklace, however, was probably found not in Syria but in Rome. Later, Pyatysheva, noting that Armenian Kings Tigran II and Artavasdes II resettled many craftsmen from the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor and Syria to centers in Armenia, suggested that most jewelry dating to the first centuries and found in Chersonesos had originated from Armenia and expressed doubt about the possibility of local goldworking in Chersonesos. This hypothesis has been already criticized in a special study of the economic relations of Chersonesos in the first centuries A.D.[48]

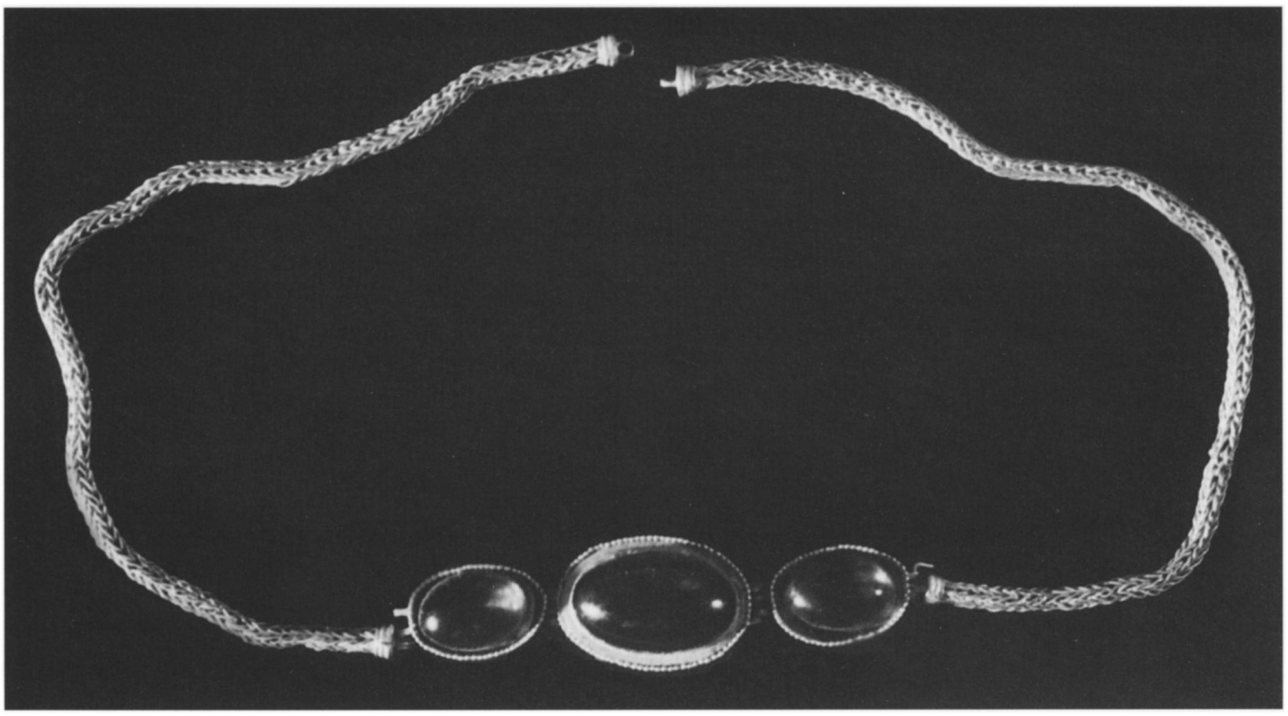
One could hardly maintain that jewelry in polychrome style could have been produced in only one center. Surely, the expansion of Greco-Roman tastes in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods led to the establishment of numerous goldworking centers, primarily in regions where such items were in demand.[49] Although Syrian workshops, certainly, were among the most important in the eastern Mediterranean (and among Syrian workshops those in Antiochia of particular note), it is difficult to accept Hellenistic culture as a single, uniform influence on the development of the jewelry art of Roman Syria. B. Deppert-Lippitz distinguishes between the Hellenistic-Roman (early) and Italo-Roman (second century A.D. and later) styles. The first was characterized by the Hellenistic naturalism of its floral and animal motifs and by the use of gold-framed colored stones in a secondary decorative role.[50] D. El-Chehadeh, looking in particular at the adoption of styles from Palmyra, questioned Deppert-Lippitz's classifications, pointing out that certain regions of the empire were characterized by particular jewelry styles.[51] At the same time, it may hardly be said that Palmyra was a goldworking center earlier than the second century A.D.[52] Given the evidence of Palmyrene stelae, Syrian women loved to wear necklaces set with large colored stones; however, these reliefs are dated not earlier than the second century A.D. and, in spite of their detailed carving, none show pendants in the shape of butterflies.[53] Besides, large oval settings are also seen on the famous mummy mask from Hawara in Fayum, now in the Brooklyn Museum.[54]

It is far from my intent to suggest that pendants in the shape of butterflies were not in use in the Hellenistic period. Two terra cotta busts of Aphrodite

Fig. 7. Necklace from Chersonesos. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. X.1896.18.

from Myrina in Asia Minor show the goddess with richly decorated necklaces and diadems. One can easily see butterfly pendants; however, they hang not from necklaces but from diadems. One of the busts, signed by Agestratos, is securely dated to the first quarter of the second century B.C. The second is most probably of the same date.[55] The find from the rich Sarmatian grave near Odessa, the fifth known in the area, proves the popularity of such necklaces in the north Pontic region and once more testifies to their use in the first century A.D. We should also take into account the butterfly pendant from the north Pontic area that was acquired by A.L. Bertier de Lagarde and donated in 1910 to the Odessa Archeological Museum,[56] as well as the necklace with a butterfly pendant that was looted from the Crimea and is now in a private collection in Russia or Ukraine.[57] Most probably these objects were manufactured in north Pontic workshops (see above).

If one accepts north Pontic manufacture of the butterfly necklaces, then the following outline of how they came to be found in Sarmatian burials seems plausible. After the Roman-Bosporan war of A.D. 45, the Scythians began military activity against Olbia and Chersonesos, as a result of which Olbia was captured in A.D. 53–54 and Chersonesos was soon besieged. However, the besieging Pharzoios, who minted gold coins in Olbia, should probably be associated not with the Crimean Scythians but, instead, with the nomadic tribes of the northwestern Pontic region. Moreover, the character of Pharzoios' relations with the city was more complex than simply that of besieger and besieged.[58] A recent find in a burial in Porogi, in the lower Dniester basin, of a series of objects with tamgas of Inismeus provides additional support for the description of these relations advanced by P.O. Karyshkovskij and M.B. Schukin. The find from Porogi, it can be argued, proves a Sarmatian (Volga-Don) origin for Pharzoios and Inismeus, associated with the coming of the Aorsi into the northwestern Pontic area in the middle to third quarter of the first century A.D.[59] Taking into account the reconstruction of Sarmatian military-political history in the first century A.D. proposed by Yu.G. Vinogradov on the basis of new archaeological and, primarily, epigraphic sources (the decree from the excavations of a medieval basilike near Mangup in the Crimea), the question of Pharzoios' ethnicity may be considered settled in favor of those scholars who regard him as Sarmatian (Aorsian) rather than Scythian. Under Pharzoios, Aorsia established a kind of protectorate over Olbia.[60] Given the obvious

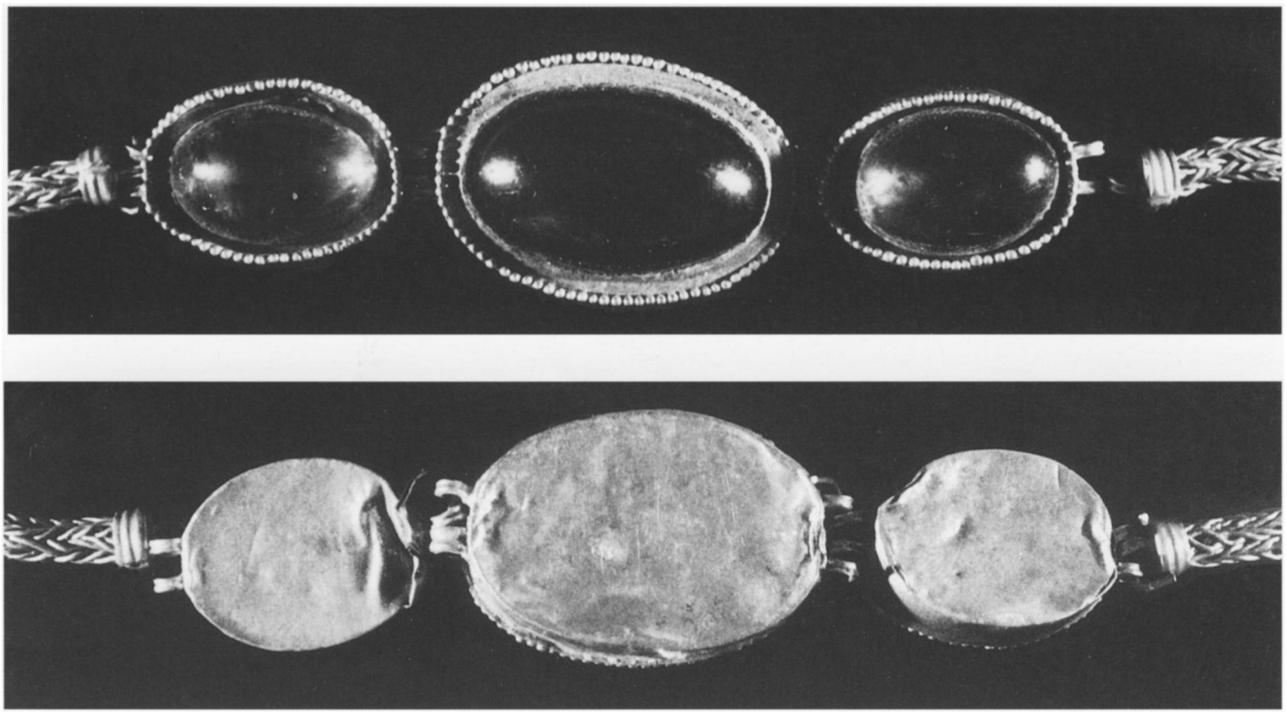


Figs. 8–10. Necklace from the Crimea. Private collection.

ethnocultural proximity in the burials near the villages of Porogi and Mikhajlovka,[61] an Olbian origin for the necklace discussed here seems quite probable. Could such workshops exist in Olbia, which was devastated in the mid-first century B.C. by the Gethae, recovering only in the course of the following century? Probably yes. Gold coins of Pharzoios, at least, were minted in Olbia from the mid or late 50s up to the 70s A.D., while the silver issue of his successor, Inismeus, is dated to the reign of Titus or Domitian, that is, in the late 70s to 80s A.D.[62]

Nevertheless one should be cautious in supposing an Olbian manufacture for the butterfly necklaces around the middle and the third quarter of the first century A.D. The fact of the matter is that the necklaces from Chersonesos were perhaps made later than those from Olbia, and were, in any case, in use up to the late first century A.D. (at least the one necklace with the signs of repair, which was found in Chersonesos in 1898). It is possible to suggest that the burial near Mikhajlovka was left by the same wave of Sarmatian tribes (the Aorsi) as the rich burial near Porogi and may also be dated to approximately the third quarter of the century.[63] This is proved, in particular, by discovery in the female burial in Porogi of a necklace whose central pendant is a highly stylized butterfly (fig. 11) and by parallels to the motif found on one of the types of sewn gold plaques from this burial.[64] Similar plaques are known from Sokolova Mogila in the south Bug basin.[65] According to G.T. Kovpanenko, such plaques occur in Sarmatian burials of the Ukraine and the Kuban river basin in the first century B.C. to first century A.D., and in cities of the north Pontic area.[66] Plaques in the shape of four curved petals with pointed ends are known from Mikhajlovka, Sokolova Mogila, and Khokhlach in the lower Don basin.[67] In addition, the faceted bracelets with widened ends from Mikhajlovka[68] find their closest comparanda from Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan.[69] In discussing the parallels with the finds from Tillya-tepe, mention should also be made of the triangular granulated gold plaques.[70] The same type plaques were found in the cache of a tumulus near the village of Dachi, in the suburbs of Azov on the northeastern shore of the modern Azov Sea (ancient Lake Maeotis), dating to the second half of the first century A.D.[71]

If one accepts that the necklace from Mikhajlovka was made by craftsmen from Chersonesos about the middle or the third quarter of the first century A.D. and, after some time, found its way to the burial of a young Sarmatian woman, there arises a question common for the interpretation of extraordinary antique imports in barbarian burials: whether they should be considered as articles of trade, war booty, diplomatic gifts, or the like.[72] Such a question is quite



natural considering the inventory of the Olbian burial excavated in 1891. So, in this vein, E.H. Minns believed that the similarity of the burial couch, gold mouthpieces, and pendant necklace to those from Chersonesos was so strong as to suggest that the burial belonged to a Chersonesite living in Olbia.[73] It is impossible to arrive at unanimous agreement on this matter. I can only mention that such a necklace was quite expensive.[74]

Let us turn to the political situation in Chersonesos during the period discussed. The city was attacked and besieged by the Scythians, from whom it was liberated by a military expedition of Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, legatus of the Roman province of Moesia.[75] Elsewhere I proposed that the plaster casts found in the late Scythian settlement at Kara-Tobe in the western Crimea were possibly used as models for the manufacture of the silver table service employed during the course of Platius Silvanus' diplomatic negotiations with the Scythians.[76] Although I understand quite well the hypothetical nature of such a proposal and risk charges of "stretching" the evidence, I would suggest that among such gifts there might also have been jewelry objects like the necklace from Mikhajlovka, which later was included in the burial of a daughter, or young wife, of one of the Sarmatian chieftains.[77] Such a suggestion does not, however, exclude other means of acquisition, including robbery, purchase, and even special manufacture on order. Given Olbian manufacture of the Mikhajlovka necklace and the character of relations between the polis and Pharzoios' Aorsia, its interpretation as a gift is quite probable. As another possible analogy I would like to mention a find of silver plate with an inscription of the Bosporan Queen Gepeperis (A.D. 37–38)[78] in the excavations of Scythian Neapolis. In light of the dependence of the Scythians on Bosporus, D.S. Raevskij explains the find through interchange with representatives of the Bosporan ruling dynasty. More convincing seems this explanation: that it was a gift of the queen during her negotiations with the Scythians or even a gift to a Scytho-Sarmatian vassal, possibly accompanying a request to render military aid in the struggle with Polemo.[79] In this connection, let me recall the unique wood and plaster mirror cover, supposedly of Bosporan manufacture, found in the burial near Mikhajlovka and mentioned above.[80] How is it possible to explain the finds of such necklaces in Olbia proper? Perhaps they could be obtained by rich citizens; one should not forget the presence, from the third quarter of the first century A.D., of Irano-Sarmatian names in Olbian prosopography, perhaps resulting from the penetration of a certain number of noble barbarians into the polis elite.[81]

Fig. 11. Necklace from a female burial in Porogi. [From A.V. Simonenko and B.I. Lobaj, *Sarmaty Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor 'ya v I v.n.e.* [=The Sarmatians of the Northwestern Pontic Area] (Kiev, 1991), 29, fig. 19,3.]

How could Olbian or Chersonesan workshops manufacturing butterfly-pendant necklaces obtain the necessary minerals, which were rather rare and mined most probably in the East (India or Ceylon)? By way of explanation I would point to the activity of the same Aorsi—who probably ordered some of the necklaces discussed—in conjunction with the long-debated passage from Strabo (XI.V.8) about the Upper Aorsi, who "led caravan trade on camels with Indian and Babylonian goods, receiving them in exchange from the Armenians and Medans." In spite of views expressed earlier, Yu.G. Vinogradov, followed by V.K. Guguev,[82] reasonably suggests that the Aorsi were not engaged in trade themselves but only conveyed caravans through the steppes of south Russia for a fee, a fee that perhaps included articles manufactured in the "gold-turquoise style." One cannot exclude the possibility that workshops manufacturing jewelry for the Aorsi received their precious and semiprecious stones in just this way from the mines of India and Ceylon.

The butterfly-pendant necklaces left a mark on the jewelry art of late antiquity. A certain reminiscence of them is seen, for example, in the large gold pendants set with oval sapphires and large pearls in the Benaki Museum, Athens. Probably originating from a hoard found in Alexandria, they were dated in the third to sixth centuries A.D. by B. Segall, and recently more closely to the fifth century A.D.[83]

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Notes

This paper is the revised version of an article published in Russian in the *Peterburg Archaeological Herald*, 4 (1993), 87–95. For the photographs of the necklaces reproduced here, the author is grateful to Drs. Lyudmilla Nekrasova (State Hermitage Museum), Sergej Okhotnikov (Archaeological Museum, Odessa), Ellen Reeder (Walters Art Gallery), Alexander Simonenko (Institute of Archaeology of the Ukraine, Kiev), and Dyfri Williams (British Museum).

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Case from the Sarmatian Burial near the Village of Mikhajlovka], in G.A. Dzis-Rajko, ed., *Pamyatniki drevnego iskusstva Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya* [=Monuments of Ancient Art of the Northwestern Pontic Area] (Kiev, 1986), 124–34 (in Russian).

3. Subbotin and Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti*, 21, no. 16, fig. 16,7; see also a photograph published in L.P.B. Stefanelli, *L'oro dei Romani gioielli di eta imperiale* (Rome, 1991), no. 116 (M.Yu. Treister), fig. 297. M.V. Skrzhinskaya, "Iz istorii antichnykh yuvelirnykh ukrashenij" [=From the History of Antique Jewelry Ornaments], *Rossijskaya arkhaeologiya* [Russian Archaeology], 1 (1994), 20, 23, fig. 2,1.

The necklace is in the Archaeological Museum in Odessa, inv. 53982. Length 41.5 cm. The total weight is 82.43 gr, those without the inlays in gold nests, 65.89 gr (916 probe); the total weight of inlays in gold framing (900 probe) is 16.54 gr.

4. F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London, 1911), no. 2746; B. Pfeiler, *Römischer Goldschmuck der ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach datierten Funden* (Mainz, 1970), 102, pl. 30; *Jewellery through 7000 Years* (London, 1976), 115, no. 161; R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), 179, pl. 55B; T. Hackens, ed., *Gold Jewelry: Craft, Style and Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinople [Aurifex 5]* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983), 62, fig. 5, 67; Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 20, 23, fig. 21,1. See also the complete bibliography in Stefanelli, *L'oro dei Romani*, no. 115, fig. 163.

5. B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck* (Mainz, 1985), 284 f., fig. 216.

6. A.V. Oreshnikov, "Zametki o drevnostyakh, najdennykh v Parutino v 1891 g." [=Notes on the Antiquities Found in Parutino in 1891], *Drevnosti* XV.2 (1894), 1–13; E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), 406. See bibliography: B. Pfeiler-Lippitz, "Späthellenistische Goldschmiedearbeiten," *Antike Kunst*, 15.2 (1972), 108 f., pl. 31; A. Oliver, Jr., "The Olbia Treasure," in *Jewelry: Ancient to Modern* (Baltimore, 1979), 94 f., no. 281; *Objects of Adornment: Five Thousand Years of Jewelry from the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1984), no. 49; see also Hackens, ed., *Gold Jewelry*, 62, fig. 5; Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck*, 283, 286, fig. 215; E.D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1988), 236–37, no. 132; cf. M.V. Skrzhinskaya, "O datirovke gruppy ukrashenij iz Severnogo Prichernomor'ya" [=About the Dating of the Group of Ornaments from North Pontic Area] in *Problemi istorii ta arheologii davnjogo naselenija Ukrainskoj RSR* [=Problems of History and Archaeology of the Ancient Population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] (Kiev, 1989), 209–10 (in Russian); M.V. Skrzhinskaya, "Kostyum olviopolitov ellinistichnoj doby" [=The Costume of the Olbiopolites of the Hellenistic Period], *Arkheologiya*, 4 (1990), 39–40 (in Ukrainian); Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 19, 21, fig. 1,2 (first half of the 2nd century B.C.); and J. Boardman, ed., *Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford, 1993), 187, no. 182b.

7. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechische Kunst* (Basel, 1960), no. 602; H. Hoffmann and P.F. Davidson, *Greek Gold from the Age of Alexander* (Mainz, 1965), no. 51. Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 19, 22, fig. 1,4.

8. Pfeiler-Lippitz, "Späthellenistische Goldschmiedearbeiten," 108 f., pl. 31; Oliver, "Olbia Treasure," 96, no. 282 [= *Objects of Adornment*, no. 50]; Deppert-Lippitz, *Griechischer Goldschmuck*, 283, 286, fig. 215; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 238, no. 133. B. Musche, *Vorderasiatischer Schmuck zur Zeit der Arsakiden und der Sasaniden* (Leiden, 1988), 148–49, no. 5.4, pl. xliii.

9. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. X.1896.18; *Comptes-rendu de la Commision Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersbourg* (1896), 76, fig. 323 (burial 630); Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 407; E.O. Prushevskaya, "Khudozhestvennaya obrabotka metallov (torevtika)" [=Artistic Treatment of Metals (Toreutics)] in V.F. Gajdukevich and M.I. Maximova, eds., *Antichnye goroda Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* [=Antique Cities of the North Pontic Area] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), 352 f., fig. 43 (in Russian); G. Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Applied Arts* (Leningrad, 1974), 138, no. 148; *Khudozhestvennoe remeslo epokhi Rimskoj imperii. Katalog vystavki. Gosudarstvennyj Ermitazh* [=Artistic Craft of the Period of the Roman Empire], (Leningrad, 1980), no. 141 (in Russian); Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 20, 22–23, fig. 2,1. About the inventory of tomb 630, see also G.D. Belov, *Khersones Tavricheskij* [=Tauric Chersonesos] (Leningrad, 1948), 143, 145 (in Russian).

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. X 1898.8; *Comptes-rendu de la Commision Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersbourg* (1898), 121 f. (tomb 1009, urn 5); Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 408; N.V. Pyatysheva, *Yuvelirnye izdeliya Khersonesa (konets IV v. do n.e. - IV v.n.e.)* [=Jewelry of Chersonesos (Late 4th Century B.C.–4th Century A.D.)] (Moscow, 1956), 36 f. (in Russian); *L'art russe des Scythes à nos jours. Trésors des musées soviétiques*, (Paris, 1967), no. 150; G. Charrière, *Die Kunst der Skythen* (Paris, 1971), 335.

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16. Ibid., 111.

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19. *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage* (St. Petersburg, 1854), pl. X, 3; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 408.

20. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 237.

21. Pfeiler-Lippitz, "Späthellenistische Goldschmiedarbeiten," 108 f.; Oliver, "Olbia Treasure," 94 f.

22. Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 20–23.

23. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 238, no. 133.

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25. See e.g., Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 234–35, no. 131.

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31. N.A. Sidorova, O.V. Tugusheva, and V.S. Zabelina, *Antichnaya raspisnaya keramika iz sobraniya GMII imeni A.S.Pushkina* [=Antique Painted Pottery from the Collection of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts] (Moscow, 1985), no. 78 (in Russian). The shape of modiolus was elaborated already in the Archaic and Classical periods and was widely used by the Romans in the early Imperial period. See E. Pemberton, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery*, Corinth, XVIII.1 (Princeton, 1989), 19–25; J.H.C. Kern, "Römische Modioli des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Mnemosyne*, 4th ser., 16 (1963), 400–405; E. Künzl, "Der augusteische Silbercalathus im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 169 (1969), 328 f.

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44. L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, "Vases à glasure plombefière (Anne Hochuli-Gysel, *Kleinasiatische glasierte Reliefkeramik),*" *Bulletin antieke beschaving*, 54 (1979), 192.

45. L.P.B. Stefanelli, *L'argento dei Romani* (Rome, 1991), no. 25, 48–50, 69.

46. *Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens. Meisterwerke griechische Kunst* (Zurich, 1993), 176–77, no. 86.

47. Pyatysheva, *Yuvelirnye izdeliya Khersonesa*, 37, 79–80; Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast*, 138; Skrzhinskaya, "O datirovke," 209–210; idem, "Kostyum olviopolitov," 39–40; and idem, "Iz Istorii," 23–24.

48. V.I. Kadeev and S.B. Sorochan, *Ekonomicheskie svyazi antichnykh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya v I v. do n.e. - V v.n.e.* (na materiale Khersonesa) [=Economic Relations of the Antique Cities of the North Pontic Area in the 1st Century B.C.–5th Century A.D.] (Kharkov 1989), 9 (in Russian).

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56. Skrzhinskaya, "Iz Istorii," 20, 22, fig. 2,4 (mid-second century B.C.).

57. The author was able to see a photograph in the spring of 1997.

58. M.B. Shchukin, "Tsarstvo Frazoya. Epizod iz istorii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya" [=The Kingdom of Pharzoios. An Episode from the History of North-Western Pontic Area], *Soobshcheniya Ermitazha* [=Bulletins of the State Hermitage Museum, 47 (1982), 35–37 (in Russian); idem, *Rome and the Barbarians in Central and Eastern Europe (Ist Century B.C.–Ist Century A.D.)*, British Archaeological Reports, int. ser., 542 (Oxford 1989), 332 f.; idem, *Na rubezhe er* [=On the Turn of the Erae] (St. Petersburg, 1994), 212–18; P.O. Karyshkovskij, "Ol'viya i Rim v I v.n.e." [=Olbia and Rome in the 1st Century A.D.], in A.V. Gudkova, ed., *Pamyatniki rimskogo i srednevekovogo vremeni v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor'e* [=Monuments of Roman and Medieval Period in the Northwestern Pontic Area] (Kiev, 1982), 23; idem, *Monety Ol'vii* [=Coins of Olbia] (Kiev, 1988), 115 (all in Russian).

59. A.V. Simonenko, "Iz istorii vzaimootnoshenij Ol'vii i sarmatov v I v.n.e." [=On the History of Interrelations of Olbia and the Sarmatians in the 1st Century A.D.], in B.A. Raev, ed., *Antichnaya tsivilizatsiya i varvarskij mir v Podon'e-Priazov'e* [=Classical Civilization and the Barbarian World in the Don-Azov Region] (Novocherkassk, 1987), 54–56; idem, "Farzoios i Inismeus—Aorsi ili Alany?" [=Pharzoios and Inismeus—the Alani or the Aorsi?], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 3 (1992), 148–62; A.V. Simonenko and B.I. Lobaj, *Sarmaty Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya v I v.n.e.* [=The Sarmatians of the Northwestern Pontic Area] (Kiev, 1991), 86 f., 90 f. (all in Russian).

60. O.E. Puzdrovs'kij, "Krims'ka Skifiya v kintsi II st. do n.e.-persh. pol. III st.n.e." [=Crimean Scythia in the Late 2nd Century B.C.–First Half of the 3rd Century A.D.], *Arkheologiya*, 4 (1992), 130 (in Ukrainian); Yu.G. Vinogradov, "Ocherk voenno-politicheskoj istorii sarmatov v I v.n.e." [=An Essay on the Military-Political History of the Sarmatians in the 1st Century A.D.], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 2 (1994), 166–69 (in Russian); V.M. Zubar, "Ol'viya, sarmaty i Rim vo vtoroj polovine I v." [=Olbia, Sarmatians, and Rome in the Second Half of the 1st Century], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 3 (1994), 218–22; V.A. Sidorenko, "Fragment dekreta rimskogo vremeni iz srednevekovoj baziliki pod Mangupom" [=A Fragment of a Decree of the Roman Period from the Medieval Basilica near Mangup], in A.I. Ajbabin, ed., *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* [=Materials on the Archaeology, History, and Ethnography of the Tauride] (Simferopol', 1996), 35–59 (in Russian).

61. Simonenko and Lobaj, *Sarmaty*, 56 f., 74; A.V. Simonenko, review of V.I. Grossu, "Khronologiya pamyatnikov sarmatskoj kul'tury Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ya (Kishinev, 1990)" [=Chronology of the Monuments of the Sarmatian Culture of the Dniester-Prut Interfluve], *Arkheologiya*, 2 (1990), 156.

62. Karyshkovskij, "Ol'viya i Rim," 14 f., pl. I; idem, "O monetakh tsarya Farzoya" [=About the Coins of King Pharzoios], in *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya*, 78 f. (in Russian); idem, *Monety Ol'vi*, 108–115, 119.

63. Simonenko (review of Grossu, "Khronologiya," in *Arkheoligiya*, 2 [1990], 156) dates it to the late first century A.D.

64. Simonenko and Lobaj, *Sarmaty*, 29 f., fig. 19, 3; 56, ill. 25. On p. 56 it is erroneously stated that the necklace with the butterfly-shaped pendant was found in Pantikapaion. See cross-shaped plaques: Simonenko and Lobaj, *Sarmaty*, 29, fig. 19, 4a; cf. Subbotin and Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti*, 38, fig. 16, 4.

65. G.T. Kovpanenko, *Sarmatskoe pogrebenie I v.n.e. na Yuzhnom Buge* [=Sarmatian Burial of the 1st Century A.D. in the South Bug Basin] (Kiev, 1986), 39 f., fig. 39, 10–11 (in Russian).

66. See Kovpanenko, *Sarmatskoe pogrebenie*, 145, nn. 27–28; *Comptes-rendu de la Commision Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersbourg* (1896), 88, fig. 347; M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), 131, fig. 17; Prushevskaya, "Khudozhestvennaya," fig. 57.

67. Subbotin and Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti*, fig. 16,3; cf. Kovpanenko, *Sarmatskoe pogrebenie*, 40, fig. 39,9; I.I. Tolstoj and N.P. Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva* [=Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art] V. III (St. Petersburg, 1890), fig. 165 (in Russian).

68. Subbotin and Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti*, fig. 16, 9.

69. Simonenko and Lobaj, *Sarmaty*, 74; Simonenko, review of Grossu, "Khronologiya," in *Arkheoligiya*, 2 (1990), 156.

70. Subbotin and Dzigovskij, *Sarmatskie drevnosti*, 38, fig. 16,2; V.A. Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold* (Leningrad, 1983), no. 1, 9, ill. 22; see also *Gold and Silver Auction* II, Taisei Gallery, Ancient to Renaissance, New York, 5 November 1992, no. 178 (plaques from eastern Afghanistan).

71. *Treasures of Nomadic Tribes*, no. 127; E.I. Bespalyj, "Kurgan sarmatskogo vremeni u g. Azova" [=A Burial Mound of the Sarmatian Period near Azov], *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* [=Soviet Archaeology], 1 (1992), 179, fig. 3,15 (in Russian).

72. See S.I. Kaposhina, "Svyazi sarmatskikh plemen Nizhnego Podon'ya so Sredizemnomor'em v I v. do n.e. i pervye veka nashej ery" [=The Relations of the Sarmatian Tribes of the Lower Don Basin with the Mediterranean in the 1st Century B.C. and 1st Centuries A.D.], in T.V. Blavatskaya, ed., *Antichnoe obshchestvo* [=Classical Society] (Moscow, 1967), 147; V.V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdeliya v Vostochnoj Evrope* [=Roman Imports in Eastern Europe] (Moscow, 1970), 5–7; V.P. Shilov, *Ocherki po istorii drevnikh plemen Nizhnego Povolzh'ya* [=Essays in History of Ancient Tribes of the Lower Volga Basin] (Leningrad, 1975), 165 f.; L.S. Klejn, "O kharaktere rimskogo importa v bogatykh kurganakh sarmatskogo vremeni na Donu" [=About the Character of Roman Imports in the Rich Barrow-Mounds of the Sarmatian Period in the Don Basin], in V.G. Borukhovich, ed., *Antichnyj mir i arkheologiya* [=Classical World and Archaeology] (Saratov, 1979), 219 (all in Russian); B.A. Raev, *Roman Imports in the Lower Don Basin, British Archaeological Reports*, int. ser., 286 (Oxford, 1986), 69.

73. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 421.

74. Cf. J.E.G. Whitehorne, "A Reinterpretation of BGU IV 1065," *Anagennesis*, 3.2 (1983), 331–39.

75. See e.g.: V.N. D'yakov, "O kkupatsiya Tavriki Rimom v I v.n.e." [=The Occupation of the Tauride by Rome in the 1st Century A.D.], *Vestnik drevnej istorii [=Journal of Ancient History*, 1 (1941), 92; V.I. Kadeev, *Khersones Tavricheskij v pervye veka n.e.* [=The Tauric Chersonesos in the First Centuries A.D.] (Kharkov, 1981), 20; V.D. Blavatskij, "O rimskikh vojskakh na Tavricheskom poluostrove v I veke nashej ery" [=About the Roman Troops in the Tauric Peninsula in the 1st Century A.D.], in V.D. Blavatskij, *Antichnaya arkheologiya i istoriya* [=Classical Archaeology and History] (Moscow, 1985), 231 (all in Russian); V.M. Zubar, "Pro pokhid Plavtiya Sil'vana v Krim" [=About the Expedition of Plautius Silvanus in the Crimea], *Arkheologiya* (Kiev), 63 (1988), 19–27 (in Ukrainian); T. Sarnowski, *Wojsko rzymskie w Mezji Dolnej i na polnocnym wybrezu Morza Czarnego* [=Roman Troops in the Lower Moesia and the Northern Coast of the Black Sea] (Warsaw, 1988), 137–38 (in Polish).

76. S.Ju. Vnukov, S.A. Kovalenko, and M.Ju. Trejster, "Moulages en plâtre de Kara-Tobe," *Revue archéologique*, 1 (1990), 27–50.

77. Cf. the conclusion of Yu.G. Vinogradov ("Ocherk voenno-politicheskoj," 167–68) that the Aorsi, during the period of the disturbances in the northwestern Pontic area in the 60s A.D., were struggling on behalf of Olbia and the Romans of Plautius Silvanus.

78. The plate belongs to the type that features masks, animals, and Dionysiac attributes along the edge; cf. the plates in Belgrade (I. Popovic, *Antique Silver from Serbia* [Belgrade, 1994], 110, no. 201), in Paris, and in Vienna (F. Baratte and K. Painter, ed., *Trésors d'orfeverie gallo-romaine* [Paris, 1989], no. 103), usually considered of Alexandrine manufacture and dated not earlier than the second half of the first century A.D. The plate from Neapolis allows us to date the origin of this type to at least the second quarter of the first century.

79. See D.S. Raevskij, "K istorii skifo-grecheskikh otnoshenij (II v. do n.e. - II v.n.e.)" [=Toward a History of Scytho-Greek Relations (the 2nd Century B.C.–2nd Century A.D.)], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 1 (1973), 115; cf. I.V. Yatsenko, "Tarelka tsaritsy Gepeperii iz Neapolya Skifskogo" [=The Plate of the Queen Gypeperis from the Scythian Neapolis], in D.A. Avdusin and V.L. Yanin, eds., *Istoriko-arheologicheskij sbornik* [=Historico-Archaeological Collection of Articles] (Moscow, 1962), 113; T.N. Vysotskaya, *Neapol'—stolitsa gosudarstva pozdnikh skifov* [=Neapolis—the Capital of the Late Scythian State] (Kiev, 1979), 139 f. (all in Russian); Puzdrov'skij, "Krims'ka Skifiya," 129; cf. Yu.G. Vinogradov, "Polemon, Khersones i Rim" [=Polemo, Chersonesos, and Rome], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 3 (1992), 139 (in Russian); idem, "Ocherk voenno-politicheskoj," 163–64.

80. Sorokina, Dzigovskij, and Triester, "Bronzovoje zerkalo," 124–34; and Treister, in Stefanelli, *L'oro dei Romani.*

81. A.S. Russyaeva, "Do istorii vzaemobiznosin Ol'vii z sarmatami" [=Toward a History of the Interrelations of Olbia with the Sarmatians], in *Problemi istorii ta arheologii*, 192 f., cf. P.O. Karyshkovskij, "Novye Ol'vijskie posvyasheniya pervykh vekov n.e." [=New Olbian Dedications of the First Centuries A.D.], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 1 (1993), 73–96 (in Russian); Vinogradov, "Ocherk voenno-politicheskoj," 168–69. About Chersonesan-Olbian economic relations in the first century A.D., see Kadeev and Sorochan, *Ekonomicheskie svyazi*, 77–78.

82. V.K. Guguev, "Kobyakovskij kurgan (k voprosu o vostochnykh vliyaniakh na kul'turu sarmatov I - nachala II v.n.e." [=Kobyakovo Barrow-Mound (On the Oriental Influence to the Sarmatian Culture of the 1st–Early 2nd Century A.D.)], *Vestnik drevnej istorii* [=Journal of Ancient History], 4 (1992), 127 (in Russian); Vinogradov, "Ocherk voenno-politicheskoj," 161, n. 64.

83. B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten. Museum Benaki* (Athens, 1938), 147–49, n. 230, pl. 46; A. Bromberg, *Gold of Greece: Jewelry and Ornaments from the Benaki Museum* (Dallas, 1990), 72, 110, pl. 52.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 2, Odessa, Archaeological Museum; fig. 3, London, British Museum; figs. 4, 5, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 6, 7, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; figs. 8–10, author, fig. 11, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures (photograph A.V. Simonenko).

Rediscovering the Licinian Tomb

Katherine M. Bentz

In 1902 Henry Walters made a remarkable addition to his already large art collection: seven Roman sarcophagi in near pristine condition. These sarcophagi, along with portrait busts and funerary altars, were uncovered in the Licinian Tomb in Rome between 1884 and 1885. Although these objects have been researched thoroughly since the excavation, the tomb itself has received little scholarly attention. Using excavation reports and tracing the provenance of the tomb's objects, this paper details the context in which the objects were found, thus permitting an examination of the original structure and organization of the ancient tomb.

Seven Roman sarcophagi displayed in the Walters Art Gallery were once among the rich finds in the Licinian Tomb, discovered in Rome between 1884 and 1885. The Licinian Tomb became famous immediately for these well-preserved sarcophagi and for the altars and portrait heads it contained—but not for the rooms from which these objects were taken. Indeed, the excavation of the tomb better resembled a treasure hunt than an archaeological study: the found objects went to those who first claimed them, stolen goods were sold on the black market, and museum owners scrambled to acquire what remained. Although some of the most prominent archaeologists in nineteenth-century Rome made reports of the excavation, they recorded little of the tomb's architecture or interior decoration.

For decades since the excavation, either for lack of information or lack of interest, scholars have neglected to explore how the Licinian Tomb may have appeared in antiquity, focusing instead upon the objects found. Yet the original structure and organization of the tomb is vital for an understanding of the mausoleum as a whole: without their original context, it is impossible to appreciate fully the significance of the Licinian sarcophagi, altars, and portraits as both funerary furnishings and works of art.

A re-examination of the tomb's excavation and the subsequent fate of its contents uncovers clues of the Licinian Tomb's original appearance. Comparing these clues with Roman tombs similar in date and content indicates a continuity in tomb construction and object placement, ultimately revealing the appearance of the Licinian Tomb in antiquity.

Modern context

Prior to 1870, papally controlled Rome participated little in the industrial and scientific revolution sweeping western Europe: health and education standards were low, unemployment and poverty were high, and deteriorating buildings and roads built in earlier centuries constituted much of the city. In 1871 Rome became the capital of the newly formed Italian state, instigating the modernization and renovation of the entire city: old streets were repaired and new ones created, the sewer system revamped and the Tiber River re-embanked, and historic buildings were remodeled or replaced by new constructions for the government offices, businesses, and citizenry relocating to Rome. These reforms caused such upheaval, observers likened it to that of earlier centuries:

> Rome has become a whitewashed sepulchre. The houses, and even the ancient and revered palaces, are coated with white; the rust of centuries is scraped away.... This transformation of the sacred city into secular, is the reverse of the time when, with a like enthusiasm, pagan Rome transformed herself into a spiritual city.... Ancient Rome is vanishing. In the course of twenty years the world here will be a new one.[1]

As a part of the city's renewal, many of the large villa estates on the northeastern edge of Rome were developed into modern streets and residences. The fervor of new construction uncovered many archaeological

Fig. 1. Location of the Licinian Tomb. [From R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, (rpt. Rome, 1990), detail of sheet III.]

discoveries; digging foundations for new buildings unearthed hundreds of ancient Roman sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural remains. Among the discoveries in this area was the burial complex of the Licinii and Calpurnii Pisones family, also known as the Licinian Tomb. The tomb was found on land formerly belonging to the Villa Bonaparte, located between the Porta Salaria and Porta Pia, and between via Salaria and the Aurelian Wall (fig. 1).

The Villa Bonaparte—today called the Villa Paolina—was an eighteenth-century villa built upon a vineyard in use during the preceding two centuries.[2] From 1815 to 1824, Pauline Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon, owned and lived in this villa. After her death, the property passed to various family members, and finally to Prince Napoleon Carlo in 1854. Gradually Prince Carlo and his family divided and sold the villa grounds to commercial developers for the building of new homes and for the widening of the via Salaria (today known as via Piave).[3]

During new construction in this area, crews unearthed a series of sepulchral chambers containing first-century altars, second- and third-century sarcophagi, and a group of portrait heads assigned to the first and second centuries. Because of inscriptions on the found altars, the entire complex was identified as the mausoleum of the first- through third-century patrician descendants of two famous Roman *triumvirs*, Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great) and Marcus Licinius Crassus (fig. 2).

The families of these two men became linked through the marriage of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi pontifex (great-great grandson of Crassus) to Scribonia (great-great granddaughter of Pompey). Direct descent from powerful rulers provided the Calpurnii Pisones and Licinii families with a strong connection to the imperial throne.[4] To emphasize their political heritage, the couple named their firstborn Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus after Pompey; this name proved threatening to Emperor Caligula, who forbade the boy to use his surname.[5] Cnaeus Pompeius increased his family's political clout by marrying Antonia, the daughter of the emperor Claudius in A.D. 41.[6] With this union, Cnaeus Pompeius gained entry into government office

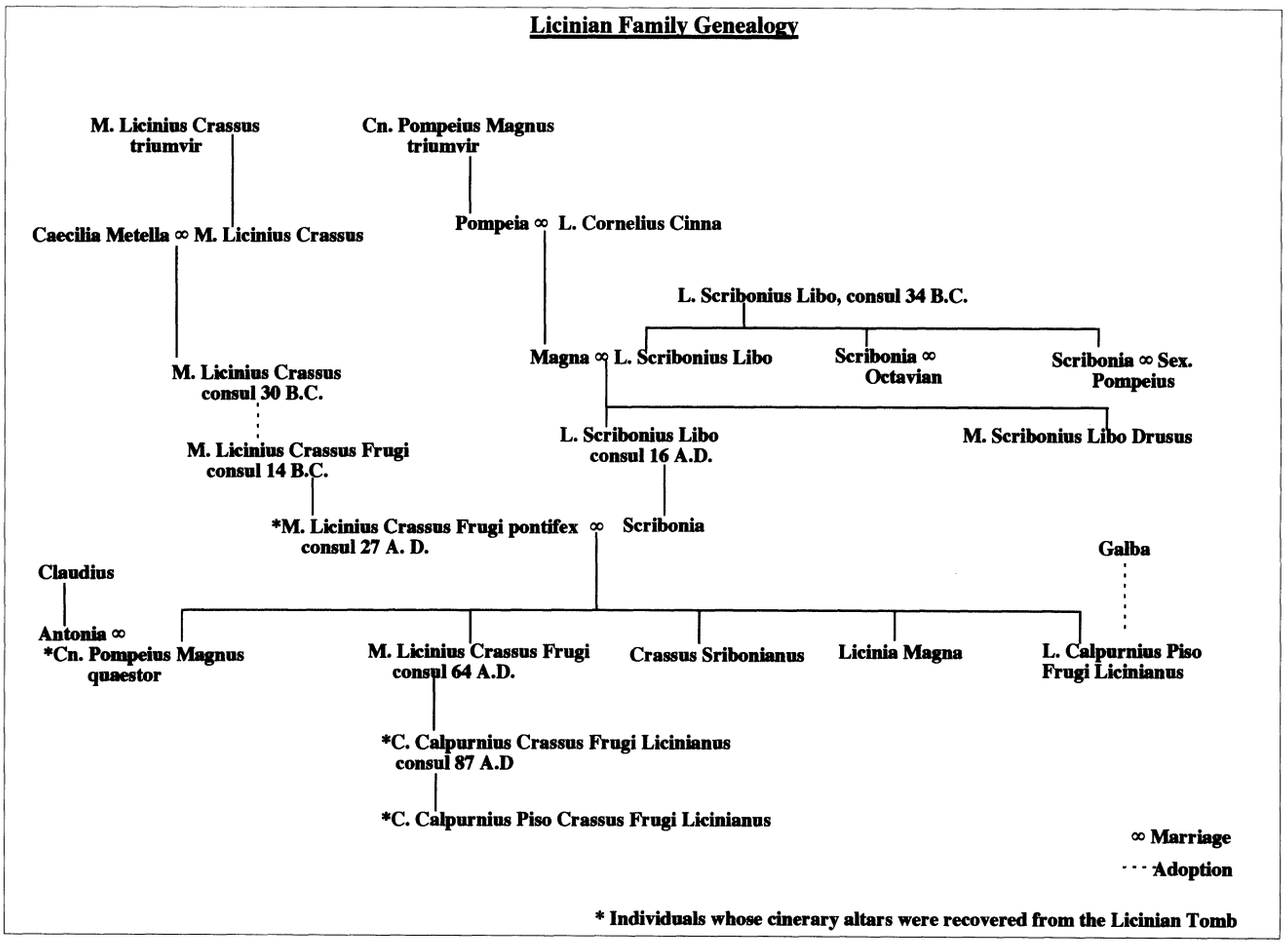


Fig. 2. Licinian family genealogy. [Adapted from D. Boschung, "Überlegungen zum Licinergrab," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 101 (1986), 262.]

years earlier than was customary.[7] But only six years later, Claudius saw Cnaeus Pompeius as competition for the throne and ordered the execution of Cnaeus Pompeius and his parents in 47.[8]

The three remaining sons of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi pontifex and Scribonia were subsequently exiled. One son, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, returned to serve as *consul ordinarius* in 64 but was executed for treason in 67.[9] The third son, Licinius Crassus Scribonianus, declined an offer of the throne and was killed during the power struggles of 69.[10] That same year Galba ensured his claim as ruler via family legacy through the adoption of the final son, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus.[11] Piso was killed by Galba's enemies several days later.

C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus, a later descendent of the family, served as consul in 87 but was put to death by Hadrian for participating in a conspiracy against Nerva and Trajan. In later years, the clarity of the family line fades. Only one name surfaces as a possible descendant of the Calpurnii Pisones during the second and third centuries: Calpurnius Piso Frugi, senator from 260 to 261. Sent by Macrianus II to defeat Valens II in Achaea, this man supposedly claimed the throne for himself before he was executed by Valens's men.[12]

Excavation

A series of official excavation reports, published between 1884 and 1885, describes the archaeological discoveries on land near the Villa Bonaparte, then owned by the Banca Italiana.[13] In December of 1884, Giuseppe Fiorelli, direttore generale di Antichità e Belle Arte, reported in the *Notizie degli Scavi di antichità* the discovery of a room "plain and crude, not having an appearance of serving as a tomb."[14] The room (hereafter known as Chamber A), measuring 3.60 by 1.50 m, was 6 m below the ground surface and lay 17 m from the via Salaria (fig. 1). Inside were various sculptural fragments and fragments of "five or six" cippi (small cinerary altars), four of which were reassembled on site. Fiorelli included in his report

Fig. 3. Cinerary altar of C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78166.

Fig. 4. Cinerary altar of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78162.

inscriptions from six of the altars, each naming a descendant of the Licinii and Calpurnii Pisones (figs. 3–5; cat. nos. 1–7).[15] He also reported that three of the cippi were stolen from the grave chamber but were later returned to the owner, the Banca Italiana.[16]

Wilhelm Henzen's January 1885 report in the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* included three of the same cippi inscriptions Fiorelli published, along with a prosopographical study of each name; the remaining three were published by Enrico Stevenson in the February issue of the same journal.[17] Stevenson's account of the location and measurements of the room are similar to Fiorelli's: the cippi were found during the construction of a new house, on the former Villa Bonaparte estate, at a depth of 6 m, 15 m from the modern via Salaria.[18] In addition to the cippi, Stevenson described the room as containing fragments of marble sculpture and architectural decoration, a small *genii* sarcophagus, and an empty cinerary urn without an inscription.[19] Stevenson speculated that the room may have held additional hidden treasure. He also noted that the walls of the room were recognizably those of a sepulchral chamber—contrary to Fiorelli's observation.[20]

Furthermore, Stevenson enumerated several cippi inscriptions and inscription fragments referring to the Licinii and Calpurnii Pisones. These inscriptions, bearing the names of relatives and freedmen of the family, had been discovered in the vicinity of the Villa Bonaparte prior to the 1884–1885 excavation of Chamber A.[21] From these inscriptions, Stevenson deduced that, perhaps as late as the second century, tombs of the family's slaves and freedmen were built surrounding the family burial chamber.[22]

The Licinian Tomb's Chamber A was also described in letters written by Wolfgang Helbig, a German art dealer in Rome, to his employer Carl Jacobsen, director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. Helbig's letter of August 20, 1887, suggested that Jacobsen purchase twelve first-century portrait busts that were found in the same room holding the cippi (Chamber A) and three busts from a room found later in the

same area (figs. 15–17; cat. nos. 19–34).[23] He described Chamber A as resembling a *"tablinum,"* with niches framed by small pillars and pediments for displaying portrait busts, like marble versions of the wax *imagines maiorum* displayed in the Roman home. In a letter to Jacobsen dated December 1, 1887, Helbig again described Chamber A as littered with architectural fragments of small columns and pediments.[24] Like the "official" reports of Fiorelli and Stevenson, Helbig also wrote of the theft of cippi from Chamber A, but according to Helbig these items had been stolen by workmen and sold to the Polish Count Tyszkiewicz in Paris and later returned to the director of construction for the Banca Italiana and director of the excavation, Clemente Maraini.[25]

In February 1885, Fiorelli reported the discovery of a second grave chamber (Chamber B) during the construction of a new home near the former Villa Bonaparte.[26] This room lay 10 m from the street and 8.10 m below the ground surface, but Fiorelli did not record the dimensions of the chamber. He did report that excavators found brick stamps dating to the Antonine era in the masonry construction. Of greatest interest to Fiorelli were seven marble sarcophagi found within the chamber: one undecorated and destroyed on site, and six displaying relief sculpture but no inscriptions (figs. 6–11; cat. nos. 9–15).[27] Furthermore, a worn coin of Antoninus Pius was found in one of the sarcophagi (fig. 11; cat. no. 15).[28] Because of the physical proximity to Chamber A with its cippi inscriptions, Fiorelli had no doubt that these sarcophagi belonged to later descendants of the Pisonii Frugi and Licinii families.[29]

In March 1885, in the same area, Fiorelli reported the discovery of a third chamber (Chamber C) containing three marble sarcophagi with more refined and elaborate reliefs, but again with no inscriptions (figs. 12–14; cat. nos. 16–18). Near the Victory sarcophagus lay a first-century portrait head in Greek marble depicting a young beardless man, thought to have been attached originally to a statue.[30] Also found in this chamber was a skeleton, 1.65 m long, surrounded by "yellow earth."[31]

Fig. 5. Funerary altar of Licinia Crassi. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78161. [From W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), 41, fig. 27.]

A letter written on March 12, 1885, by Lamberto de Angelis Berretti, the Guardia delle Antichità, to archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani also discussed the excavation of Chamber C: he described the Victory sarcophagus, the discovery of the male portrait head and skeleton reported by Fiorelli, and added to the room's inventory a coin of Caracalla with a quadriga on the reverse.[32]

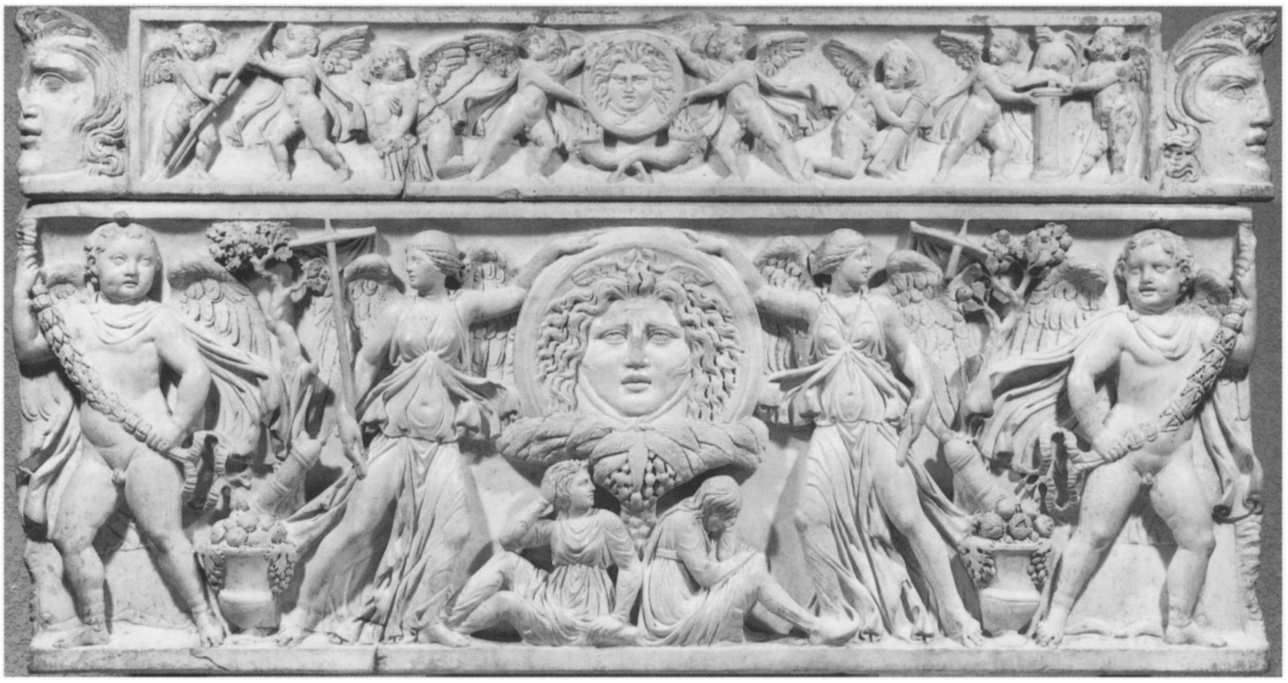
With excavation director Clemente Maraini's permission, the Ecole française de Rome published a preliminary report of the Licinian Tomb excavation along with photographs of six of the sarcophagi from the tomb chambers in the April 1885 issue of *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*.[33] This report mentions the discovery of the cippi and the sarcophagi in the tomb complex, and adds to the contents some sculptural fragments and coins of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Claudius Gothicus.

Rodolfo Lanciani reported the discovery of Chambers B and C in the foundations of 29 via di Porta Salaria, although his accounts are somewhat inconsistent with Fiorelli's reports. Writing in 1885 and again in 1892, Lanciani confused the contents of the three tomb chambers: he located all of the cippi and urns in a smaller "first room" (Chamber A) and placed all ten of the sarcophagi in "the second room" (Chamber B), which was "much larger and better decorated."[34]

Additionally, Lanciani's map of the area on Sheet III of *Forma Urbis Romae* confuses the origins of the tomb contents. In the three adjoining rooms of the plan, the smallest room is empty, two sarcophagi appear against a front enclosure wall, and eight sarcophagi line the walls of the larger chamber (fig. 1).[35]

Lanciani's inventory of the findings in the tomb complex, however, do concur with earlier reports. The tomb objects were displayed in the Palazzo Campanari on the via Nazionale after the excavation: "six cippi with inscriptions of the highest historical interest, two cippi without inscriptions, ten finely sculptured marble sarcophagi, some heads and

Fig. 6. Garland sarcophagus. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 441. Fig. 7. Griffin sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.35. Fig. 8. Garland sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.29. Fig. 9. Thiasos sarcophagus. Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 1303. [From *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture* (Rome, 1979–1985), 1.8, 263.] Fig. 10. Childhood sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.33. Fig. 11. Leucippidae sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.32.



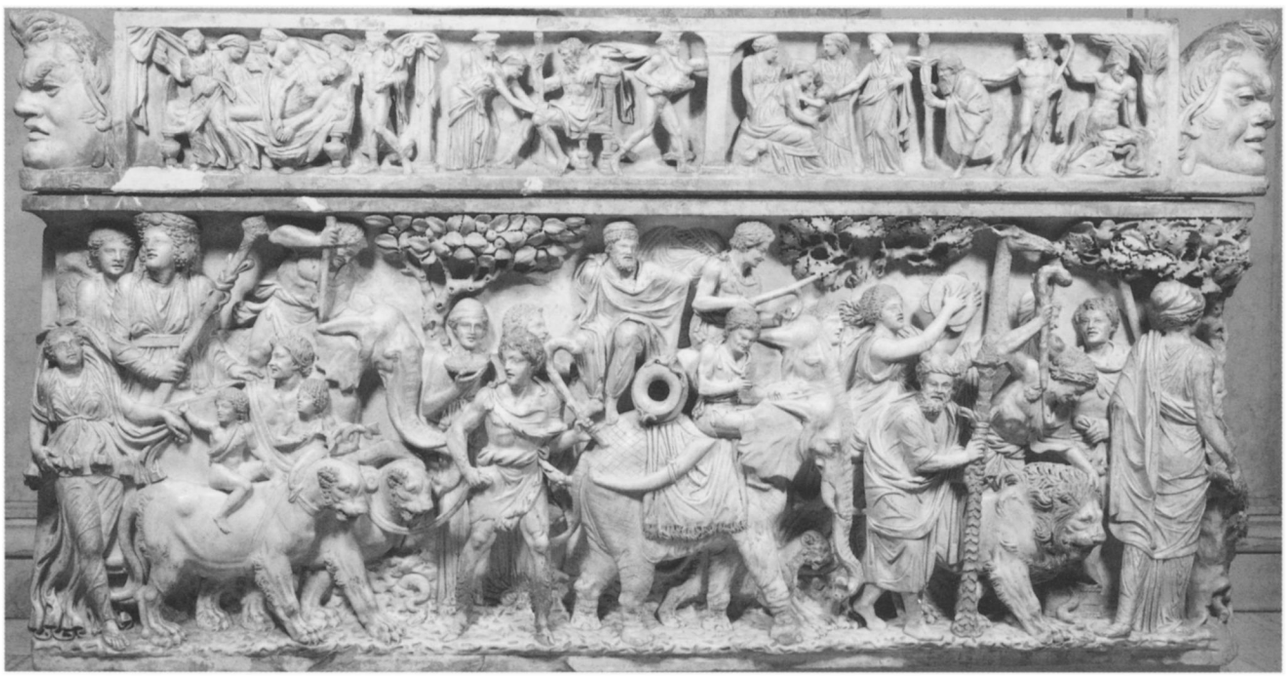


Fig. 12. Victory sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.36. Fig. 13. Triumph sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.31.

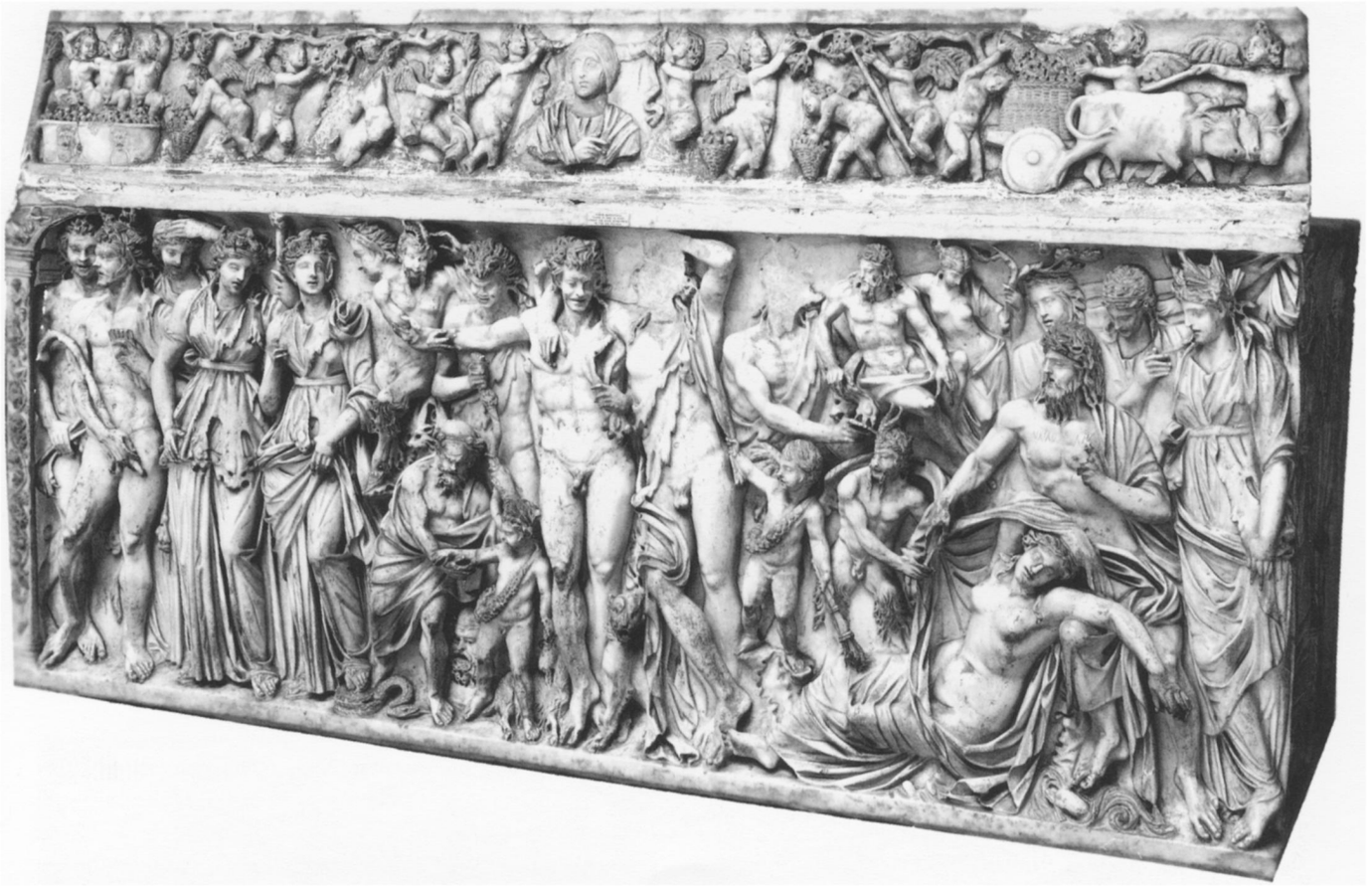


Fig. 14. Ariadne sarcophagus. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.37.

busts, coins of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Claudius Gothicus, stucco bas reliefs, terra cottas, and etc."[36] In this same passage, Lanciani mentions rumors about other objects found in the excavation of the tomb, such as a two-foot bronze statue stolen by workmen and sold to a Russian count and a life-sized marble statue found but re-buried under the foundation of one of the new houses along the via Salaria.[37]

Inventory and provenance

Cippi

The original excavation of Chamber A in December of 1884 was headed by the building contractor for the Banca Italiana, Clemente Maraini (1838–1905). A passionate collector of ancient art, Maraini took the cippi to the garden of his house on via Balbo shortly after their discovery.[38] They were still there in 1905 when Walter Altmann published photographs of them in his book, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*.[39]

Maraini died later that year, and the cippi passed to his son, Clemente Maraini II, who in 1914 moved them to his new home on the via Giovanni Battista de Rossi, outside the Porta Pia.[40] In 1920 he bequeathed the seven Licinian cippi (figs. 3–5; cat. nos. 1–7) to the Museo Nazionale Romano in memory of his parents, who had years before given the museum several cippi of *equites singulares* found in northeastern Rome.

Sarcophagi

Maraini also supervised the discovery of the two successive burial chambers and their contents in February and March of 1885. The sarcophagi, along with other materials from the tomb, were displayed briefly at the Palazzo Campanari after the excavation.[41] Shortly thereafter Maraini added the sarcophagi to the collection of cippi at his home on via Balbo, where the Ecole française de Rome photographed six of the unpublished sarcophagi standing in his garden.[42] According to the *Mélanges* report, Maraini intended to publish these sarcophagi himself, but he never completed the project.

It is unclear whether Maraini also laid claim to the coins and other tomb contents, for after 1885 there is no mention of the coins, the cinerary urn, stucco reliefs, or terra cottas.[43] The fate of the *genii* sarcophagus

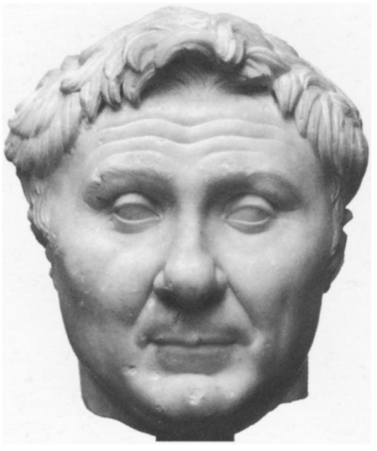


Fig. 15. Portrait of Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 733. Fig. 16. Portrait of a Roman lady. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 747. Fig. 17. Portrait of Lucius Verus as a child. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 787.

found with the cippi (recorded by Stevenson) in 1884 and of the skeleton found in Chamber C in 1885 is also unknown. Although the published excavation notes, as well as Lanciani's reports, list ten sarcophagi found in the tomb, the lone uncarved sarcophagus from Chamber B has not survived.

Carl Jacobsen was very interested in acquiring Maraini's sarcophagi for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and expressed this to Helbig. Writing to Jacobsen on September 7, 1887, Helbig responded to his inquiries, stating that Maraini owned twelve sarcophagi found in the tomb complex—although the official report listed only ten.[44] Along with the ten found in the tomb, Helbig counted the *genii* sarcophagus mentioned by Stevenson in 1884 and another sarcophagus allegedly from the tomb, which Jacobsen purchased later from the dealer Martinetti (via Helbig).[45] In the same September 7, 1887, letter, Helbig described the discovery of the sarcophagi, noting that four "better examples" came from "the third room, (more internal)"—Chamber C. Helbig assured Jacobsen he would "keep an eye" on these four sarcophagi, but his hesitation to "rush" into negotiations led to their passing into other hands.[46]

Fig. 18. Bust of the wife of Quintus Haterius, from the tomb of the Haterii. Vatican, Museo Lateranense.

The Licinian sarcophagi remained at Maraini's home until 1892 and then, according to Lanciani, were moved to 9 via della Mercede.[47] Sometime after 1892,[48] Maraini sold the nine extant sarcophagi to a Vatican priest in Rome, Don Marcello Massarenti, papal almoner and a collector of Renaissance paintings and antiquities. At that time, Massarenti lived in an apartment in the courtyard of San Damaso in the Vatican and stored his paintings in the nearby Accoramboni Palace on Piazza Rusticucci and via Regia Alexandrina.[49] Ludwig Pollak, a Czech art dealer in Rome and a friend of Massarenti, noted that the sarcophagus collection was stored in a warehouse on via di Porta Angelica—the property of the Vatican.[50] The sarcophagi remained in Massarenti's collection for several years: the sarcophagi, along with a group of paintings, were discussed in an exhibition catalogue of the collection in the Palazzo Accoramboni in 1897.[51]

In an unpublished letter of January 14, 1897, Helbig wrote Jacobsen describing the circumstances surrounding the sarcophagi in Massarenti's

possession, explaining they had been in the priest's apartments the previous winter (1896).[52] When Helbig inquired as to why the sarcophagi would not be passed to the Vatican Museum, Massarenti reluctantly explained that a misunderstanding had arisen in which Pope Leo XIII assumed the sarcophagi were his property and expected to will them to his nephew. After the pope's death, however, Massarenti retained the sarcophagi in his collection.

But as the century came to a close, the aging Massarenti desired the sale of his collection and obtained exportation permission from the Italian government by giving some artworks to government-run galleries and donating a large sum of money to a national museum fund.[53] The Museo Nazionale Romano retained a bronze head dating to the Claudian period from the Massarenti collection and two of the Licinian sarcophagi, documented in the museum inventory of 1900 (figs. 6 and 9; cat. nos. 10 and 13).[54]

In the spring of 1902, Henry Walters, a wealthy art collector from Baltimore, traveled to Europe to view possible additions to his collection.[55] It was during this trip abroad that Walters saw the paintings and antiquities of Don Marcello Massarenti. In April Walters purchased the Licinian sarcophagi along with the entire Massarenti collection for one million dollars, an outrageous sum in 1902.[56] His representative in the contract negotiations was Emile Rey, an associate of Paris dealer Jacques Seligmann; Dr. J.H. Senner, a former New York Commissioner of Immigration, represented Massarenti.[57]

The collection was crated and shipped on the S.S. *Minterne* from Civitavecchia, the port of Rome, arriving in New York on July 12, 1902.[58] The shipment consisted of 275 crates and included the sarcophagi.[59] After their arrival, the crates were transported to a warehouse for a thorough investigation.[60] Today the seven Licinian sarcophagi owned by Massarenti are an important part of the Roman art collection in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (figs. 7, 8, and 10–14; cat. nos. 11, 12, and 14–18).

Portraits

Fiorelli's report in the *Notizie degli Scavi* recorded the discovery of a lone male portrait from Chamber C.[61] As mentioned earlier, a letter to Rodolfo Lanciani from Lamberto de Angelis Berretti dated March 12, 1885, confirmed the discovery of this single male portrait. Wolfgang Helbig, however, described Chambers A and C as containing several portraits, and his description is supported by Stevenson's *Bullettino dell'Instituto* publication, which among the inventory of Chamber A lists "marble fragments of the best work" and speculates that in addition to the cippi the room held many more "precious souvenirs."[62] Lanciani also included "some heads and busts" in his inventory of the tomb contents, corroborating Helbig's description of Chambers A and C as containing several portraits.[63]

Because the portraits were not inventoried in Fiorelli's official reports of the excavation, Helbig's letters must serve as the principal source for the provenance of the portrait busts found in the Licinian Tomb. Helbig's first letter mentioning the portraits, dated August 20, 1887, presented them to Jacobsen as a possible acquisition. After describing Chamber A as a "*tablinum*," he listed twelve Julio-Claudian portraits from Chamber A and three second-century portraits from the "second room" (cat. nos. 19–31). According to his description, the tomb had three adjoining chambers and contained cippi and sarcophagi. Everything else, including the portraits, he wrote, had been stolen at night by workers and sold to his Polish friend, Count Michel Tyszkiewicz.[64]

On September 17, 1887, Helbig again wrote to Jacobsen, asking Jacobsen to keep his name secret in the sale of the portraits. Maraini wanted to publish the tomb and its contents and often asked Helbig's advice; thus it seems Helbig was concerned about being involved in the sale of items stolen from an excavation directed by his friend and colleague Clemente Maraini.[65]

Then, in a letter of December 1, 1887, Helbig described the tomb site and the discovery of the portraits in more detail, reassuring Jacobsen of the provenance of the busts.[66] In this letter, Helbig quoted the chief worker of the excavation, who testified that "many busts were found in the first room, three in the second."[67] Helbig then explained how the busts came to Count Tyszkiewicz: Eliseo Borghi, Roman art dealer, sold four of the stolen busts to the count. This sale prompted Helbig to visit the tomb himself, observing the interior as a "*tablinum*," and comparing the portrait placement to that in the Tomb of the Haterii (fig. 18).[68] After the ruckus caused by the stolen cippi, Borghi and another dealer (whose name Helbig refused to divulge) were more discreet in selling to the count the remaining busts that the workmen had stolen and hidden nearby.

In the end, Jacobsen purchased a total of sixteen busts said to have come from the Licinian Tomb (figs. 15–17; cat. nos. 19–31). He acquired thirteen of these busts in 1887 and a fourteenth in 1891 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.[69] A fifteenth bust was purchased from an engineer involved with the construction along the via Salaria.[70] Finally, Jacobsen acquired a sixteenth portrait from Tyszkiewicz in Paris in 1897.[71]

Ancient context

Topography

Turn-of-the-century buildings and the widened via Piave (formerly the via Salaria) now occupy the area surrounding what once was the Licinian Tomb and have obscured the tomb itself, prohibiting a more thorough topographical investigation today. Thus a reconstructive study of the tomb must rely on a close study of excavation documents and comparison to other known group tombs located in Rome.

In 1887 the discovery of several hundred Roman military graves, Christian tombs, and funerary inscriptions between the modern via di Porta Pinciana and via Piave indicated that this area of ancient Rome was a cemetery.[72] Rodolfo Lanciani speculated that "high roads" crossing this burial ground were "lined with mausolea belonging to historical families."[73]

Among these "historical families" were the Licinii and Calpurnii Pisones. Dietrich Boschung proposes that the Licinian family owned land east of the via Salaria to the via Nomentana, part of the ancient gardens surrounding Rome to the east and west in the first century A.D., and that they used their garden land as a cemetery for themselves and their freedmen.[74] Boschung's theory is based upon epigraphical evidence: the discovery near the Villa Bonaparte of several funerary inscriptions referring to the Licinian and Calpurnian families; the grave of Q. Sulpicius Maximus (whose parents were the freedmen of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in A.D. 64) near the Porta Salaria; and a cippo used by the emperor Vespasian as a boundary marker, dividing the properties of the Scribonianus and Piso Frugi.[75] It is on this property the Licinian family built its mausoleum.[76]

Tomb plan and chronology

All reports of the excavation locate Chamber A of the Licinian Tomb approximately 15 to 17 m away from the via Salaria, roughly opposite the intersection of the modern via Belisario, about 140 m before the Porta Salaria (fig. 1).[77] The chamber façade most likely faced the street, as did other known group tombs of imperial Rome: for example, the second- to third-century necropoleis of San Pietro and Isola Sacra, the second-century Tomb of the Medusa near the Porta Viminalis, and the Valerii and Pancratii tombs on the via Latina south of Rome.[78] Chamber A was rectangular in plan, measuring 3.60 by 1.50 m.[79]

There are no published measurements for Chamber B, but Fiorelli indicated that it lay 10 m from the street. If Chamber B communicated with Chamber A, it must have extended between 5 and 7 m beyond the walls of Chamber A—a reasonable length for a room holding seven sarcophagi each over a meter long and all but one more than a half-meter wide (cat. nos. 9–15). Lanciani himself described the room containing sarcophagi as "much larger" than the first room, perhaps supporting a length of 5 to 7 m for Chamber B.[80] Chamber B was most likely rectangular in plan, measuring more than 2 to 3 m wide—at least 5 m to allow for movement within the tomb (fig. 25).[81] That Chamber B (containing second-century sarcophagi) was closer than Chamber A (containing first-century altars) to the via Salaria is not unusual: in both the cemeteries of San Pietro and Isola Sacra, tombs of a later date were built closer to the street than those of an earlier date (fig. 20).[82]

Margherita Guarducci has pointed out that Fiorelli never described Chambers A and B as connecting, stating instead that Chamber B lay "a short distance" from A.[83] "A short distance" is at best a vague description, however, and does not in any way exclude the possibility of A and B connecting. Guarducci also believes the difference in depth measurement between the two chambers (2.10 m) eliminates the possibility that the two rooms communicated.[84] Her argument overlooks the use of the area surrounding the tomb as a vineyard as early as the sixteenth century (and perhaps it was used agriculturally centuries before) and as a landscaped villa garden in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Centuries of working this land, together with the gradual slope of the terrain toward the Pincian Hill to the west, would have greatly altered the original ground surface. Therefore, nineteenth-century measurements from the surface cannot be used to ascertain the levels of the two chambers relative to each other. That Chambers A and B connected on the same level during antiquity thus remains a plausible reconstruction.

Neither depth measurements nor area measurements were given for Chamber C in the original excavation report, but whether Chamber C connected with Chamber B has never been disputed.[85] Like the first two rooms, Chamber C must have been square or rectangular in plan, as this was the most common tomb chamber shape in imperial Rome.[86] The walls of Chamber C would have measured at the least 5 by 2.75 m in length to accommodate its three sarcophagi, each over 2 m long and 1 m wide (cat. nos. 16–18; fig. 25). Because the sarcophagi contained in Chamber C dated later than those in Chamber B, J.B. Ward-

Perkins assumed Chamber C was constructed almost fifty years later than B.[87] Following the development patterns of the cemeteries of San Pietro and Isola Sacra, Chamber C would have been closer to the via Salaria than Chamber B based on its later construction date.

By determining the locations and room dimensions for Chambers A, B, and C, the chronology of the construction of the Licinian Tomb—the first step in understanding the mausoleum as a whole structure—becomes clear. Although some scholars, particularly Guarducci and Boschung, have made strong arguments against the possibility that the three rooms connected, Helbig's contemporary description of the site is supported by Lanciani's reliable reports. Lanciani described the cippi, sarcophagi, and busts as coming from the same tomb, "the richest and most important tomb discovered in Rome, since 1870."[88] Since both men reported having visited the site personally, their accounts of the chambers as one tomb must not be disregarded.[89]

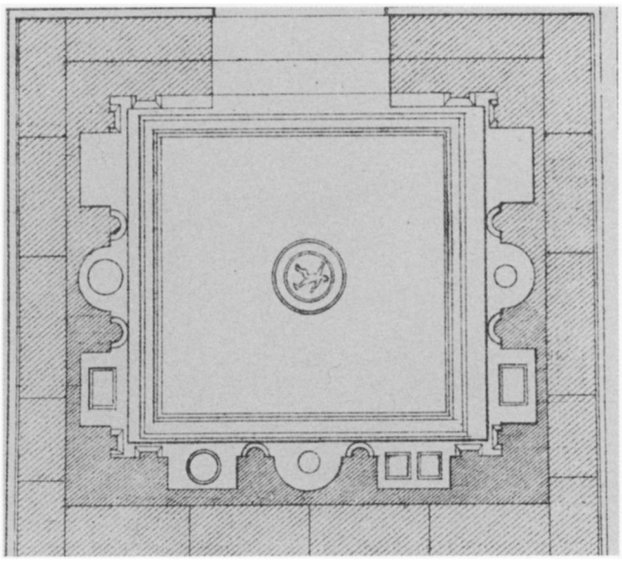


Fig. 19. Plan of the tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus. [From R. Lanciani, *Notizie degli Scavi* (1880), table I.]

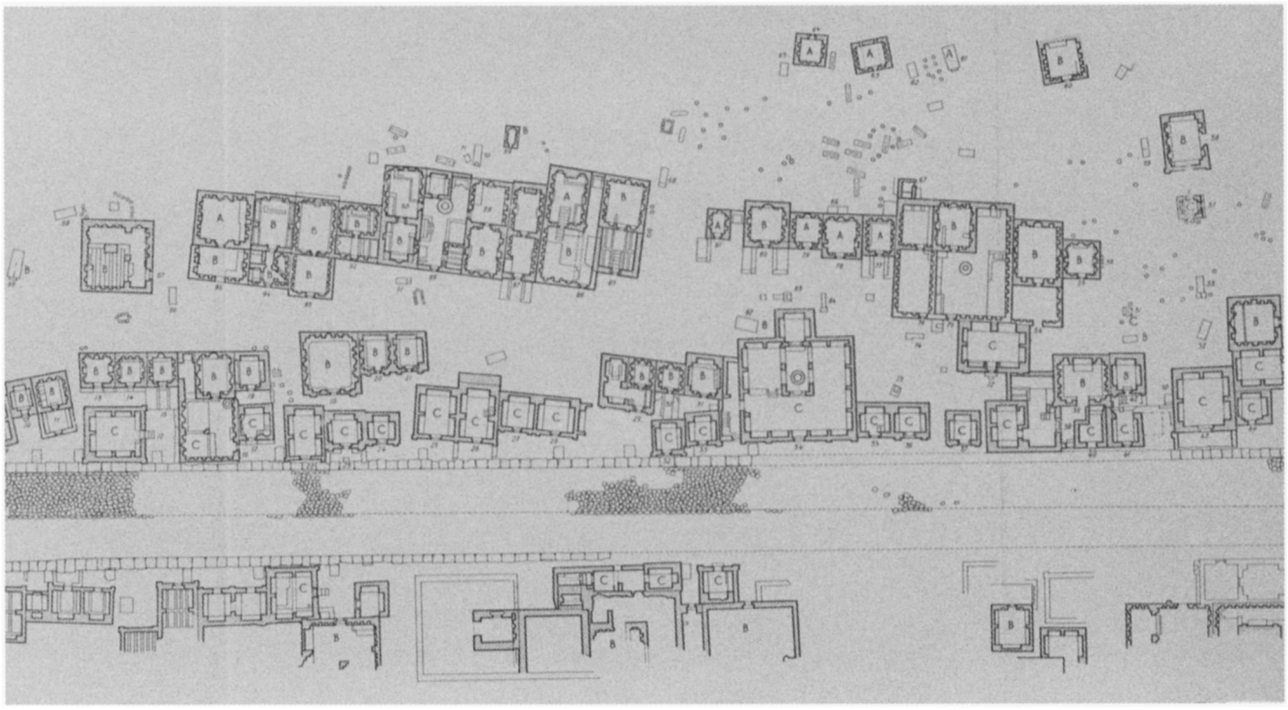


Fig. 20. (above) Site plan of the necropolis of Isola Sacra. [From G. Calza, *La Necropole del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), table III.]

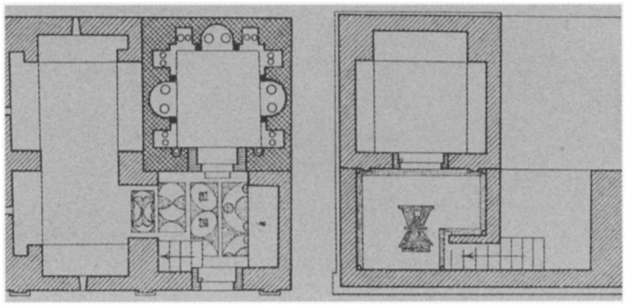


Fig. 21. (right) Plan of Isola Sacra tomb 29. [From G. Calza, *La Necropole del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), fig. 27.]

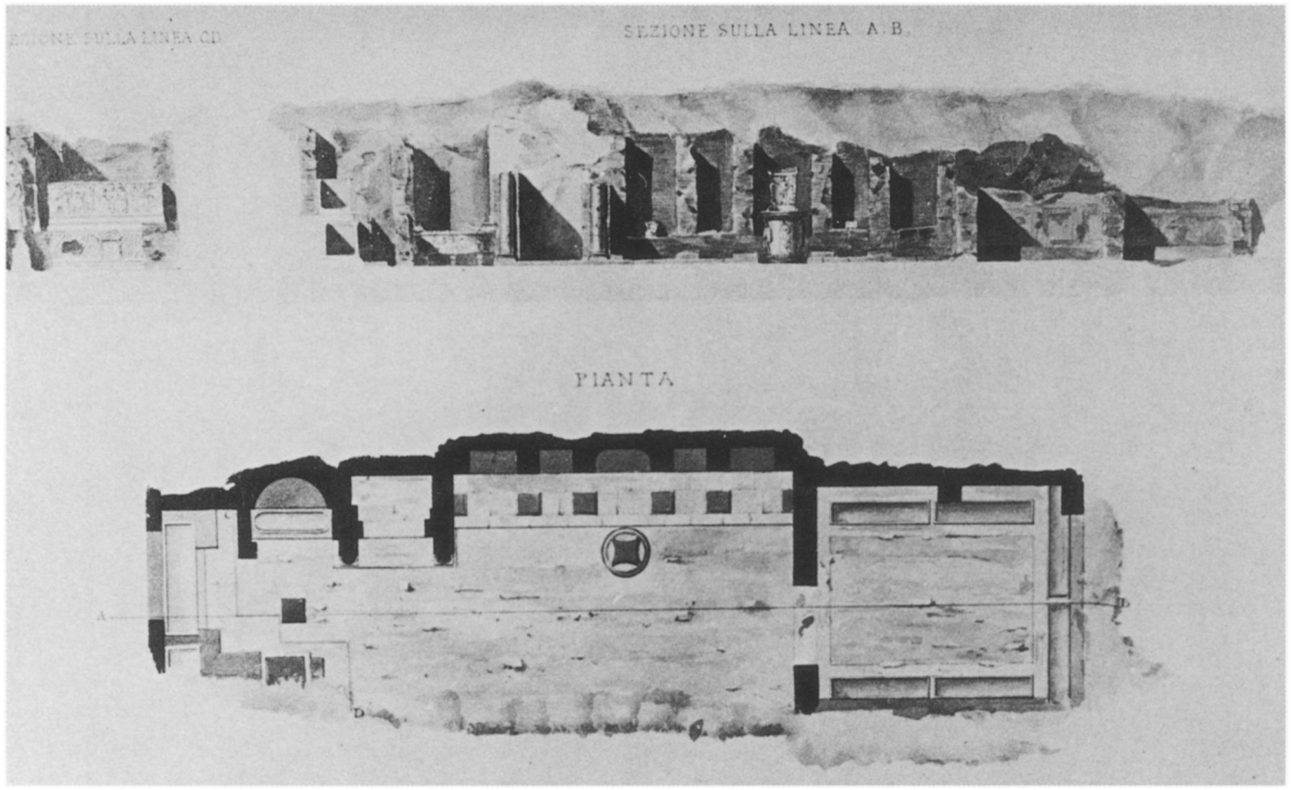


Fig. 22. Plan of the tomb of the Vigna Casali. [From R. Santolini-Giordani, *La Collezione di Villa Casali di Roma* (Rome, 1989), fig. 19.]

Chamber A, which contained cippi of the first century, clearly was the first of the three to be built. Judging by the date of the earliest altars, Chamber A was prepared to receive burials by at least A.D. 47.[90] It shares certain similarities with the first-century A.D. tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus, discovered in Rome in 1880 and now standing reconstructed in the Museo Nazionale Romano.[91] Both tombs were built strictly for the cremation burials of successive generations of the same family, and both held urns and portrait sculpture.[92] Because of their similarity in purpose and date, it is not difficult to imagine that Chamber A in some way resembled the tomb of Platorinus (fig. 19). The interior of the tomb of Platorinus (4.46 by 4.12 m) measured slightly larger than that of Chamber A, but like the tomb of Platorinus, Chamber A would have been an independent structure. Also like the Platorinus tomb, Chamber A's exterior would have been faced with ashlar masonry and adorned with a decorative cornice, both popular elements in tomb architecture during the first century A.D.[93]

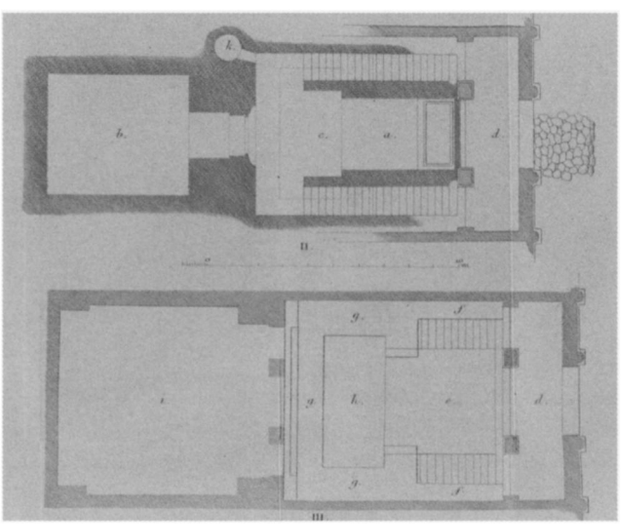


Fig. 23. Plan of the tomb of the Valerii on the via Latina. [From E. Petersen, *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (1860), table O.]

In any case, the Licinian Tomb's Chamber A was built long before Chamber B, reported to contain the brick stamps of the Antonine period.[94] Chamber A held not only first-century altars and portraits, but also second-century altars and a *genii* sarcophagus described as dating much later than the cippi.[95] This evidence would suggest that Chamber B, which contained sarcophagi of Hadrianic or slightly later date, was built onto Chamber A by later generations in

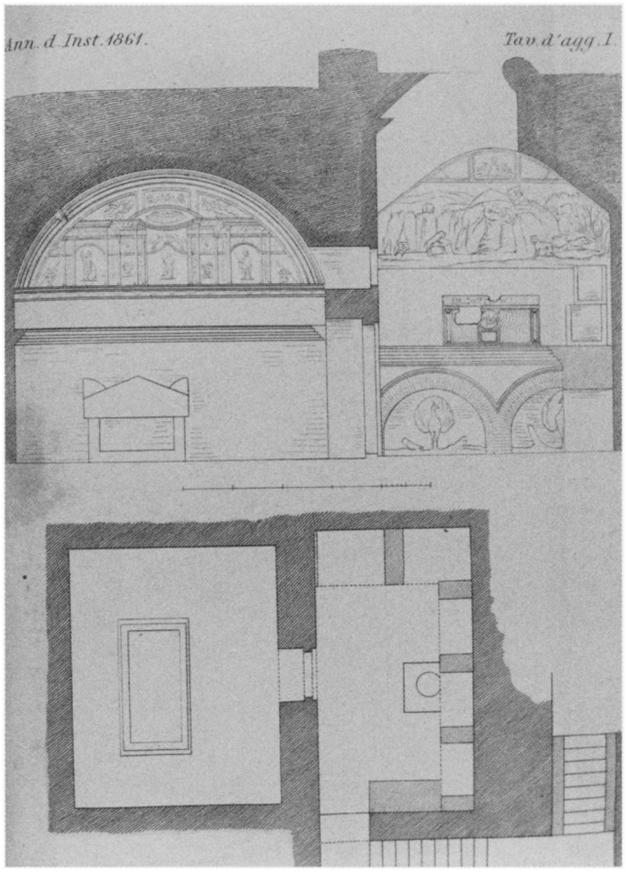


Fig. 24. Plan of the tomb of the Pancratii on the via Latina. [From E. Petersen, *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (1861), table I.]

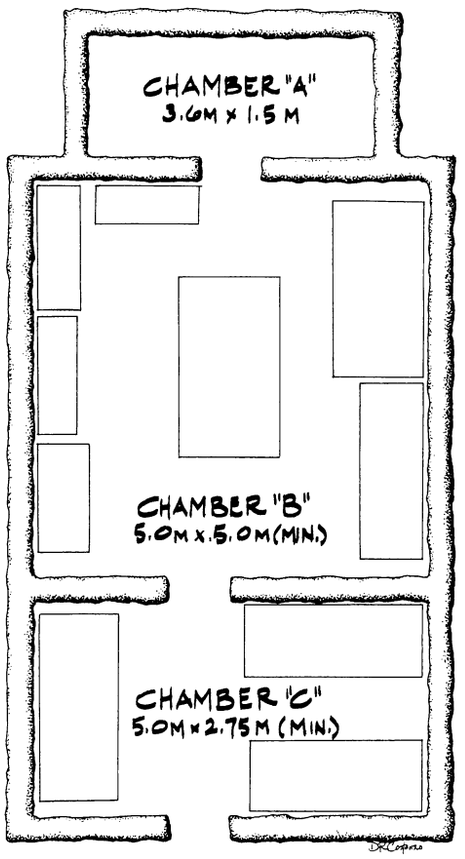


Fig. 25. Schematic plan of the Licinian Tomb with conjectured arrangement of sarcophagi. [Drawing by Denise R. Costanzo.]

order to accommodate the more popular trend in burial during the second century—inhumation.

It was not uncommon during the second and third centuries to build additions to an already existing group tomb. For example, Isola Sacra tombs 11, 29, and 41/42 consisted of original tomb chambers with later additions of rooms or enclosure walls extending from the façade of the original structure (figs. 20 and 21).[96] Later burials filled the additions. A tomb found between 1871 and 1873 in the Vigna Casali in Rome held five third-century sarcophagi and comprised three rooms also built at different times: the first room of the Vigna Casali tomb was built in opus *reticulatum*, while the second and third rooms are of brick, indicating different periods of construction (fig. 22).[97]

Furthermore, a corbel fragment found in the digging of the Licinian Tomb (cat. no. 36) was fashioned from a funerary altar.[98] A fragmentary inscription on the corbel refers to the daughter of Claudius married to Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi pontifex (fig. 2). The inscription dates to the second half of the first century A.D., providing a *terminus post quem* for the later tomb chambers.[99] The reuse of this first-century cippo, which would have originally stood next to the others in Chamber A, supports the theory that Chamber B was added at a later date; second-century Licinii and Calpurnii family members recycled damaged marble pieces from the first room in order to build their addition.[100]

Chamber C may have been built still later or simultaneously with Chamber B, as an antechamber. Second-century tombs with multiple rooms, like those of the Valerii and Pancratii along the via Latina, often included a vestibule or antechamber (figs. 23 and 24).[101] Similarly, Isola Sacra tombs 29 and 42 contained antechambers placed before larger rooms (figs. 20 and 21).

Lanciani's plan of the Licinian Tomb shows one room (Chamber C) as a simple entry space without a formal doorway, consisting only of a wall and containing only two sarcophagi (fig. 1). Yet it seems unlikely that the second-century remodelers of the Licinian Tomb would have left this room open to the street and without a formal entry. If Chamber C was added in the early years of the third century to accommodate the three

large sarcophagi found within it, certainly the builders would have constructed a full enclosure for the new burials. Moreover, Fiorelli described Chamber C as a "room," not an enclosure wall.[102] Thus Chamber C, built either in the second or early third centuries, was a complete room adjacent to Chamber B, nearer to the via Salaria (fig. 25).

The only mention Fiorelli made regarding the masonry of Chambers B and C was in reference to the Antonine brick stamps of Chamber B. In comparing Chambers B and C with contemporary tombs, such as those of the freedmen in Isola Sacra and San Pietro, the Vigna Casali tomb, or those along the via Latina, it seems probable that Chambers B and C were constructed in either reticulate or a mixture of brick and reticulate masonry.[103]

Unfortunately, Fiorelli neglected to report or, due to scant remains, was not able to give a description of the façade of the Licinian Tomb. Whether the rooms supported a second storey is not known. A second storey seems unlikely, however, since Chambers B and C were built onto the singular, one-level Chamber A, and nothing in the reports suggests the collapse of a second floor into these ground-level rooms.

One can be sure that Chambers B and C were not underground crypts like those in the tombs of the Valerii and Pancratii on the via Latina—tombs whose rooms were built simultaneously.[104] In the San Pietro and Isola Sacra cemeteries, as well as in the Vigna Casali tomb, no later additions to the original structures were underground crypts.[105] Subterranean chambers would be too difficult to add to an already existing tomb chamber. Thus, underground crypts were not added to ground-level tombs remodeled and reoccupied at a later time.[106]

Interior organization and decoration

The next step in reconstructing the original appearance of the Licinian Tomb is to determine the original locations of its interior objects. At least seven or eight cippi stood in Chamber A and, according to Fiorelli and Altmann, were found not in situ but rather broken and scattered among architectural remains.[107] Because the original locations of the cippi are unknown, it is necessary to draw parallels with another tomb to arrive at a picture of the tomb's interior.

San Pietro's tomb F contained one cippo with an inscription.[108] It was found in the middle of the room, facing the entrance. The central location of this altar delineates the importance of the person to whom it

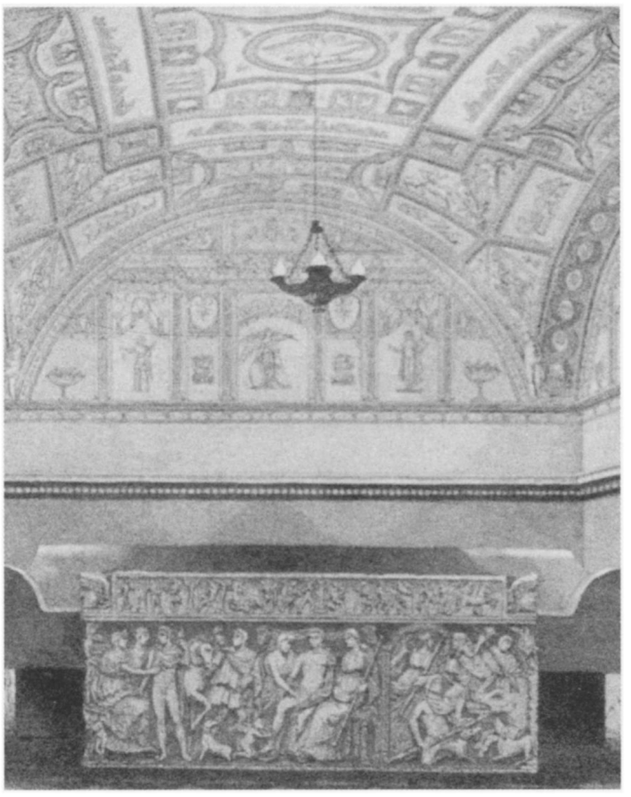


Fig. 26. Nineteenth-century engraving of the interior of the tomb of the Pancratii. [From M. de Angelis, *Dagli Scavi al Museo* (Venice, 1984) 96, fig. 8.]

was dedicated—in this case the head of the family who owned the tomb. Tomb F also contained cinerary urns placed in niches in the walls. The niches are too small to contain objects as large as a funerary altar, making the floor of the room an obvious location for cippi. Likewise, the funerary cippi of Chamber A would have stood on the floor. The center of the room was probably reserved for the altar of the most important elder of the Licinii family, perhaps Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi pontifex (cat. no. 3).[109] The other altars were then placed in the remaining space, perhaps against the walls, as the sarcophagi of the Pancratii tomb on the via Latina lined the walls and surrounded a large central sarcophagus (fig. 26).[110]

The findspots of the thirteen portraits from Chamber A were not recorded, probably because they had been stolen from the tomb in the middle of night. According to Helbig's description, the portraits stood in niches decorated by short columns supporting a small pediment, much like those in the tomb of the Haterii (fig. 18).[111] Both Helbig and Stevenson mention the presence of architectural fragments in Chamber A, supporting the idea that this room was indeed embellished with columns and small pediments.

Fig. 27. Interior of tomb F at San Pietro in Vaticano, looking north. [From J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of Saint Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York, 1956), pl. 2.]

One may arrive at a reconstruction of the interior walls of Chamber A by studying the walls of tomb F of San Pietro and the tomb of Platorinus (figs. 27 and 19).[112] A dado lined the lower walls of tomb F, and above the dado and along each wall were three rectangular and semi-circular niches framed by columns and pediments. A shelf dividing some of these niches provided room for two or more urns, while lunette niches and a shelf over the door of tomb F contained portrait busts. The walls of the Platorinus tomb were also articulated by niches resting on a continuous dado. Columns also framed these niches, which contained at least one portrait bust.

Similarly, each wall of Chamber A would have been divided by niches resting above a continuous dado.[113] The niches, surrounded by columns and pediment, held the portrait busts and the cinerary urn reported to have come from this room. With the addition of shelves like those in tomb F, more than one bust could occupy each niche. Niches or shelves lining Chamber A's upper wall would provide additional space for portraits.[114] Two of the heads found in Chamber A came from larger statues (cat. nos. 21 and 25), perhaps life-sized and placed against the wall or in the corner of the tomb, as were those statues found in situ in the tomb of Platorinus.[115] It was not uncommon for a tomb to contain full-sized portrait statues: two heads from statues were also found in tomb H of San Pietro.[116]

According to Stevenson, the Licinian Tomb's Chamber A, built for cremation burials, also contained a sarcophagus.[117] He described this piece as dating much later than the other contents of Chamber A, implying that it was placed in the tomb much later than the cippi—perhaps when the adjacent Chamber B was being filled with sarcophagi. Such a practice occurred often during the second century: for example, San Pietro tomb F, intended for cremation burials, was reoccupied by later inhumation burials.[118] The sarcophagi of the second occupants were jammed into niches in the lower wall of the tomb.

The findspots of the seven sarcophagi discovered in Chamber B were not recorded in Fiorelli's report; the order in which he described them may or may not have been the order the sarcophagi were extracted from the tomb.[119] Thus it cannot be determined whether the sarcophagi were placed in tiers of *arcosolia* like those of San Pietro tomb Z, each in its own niche

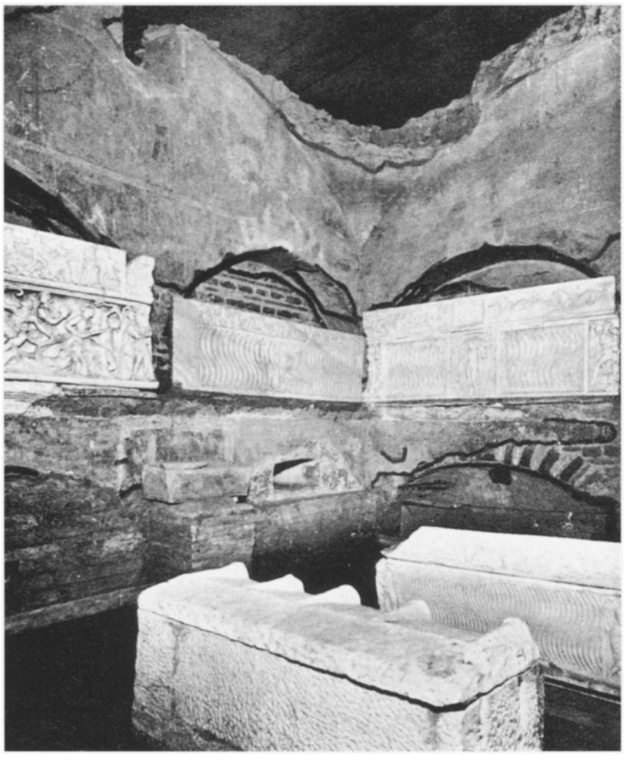


Fig. 28. Interior of tomb Z at San Pietro in Vaticano. [From J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of Saint Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York, 1956), pl. 7.]

like those of the Tomb of the Medusa near the Porta Viminalis, or stacked on top of one another as in the Vigna Casali tomb (figs. 28 and 22).[120]

Lanciani's plan of the tomb (fig. 1) shows each of the sarcophagi on the ground level, lining the walls of the rooms. With this in mind, the sarcophagi placement of Chamber B may have resembled that of the Pancratii tomb along the via Latina (fig. 24).[121] Like Chamber B of the Licinian Tomb, room b of the Pancratii tomb dated to the Antonine era and contained one very large uncarved sarcophagus with two interior compartments, intended for two persons. It was placed in the center of the room and was surrounded on all sides by seven other sarcophagi (fig. 26).[122] The central location of this coffin suggests it contained very important members of the family or funeral *collegium* using this tomb. Chamber B of the Licinian Tomb, containing sarcophagi similar in date, type, and number to the Pancratii tomb, most likely followed a similar arrangement. The large plain sarcophagus (cat. no. 9) occupied the center of Chamber B, while the remaining six caskets lined the walls (fig. 25).

The findspots for the three sarcophagi found in Chamber C were also not recorded, but may be reconstructed by comparison to other tombs.[123] If Chamber C was built after Chamber B to accommodate three sarcophagi, each of these sarcophagi may have been placed against a wall in a special location. For example, the Tomb of the Medusa near the Porta Viminalis was built especially to hold three sarcophagi, and each of them stood against a wall under a large niche.[124] Similarly, the Muse sarcophagus of the Vigna Casali tomb stood in an *aedicola*, built specifically to hold a sarcophagus (fig. 22).[125]

Because the multiple chamber tombs seen at San Pietro, Vigna Casali, and the via Latina contained vestibules or antechambers, however, it seems more likely that Chamber C was built at the same time as Chamber B, as an antechamber. In this case, the sarcophagi's placement within the tomb would most likely have resembled that of the Valerii or Pancratii antechambers (fig. 26): sarcophagi haphazardly placed against the walls of the room due to a later occupation, or because of an overflow of burials from Chamber B (fig. 25).

Beyond the description of the niches and brief noting of the architectural fragments strewn about Chamber A, the accounts of the excavation do not mention whether the Licinian Tomb contained interior fresco or stucco relief decoration. Fiorelli commented that Chamber A appeared "crude" and did not look like a sepulchral room.[126] His assessment was due to the vandalized condition in which the room was discovered. Stevenson, on the other hand, specifically described Chamber A as a tomb. Lanciani is the only "official" source who commented on the interior of the rooms containing the sarcophagi, reporting that the second room was "much better decorated."[127] Moreover, he listed terra cottas and stucco bas reliefs among the tomb contents, materials often painted and used in decoration of the walls or ceiling vaults of tombs.[128]

The walls also may have been covered with polychrome decoration and the floor paved with a black-and-white mosaic, as were many of the group tombs in second- and third-century Rome.[129]

Summary and conclusion

It is unfortunate that Clemente Maraini never completed his publication of the Licinian sarcophagi, which may have presented a clearer account of the excavation and perhaps plans and photographs of his findings. It was certainly not an ideal excavation: Maraini's employees stole from his tomb; romantic

rumors about his discoveries floated around Rome; items from his excavation were sold in secret behind his back; and archaeologists wrote conflicting reports of the excavation. Such circumstances create an atmosphere of confusion and intrigue surrounding the discovery of the Licinian Tomb.

Nevertheless, by studying the excavation of the Licinian Tomb and by drawing parallels with similar tombs found in Rome we can forge a clearer picture of the tomb's original appearance and chronology of use. In the first century, the Licinian family built a small mausoleum on their garden property to house family cremation burials. This tomb held funerary altars, family portraits, and portraits of individuals whom they deeply respected. Because of political rivalry between the imperial house and the first-century Licinians, some of their altars were vandalized around the middle of the century, perhaps as an act of *damnatio memoriae*.

During the Antonine era, the Licinian family (or perhaps unrelated second- and third-century patrician occupants) used some of the old cippi fragments in Chamber A to build an additional chamber and antechamber onto the existing structure. Inhumation burials occupied the tomb as late as the early third century. Sometime later in antiquity, the tomb was robbed. The remaining funerary altars were smashed, lids of sarcophagi were removed and broken, and the interior of the tomb was destroyed. Besides a handful of coins, anything of value to thieves, such as gold, jewels, or even marble revetments from the walls, was taken from the tomb.[130]

In many respects, the excavation of the tomb and the sale of its contents serves as a microcosm of the events occurring in later nineteenth-century Rome. As a young discipline, archaeology had not yet freed itself of antiquarian tendencies, instead placing a greater emphasis upon treasure trove than deducing an accurate reading of history. Museum owners around the world competed for the best pieces newly uncovered from Roman soil; new treasures would not only enrich their collections but promote their status in the international art community. Art dealers in Rome would sometimes resort to illegal and rapacious tactics to claim the superior discoveries for themselves and their clients. Antiquities dealing was an exciting, lucrative, and sometimes dangerous business.

All of this digging, buying, and selling of ancient finds in Rome took place before the backdrop of an ancient city renewing itself, beginning to enter a new age. Ironically, it was this vision of the future, the rebuilding and modernization of Rome, that produced such wonderful discoveries of the ancient past. Built in antiquity, the Licinian Tomb withstood the vandals and thieves of its own day but could not survive the thievery of its nineteenth-century discoverers and the ravages of a modern age. The tomb fell victim not only to the construction of modern buildings and roads, but also to a lack of scholarly attention, lying hidden beneath incomplete and inconsistent reports, shady dealings, and romantic stories. It is only by evaluating this murky material on the basis of solid contextual evidence that scholars can now begin to focus upon the original structure and appearance of the Licinian Tomb.

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Appendix: Catalogue of Licinian Tomb Contents

ABBREVIATIONS

Altmann: W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905).

CIV: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1876–1926).

Fiorelli: G. Fiorelli, *Notize degli scavi di antichità* (Rome, 1885).

Johansen: F. Johansen, *Catalogue of Roman Portraits. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1994–1995).

Lehmann-Olsen: K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore and New York, 1942).

Mus. Naz. Rom.: *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture* (Rome, 1979–1985).

Poulsen: F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951).

Ward-Perkins: J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Workshops and Clients: The Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, (1975–1976), 191–238.

all measurements are L x W x H unless otherwise indicated

CIPPI

Chamber A

1. **Cinerary altar of C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78165.
White Italic marble, .66 x .40 x 1.20 m.
Early Hadrianic date.
Inscription: *[[C(aius) Calpurnius]]/[[Crassus Frugi]]/[[Licinianus con-]]/sul [pon] tifex]]/[[et Agedia Quin-]]/[[tina Crassi]].*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.8, 78.

2. **Cinerary altar of C. Calpurnunius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78166.
White Italic marble, .66 (max.) x .42 (max.) x 1.13 m.
Late Flavian to early Hadrianic date.
Inscription: *C(aio) Calpurnio/Pisoni Crasso/Frugi Liciniano.*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.8, 81.

3. **Funerary altar of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78162.
White Italic marble, .59 (max.) x .41 (max.) x 1.13 m.
Very fragmented, partially restored.
ca. A.D. 47.
Inscription: *M(arcus) Licinius/M(arci) f(ilius), Men(enia tribu)/Crassus Frugi/ pontif(ex) pr(aetor) urb(anus)/ co(n)s(ul) leg(atus)/Ti(beri) Claudi Caesaris/Aug(usti) Ge[r]manici/in M[auretan]ia.*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.8, 83–85.

4. **Funerary altar of Licinia Cornelia Volusia Torquata.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78167.
Fine-grained white marble, .57 x .45 x 1.07 m.
ca. A.D. 56.
Inscription: *Licinia Cornelia/M(arci) f(ilia) Volusia/Torquata/L(uci) Volusi co(n)s(ulis)/auguris (scil. uxor).*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.7, 103.

5. **Funerary altar of Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78163.
White marble, .70 x .56 x 1.20 m.
ca. A.D. 47.
Inscription: *Cn(aeus) Pomp[eius]/Crassi f(ilius) Men(enia tribu)/Magnus/pontifex quaest(or)/Ti(beri) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti)/Germanici/soceri sui.*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.7, 104.

6. **Funerary altar of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus and Verania Gemina.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78164.
White marble, 1.13 x .89 x 1.75 m.
A.D. 69.
Inscription is dedicated to man and wife: *Dis Manibus/[L(uci)] Calpurni Pisonis/Frugi Liciniani/XV vir s(acris) f(aciundis) et Vernaniae/Q(uinti) Verani co(n)s(ulis) aug(uris) f(iliae)/Geminae/Pisonis Frugi (scil, uxoris).*
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.7, 105.

7. **Funerary altar of Licinia Crassi.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78161.
Marble, .32 x .47 x .68 m. Original lid is missing.
Tiberian date.
Inscription panel is badly damaged; the inscription is illegible.
CIL VI, 31727; Altmann, 41.

SARCOPHAGI

Chamber A

8. **Genii sarcophagus.** Reported by E. Stevenson, *Bulletino dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, (1885), 29.
Provenance and present location unknown.

Chamber B

9. **Plain marble sarcophagus.** Not extant; destroyed after excavation.
Chest: 2.25 x 1.25 x .95 m; no measurement recorded for lid (Fiorelli, 189).
Date unknown. Description of interior: rounded edges, a marble slab dividing the chest into two lengthwise compartments, and a carved headrest.

10. **Garland sarcophagus.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 441.
Luna marble, chest: 1.27 x .46 x .36 m; lid: 1.28 x .47 x .12 m.
Hadrianic date.
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.8, 211; Lehmann-Olsen, fig. 25.

11. **Griffin sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.35.
Luna marble, chest: 1.55 x .52 x .45 m; lid: 1.57 x .54 x .15 m.
ca. A.D. 135–140.
Ward-Perkins, 196; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 16–18.

12. **Garland sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.29.
Asiatic marble, chest: 1.38 x .66 x .51 m; lid: 1.37 x .61 x .32 m.
Damage to lid has been restored.
ca. A.D. 150–180.
Ward-Perkins, 195; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 19–22.

13. **Thiasos sarcophagus.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 1303.
Luna marble, chest: 2.19 x .78 x .51 m; lid: Described as an uncarved, gabled lid, no measurements given (Fiorelli, 190). The present lid is not original.
ca. A.D. 160.
Mus. Naz. Rom., 1.8, 263; Lehmann-Olsen, fig. 30.

14. **Childhood sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.33.
Luna marble, chest: 1.49 x .51 x .35 m; lid: 1.49 x .49 x .12 m.
Lid consists of two joined fragments.
ca. A.D. 150–160.
Ward-Perkins, 198; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 2–4.

15. **Leucippidae sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.32.
Proconnesian marble, chest: 2.17 x 1.14 x 1.04 m;
lid: 2.17 x 1.14 x .54 m. Chest has been reconstructed from ten fragments.
ca. A.D. 160.
Ward-Perkins, 200; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 11, 14–15.

Chamber C

16. **Victory sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.36.
Greek marble, chest: 2.24 x .90 x .84 m; lid: 2.24 x .90 x .37 m.
The lid has been reconstructed from four fragments.
ca. A.D. 210.
Ward-Perkins, 202; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 24, 27–29.

17. **Triumph sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.31.
Greek marble, chest: 2.34 x .99 x .99 m; lid: 2.36 x .97 x .38 m.
The lid has been reconstructed from five fragments.
ca. A.D. 190.
Ward-Perkins, 202; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 5–8.

18. **Ariadne sarcophagus.**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.37.
Greek marble, chest: 2.16 x .86 x .89 m. Present lid is not original. Nothing regarding a lid was recorded in the field notes (Fiorelli, 253–54). The back is unfinished.
ca. A.D. 190–200.
Ward-Perkins, 203; Lehmann-Olsen, figs. 9–10, 12–13.

PORTRAITS

Chamber A

19. **Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 733.
Marble, H, .25 m.
Early first-century A.D. copy of bronze Republican original. Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome. Johansen, I, no. 1; Poulsen, no. 597.

20. **Head of a Roman man.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 734.
Marble, H, .24 m.
Claudian date.
F. Poulsen identified this as a portrait of Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in A.D. 27. Purchased through Helbig in 1891 from an engineer involved with construction along the via Salaria.
Johansen, I, no. 75; Poulsen, no. 599.

21. **Head of a Roman boy.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 735.
Marble, H, .28 m.
Claudian date.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 73; Poulsen, no. 601.

22. **Bust of an elderly Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 736.
Marble, H, .34 m. Tip of nose restored in the late nineteenth century.
Dated in the 30s B.C.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 70; Poulsen, no. 602.

23. **Bust of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 737.
Marble, H, .44 m.
Second half of first century B.C.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 72; Poulsen, no. 603.

24. **Bust of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 738.
Marble, H, .38 m.
Second half of first century B.C.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 71; Poulsen, no. 604.

25. **Head of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 741.
Marble, H, .34 m. Neck made to insert into a statue.
Dated to the reigns of Claudius and Tiberius.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 78; Poulsen, no. 605.

26. **Bust of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 742.
Marble, H, .38 m. Bust and base partially restored.
Tiberian date.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 77; Poulsen, no. 606.

27. **Bust of a small boy.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 744.
Marble, H, .24 m. Nose restored.
Claudian date.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 74; Poulsen, no. 631.

28. **Head of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 747.
Marble, H, .27 m. Crown of head and bridge of nose restored in the 1880s; removed in 1980 cleaning.
Copy dating to time of Claudius.
Helbig identified this portrait as Livia (W. Helbig, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 2 (1887), 3–13).
Acquired in 1897 from Count Tyszkiewicz in Paris.
Johansen, I, no. 40; Poulsen, no. 614.

29. **Bust of a Roman man.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 749.
Marble, H, .45 m. Neck restored.
Augustan/Tiberian copy of ca. 55 B.C. original.
Possible portrait of M. Licinius Crassus (known also as Lucius Calpurnius Piso).
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 69; Poulsen, no. 655.

30. **Head of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 751.
Marble, H, .39 m. Nose restored.
Early Claudian copy of Claudian original.
Identified as Agrippina the Younger or Scribonia, wife of M. Licinius Crassus Pontifex.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 65; Poulsen, no. 630.

31. **Bust of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 754.
Marble, H, .36 m. Nose and upper lip restored in the nineteenth century.
Dated to the reign of Claudius.
Purchased in 1891 in Rome.
Johansen, I, no. 76; Poulsen, no. 635.

Chamber C

32. **Bust of a Roman man.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 783.
Marble, H, .41 m.
Antonine date.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, III, no. 24; Poulsen, no. 695.

33. **Portrait of Lucius Verus as a child.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 787.
Marble, H, .47 m. Face restored; neck and chest are modern additions.
A.D. 140–150.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, II, no. 87; Poulsen, no. 705.

34. **Head of a Roman lady.**
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 799.
Marble, H, .37 m. Neck is cut for insertion into a statue.
Late second century A.D.
Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz's collection in Rome.
Johansen, III, no. 33; Poulsen, no. 717.

MISCELLANEOUS

35. **Cornice with vegetal decoration.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78202.
White marble, .35 x .73 x .59 m. Abraded and chipped.
Mid-first century A.D.
Possibly from Licinian Tomb. (Provenance: gift of Maraini).
Mus. Naz. Rom., I.7, 106.

36. **Rectangular corbel fragment.**
Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 78168.
Fine-grained white marble, .58 (max.) x .25 x .21 m.
First century A.D.
Description: Moldings on the three long sides; back is roughly sculpted, intended for insertion into a wall. On the reverse side are several letters of an old inscription. Found "fra le terre di scarico" (*Mus Naz. Rom.*, 1.7, 102). The style of the inscription dates to the second half of the first century A.D. The inscription relates to the name of the daughter of Claudius, who married Cn. Pompeius Magnus. Inscription: *—/Cla[audiae] —?/ [—]/uxo[ri—]/ac + [—]. Mus. Naz. Rom.*, 1.7, 101–102.

37. **Coins of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and Claudius Gothicus.**
Reported by R. Lanciani in *Notes from Rome*, British School in Rome (1988), 172, and in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome* in 1885. Provenance and present location unknown.

38. **Terra cottas and stucco bas reliefs.**
Reported by Lanciani, *Notes*, 172. Provenance and present location unknown.

39. **Cinerary urn without an inscription.**
Reported by Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto* (1885), 12. Provenance and present location unknown.

Notes

I am grateful to Dr. Ellen Reeder, Curator of Ancient Art at the Walters Art Gallery, for encouraging this project. This article derives from my M.A. thesis entitled "The Licinian Tomb in Rome: Ancient and Modern Contexts," and I am indebted to Dr. Kim J. Hartswick for his sound advice and patient guidance as advisor and reader.

1. F. Gregorovius, *The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius*, 1852–1874 (London, 1911), 402–403.

2. The villa was built ca. 1750 by Cardinal Valenti-Gonzaga, treasurer of the Holy See and secretary to Pope Benedict XIV. L. Càllari, *Le Ville di Roma* (Rome, 1970), 320–29; and R. Lanciani, *Notes from Rome*, British School in Rome (1988), 373–74. Lanciani states that this villa was "laid out" by the Florentine Cicciaporci family and was later purchased by Cardinal Valenti-Gonzaga. C. Pietrangeli, *Villa Paolina*, Instituto di Studi Romani (1961), 10–14, calls attention to a vineyard in this area owned by Franciscan monks as early as 1551 and to a plan of Nolli showing the vineyard as the property of the Cicciaporci family in 1748. See Pietrangeli, *Villa Paolina*, 10–19, for the sequence of villa ownership.

3. Pietrangeli, *Villa Paolina*, 28. Càllari, *Le Ville*, 329, mentions that following Prince Napoleon Carlo's death in 1899, his wife and sons donated a section of the remaining estate to the Congregazione di Carità di Roma and sold the rest to a commercial dealer. In 1902 Lanciani lamented this sale of another great historical villa in northeastern Rome for plots of real estate: Lanciani, *Notes*, 373–74.

4. D. Boschung, "Überlegungen zum Licinergrab," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 101 (1986), 260–63, discusses the following events.

5. Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.1; Cassius Dio, 60.5.

6. Suetonius, *Claudius* 27.2; Cassius Dio, 60.5, 60.7.

7. Cassius Dio, 60.5, 60.8.

8. Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 11.2, 11.5; Suetonius, *Claudius* 27.29; Cassius Dio 61.6a.

9. Tacitus, *Histories* 1.48.

10. Ibid., 1.47.

11. Ibid., 1.14–15, 1.29, 1.34, 1.39, 1.43, 3.68; Plutarch, *Galba* 25.27.

12. A. Jones, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I (Cambridge, 1971), 703.

13. I assume the Banca Italiana purchased this land from Napoleon Carlo Bonaparte before 1884. No mention is made regarding the details of the bank's acquisition.

14. G. Fiorelli, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (Rome, 1884–1885), 107–108.

15. R. Lanciani, *Bullettino della Commissione di Roma*, (1885), 101–103 also published six cippi inscriptions, but actually a total of seven cippi were found. *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* [hereafter, *CIL*] (Berlin, 1876–1926), VI, 31727 (published by W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* [Berlin, 1905], 41) is very fragmented and the inscription illegible, thus its exclusion from the original publications. See cat. no. 7 and fig. 3.

16. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 108.

17. E. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, (1885), 22, states that the three cippi inscriptions in his report were uncovered shortly after the three Henzen published in January but that they all originated from the same tomb. Interestingly the three cippi inscriptions Stevenson published are the same three Fiorelli reported stolen and later returned to the Banca Italiana.

18. Ibid., 28.

19. Ibid., 29.

20. From Stevenson's description of the interior, I infer there were lying about fragments of decorative stucco or marble elements: i.e., interior cornice blocks, small columns or pilasters, reliefs, or small pediments, all elements commonly found in imperial Roman sepulchral chambers.

21. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 29–30. Some of these inscriptions were found during the occupation of the villa in the previous century. They are: *CIL* VI, 14223, 14235, 14239, 14241, 14242, 14189. *CIL* VI, 14243 and 14244 do not have certain provenance, but were associated with those found near the Villa Bonaparte. In Stevenson's opinion, there were probably more inscriptions referring to the family buried around this area. In 1888, during the demolition of a wall around the former Villa Bonaparte near the Licinian Tomb complex, two inscriptions pertaining to a Licinia Lamyra were discovered: *CIL* VI, 34524 and 35697. *CIL* VI, 1445, 31728, 31655, and 1445 are also listed as deriving from the Licinian burial complex. See also M. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta Fibula Prenestina: elementi nuovi," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 8.28.2 (1984), 167–68.

22. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 29–30.

23. See F. Poulsen, "Célèbres Visages Inconnus," *Revue Archéologique*, 36 (1932), 54–56; and Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 162. Because of the differences between the published reports and Helbig's description of this room, Guarducci is suspicious of his letters, believing Helbig manufactured the provenance of the busts. Although Helbig's description is more detailed, in my opinion, it seems consistent with Stevenson's account published in 1885. Guarducci is well known for her discovery of two art fakes created and sold by Helbig and his associates, thus her suspicion of Helbig's actions in every sale. See T. Hoving, *False Impressions: The Hunt for Big Time Art Fakes* (New York, 1996), 257–78.

24. Poulsen, "Célèbres Visages," 56–57; and Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 165.

25. Poulsen, "Célèbres Visages," 56–57; and Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 165.

26. The following is from Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 188–91.

27. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Workshops and Clients: The Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archologia* XLVIII (1975–1976), 195; and J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971), 271, state that the undecorated sarcophagus was destroyed shortly after excavation.

28. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 252. The coin was mentioned in a third report of Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 251–54. See the discussion of the third report below.

29. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 188. Helbig also assumed this connection, for in a letter of August 20, 1887, he described the chambers as "communicating rooms" (noted by Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 142). Boschung, "Überlegungen," 264, thinks it impossible to be sure about the relationship of Chamber B (and a later discovered Chamber C, see below) to Chamber A because inscriptions were not found within the later rooms either linking them to or dissociating them from the cippi in Chamber A.

30. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 251–54.

31. Ibid., 252.

32. This letter is preserved with Lanciani's papers in the Biblioteca Vaticana (Vat. lat. 130335, fols. 17–18). Cited in Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 142.

33. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 5 (1885), 318–19, pls. 8–13.

34. Lanciani, *Notes*, November 7, 1885, 171; and Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (New York, 1967), 276.

35. R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, (rpt. Rome, 1994), III. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 142, makes a strong case against Helbig's description of the rooms as "communicating" or adjoining, and thus also against Lanciani's plan linking them as one unit. Because the floors of each room were recorded as having a 2-m difference in depth, Guarducci thinks there was no way these rooms could have connected. Boschung, "Überlegungen," 260, agrees the discrepancy between the depth of each room excludes the possibility that all three rooms adjoined. Neither author, however, considers that the sloping topography of the area may have changed considerably throughout the centuries, rendering a measurement from the nineteenth-century surface misleading and irrelevant. (I thank Prof. Kim J. Hartswick for this observation.)

36. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172. All of these objects except the stucco reliefs and terra cottas are listed in the official excavation reports.

37. Ibid. These unconfirmed rumors, along with reports of stolen cippi and portraits, imply that there may have been many treasures stolen from the tomb, never recorded and unknown today.

38. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 167.

39. Altmann, *Die Grabaltäre*, 36–43, figs. 22–30. Altmann published a total of ten altars belonging to the Pisones family, but only seven of these were recovered from the excavation of Chamber A. Without naming clear provenance, Altmann noted an altar of Licinia Magna Crassi Frugi in the Vatican (*CIL* VI, 1445) and an altar of Asprenans Calpurnius Torquatus (*CIL* VI, 1370) as originating from this same tomb. Altmann (and Stevenson, *Bulletino dell'Instituto*, [1885], 29) also listed the altar of Calpurnia Luci Lepida (*CIL* VI, 14235) as originating from the burial complex of the Calpurnii Pisones.

40. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 167–68, recounts the following events.

41. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172, as mentioned in note 36.

42. *Mélanges*, (1885), 318, pls. 8–13. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 168, surmised that the photos were taken at via Balbo because the image of the Leucippid Sarcophagus includes a cropped view of the inscribed cippo of C. Calpurnius Frugi Crassus Licinianus, found in the 1884 excavation and known to have been at Maraini's home until he died in 1905.

43. The portraits were stolen from the tomb and in the possession of Count Tyszkiewicz until they were purchased by Carl Jacobsen in 1887. See the discussion of the portraits below.

44. Letter published by Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 164.

45. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 146. Jacobsen purchased this sarcophagus in 1892, unaware that it did not come from the tomb; this sarcophagus was described neither in the field notes nor in Helbig's letters.

46. V. Poulsen, "A Note on the Licinian Tomb," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 2 (1948), 9. Poulsen suggests that negotiations for the Licinian sarcophagi went on for years between Helbig and Maraini, who had offered the sarcophagi to Jacobsen in 1887. Guarducci considers Helbig's reluctance to purchase a result of his crooked attempts to claim this tomb as provenance for portraits he wanted to sell. Indeed Helbig, in his letter dated September 17, 1887, suspiciously requests that Jacobsen keep his name secret in the sale of the portraits. Guarducci's theory, in "La Cosidetta," 144–46, is that Maraini, who directed the excavation and knew what was found, could blow the whistle on any dubious claims of provenance. In my opinion, however, Helbig may simply have been wary of involvement in the legitimate sale of Maraini's sarcophagi when he was also associated with busts stolen from the same excavation.

47. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian*, 280. Here Lanciani complains that the sarcophagi were never allowed to become public property.

48. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 168.

49. The palace does not exist today but was described as large and "gloomy" in an article about the collection in the *New York Times*, May 11, 1902, 14.

50. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 168. Pollock's account comes from his manuscripts preserved in the Museo Barracco. Massarenti began negotiations for the purchase of the sarcophagi from Maraini after Helbig's stalling. Massarenti's association with the church allowed him to store the sarcophagi on Vatican property.

51. M. Massarenti, *Catalogue du Musée de Peinture, Sculpture, et Archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897).

52. Copy of unpublished correspondence located in the Walters Art Gallery curatorial files; the original is preserved in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. It appears that Jacobsen remained interested in these sarcophagi for years despite their sale to another buyer.

53. *New York Times*, May 11, 1902, 14. Massarenti's actions followed then-current laws of exportation. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 169, states that the Italian government retained a painting of Saint George (then attributed to Giorgione) for the Corsini Gallery.

54. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 169.

55. I thank William R. Johnston, Associate Director and Curator of 18th and 19th Century Art, the Walters Art Gallery, for a copy of his unpublished manuscript on the history of the collection. Walters traveled to Paris with his journalist friend William M. Laffan.

56. D.K. Hill, "The Roman Collection in the Walters Art Gallery," *Archaeology*, 10 (1957), 19, lists the items included in the Massarenti collection: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman sculpture, busts, copies, sarcophagi, pottery, metal work, altars, tiles, utensils, terra cotta figurines, and Italian paintings and sculpture.

57. A transcript of the contract is the Walters Art Gallery Archives, Baltimore. Apparently Emile Rey, stationed in New York, worked with Walters often; he sold Walters several porcelains and enamels in 1902. G. Seligmann, *Merchants of Art: 1880–1960. Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York, 1961).

58. *New York Times*, July 13, 1902, 1.

59. Only three sarcophagi are described in the report of the shipment, *New York Times*, July 13, 1902, 1. It is possible that some of the sarcophagi stayed in Italy into the following year. In an unpublished letter to Jacobsen dated February 17, 1903, Helbig recounts a meeting with a dealer for an American client and their conversation about the exportation of the Massarenti sarcophagi from Italy. In order for Walters to take the Massarenti collection back to the United States, the pope had to give his blessing. Although Helbig considered this a mere formality, the pope was reluctant to do so because he believed it improper for a foreigner to own the collection of a Vatican official. According to Helbig, the dealer (whom Helbig called Count R.) thought that, in his frustration, Walters was "inclined to relinquish the collection for a price" (copy of letter in the Walters Art Gallery curatorial files, original preserved in Copenhagen).

60. W.R. Johnston, unpublished manuscript on the history of the Walters Art Gallery collection.

61. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 252. This first-century portrait, found near the Victory sarcophagus, appeared to have been from a statue.

62. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 28–29.

63. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172. Guarducci believes that Helbig concocted the provenance to sell the portraits for his own profit. See note 46 above.

64. Published in Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 162–64; and F. Poulsen, "Célèbres Visages," 54–57. According to Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 140–41, certain elements of Helbig's letters to Jacobsen are questionable: for example, Guarducci wonders how workmen without expertise in ancient portraiture knew exactly what to steal in the dark of night or how, in addition to the cippi fragments, this tiny room held all of the materials Helbig claimed.

65. Letter published by Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 164–65. See note 38 above. Maraini had apparently asked Helbig's advice about the stolen cippi. In order to negotiate with Maraini in the sale of the sarcophagi, Helbig wanted to be on good terms with him. Guarducci is perhaps overly suspicious of virtually all of Helbig's actions in the sale of these busts, but she does raise some important questions.

66. Published in Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 165.

67. As mentioned earlier, this is contrary to the official excavation report of Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 252, who reported only one portrait head found in Chamber C. If the workmen had robbed the tomb of its contents, Fiorelli may have been unaware of, or avoided mentioning, any more portraits from the tomb. Indeed, neither Fiorelli, Henzen, nor Stevenson was present during the entire excavation of the tomb, as it was under the direction of Clemente Maraini. They may have visited the site only briefly in order to report the progress of the digging. Lanciani, in *Pagan and Christian*, 275, described his visit to the tomb: he descended into a room and was surrounded by "those great historical names of murdered men and women [inscriptions on the cippi in Chamber A]." Lanciani also omitted the portraits, for they had already been stolen by the workmen.

68. The portraits of the Haterii tomb were found in niches framed by small columns and pediments. For a description of the excavation of the Haterii tomb, see A. Giuliano, "Documenti per servire allo studio del monumento degli Haterii," *Atti della Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie classe di Scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche*, 8.13.6 (1968), 448–82.

69. F. Johansen, *Roman Portraits*, I–III (Copenhagen, 1994–1995), lists the same acquisition date of 1887 for all the busts, except inv. nos. 734, 747, and 754 (see cat. nos. 20, 28, 31).

70. Johansen, *Roman Portraits*, I, 174; and V.H. Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*, I (Copenhagen, 1962), 110, no. 73.

71. Johansen, *Roman Portraits*, I, 104. According to V. Poulsen, "A Note," 9, Jacobsen bought a total of eighteen portraits from Tyszkiewicz. Fifteen of these were said to have come from the Licinian Tomb—and a sixteenth portrait from the tomb was purchased from a different owner in 1891. M. Moltesen, "Neue Nasen, Neue Namen," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (1991), 271, counts fifteen heads bought in 1887 and one in 1891.

72. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian*, 276; and Boschung, "Überlegungen," 263.

73. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian*, 276.

74. Boschung, "Überlegungen," 263.

75. Ibid., 263–364. The inscriptions are: *CIL* VI, 1445, 31655, 1419, 14235, 14241–14244 (as listed in note 22); the tomb of Q. Sulpicius Maximus was found under the east tower of the Porta Salaria in 1871, see G. Henzen, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1871), 98–114; the cippo, *CIL* VI, 1268, was found outside the Porta Nomentana.

76. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 144, believes Chamber A could not have been in this area, as it would have stood within a Claudian *pomerium* of A.D. 48, an area where burials were forbidden. According to Pietrangeli, *Villa Paolina*, 9, the cemetery was used but abandoned after the area was assumed into the city limits at the end of the first century. This is contradicted by the discovery of the second- and third-century sarcophagi of the Licinian Tomb—Pietrangeli never acknowledges the sarcophagi discovered in this area. Boschung, "Überlegungen," 259, disproves both claims by stating that the border stone for the *pomerium* was actually 300 to 400 m to the east of the Aurelian Wall, in line with the third-century city limits.

77. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1884–1885), 107; Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 28–29; Pietrangeli, *Villa Paolina*, 9; J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Workshops and Clients," 191. Lanciani's plan shows a small empty chamber, most likely Chamber A, about 18 m from the street.

78. Most of the comparable tombs used in my study were suggested in a footnote in R. Cohon, "A Muse Sarcophagus in Context," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (1992), 109–19, which listed the few extant Roman tombs known to have contained several sarcophagi. For information on the necropolis of San Pietro in Vaticano: J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of Saint Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London, 1956). For Isola Sacra: G. Calza, *La Necropole del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940). For the Tomb of the Medusa near the Porta Viminalis: G. Melchiorri, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (January–February 1839), 1–3; and Ashby, *Papers of the British School in Rome*, (1906), 86. For the via Latina tombs: L. Fortunati, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la via Latina* (1859); G. Henzen, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1858), 17–21, 36–42; E. Peterson, *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 32 (1860), 348–415, and *Annali*, 33 (1861), 190–242.

79. Because the altars were discovered in two groups, the second group (cat. nos. 3, 5, 6) less damaged and dating slightly later than the first, Boschung, "Überlegungen," 264, suggests that the altars actually existed in two different rooms or neighboring tombs. I disagree, since the reports of Fiorelli and Stevenson both specifically describe the cippi as deriving from one room.

80. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172. Lanciani only described two chambers and listed all ten sarcophagi in the second of these. I believe he was referring to Chamber B when describing "the second chamber," although a total of three rooms were excavated.

81. I arrived at this minimum measurement based on the 1 m-plus length and average .50 m width measurements of each of the sarcophagi found in this room.

82. Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 30.

83. Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 142.

84. Ibid. See also note 35.

85. Although Fiorelli did not specify Chambers B and C adjoined, neither nineteenth- nor twentieth-century scholars have doubted the physical connection of B and C.

86. Except tombs of emperors, most Roman tombs were rectangular or square in plan: for example, the tombs in the necropoleis of San Pietro and Isola Sacra, along the via Latina, and in the Vigna Casali. For the Vigna Casali tomb, see E. Brizio, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1873), 11–22; and R. Santolini-Giordani, *Antichitá Casali: La collezione di Villa Casali a Roma* (Rome, 1989).

87. Ward-Perkins, "Workshops and Clients," 199.

88. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172.

89. Lanciani reported visiting the site in *Pagan and Christian*, 276; Helbig reported his visits to Jacobsen in letters of 1887. There is no indication in the reports of Fiorelli, Henzen, or Stevenson as to whether they actually visited the site in person. In fact, Henzen's article thanks Lanciani for bringing the objects to his attention.

90. The altars of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi pontifex and his son Cn. Pompeius Magnus date ca. A.D. 47 (see cat. nos. 3, 5). Cat. no. 7 may date even earlier, to the time of Tiberius.

91. See *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture*, 1.8, 500–505; Lanciani, *Notizie*, (1880), 128–29, *Bullettino Commissione* (1880), 136–38, and *Notizie*, (1883), 588. For arguments on the inaccuracy of the reconstruction, see *Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1.8, 502–503.

92. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 29, reported the discovery of one urn within Chamber A. He also listed the *genii* sarcophagus from Chamber A, describing it as "much later in date." Thus Chamber A was not built with the intention of housing inhumation burials, rather this inhumation burial occurred after the structure existed. The Platorinus tomb held eight cinerary urns, a portrait bust, two life-size statues, several inscriptions, and a mosaic pavement.

93. Both ashlar masonry and *opus reticulatum* were used in the first century, so it is also possible Chamber A was of reticulate construction. Reticulate masonry, however, was more popular in the private sector during the middle and later second centuries. See J. Adam, *Roman Building* (Bloomington, 1994), 106–44.

94. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 188. A coin of Antoninus Pius was also found in one of the sarcophagi contained in this room. Based on the stylistic dating of the sarcophagi, Ward-Perkins, "Workshops and Clients," 199, believed Chamber B was ready to receive sarcophagi soon after the death of Hadrian in A.D. 137.

95. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 28–29.

96. See Calza, *Isola Sacra*, 287–89 and 310–13.

97. L. Avetta, *Roma—Via Imperiale* (Rome, 1985), 38. Avetta believes these three rooms were not part of the same original tomb because the different masonry suggests that the rooms were built at various times. But the nineteenth-century plan of the tomb indicates that the three rooms connected. This tomb held a circular altar and candelabrum, an inscription panel, two large sculptures, and four third-century sarcophagi. See Santolini-Giordani, *Antichità Casali*, 62–75; Brizio, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1873), 11–22, 34–35; and Cohon, "A Muse," 114.

98. This fragment was never listed specifically in the field notes but is now found in the Museo Nazionale Romano: *Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1.7, 102.

99. Ibid.

100. Several of the first-century cippi had been smashed in antiquity. It is generally thought this was caused by a *damnatio memoriae* of sorts, taking place after the first-century family members were executed by Claudius. See Boschung, "Überlegungen," 260–63.

101. L. Fortunati discovered these tombs while excavating near the intersection of the ancient via Latina and the modern via Appia Nuova. See note 78 above.

102. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1885), 251.

103. See Adam, *Roman Building*, for the popularity of masonry styles.

104. See note 78 above.

105. See notes 78 and 86 above.

106. A very early exception to this rule (barring catacombs) is the subterranean inhumation chambers of the anomalous tomb of the Scipios dating to the third century B.C. The tomb also contained second-century A.D. burials. See F. Coarelli, "Il sepolcro degli Scipioni," *Dialoghi di archeologica* (1972), 36–106.

107. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1884), 107; and Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, 36. There were probably more than the seven cippi now in the Museo Nazionale Romano originally standing in Chamber A: the corbel fragment found in the excavation was recycled from a cippo which once stood in Chamber A (cat. no. 36), and a cornice fragment (cat. no. 35) may have also come from a cippo in Chamber A.

108. Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 44.

109. This was also common with sarcophagi placement: in the tomb of the Scipios, for example, the oldest sarcophagus found in the tomb, that of Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 B.C., was placed in a central location facing the tomb entrance (Coarelli, "Scipios," 42–43).

110. The sarcophagi in the main room of the Pancratii tomb surrounded a large central sarcophagus; they were placed against the sides of the tomb allowing a narrow walking space around the center.

111. Helbig's letters of August 20, 1887, and September 17, 1887.

112. See note 78 above.

113. If the cippi were placed against the walls of the tomb, the dado would ensure that the altars would not hide niches holding portraiture.

114. One of Guarducci's arguments against the portraits' originating from the Licinian Tomb is the idea that Chamber A was too small to contain cippi and thirteen busts (Guarducci, "La Cosidetta," 141). With shelves creating space for portraits above the door and within niches, I believe there was enough room in Chamber A for the cippi and busts.

115. The flat surface on the back of the statues of the Platorinii indicates they were meant to stand against the wall. *Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1.8, 500–505.

116. Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 91–95.

117. Stevenson, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1885), 29.

118. Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 46.

119. Fiorelli's list of the sarcophagi seems to be roughly chronological. Like the sarcophagi in the tomb of the Scipios, the earlier sarcophagi may have been placed toward the rear of the tomb, but there is not enough evidence to prove this theory. (See Coarelli, "Scipios," 39–62).

120. Tomb Z in the necropolis of San Pietro in Vaticano held sarcophagi placed in niches in two tiers. See Toynbee and Perkins, *Vatican Excavations*, 53–56 and 94–95.

121. Peterson, *Annali*, (1861), 190–242.

122. H. Brunn, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1858), 86.

123. As pointed out earlier, Lanciani's plan of the Licinian Tomb incorrectly shows only two sarcophagi in Chamber C (fig. 1).

124. Melchiorri, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1839), 1–3.

125. Brizio, *Bullettino dell'Instituto*, (1873), 11–22.

126. Fiorelli, *Notizie*, (1884), 107.

127. Lanciani, *Notes*, 172.

128. Ibid.

129. I am referring to the tombs in the Isola Sacra and San Pietro cemeteries, as well as the Vigna Casali tomb, and via Latina tombs. The tomb of Platorinus also had a black-and-white floor mosaic. See notes 79 and 87 above. On interior tomb decoration, see H. Joyce, *The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings, and Floors in Italy in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.* (Rome, 1981).

130. Because this family was of the patrician class, its tomb most likely contained certain valuables and precious marbles, stolen by intruders in later centuries.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 3, 4, 6, 9, Rome, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; figs. 7, 8, 10–14, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 15–17, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek; fig. 18, Alinari/Art Resource.

An Ivory in the Walters Art Gallery, Medieval Friend or Faux?

Audrey Scanlan-Teller

This article reconsiders the dating and origin of Walters Art Gallery 71.303, an ivory panel depicting Christ in a mandorla supported by four angels. The ivory, which first appeared on the art market in the nineteenth century, has posed problems for scholars who considered it to be a medieval work. While some viewed it as a sixth- or seventh-century Coptic or eastern Christian work, others, unable to overlook its marked iconographic and stylistic inconsistencies, have seen the ivory as a late or provincial Carolingian copy of an earlier eastern work. Both datings prove unsatisfactory. The Walters panel is best understood as a copy of a medieval work made in nineteenth-century Paris.

An ivory panel in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery depicting Christ enthroned in a mandorla supported by four angels (fig. 1) deserves careful study, as it has long posed problems for the scholars who have seen it as an Early Christian or medieval work. Several, including Adolph Goldschmidt, John Beckwith, and Richard Delbrueck, attribute the Walters panel to a sixth- or seventh-century Coptic or eastern Christian workshop on the basis of its style and function.[1] Others, including Wolfgang Volbach, Henri Stern, Susan Boyd, and Richard Randall, point to its numerous errors and stylistic inconsistencies and suggest instead that it is a provincial Carolingian copy of a sixth- or seventh-century eastern Christian work.[2] In light of these difficulties, I suggest that the Walters panel is indeed a late copy of an Early Christian work, but one made in a modern, rather than medieval, shop.

The Walters ivory is a rectangular panel, light yellow in color, measuring 17.0 by 9.6 by 0.9 cm. A flange originally surrounded the panel on all four sides; however, in its present condition, the left and right flanges are extensively broken.[3] The flanges could be slotted into a wooden frame or adjacent ivory panels, and, as Goldschmidt has suggested, the ivory could have been the central panel of a multi-panel book cover or diptych.[4]

Carved in relief on the front of the panel is an image of Christ, depicted as an older, bearded figure, seated within an oval mandorla rimmed with six-pointed incised stars. Four bust-length angels emerge from behind the mandorla and support it in their outstretched arms. This scene appears to represent the Ascension of Christ described in Acts 1, in which Christ is lifted up into the heavens, as witnessed by his apostles.[5] There are, however, several unusual iconographic features in this image. The angels have no wings. Their hands and arms, which are draped to hold the sacred mandorla of Christ, are swaddled tightly and resemble sleeve-length mittens. Christ appears to be seated in majesty, with his knees bent and a footstool placed beneath his feet, yet the throne, globe, or rainbow on which he traditionally sits is missing. He also lacks a nimbus but is nevertheless recognizable in his regal pose, enthroned in glory, with his right hand raised in blessing and his left holding a cross-inscribed book.

The Walters ivory does not have a long-established provenance.[6] Henry Walters purchased it in Paris in 1930 from Henry Daguerre, who identified the panel as a twelfth-century German work.[7] Before that, the ivory belonged to the collection of Alphonse Kann of Paris and was described as a ninth-century Rhenish work when his collection was sold in New York by the American Art Association in 1927.[8] The panel is first documented as having belonged to Julius Campe of Hamburg.[9] It may have been purchased by Julius Campe (1792–1867), the director of the Hoffmann and Campe publishing firm, or by his son and heir, also named Julius, who lived from 1846 to 1909.[10] The younger Campe exhibited the ivory in the Paris *L'exposition rétrospective de l'art décoratif français* of 1900.[11] Any earlier exhibition, publication, or provenance is unknown.

To assess this ivory fairly, let us put aside the problems posed by its recent appearance and its internal

inconsistencies to compare it to other Early Christian and medieval ivories depicting the Ascension and Christ in Majesty. These comparisons will demonstrate some of the problems faced when attempting to attribute the Walters ivory to an Early Christian or medieval workshop.

As noted earlier, several scholars, including Goldschmidt, Beckwith, and Delbrueck, believed the Walters ivory was a sixth- to seventh-century eastern Christian work.[12] Images of the Ascension, depicting Christ within a mandorla supported by four angels, are numerous in eastern Christian art at this time.[13] A Coptic ivory in the Metropolitan Museum of Art provides a telling comparison with the Walters panel (fig. 2).[14] The Metropolitan ivory depicts a bearded Christ seated within a mandorla decorated with dotted circles carried by four full-length angels. Christ sits on a dotted cushion, but the throne itself is missing, as in the Walters plaque. The iconography of this Coptic ivory differs from the Walters panel. Most noticeably, the angels on the Metropolitan ivory are full-length winged figures extended horizontally in flight, not bust-length wingless figures. The Metropolitan Christ has a cruciform nimbus and raises his right hand in benediction outward from his body and holds an open cross-inscribed codex in his left hand. The Metropolitan ivory also includes, in the lower register, the figures of Mary and six of the twelve apostles who witnessed Christ's Ascension according to Acts 1:8–11. These important figures are lacking on the Walters ivory, although it has been suggested that these figures were once included on a lost second panel originally placed below the Walters central panel as part of a five-part diptych.[15]

Any suggestion that the Walters ivory was produced by a similar Coptic workshop is contradicted by stylistic and technical factors. In the Metropolitan ivory, figures emerge from the deeply carved background of the tusk. They are vigorously carved with strong, broad strokes rendering their forms and clothing folds. A lively surface pattern of incised lines and drilled dotted circles defines details such as eyes, hair, and beards and ornaments the star-studded mandorla and drapery. Recessed areas and incised outlines are also found on the Walters ivory, but the carving of the figures, the drapery, and decoration is handled very differently. On the Walters ivory, Christ is represented in a naturalistic manner, wearing a toga over an undertunic. The folds of his garments, carved primarily with V-shaped grooves of varied depth and spacing, suggest drapery falling and stretching across his sturdy body. In contrast, Christ

Fig. 1. Christ Enthroned, ivory. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 71.303.

on the Metropolitan ivory has a generalized and abstract form. His garments are treated as separately patterned areas. The drapery over Christ's torso lacks folds. Instead, it has a smooth surface with incised decoration resembling patterned textiles. A narrow incised ridge of ivory serves as a belt, and a raised arch of ivory suggests, rather than carefully delineates, the drapery falling between Christ's slender, splayed legs. It is hard to imagine these works as closely related.

A seventh-century icon from Mount Sinai seems, at first glance, to provide a close iconographic and compositional parallel to the Walters ivory (fig. 3).[16] This unusual Byzantine icon portrays Christ as the Ancient of Days, an older, bearded figure seated on a rainbow within an oval mandorla decorated with stars. In its present state, much of the encaustic background has flaked off. What remains shows four sets of short, splayed wings emerging from behind the

Fig. 2. Christ's Ascension, ivory. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.46, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

mandorla, with the pair at the upper left having a human face. As seen today, the configuration appears to match that of the Walters ivory. However, according to Kurt Weitzmann, the angelic beings in the Mount Sinai icon once represented the four cherubim, the man, lion, eagle, and ox, as described in Ezekiel 10:13, and not four angels.[17] Thus, we do not find an iconographic and compositional match for the Walters panel in this icon.

A ninth- or tenth-century provincial Carolingian origin has been suggested for the Walters ivory.[18] Most ninth- and tenth-century Carolingian ivories depicting the Ascension do not follow the formula of the Walters panel, but instead show Christ striding up Mount Olivet to grasp God's hand, which will carry him heavenward.[19] Depictions of the Ascension showing Christ enthroned in a mandorla and lifted by angels are unusual.[20] An ivory panel in Saint Paul-in-Lavanttal provides the closest comparison to the Walters panel (fig. 4).[21] This ivory, datable to ca. 860, belongs to the first group of ivories created by the later Metz school under Charles the Bald.[22] In the upper zone, a beardless Christ sits in majesty on a throne in an oval mandorla held by two full-length winged angels. Immediately below, Christ ascends into heaven toward the extended hand of God, while two angels bow to him. The Saint Paul-in-Lavanttal ivory does not have four angels supporting Christ, as does the Walters ivory, and is far more elaborate in narrative, representing simultaneously Christ's Ascension and return in majesty as witnessed by and foretold to the twelve apostles. Nor do its shallow carving, delicate details, or fluid bands of drapery find parallel in the Walters panel. The Saint Paul-in-Lavanttal ivory provides no support for a Carolingian origin of the Walters panel.

Volbach and Stern attribute the Walters ivory to a tenth- or eleventh-century Carolingian workshop.[23] Ascension images depicting Christ enthroned in a mandorla supported by four angels are more common in the eleventh century.[24] An ivory panel in the Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime in Rouen, identified as a book cover from Cologne or Liège in the first half of the eleventh century,[25] provides the best compositional comparison to the Walters ivory (fig. 5). In this small, rectangular panel, a youthful, beardless Christ is enthroned in an almond-shaped mandorla rimmed with six-pointed stars and supported by four angels. Although the angels of the Rouen panel are full-length figures, they are crowded into the narrow space between the mandorla and the rectangular frame and hold the mandorla with a wide embrace, in an arrangement similar to that of the Walters ivory. However, in terms of style and technique, the Rouen and Walters ivories are very different. On the Rouen example, figures are elongated, delicately proportioned, and undercut, so that their arms, legs, and wings are almost free from the background. This undercutting has led to losses, such as the right hand of Christ and the head of the upper-left angel. The Rouen figures contrast greatly with the broad, fleshy, and blocky figures appearing on the Walters panel, which lack undercutting. The drapery covering the Rouen figures falls in sinuous and bunched wide folds, resembling pleats, which are unlike the narrow, irregular, V-shaped grooves representing folds on the Walters panel.

An eleventh- or early twelfth-century ivory plaque in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, provides the closest Byzantine parallel for the Walters Ascension (fig. 6).[26] The Ravenna panel depicts a bearded Christ seated on a cushioned throne in a

Fig. 3. Christ in Majesty, encaustic on wood panel. Mount Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine. [From K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, I. The Icons* (Princeton, 1976), fig. 4.]

broad, ovoid mandorla supported by four half-length angels. As in the Walters panel, the angels occupy the corners within a rectangular frame, turn their heads away from Christ, and carry the mandorla in a similar, albeit more acute, embrace. The crescent-shaped heads and prominent angular noses of the outwardly turning angels are very close to those on the Walters panel. However, there are great stylistic and technical differences between these two ivories. On the Ravenna ivory, the half-length angels are not crowded into the spaces between the mandorla and the border, as on the Walters panel. They are graceful, elongated figures, whose heads, arms, and wings are undercut and virtually free from the deeply recessed background. Hair and feathers are meticulously carved, and the drapery is creased by complex folds cut obliquely to varied depths, then rounded and polished. Christ, who extends his hand outward in blessing, is a tall, slender figure, delicately rendered. In comparison, Christ and the angels on the Walters panel appear stocky, awkwardly composed, coarsely carved, and lack the virtuoso undercutting of the Ravenna example.

Fig. 4. Christ's Ascension, ivory. Saint Paul-in-Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, cover of codex 20. [From A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächischen Kaiser, VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1969), I, pl. 38, no. 90.]

In summary, assigning a time and place of origin for the Walters ivory is difficult. It does not follow the usual formula for Coptic, Early Christian, or Carolingian representations of either the Ascension or Christ in Majesty. In terms of composition, the Walters ivory is most similar to representations of the Ascension popular in the eleventh century, but does not match these works in style or technique.

The close relationship between the Walters panel and two sixth- or seventh-century ivories raises additional problems. Perceived affinities led Goldschmidt, Beckwith, and Delbrueck to identify the Walters ivory as a contemporary work.[27] As Goldschmidt first observed,

Fig. 5. Christ's Ascension, ivory. Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime, inv. 698.

Fig. 6. Christ's Ascension, ivory. Ravenna, Museo Nazionale, inv. 1009.

the figure of Christ on the Walters panel is almost a direct copy of Christ enthroned between the Apostles Peter and Paul depicted on the front central panel of the sixth- or seventh-century five-part book cover attached to the Saint Lupicin Gospels, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 7).[28] Both Christ figures have broadly proportioned faces and features, similar long hair and pointed beards, bless with their right hands across their chests, and hold cross-ornamented books in their left hands. The lower body of the Walters Christ is merely reversed. Other, subtler differences include the absence of a nimbus, ears, and left thumb on the Walters Christ, his unparted beard, wrinkle-free brow, and his large, open, lidless eyes. The drapery covering both figures follows a similar pattern of folds, except the drapery on the Walters ivory is simplified, straighter, and more neatly delineated. The fold that gathers and falls between the legs of Christ in the Saint Lupicin panel takes on the appearance of a wooden shaft attached to the footstool in the Walters panel. Yet in other areas of the Walters panel, such as the drapery across Christ's shoulder, folds are modeled naturalistically and are softly rounded. As we shall see, the differences observed suggest that the Walters ivory is a copy after the Saint Lupicin central panel rather than a contemporary work.

The Walters ivory has a flange structure and decorative border similar to those on the Saint Lupicin central panel. The loose and damaged panels, adjacent to the central panel of the Saint Lupicin cover, allow the narrow flange that surrounds the central panel to be visible.[29] A similar narrow flange, now damaged on the right and left sides, once surrounded the Walters panel on all four sides. The Walters flanges are unpierced, with the

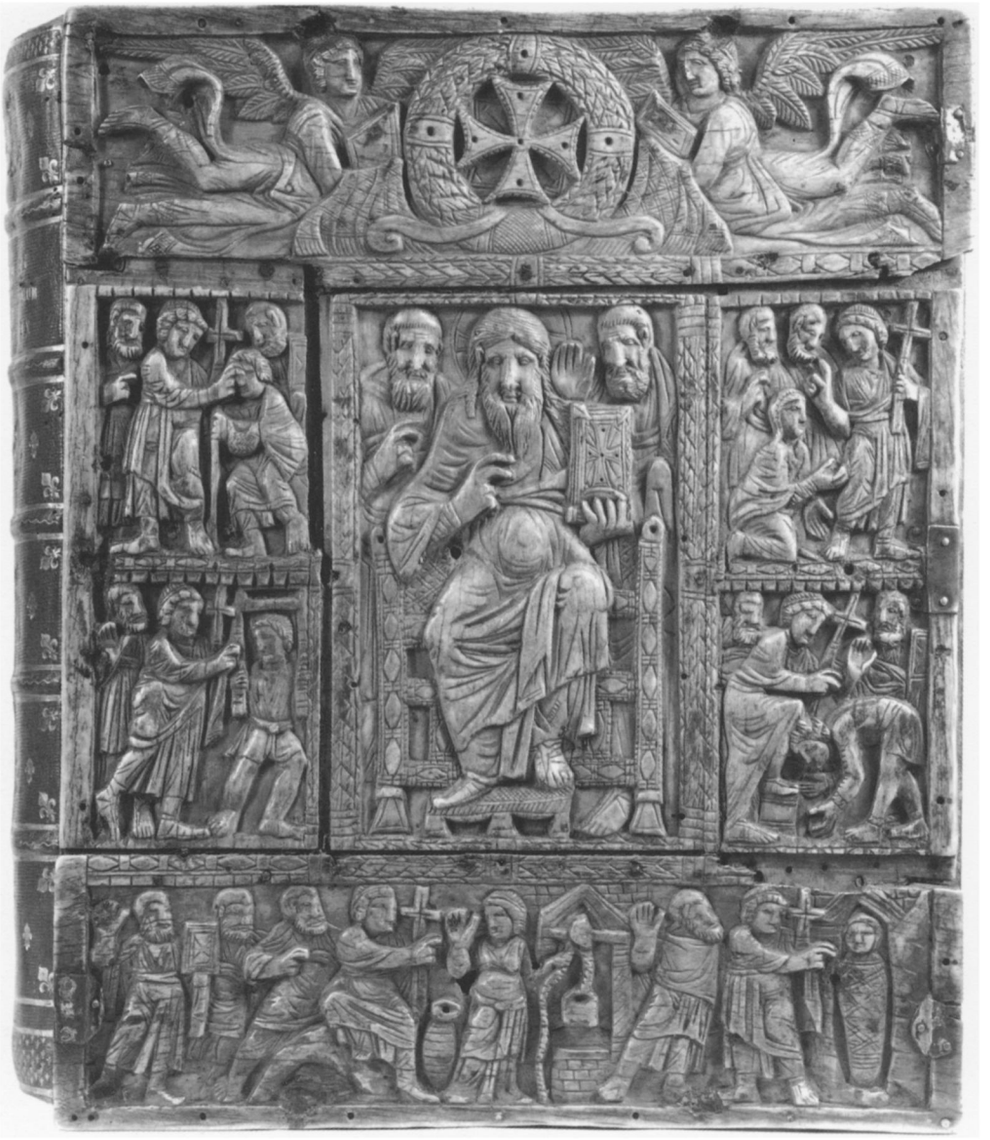

Fig. 7. Five-part diptych, Christ in Majesty and scenes from Christ's life, ivory. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, front cover of the Saint Lupicin Gospels, ms. lat. 9384.

exception of two holes added to secure a crack, while the Saint Lupicin panel is pierced by holes to hold the nails and ivory pegs used to attach it to the book cover. The border decoration of both panels is extraordinarily similar in design and proportion. On the Saint Lupicin cover, the borders of the central panel combine with those on the adjacent panels to create a frame incised to resemble a garland tied at the upper and lower corners and at the center with ribbons. Drill holes punctuate the central bands. The frame of the Walters panel is almost identical, only the drill holes in the Walters panel are superficial, while those on the Saint Lupicin panel appear to perforate the thickness of the ivory to hold pegs.

The Walters panel also shares features with a sixth- or seventh-century ivory panel in the Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris, depicting Saint Paul (fig. 8).[30] On both are found similar bearded figures, blessing with the right hand across the chest and holding a cross-ornamented book in the left. Christ in the Walters panel grasps his book from below in much the same manner as Paul, except that his thumb is omitted. A similar rolled pallium crosses the chests of Paul and Christ, and the drapery in the area of the left hand of each figure falls from the shoulder and behind the hand to form two pleats that end in a series of angular folds. The zig-zagging folds of the Paris ivory are merely cropped short and straightened

by the artist of the Walters panel. Once again a hardening of outline is detected on the Walters panel when it is compared to a sixth-century example.

Another small, but telling, detail suggests the Walters ivory is a later copy. On the Walters ivory, the Saint Lupicin central panel, and the ivory depicting Saint Paul in the Musée National du Moyen Age, the main figures hold cross-ornamented books in their left hands. All three book covers have borders composed of parallel bands and triangular corner-pieces, a cross-hatched binding on the left side, and a large, prominent cross in the center. The cross of the Walters ivory appears crude in comparison with the other two, however. The Saint Lupicin and the Musée National du Moyen Age cross examples are of an Early Christian type ending in wedge-shaped terminals. The Walters cross has wedge-shaped vertical terminals, but straight Latin-type horizontal arms. It has neither holes drilled to imitate gemstones nor the diagonal lines that radiate from the Saint Lupicin and Musée National du Moyen Age crosses. To the carver of the Walters ivory, mimicking the cross-decorated book was important, but the type of cross and its execution were not.

Several scholars, unable or unwilling to overlook such anomalies, have envisioned the Walters plaque as a medieval copy of a sixth- or seventh-century work like the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers. Volbach suggested that the Walters panel was made in the tenth or eleventh century in a workshop in Gaul, because of the difference in style between the Walters ivory and its sixth-century models.[31] Volbach did not explain the reasoning behind his attribution or what he meant by eleventh-century Carolingian Gaul. He merely stated, "indeed it is a late Carolingian copy of a five-part diptych of the sixth century."[32] Stern observed the similarities between the Walters ivory, the Saint Lupicin Gospels, and the Saint Paul ivory in the Musée National du Moyen Age, but he believed the greater linear quality of the Walters ivory marked it as a later medieval copy.[33] Boyd and Randall, the latest scholars to comment on the ivory, both cite naive misunderstandings, such as the absence of a throne and the unusual, veiled hands of the angels, as evidence for provincial Carolingian copying of a sixth-century Coptic model.[34] Randall supports a ninth- or tenth-century date for the Walters panel, in opposition to the eleventh-century date suggested by Volbach, because five-part diptychs were copied from antique models primarily by carvers of the Ada Group, Luithard Group, and Metz School and were rarely made later.[35] He does not, however, suggest any connection between the Walters ivory and any of these Carolingian groups, presumably because

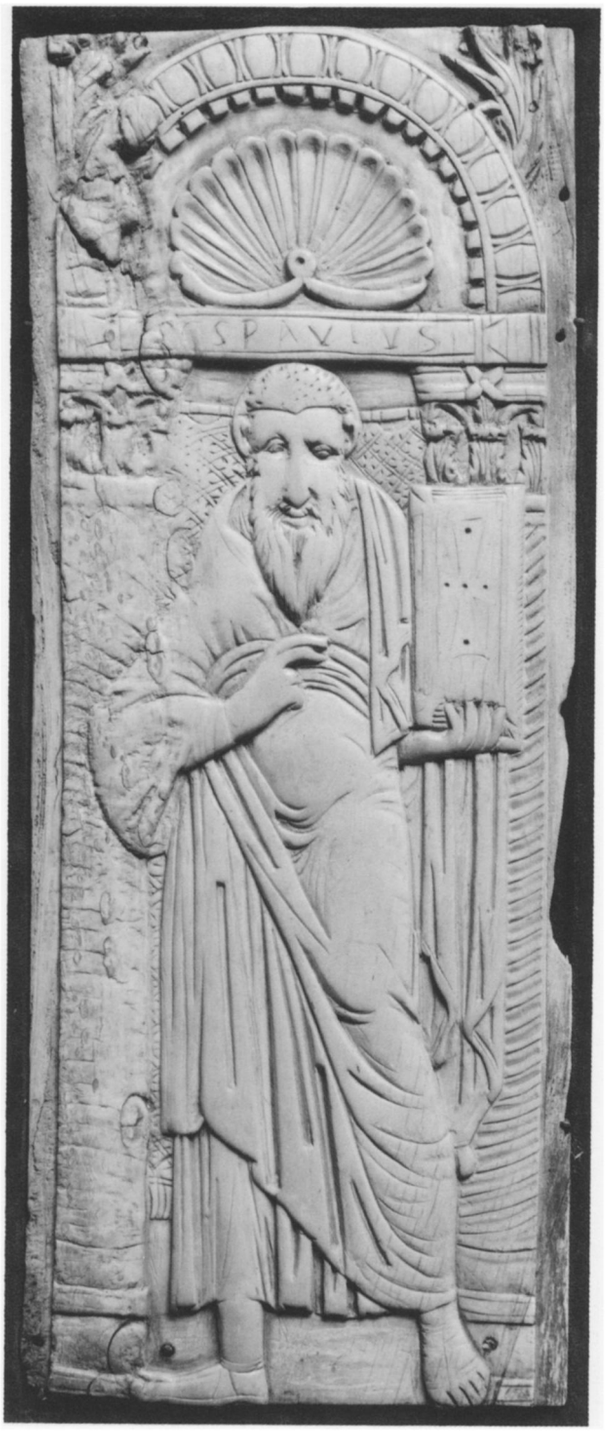

Fig. 8. Saint Paul, ivory. Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, inv. cl. 13074.

the Walters ivory differs greatly from them, especially in terms of style. Randall does observe that Coptic models were rarely followed by Carolingian artists.[36] Indeed, Carolingian ivory carvers, unable to obtain new tusks, often planed down and used the unworked backs of Coptic panels for their new ivory designs.[37]

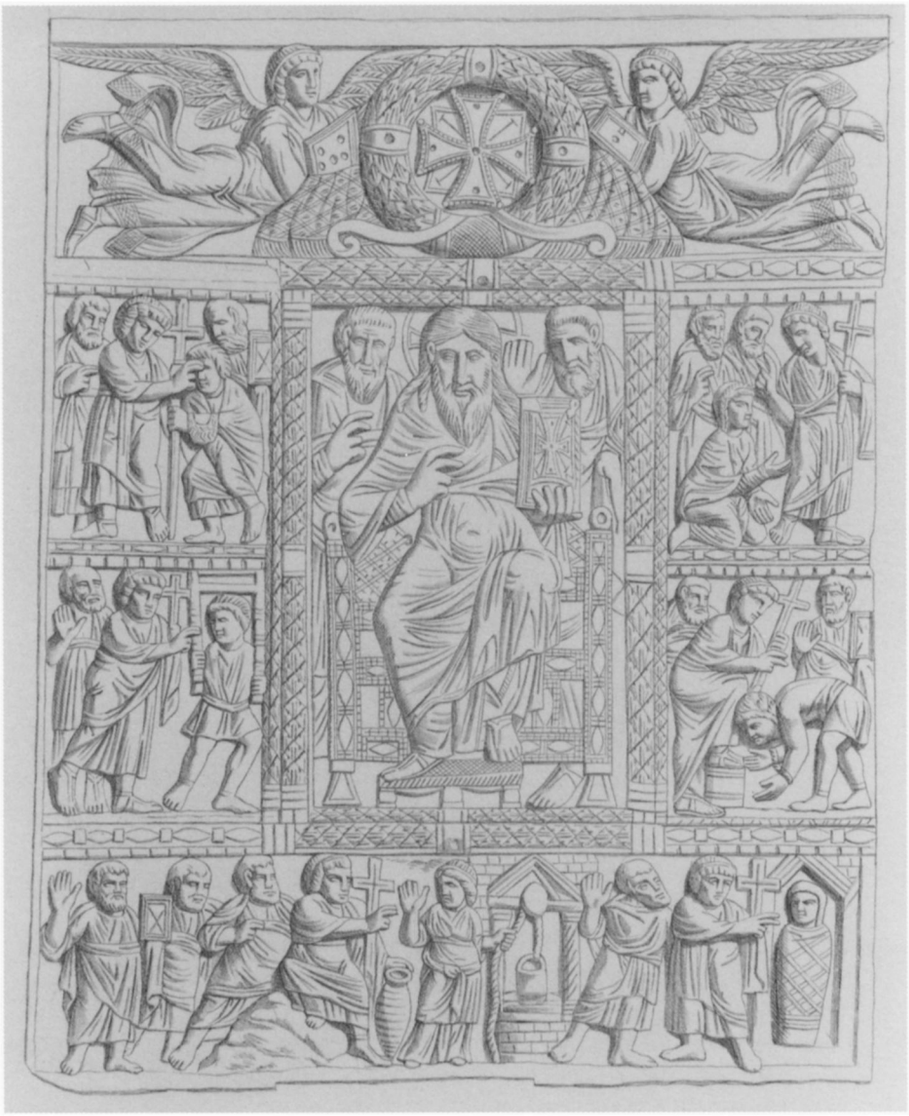

Fig. 9. Front cover of the Saint Lupicin Gospels, engraving from R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, VII (Prato, 1880), pl. 458, no. 1.

Attributing the numerous misunderstandings and stylistic inconsistencies found in the Walters ivory to a provincial Carolingian artist does not satisfactorily explain them. The Walters ivory does not fit Carolingian production in terms of iconography or style. As we have seen, its closest iconographic parallels are found only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but its style approximates that of the sixth or seventh century. One could suggest that an eleventh- or twelfth-century carver copied the Walters ivory from a sixth- or seventh-century example like the Saint Lupicin covers, and captured the style of the original, but changed the iconography to follow an updated model. However, the ivory's numerous and odd iconographical features call this theory into question. While medieval artists did on occasion omit iconographical attributes, such as Christ's throne or nimbus, on the Walters ivory not only are Christ's nimbus and throne missing, but also the wings of the angels, whose drapery-covered hands are turned into swaddled sleeves, and, as we have noted, the cross decoration on the Gospel book differs from Early Christian examples. It is far more plausible that a modern ivory carver created the Walters panel by drawing upon a variety of Early Christian and medieval models accessible in local museums, fictile ivories, and published engravings, and, being primarily

concerned with making a medieval-looking ivory, created this unusual iconographic pastiche.

The most convincing argument for a modern manufacture of the Walters ivory lies in its direct quotation from medieval ivories exhibited in or around Paris during the latter half of the nineteenth century and from models available through illustrations published at this time. As we have seen, the Walters panel and the front central panel of the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers share similar Christ figures, borders, and flange structure. The Saint Lupicin Gospel was given with its covers to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by the Saint Lupicin Municipal Council in 1794.[38] It was a prominently displayed work and was described and illustrated in a number of nineteenth-century publications, including Charles Lenormant's *Trésor de numismatique et glyptique* of 1839, Raffaele Garrucci's *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa* of 1880, and Henri Bouchot's *Les reliures d'art à la Bibliothèque Nationale* of 1888.[39] It was copied as a fictile ivory and is described in J.O. Westwood's 1876 publication, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum.*[40]

The Walters panel also was found to share key drapery patterns with the Saint Paul panel from the Musée National du Moyen Age. This ivory was in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century as part of the Spitzer collection and was purchased in 1893 by the Musée de Cluny, now the Musée National du Moyen Age, after Spitzer's death in 1890.[41] It was described and illustrated by Emile Molinier in 1889 and in the Spitzer collection catalogue of 1893.[42] As we have seen, the Walters panel's composition of Christ enthroned in a mandorla supported by four angels closely resembles that of an eleventh-century Ascension scene from the Musée Départemental des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime in Rouen. This ivory was purchased in 1851 and, as described by Westwood, was displayed in the Rouen Public Museum.[43] The composition of the Walters ivory is also very close to an eleventh-century Byzantine ivory from the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, which was described and illustrated by Antonio Francesco Gori in 1759.[44] Published illustrations, such as Garrucci's engraving of the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers (fig. 9), provided ivory carvers with models to work with in the studio. The kind of correction and simplification of outline that occurred when a nineteenth-century artist made an engraving of a medieval ivory is similar to the hardening of outline we have seen in the Walters panel. The Walters artist clearly had access to both published illustrations and original ivories, since nineteenth-century engravings offered corrected representations of the ivories, which did not record details such as the inner-flange structure seen between loosely fitting panels. The artist of the Walters panels reproduced the flange structure of the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers in the new work, a detail that could only be seen by directly studying the original ivory. A similar flange structure has been found on other nineteenth-century medieval ivory copies.[45]

Carved ivories were extremely popular in nineteenth-century Europe, and France was a leading manufacturer of European ivories at this time, with workshops in Dieppe and Paris.[46] Within these shops, artists created works in contemporary styles, but also made ivories emulating historical styles for their patrons. Ivory panels, diptychs, crucifixes, statuettes, and boxes were decorated in the neo-Byzantine, neo-Romanesque, neo-Gothic, or neo-Renaissance styles, as best suited the product. The interest in medieval art, witnessed by growing numbers of illustrated publications and exhibitions during the second half of the nineteenth century, provided a market for medieval ivory reproductions and forgeries. Forgers of medieval artifacts were so successful, especially in France, that early twentieth-century connoisseurs and collectors were skeptical of an ivory's authenticity until proven otherwise, usually by a provenance extending back beyond the nineteenth century.[47]

The Walters panel only emerged into the art market during the nineteenth century, when such forgeries were common. It has neither a consistently medieval iconography nor style, as we have seen. Even if it were an isolated and unique medieval work, the many misunderstandings and unusual features in this ivory would call its authenticity into question. The Walters ivory demonstrates traits associated with copied ivories. It relies on famous models, most notably the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Saint Paul ivory from the Musée National du Moyen Age, and its carving demonstrates a hardening of style.[48] In Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century, the models, the ivory carvers, and the market for medieval copies that could make production of the Walters ivory possible were all present. A modern manufacture provides a simple and logical explanation for the ivory's many unusual features and inconsistent style, in contrast to the various difficulties posed by a medieval attribution. It appears that for the study of medieval art, the Walters ivory is more faux than friend.

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Notes

1. A. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke fünfteiliger Elfenbeintafeln des VI.–VII. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1 (1923), 30–33; J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture, 300–1300* (London, 1963), 25; R. Delbrueck, "Constantinopler Elfenbeine um 500," *Felix Ravenna*, 3 (1952), 5–24.

2. W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1976), 138, no. 235; H. Stern, "Quelques ivoires d'origine supposée gauloise," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 7 (1954), 111; S. Boyd in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York, 1979), 530–31, no. 475; R. Randall, *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery* (New York, 1985), 163, 170, no. 246.

3. In addition to the broken flanges, other significant features of the Walters ivory in its present condition include a drill hole through the panel above the head of Christ and two other drill holes in the left upper flange. The pair of holes was added in an attempt to bind a developing crack which runs through the upper left flange and continues across thr front of the panel running along the neckline of the angel. On the front of the ivory, this crack is stopped by the thicker material comprising the mandorla, but it continues on the reverse almost to the panel's edge. The ivory's wear pattern is unusual. Some areas of high relief, such as the border and the angels' hands, cheeks, and mouths, are worn as would be expected, whereas in other areas of equally high relief, such as the eyes and noses of the angels and the drapery covering Christ's torso, the carving is still sharp and distinct. This may betray an attempt to antique the panel.

4. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke," 32. Goldschmidt suggested that the Walters panel (which he incorrectly identified as belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art) was the central piece for a five-part diptych or book cover. He identified a second ivory depicting an angel at the tomb of Christ with nearly identical measurements and a flange structure as being the pendant centerpiece to the Walters ivory and believed both ivories were carved in the same workshop, if not by the same hand. This second ivory, which first emerged on the art market in Paris in 1886 and belonged formerly to the Seligmann collection in Cologne is, like the Walters ivory, a dubious work. Concerning the Seligmann ivory, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 138, no. 236. In my M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1995, I discuss this ivory and its relation to the Walters ivory. For a description of the technique by which five-part diptychs were carved and assembled, see A. Cutler, "Barberiniana: Notes on the Making, Content and Provenance of Louvre, OA. 9063," *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 18 (1991), 329–39.

5. This iconographic identification is suggested by Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 531.

6. Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170, provides the most up-to-date provenance for this ivory.

7. Curatorial records of acc. no. 71.303, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

8. American Art Association, *The Alphonse Kann Collection: Sold by His Order*, I (New York, 1927), no. 447.

9. Curatorial records on acc. no. 71.30, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Cited by Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 138; Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 531; Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170.

10. For biographical information concerning Julius Campe the Elder and his publishing career, see E. Ziegler, *Julius Campe der Verleger Heinrich Heines* (Hamburg, 1976); and C. Brinitzer, *Das streitbare Leben des Verlegers Julius Campe* (Hamburg, 1962).

11. E. Molinier in G. Migeon, *1900, l'exposition rétrospective de l'art décoratif français* (Paris, 1901), 3, describes "La belle plaque de la collection Campe d'Hamburg, où le Christ assis, barbu et chevelu, bénit à la latine, la main gauche appuyée sur un livre fermé."

12. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke," 30–33, attributes the Walters ivory to a sixth- or seventh-century Coptic workshop. Goldschmidt's dating is followed by Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, 25. Delbrueck, "Constantinopler Elfenbeine," 5–24, believes the Walters ivory, like the Barberini diptych, was made in Constantinople around 500.

13. See, for example, the Ascension as represented on several of the sixth-century ampullae in the treasury of the Cathedral of Saint John in Monza, a sixth-century icon in the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, and a seventh-century reliquary box in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican. Concerning the Monza ampullae, see A. Grabar, *Ampoules de terre sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris, 1958), 16–31, nos. 1l, 10, 11, 14, 16 and pls. 3, 19, 27, 29. On the Mount Sinai icon and the Vatican reliquary, see K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, I. The Icons* (Princeton, 1976), 31–32, no. B.10, pls. 13, 55, 56, and fig. 14. In each of these examples, the two upper angels supporting the enthroned Christ are either half-length figures emerging from behind Christ's mandorla or full-length flying figures. Beneath this pair are two additional full-length flying angels. None of these examples includes four bust-length angels as found in the Walters ivory.

14. J. Breck, "Two Early Christian Ivories of the Ascension," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 14 (1919), 242–44, attributes the ivory to late sixth- or early seventh-century Palestine. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 144, no. 255, suggests this ivory is an eighth- or ninth-century eastern Christian or Coptic work. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, 30, supports Volbach's dating.

15. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke," 33.

16. This comparison was suggested by Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 531. Concerning this icon, see Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 41–42, no. B.16, and pls. 18, 62, 63.

17. Weitzmann, ibid., 41–42, points to the hatched lines around the neck of the figure at the upper right, which he interprets as feathers belonging to the eagle in Ezekiel's vision. He compares this man and eagle pairing to that represented in the Coptic frescoes of chapel 17 in Bawit.

18. Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170.

19. Among the Carolingian ivories reproduced in Goldschmidt's *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert*, I (Berlin, 1914; rpt. Berlin and Oxford, 1969), the usual formula for the Ascension in which Christ strides up to heaven or is pulled into heaven by the hand of God is represented by nos. 27, 31, 45, 65, 70, 127, 131, 138, 140; see pls. 14, 15, 21, 27, 28, 54, 56, 59.

20. In representations of the Ascension on Carolingian ivories illustrated in Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, only nos. 80b and 87, pls. 33 and 37, depict the Ascension with a full-length standing Christ in a mandorla grasped by two full-length angels. Neither of these examples duplicates the four-angel arrangement found on the Walters panel.

21. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 49, no. 90, pl. 38.

22. R. Melzak, "The Carolingian Ivories of the Later Metz Group," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1983, 89, 229.

23. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 138, and Stern, "Quelques ivoires," 111.

24. In A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsichen Kaiser,VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert*, II (Berlin, 1918, rpt. Berlin, 1970), there are six eleventh-century ivories in which Christ is shown within a mandorla supported by four angels. See nos. 34, 66, 102, 103, 152, 173, and pls. 12, 22, 31, 32, 43, 49. In A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit XI.–XIII. Jarhundert*, IV (Berlin, 1926, rpt. Berlin, 1975), there are three eleventh-century Italian ivory examples of the Ascension in which Christ appears in a mandorla supported by four angels. See nos. 126, 138, 158, and pls. 47, 50, 57.

25. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächischen Kaiser*, II, 28, no. 50, attributes the ivory to Liège in the first half of the eleventh century. J. Lejeune, "Genèse de l'art mosan," *Wallraf Richartz Jahrbuch*, 15 (1953), 63, instead suggests a workshop in Cologne. In the exhibition catalogue of the Kunsthalle, Cologne and Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels, *Rhin-Meuse: art et civilisation* (800–1400) (Cologne and Brussels, 1972), 222, no. 11, the ivory is attributed to Liège ca. 1000–1020, but its proximity to ivories with a Cologne provenance is recognized. D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Age* (Fribourg, 1978), 88, recognizes similarities in its style to ivories from both Cologne and Liège. L. Flavigny in Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, *De l'Egypte ancienne à la renaissance rouennaise, les collections du Musée Départemental des Antiquités de Rouen*, (Rouen, 1992), no. 64, attributes this ivory to an early eleventh-century workshop in Liège or Cologne.

26. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934; rpt. Berlin, 1979), 75, no. 205, describe this ivory as an eleventh-century work belonging to the Frame Group (Rahmengruppe), while L. Martini and C. Rizzardi, *Avori bizantini e medievali nel Museo Nazionale di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1990), 70–71, no. 7, attribute it to an early twelfth-century Constantinopolitan workshop. For additional Byzantine ivories depicting Christ seated within an almond-shaped mandorla supported by four angels, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, nos. 115; 221, and pls. 42 and 71. These ivories follow a compositional arrangement seen in the sixth century, in which the upper pair of angels are half-length figures while the lower pair are full-length figures in flight, and in which the figures of the Virgin and twelve apostles are included.

27. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke," 30–33; Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, 25; Delbrueck, "Constantinopler Elfenbeine," 5–24.

28. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke," 33. This observation is repeated by Stern, "Quelques ivoires," 110; Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170; and Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 351. Regarding the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers and their dating, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 97, no. 145; Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires*, 37–38, 183–84; and M. Lafitte and V. Goupil, *Reliures Précieuses* (Paris, 1991), 16–17, 100. The ivory has been widely attributed to diverse areas of Christendom, including Syria, Egypt, Ravenna, and Gaul.

29. See Cutler, "Barberiniana," 335–36, for a discussion of how five-part diptychs, including the Saint Lupicin Gospel covers, were structurally fashioned and assembled. The Saint Lupicin panels, like the Barberini diptych, have flanges on all four sides. The flanges on the sides covered the joints of the adjacent vertical plaques, and the upper and lower flanges slotted into mortises in the upper and lower horizontal panels.

30. Stern, "Quelques ivoires", 111; Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 531; and Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170, have noted these shared features. Concerning this ivory, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 99, no. 150, who suggests a sixth-century Gaulish origin for this ivory, while J.P. Caillet, *L'antiquité classique, le haut moyen âge et byzance au Musée de Cluny* (Paris, 1985), 118–19, finds a sixth- or early seventh-century eastern Byzantine origin more satisfactory.

31. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 138, no. 235.

32. Ibid. "Wohl Kopie eines fünfteiligen Diptychons des 6. Jahrh. aus spätkarolingischer Zeit."

33. Stern, "Quelques ivoires," 111.

34. Boyd in Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality*, 531; Randall, *Masterpieces*, 163.

35. Randall, *Masterpieces*, 170.

36. Ibid.

37. See K. Weitzmann, "The Hercules Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedra," *Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), 1–37, esp. 27–29, for the planing down and re-use of Coptic ivories in the making of two Hercules panels on the Cathedra Petri. The re-use of a sixth- or seventh-century Coptic ivory suggests a Carolingian, rather than late antique, dating for the Hercules panels. According to K. Weitzmann, "An Addendum to 'Hercules Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedra,'" *Art Bulletin*, 56 (1974), 248, the planing of ivories is "an outspoken Carolingian phenomenon" and was not necessary prior to, or after, the Carolingian period due to an abundant supply of ivory. L. Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991), 157–58, discusses the re-use of ivory unique to the Carolingian period as related to the production of the Cathedra Petri. See also A. Vandersall, "Two Carolingian Ivories from the Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 6 (1972), 17–57, for the re-use of two Coptic panels on two ninth-century pendant ivories currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

38. H. Bouchot, *Les reliures d'art à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1888), 2.

39. C. Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique*, II (Paris, 1839), 5, pls. 9–11; R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, VI (Prato, 1880), 85–86, pl. 458; Bouchot, *Les reliures*, 1–2, pl. 1.

40. J.O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fictile Ivory Casts in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1876), 45–46.

41. Caillet, *Musée de Cluny*, 118. For a biography of Spitzer and the history of his collection, see *La collection Spitzer: Antiquité, moyen âge–renaissance*, I (Paris, 1890), i–iv.

42. E. Molinier, "La collection Spitzer," *Gazette Archéologique*, 14 (1889), 108–109, fig. 22; *La collection Spitzer: Antiquité*, 1, 9 and pl. 4, no. 38.

43. Concerning the collection history, see Flavigny, in *Musée Départemental des Antiquités de Rouen*, no. 64. Westwood, *Fictile Ivory Casts*, 417.

44. A.F. Gori, *Thesaurum veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum*, 3 (Florence, 1759), 302–304, fig. 41.

45. For a second example of a modern forgery employing similar flanges, see A. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994), 64–65.

46. Concerning ivory production in France in the nineteenth century, see A. Millet, *Ivoires et ivoiriers de Dieppe* (Paris, 1906), 28–54. W.R. Johnston, "Later Ivories," in Randall, *Masterpieces*, 281–85; C. Ritchie, *Modern Ivory Carving* (South Brunswick and New York, 1972), 68–88; F. St. Aubyn, ed., *Ivory: An International History and Survey* (New York, 1987), 131–42.

47. O. Kurtz, *Fakes*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), 162–63.

48. According to Kurtz, *Fakes*, 162–69, both these traits are characteristic of copied ivories. J.M. Eisenberg, "The Aesthetics of the Forger: Stylistic Criteria in Ancient Art Forgery," *Minerva*, 10 (1992), 10–15, proposed a series of criteria to help identify forgeries. The Walters panel fails on several of his points, displaying a disparity of style in the execution, misrepresented or unique elements in the composition, a reversal of image that makes it more difficult to associate the copy with an original, a confusion of period-indicating elements that causes disagreements on dating, and a synthesis of elements from different objects to form a new composition. D. Kinney, "A Late Antique Ivory Plaque and Modern Response," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 98 (1994), 457–80, cautions against Eisenberg's "anachronistic critical vocabulary" and his inappropriate application of modern aesthetic conceptions. I have tried not to commit such errors in this study. In my analysis I treated the Walters as an authentic medieval work until the overwhelming preponderance of evidence suggested otherwise. I wish to thank the Walters Art Gallery and Dr. Gary Vikan, in particular, for permitting and encouraging me to study this ivory so closely and for supporting my findings.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 2, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 3, copyright 1976, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press; fig. 4, reprinted by permission of Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft; fig. 5, Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités; fig. 6, Archivio fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Ravenna; fig. 7, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; fig. 8, Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

The Vindication of a Controversial Early Thirteenth-Century *Vierge Ouvrante* in the Walters Art Gallery

Kelly Holbert

This article discusses the ivory Vierge ouvrante *in the Walters Art Gallery (acc. no. 71.152), whose authenticity, once seriously questioned, has now been confirmed by radiocarbon dating. Figuring in the debate are three* Vierge ouvrantes *of the 1830s modeled on the genuine Walters statuette. The Walters* Vierge, *however, was not discovered and reassembled until 1897. Various explanations of this conundrum are considered, including the possibility that the provenance of the Walters ivory was in part fabricated.*

Over the past fifty years the *Vierge ouvrante* in the Walters Art Gallery has caused much consternation among art historians on both sides of the Atlantic. Attributed to the French Gothic period of the early thirteenth century by some, it was labeled an outrageous nineteenth-century forgery by others. The piece was acquired by Henry Walters in 1903 and, indeed, has been known to scholars in Europe since the 1890s; it was only in the second half of this century, however, that the authenticity of the work began to be questioned. What will be considered here are these very questions of the origin, authenticity, and provenance of the *Vierge ouvrante*, issues that have once again come to the fore with the introduction of new scientific evidence to the argument.

Based on a preliminary stylistic study, the *Vierge ouvrante* (figs. 1–3) can be dated between 1200 and 1225 and localized to central France.[1] When closed, it depicts the seated Virgin and Child, and when opened a narrative cycle of the Passion of Christ. The statuette is carved out of four pieces of elephant ivory and measures 43.5 by 13 cm with the wings open. It is believed to have been made for the priory of Boubon, located to the southwest of Limoges and founded in the order of Fontevrault by Robert d'Arbrissel in 1106.[2]

Boubon had by the thirteenth century become well known as a wealthy priory for noble young girls and continued to thrive throughout the Renaissance. By the seventeenth century, however, the priory had begun to decline and in 1792 it was forcibly dissolved in the wake of the French Revolution. The provenance of the statuette after 1792 is somewhat complex and will be discussed in greater detail below. For the moment, suffice it to say that the wings of the *Vierge ouvrante* were purportedly separated from the body at the time of the dissolution of the priory and the parts preserved in two different locations in the region surrounding Boubon. The wings and the central panel were reunited in 1897 in Limoges.[3]

Art historians of the early twentieth century heralded the rediscovered Boubon *Vierge* as a magnificent and rare work of the Gothic period. It was displayed at the *Exposition universelle* in Paris in 1900 and labeled a work of the twelfth century.[4] Three years later, in 1903, it was purchased by Henry Walters in New York from the London-based dealer George Harding. In 1905 Alfred Maskell devoted several pages of his book on ivories to the Boubon *Vierge*,[5] piecing together its provenance from several articles that appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* in 1898–1900. A second scholar, Raymond Koechlin, agreed with Maskell in 1924,[6] and from that date on the Boubon *Vierge* was widely praised, with no suspicions raised as to its authenticity. In 1931 it was photographed by Aubrey Bodine for an article in the *Baltimore Sun*,[7] in which the piece was dated to the fourteenth century and described as one of the treasures of Henry Walters's collection.

During the years that followed a few doubts began to surface within the scholarly community; nevertheless, the Boubon *Vierge* retained a great number of supporters, including the art historians Louis Grodecki (1947)[8] and Alfred Schmid (1958).[9] In 1972 Magdeleine and René Blancher published a study tracing the history of the Boubon *Vierge* and identifying it with the *Vierge* in the Walters.[10] More recently, in 1990, Gudrun Radler published her dissertation on

Fig. 1. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon*, closed, ivory, 1220–1225. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 71.152. Fig. 2. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon* (figure 1), opened.

Vierge ouvrantes of the thirteenth through seventeenth centuries, and devoted the first entry to the Boubon *Vierge*, dating it to around 1200.[11]

In the 1950s and 1960s, however, a number of the *Vierge*'s stylistic and iconographical features had begun to raise doubts among a few art historians. In 1957 Philippe Verdier, then curator of medieval art at the Walters, wrote to William Forsyth at the Metropolitan Museum of Art to ask his opinion of the piece.[12] Forsyth admitted to having doubts about the *Vierge* but said he would need to see it in person before reaching a final decision. In the 1960s, Verdier's successor, Richard Randall, circulated photos of the Boubon *Vierge* among scholars in an effort to collect their opinions on the piece's authenticity. In response, Thomas Hoving of the Metropolitan Museum wrote in 1968 that he believed the *Vierge* to be highly suspicious, given the odd style of the inner narrative scenes and the overall cautious and "uninspired" carving of the work. Doubts were similarly expressed by Hanns Swarzenski, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who referred to the opinion of the renowned scholar Adolph Goldschmidt that all ivory *Vierge ouvrantes* were fake.

In 1985 Richard Randall published a comprehensive catalogue of the ivory collection of the Walters Art Gallery, from which the *Vierge ouvrante* was omitted

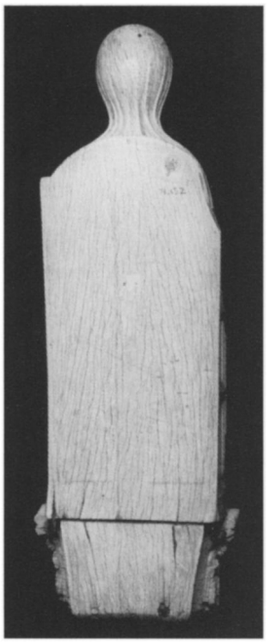

Fig. 3. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon* (figure 1), back. Fig. 4. (above) *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon* (figure 1), detail, Nativity from base.

entirely, along with other suspect carvings.[13] Randall has explained that the *Vierge ouvrante* was considered a non-medieval work, perhaps dating to the eighteenth century, by himself and a group of scholars he had assembled in 1978. This group included Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Musée du Louvre, Paris); Charles Little (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Neil Stratford (British Museum, London); and Paul Williamson (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).[14]

In 1996, in the face of continued uncertainty,[15] the Boubon *Vierge* was requested for an exhibition of French Gothic ivories to be held at the Detroit Institute of Arts and at the Walters.[16] The question of authenticity had to be settled once and for all, since the Boubon *Vierge*, while too fragile to travel to Detroit, was to be included in the catalogue and in the Walters's exhibition. In 1996, at the suggestion of Richard Randall, it was decided that radiocarbon (carbon 14) dating should be carried out in an effort to determine the age of the ivory of the Boubon *Vierge*.[17]

Before discussing the test and its results, it might be helpful to review the condition of the ivory of the Boubon *Vierge*, which has suffered a few losses and had a number of parts replaced in the nineteenth century. The losses include pieces of ivory around the iron hinges, which themselves are only original in part. Sections of ivory are also missing from both sides of the base, and the throne of the Virgin was originally topped by balls or pinnacles, which have broken off. Iron pins in the base of the central panel have caused a number of large cracks in the ivory. Traces of what appears to be staining from metal mounts are found on the head of the Virgin, and these, along with a series of plugged holes, suggest that there may originally have been a metal crown on the Virgin's head.[18]

Of the parts replaced in the nineteenth century, the most significant is the proper left half of the Virgin's head, including the angel on the inside. On the front of the statuette, the left foot of the Virgin, along with the drapery covering it, is a replacement, as is the head of Christ seated in the quatrefoil on her lap. Christ's proper right hand may also have been restored.[19] On the interior of the Boubon *Vierge*, the lower half of Mark, the first Evangelist on the left, also appears to be a later replacement, undocumented until now. This section of Mark's body has been stained a light brown to blend with the upper part, while the head of the Virgin on the front has been artificially aged by the carving of scratches on all sides to imitate cracks, especially at the joins on the outside edges.

To return to the radiocarbon test, in early 1996 a small sample of ivory was removed from the bottom of the central panel, at the point at which it was attached to the base. Care was taken to avoid all areas of possible restoration. The sample was sent to a radiocarbon accelerator unit in Oxford, England.[20] Subsequent results of the test indicated that the ivory could be dated between 1020 and 1220 with a 95.4 percent degree of confidence.[21] With this result in hand, we are still left, however, with the question of the authenticity of the carving of the Boubon *Vierge*.

Given that radiocarbon analysis can only date the age of the ivory, what remains is the possibility that the piece of medieval ivory was actually carved in a later period, such as the nineteenth century. Terry Drayman-Weisser, Director of Conservation and Technical Research at the Walters, has considered this problem at length and has formulated a number of objections to a later carving of the medieval piece of ivory.[22]

First, it seems unlikely that an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century craftsman or forger would have come across such a large piece of uncarved, six-hundred-year-old ivory. In addition, the figure itself is too large to have been recut from a previously carved medieval statuette, for the Boubon *Vierge* closed is 43.5 cm high and 9.8 cm thick, and weighs 4.48 kg. In fact, the *Vierge* appears to take up almost the entire circumference of the elephant tusk.

Fig. 5. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon* (figure 1), detail, Crucifixion on central panel.

Second, if a craftsman or forger did have such an uncarved piece of medieval ivory in his possession, he would not have known its actual date. It therefore seems almost fantastic that he should have unerringly chosen to copy the correct style for the date of the ivory. Even if he simply recognized that the ivory was old and chose to carve a statuette in a thirteenth-century style to coincide with the beginnings of the Gothic revival, new objections are raised. If this were the case, then what object served as the carver's model? The Boubon *Vierge* is such an unusual piece that it is highly improbable that a craftsman in the nineteenth century could have invented it in all its complexity. If intended as a forgery, it is equally unlikely that he would have taken the risk of its being accepted by critics and connoisseurs as a completely unique work of medieval art.

The third and perhaps strongest reason to believe that the carving and the ivory are both medieval is the simple fact that the surface aging of the ivory is consistent on both the exterior and interior of the Boubon *Vierge*. An uncarved, medieval tusk would have aged on the exterior only, and when carved in a later century would have revealed the whiter and less deteriorated core, corresponding here to the interior of the *Vierge*. Signs of artificial aging are found only on the small, isolated replacement parts that were restored or replaced, while the overall surfaces of the *Vierge* are consistent both inside and out in their tone, texture, and patterns of cracking and deterioration.

Coinciding with this test is Richard Randall's entry on the Boubon *Vierge* in the catalogue of the ivory exhibition in Detroit and Baltimore (1997).[23] The Boubon *Vierge* is here included in the section "Epilogue: Pastiches, Revivals, Forgeries, and Open Questions," in which Randall suggests that the *Vierge* was carved between 1750 and 1780 as a replacement for an earlier work in the priory of Boubon.[24] He doubts the medieval origins of the piece primarily on the basis of its stylistic and iconographic anomalies, and adds that he believes radiocarbon dating to be unreliable.[25] He notes that ivory has a low carbon content and thus large plus and minus factors for each date must be taken into account.

However, in the case of the Boubon *Vierge* questions over the breadth of the date range do not seem justified, for the range covers the years 1020 to 1220 with 95.4 percent certainty. The ivory is clearly old enough to have been carved between 1200 and 1225. Randall's concerns over such features as the lack of a *titulus* on the cross of the Crucifixion, as well as the presence of the Lamb medallion above it,[26] are, however, valid, and some attempt to explain them will be made below.

Before the radiocarbon test was performed, the authenticity of the Boubon *Vierge* had most often been questioned on the basis of its puzzling iconography.[27] To begin with, on almost all early Gothic statuettes, the seated Virgin holds an infant Christ on her lap, not an adult Christ, as does the Boubon *Vierge*. On the front of this statuette, the centrally placed Christ is seated on a rainbow, with his left hand placed on the globe of the world and his right raised in blessing. Flanking him are the tables of the Law and a chalice, and surrounding the whole is a large quatrefoil, supported by the Virgin's hands.

Fig. 6. Virgin and Child, ivory, early 13th century. Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny, inv. CL 398.
Fig. 7. Virgin and Child, *La Vierge d'Ourscamp*, ivory, first quarter of the 13th century. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, inv. O. Dut. 1274.
Fig. 8. Virgin and Child, gilt copper and enamel, mid-13th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 53.16.

This is an image of the apocalyptic Christ as he appears at the Last Judgment (Rev. 20:11–15), representing the beginning and the end, as symbolized by the tables of the Old and the New Law. The chalice, symbol of sacrifice and redemption, ties the Christ on the front with the Christ revealed when the wings are opened to the cycle of his Passion. Also revealed on the central panel are images of Christ enthroned and of the apocalyptic Lamb, establishing further links between the crucified Christ inside and the Christ in Judgment on the front of the statuette.

It is, in fact, the presence of the inner narrative cycle that explains the seemingly odd choice to represent Christ as an adult seated upon the Virgin's lap. Unlike other contemporary statuettes, the Boubon *Vierge* is not a solid object with an iconography to be taken in at one glance, but rather a *Vierge ouvrante* opening to reveal the life of Christ from his birth to his death and resurrection. Thus as a *Sedes sapientiae*,[28] or throne of wisdom, the Boubon *Vierge* has the double function of presenting the seated Virgin and Child, and of connecting this image to the narrative scenes found on the inside.

The cycle of the life of Christ actually begins on the base, or predella (fig. 4), which remains visible when the wings are either open or closed. Seen in the center is the Nativity (Luke 2:7), with the reclining Virgin in the foreground and Joseph at the far right. Behind them is the manger with the infant Christ and the heads of the ox and the ass. The scene is enclosed by a trefoil arch, topped by a shallow dome and two turrets, and with walls of delicately depicted brickwork. The two ends of the base bear the remains of what were originally two earlier scenes, the Annunciation on the left and the Visitation on the right. At present only a single standing female figure remains on each end.

The cycle of the Passion of Christ begins on the inner left wing. At the top, Christ is brought before Pilate, the latter seated at the right and pointing to the prisoner with his left hand (Matt. 27:2). The two scenes that follow are out of narrative order, for the centrally placed Christ Carrying the Cross here precedes the Flagellation (Matt. 27:26) at the bottom.

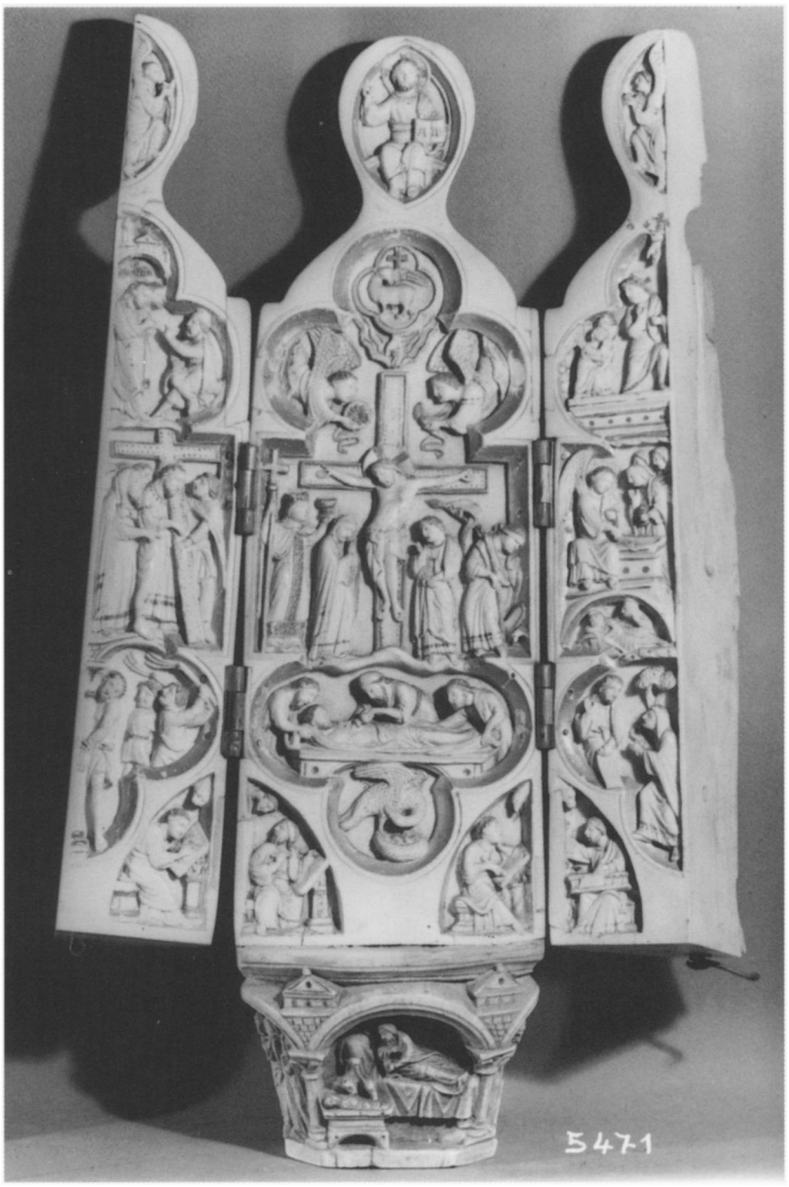

Fig. 9. *Vierge ouvrante*, closed, ivory, early 19th century. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. L 364. Fig. 10. *Vierge ouvrante* in figure 9, opened.

This arrangement is a second reason for concern, for it is hard to believe that a medieval carver could have made such a simple mistake. It is, however, equally inconceivable that a skilled nineteenth-century forger would have erred to such an extent. A more straightforward explanation for this anomaly is that the change in the order was a deliberate, medieval choice, designed to highlight the Carrying of the Cross by bringing it into a position parallel and next to the Crucifixion. It relies on a horizontal reading of scenes such as found in manuscripts and on fourteenth-century ivory diptychs.[29]

Next in the series is the Crucifixion of the central panel (fig. 5). Christ is flanked on the left by Mary and Ecclesia, who holds a chalice, and on the right by John and the blindfolded Synagoga, holding a broken lance and letting fall the tables of the Old Law. Above Christ are mourning angels and a second pair of angels elevating a quatrefoil with the apocalyptic Lamb. Carved into the ivory spandrels above the Lamb are representations of the sun (left) and the moon (right). At the very top, in the head portion of the *Vierge*, is Christ enthroned and holding a book, with worshipping angels to either side, in the wings.

Below the Crucifixion is the Entombment and the anointing of Christ's body for burial. Three men assist in this task, two of whom presumably represent Joseph of Arimathea, who had asked Pilate for the body of Christ, and Nicodemus, who had provided the oils

and spices for burial (John 19:38–39). Christ's body rests on the top of a second trefoil arch supporting a brickwork wall.

The cycle resumes at the top of the right wing, with Christ ascending to heaven in the presence of two angels who stand on his tomb (Matt. 28:1–6). Below, under a third trefoil arch, here more of a canopy, the three Marys are greeted at the empty tomb by a seated angel, while two guards sleep below (Mark 16:1–7). At the bottom of the wing, the risen Christ appears to Mary Magdalene in the garden, suggested by the tree at the left (John 20:11–17).

A third puzzling element is the placement of the four Evangelists in the lower corners of the wings and central panel, near the base. From left to right, and identifiable by their symbols, are Mark, Matthew, John, and Luke, seated at their desks. Mark and Matthew are turned to face each other, while John and Luke are back to back.

The inclusion of the Evangelists in a narrative cycle of the life of Christ is indeed unusual, but it does have some precedent among ivory plaques of the Crucifixion, particularly of the mid-eleventh century. For example, on the Gospel book cover of Archbishop Anno (Saint George, Treasury, Cologne),[30] the symbols of the Evangelists are placed in the four corners of a Crucifixion scene. On a second plaque, on the Gospels of Theophanu (Cathedral Treasury, Essen),[31] the Evangelists, seated at their desks, appear in the corners along with their symbols. The center of the plaque illustrates the Nativity, Crucifixion, and Ascension. As will be seen below, the carver of the Boubon *Vierge* may well have been looking to earlier ivories for inspiration in the arrangement of the narrative scenes.

On the whole, as we have no other genuine *Vierge ouvrante* with which to compare the Boubon *Vierge*, it is difficult to say what is or is not appropriate imagery for such a piece. The carver and designer of the program may have drawn on a variety of sources for inspiration, including earlier ivories, sculpture, and manuscript illuminations. While there is not space enough to enter into a discussion of iconographic sources here, it is a subject worthy of further study, especially given the Boubon *Vierge*'s unique position in the history of French Gothic ivories.

Soon added to the debate over the *Vierge*'s iconography was a second issue concerning its style.[32] While the carving on the outside is consistent with other French ivories dated to the early thirteenth century, as will be seen below, that on the inside is closer in spirit to the ivory plaques of the ninth to eleventh centuries. In fact, the figures in the Passion cycle could be condemned as being too short and stocky, having none of the elongated grace and elegance associated with the Gothic, even at this early date. This seeming contradiction in styles can only be touched upon briefly here but can be partly explained by the Boubon *Vierge*'s place of origin.

The outside of the *Vierge*, with the seated Virgin holding the figure of Christ on her lap, does in fact have much in common with ivory statuettes carved in and around Paris in the early thirteenth century. A comparison with the Virgin and Child in the Cluny museum (fig. 6) reveals its close affinity with the Boubon *Vierge* in the smooth, oval head, the close-fitting veil, and the blank, almost expressionless eyes.[33] The Cluny Virgin is also in a frontal, hieratic pose, with the drapery of her robe falling in thick, heavy folds over her knees.

A second statuette, also dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, is found in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (fig. 7). Known as the Ourscamp Madonna, this Virgin shares with the others the oval face, blank eyes, and smooth veil; she differs, however, in the more animated drapery, which swirls over her knees and feet. Both the Ourscamp Madonna and the Cluny Virgin, however, hold figures of Christ clearly represented as a child, setting them apart from the Boubon *Vierge* with its apocalyptic associations.[34]

If the front of the Boubon *Vierge* can be placed, albeit sketchily, within a larger context of early Gothic statuettes, the same cannot be said of the narrative scenes inside. As noted above, other scholars have commented on the similarity of the interior scenes to Carolingian and Ottonian plaques and, in particular, to the ninth-century Metz school of ivory carving. The style of the Boubon interior is, however, perhaps better compared to that of the mid-eleventh century and to the ivories on the Gospels of Theophanu and the Archbishop Anno discussed above. Seen on both of these plaques are figures that are sturdy and thick-set, with heavy drapery and self-contained gestures.

The differences, though, are equally noteworthy, for another aesthetic is at work on the Boubon interior, where figures are not arranged in regular rows but in dramatic, rhythmic groupings. Overall, there is a greater sense of movement in the limbs and torsos, and the Christ on the right wing, as he appears to Mary, is particularly "un-Ottonian" in his elegant pose of crossed legs, raised hands, and backward glance. The placement of scenes in sections shaped as trefoils and rhomboids is also a pure invention of the carver, rooted perhaps in metalwork of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[35] So too is the use of round,

decorative depressions along the outer edges of the central panel and the wings, depressions that do not appear to have served any functional purpose.[36]

If this interior style can be seen to have an early Gothic sensibility despite its Ottonian roots, what is less easy to explain is why such an amalgamation of styles was chosen in the first place. The choice may not be as odd as it first appears if we take into account the probability that the Boubon *Vierge* was carved in central France, in the region surrounding Limoges, and not in a great metropolitan center such as Paris.[37] While the style of early Gothic statuettes was disseminated from north to south by the early 1200s, there was no similar trend in plaques or diptychs with narrative scenes.[38] The ivory carvers of Limoges may simply have fallen back on an earlier tradition more familiar to them and closer in style to that found in metalwork and enamel, media in which they excelled. The cast and applied figures seen on Limoges shrines are often compact, with smooth, heavy drapery, while engraved figures on other shrines move with an easy and light elegance. One glance at a gilt copper relief plaque of the early thirteenth century (fig. 8) is enough to show a close connection between this seated Madonna and the ivory Virgin of the Boubon statuette.

While the Boubon *Vierge* is the only one of its kind known to exist today, there are a number of later *Vierge ouvrantes* that continue the tradition in both ivory and wood. Gudrun Radler has catalogued forty examples, ranging in date from the early thirteenth century to around 1600, and from regions in present-day France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. Of these, four are made of ivory; the Boubon *Vierge* is the oldest, while the other three date to 1270–1300.[39] The latter are of Spanish or Portuguese origin, and although close to the Boubon *Vierge* in size, being between 32 and 40 cm high, they are nevertheless very different in appearance and arrangement of parts.[40] On all three, from Salamanca, Allariz, and Évora, the Virgin opens to reveal three tiers of compartments on the wings and central panel, each containing a scene from the life of the Virgin. These *Vierges* are, in fact, closer in appearance and spirit to the wooden *Vierge ouvrantes* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Of the wooden examples, Radler has traced thirty from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and four from the sixteenth and seventeenth. Christoph Baumer, in his study of Marian imagery, records two other French *Vierges*, one from the fourteenth and the other from the seventeenth century.[41] Of the whole group, the majority open to display a sculptural arrangement of the Trinity rather than narrative cycles of either the Passion or the life of the Virgin.

These large *Vierge ouvrantes*, most between 80 and 120 cm tall, were usually placed on the high altar of a church, often of a convent.[42] The largest ones may well have been placed either next to the altar or in a side Marian chapel. The smaller examples could also have been used for more private devotion. The wings of the *Vierge ouvrante* were well suited to be opened and closed on feast days or for the specific Hours of the Virgin.

From this information we can conclude that, although the Boubon *Vierge* did not have many followers in the choice of subject matter, the form of the *Vierge ouvrante* was indeed known in a number of geographic regions and continued to be used for objects of devotion into the early seventeenth century. The Boubon *Vierge* remains, however, the earliest example and unique in the details of its iconography, form, and style.

The issue of authenticity has perhaps been slightly clouded by the existence of no fewer than three fake *Vierge ouvrantes*, very similar in appearance to the Boubon *Vierge* and long thought to have been modeled after it.[43] Carved in the early nineteenth century, they are to be found today in the reserves of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen; and the Musée du Louvre, Paris. It is most likely that the Boubon *Vierge* did indeed serve as the model for the three fakes, although doubters would argue that all four were fabricated at the same time.

The *Vierge ouvrante* in Lyon (figs. 9 and 10) was left to the museum in 1850 by Jacques-Amédée Lambert, a local collector and former cloth merchant who died in that year.[44] He had, however, made his will as early as 1837, in which was listed his collection of over three hundred works of art from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, encompassing ivories, enamels, medals, armor, and manuscripts. Much of this collection, which he had begun to assemble around 1815, can be seen today in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in his native city of Lyon.

The Lyon *Vierge* is the smallest of the three, at a height of 40 cm. On the front, the seated Virgin holds an almond-shaped mandorla enclosing the figure of Christ as a young child. On the base, the Nativity is seen under a turreted arch, with Joseph, however, placed in the arched space on the right side, where the Visitation is found on the Boubon *Vierge*. A complete Annunciation scene is on the left side. It would appear, therefore, that the carver of this piece was able to reconstruct only one of the two fragmented scenes from the base of the Boubon *Vierge* and was not able to identify the single figure remaining in the Visitation on the right. The same relocation of Joseph,

Fig. 11. *Vierge ouvrante*, closed, ivory, early 19th century. Rouen, Musée des Antiquités. Fig. 12. *Vierge ouvrante* in figure 11, opened.

a move that lacks coherence, is also found on the two *Vierges* in Rouen and the Louvre.

The narrative scenes on the inside of the Lyon statuette follow closely the order of those on the Boubon *Vierge*, with a few minor alterations in iconography. On the top of the left wing, Christ stands before Pilate, seen here with crossed legs. The seated figure with crossed legs (usually a nobleman) is a motif that appears only in later ivories, for example, on caskets and mirror backs of the fourteenth century, any of which could have inspired the forger to add this touch.

On the right wing, in the scene of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene, the positions of the two principals have been reversed, with Mary placed at the right. This is a change that also appears on the Rouen and Louvre *Vierges*.

Perhaps the most striking of the forger's embellishments on the Lyon *Vierge* is the placement of a symbolic element directly beneath the Entombment of Christ. To reinforce the sacrificial nature of the Crucifixion, the carver has added a pelican piercing its breast to nourish its young with its own blood, the classic example of self-sacrifice in the bestiary tradition. The pelican may have been added for any number of reasons, either to give this fake *Vierge* a unique and distinguishing feature or perhaps to fill in what may have looked like an awkward blank space underneath the Entombment on the Boubon *Vierge*.

Fig. 13. Fragment of a Virgin Enthroned, ivory, formerly Lucerne, Kofler-Truniger Collection. [From Sotheby's, London, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Works of Art from the Collection of Ernst and Marthe Kofler-Truniger, Lucerne*, December 13, 1979, no. 23.]

On the whole, though, the Lyon and Boubon *Vierges* are strikingly close in their arrangement of scenes, even down to the displacement of the Carrying of the Cross and the Flagellation. The forger must have had the Boubon *Vierge* before him in his workshop, making slight alterations to his piece to distinguish it from the model. Other changes reflect the tastes of the early nineteenth century, not only in the style of the figures but also in the addition of such details as the flowing ribbons held by the angels above the Crucifixion. The central panel has also become more balanced in its allocation of space, with the Crucifixion scene placed inside a rectangular compartment rather than the original's slightly crowded, diamond-shaped center. Above the cross, the angels have been reduced from four to two, with the Lamb medallion now floating freely above the Hand of God.

Detection of the Lyon *Vierge ouvrante* as a forgery is made possible not only by the stylistic details mentioned above but also by the quality and appearance of the ivory itself. When seen in person, it is quite apparent that the ivory cannot be medieval, for it has a smooth, creamy white appearance free of any cracks or discoloration.[45] On the inner scenes, there are traces of brown paint, perhaps from the base coat of a gilding process, as well as traces of gold paint on the borders of robes, the cross, and Christ's tomb. It is, however, primarily the style of the carving that betrays the *Vierge*'s nineteenth-century origins, in particular the doughy, doll-like faces, fluttering ribbons, and rigid appearance of the seated Virgin and Child.

Many of these qualities are also found on the *Vierge ouvrante* in the Musée des Antiquités in Rouen (figs. 11 and 12). This *Vierge*, 43 cm high, was acquired by the museum between 1831, the year of its opening, and 1836, the year of the first inventory to include the statuette.[46] The *Vierge* was most likely a gift and was said to have come from Bosc-Guérard, in the region around Rouen. According to the 1836 catalogue, the statuette was considered a work of the fourteenth century and was placed on view in a large cabinet in the public galleries.[47] A list of donors for the objects in this cabinet includes the name of Amédée Lambert, who may have been the same as the Jacques-Amédée Lambert who gave the *Vierge ouvrante* to Lyon. Although we cannot be certain, it remains a possibility, for the Lyon Lambert was a well-traveled merchant who may well have visited the important commercial center of Rouen in the 1830s.

The front of the Rouen *Vierge* has been shaved off, exposing the enthroned Christ on the interior of the head, even when the wings are closed. If an accident, the carver's knife may simply have slipped, or the ivory may have separated at a natural break. If, however, the removal of the front Virgin and Child were deliberate, it implies that the forger wished to suggest that the *Vierge* was very old and had suffered much damage over time. It was once presumed that the front had never existed, but a fragment of a seated Virgin formerly in the Kofler-Truniger collection, in fact, preserves part of the lost figures.[48]

The fragment (fig. 13), 29.2 cm high, represents the front, right half of a seated Virgin, with traces of a throne visible along the right edge. It has a large hole in its chest from a dowel, perhaps used to attach

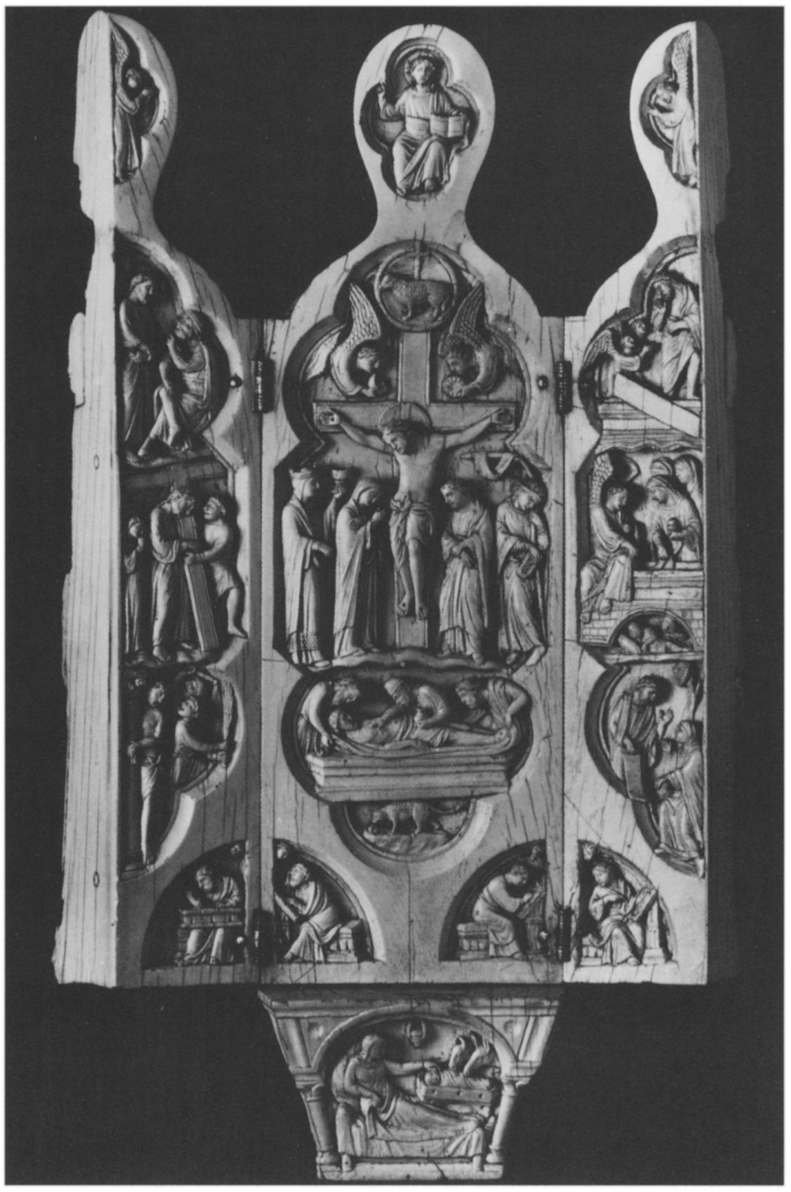

Fig. 14. *Vierge ouvrante*, closed, ivory, early 19th century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. L.P. 1143. Fig. 15. *Vierge ouvrante* in figure 14, opened.

the figure of the Child. The authors of the Kofler-Truniger catalogue suggest that the fragment was originally the front section of a solid Virgin and Child statuette.[49] However, the dimensions of the fragment match perfectly with the front of the Rouen *Vierge*, with the discrepancy in height being made up by the height of the base and the top of the shoulders and head of the missing parts. The pieces even fit together with regard to the notches and indentations on the right side, correlating to the seat and bottom edge of the Virgin's throne. The Kofler-Truniger fragment was either scrapped due to an error by the carver, to suggest damage over time, or perhaps to further distinguish this *Vierge* from its fake sisters.

The interior scenes of the Rouen *Vierge* are even more indicative of a nineteenth-century aesthetic than those of the Lyon example. Here the simple depressions found along the inner edges of the Boubon *Vierge* have been transformed into daisy- or star-like decorations, with touches of red, gold, and green paint further ornamenting the interior. The second set of angels has returned to support the Lamb medallion, while the angels below hold the sun and the moon. Ecclesia, to the left of the cross, not only holds a chalice but, more strikingly (and incongruously), a staff topped by a crucifix.

Below the Entombment is a small scene of Jonah emerging from the whale, a typological parallel to the

Resurrection on the right wing. This type of element, seen on all three of the fakes, was added by the forger entirely on his own and is not found on any medieval ivories that could have served as secondary models. They are found instead in manuscripts, including bestiaries and typololgical or historiated Bibles. At this point, it is impossible to trace the exact sources that may have been used by the forger.[50]

The third and last of the fakes is the *Vierge ouvrante* in the Louvre, 45 cm high (figs. 14 and 15). In 1836 the *Vierge* was purchased by the museum at the sale of the collection of Louis Gaspary, a former diplomat who had served in Crete.[51] This acquisition, along with thirteen other objects from the sale, are noted in the Louvre's record book, in which the *Vierge* is described as a work of the fifteenth century.

The seated figures on the front of the Louvre *Vierge* are almost identical to those on the Lyon statuette except for the Child on the Virgin's lap. The Rouen Child, carved as a plump toddler, belongs more to the tradition of Virgin and Child statuettes of the Gothic period, despite the fact that the Child's head was replaced sometime before 1868. The scenes on the base of the *Vierge* are the same as those on the Lyon and Louvre examples.

The narrative cycle on the inside continues in this tradition, complete with the minor alterations in iconography. In this case there are neither circular depressions nor carved stars along the inner borders but instead, and rather surprisingly, plain strips of ivory. No traces of paint are to be found on any of the figures. Once again there is only one set of angels, seen holding the sun and moon, which have been unaccountably reversed. It is, in fact, a canonical error to place the sun on Christ's left and the moon on his right, an error perhaps explained by the carver's lack of knowledge of the significance of their placement. The reversal is not found on the other two fakes, which may have been made after the Louvre *Vierge* and after the mistake was recognized and corrected.

On the central panel of the Louvre *Vierge*, the scene below the Entombment appears to be of a lion bringing its cubs to life. As recorded in bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, lion cubs were thought to be born dead and only brought to life three days later when their parent breathed on them. An alternative legend has the cubs created when the lion licks mounds of earth into shape to form them. While the parallel to the Crucifixion and Resurrection is clear, the image itself is not, and it is difficult to tell which tradition is being followed. In the past, the lion seen on this *Vierge* was thought to be alone, a symbol of Christ as the lion of the tribe of Judah,[52] and once the animal was even identified as a wolf.[53] While a lion is clearly intended, the lack of clarity in the carving may betray the forger's confusion over his model, perhaps a poor reproduction from a manuscript.

The Louvre *Vierge* received the greatest attention in the nineteenth century, most likely due to its display in the capital city. In 1858 a plaster cast was made of the statuette for the collection of the Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert) in London.[54] It was admired in 1868 by Viollet-le-Duc and illustrated in the first volume of his *Dictionnaire raisonné de mobilier français*.[55] Two years later, it formed the focus of a study on *Vierges ouvrantes* by Edouard Didron, director of the *Annales archéologique*.[56]

The strong similarity in appearance among all three of the nineteenth-century *Vierge ouvrantes* points to their origin in a common workshop. While there may have been more than one carver at work, the concept behind them must have come from a single person, especially given the addition of the three allegorical elements under the Entombment. They are also all between 40 and 45 cm high (as compared to the 43.5 cm of the Boubon *Vierge*), and this closeness in size is matched by the appearance of all three on the market between 1831 and 1836.

The early dates for these forgeries of French Gothic ivories may come as a surprise to some who associate the vast number of Gothic fakes with the 1860s and later, but this type of forgery can, in fact, be traced back to 1800. Jaap Leeuwenberg, in a landmark article of 1969, chronicled the activity of a forger in Paris as early as 1803, with pieces appearing on the market in 1806, 1810, and 1811.[57] A Crucifixion panel was acquired by the Musée de la Ville, Lyon, in 1810, and an Enthroned Virgin statuette by the Louvre in 1828.[58] Although Leeuwenberg's group of more than one hundred fakes has been questioned as being too large for that time period,[59] the fact remains that forgers were active in urban centers such as Paris at the very beginning of the Gothic revival.[60] Eric Maclagan has described the work of a forger active around 1825, in this case in Milan.[61]

Danielle Gaborit-Chopin has also considered the problem of ivory forgeries, and she has traced their production back to the late eighteenth century.[62] In these instances, the copies tended to be of Carolingian ivories, such as the Lorsch Gospel Book plaque,[63] or in that style, like the wood and ivory tau staff in the Cluny museum first described in 1794.[64] The forgers carefully chose their models, which gave them stylistic

Fig. 16. L. Bourdery, *La Vierge ouvrante de Boubon, en ivoire*, pen and ink, reproduced in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 36 (1889), before p. 241.

and iconographic guarantees, and often worked from drawings, engravings, or casts if the originals were not available.[65]

In the case of the *Vierge ouvrantes*, the forger must have seen the original in order to accurately duplicate its dimensions. To produce reasonably plausible copies he, and indeed all forgers, had to have great technical ability, for ivory is a medium that is difficult to carve. He also had to know how to age the ivory artificially, possibly staining it with coffee, tea, tobacco juice, or iodine solution, or by repeatedly placing the piece in front of a fire to dry out.[66] A forger is, however, often given away by small mistakes in iconography, caused by a misunderstanding of arcane, medieval theology.[67]

The scenes on the three fake *Vierges* do indeed have their iconographic idiosyncracies, as well as a figural and facial style that has been described as "sentimental" and "saccharine."[68] Given that they have not been considered genuine since the nineteenth century, the only issue remaining on their account is the means by which they were modeled on the genuine Boubon *Vierge*. The Boubon *Vierge* must itself have been present in a forger's workshop in Paris in the early nineteenth century, yet this supposition is not without difficulty when we take a closer look at the provenance of the statuette after 1792.

The Boubon *Vierge*'s provenance has been culled from three articles published in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* in 1888, 1898, and 1900. The first and the last of these were written by André Lecler, who received his information from the owner of the wings of the *Vierge ouvrante*.[69] The 1898 article is by the Baron de Verneilh, who claimed to have discovered the Boubon central panel

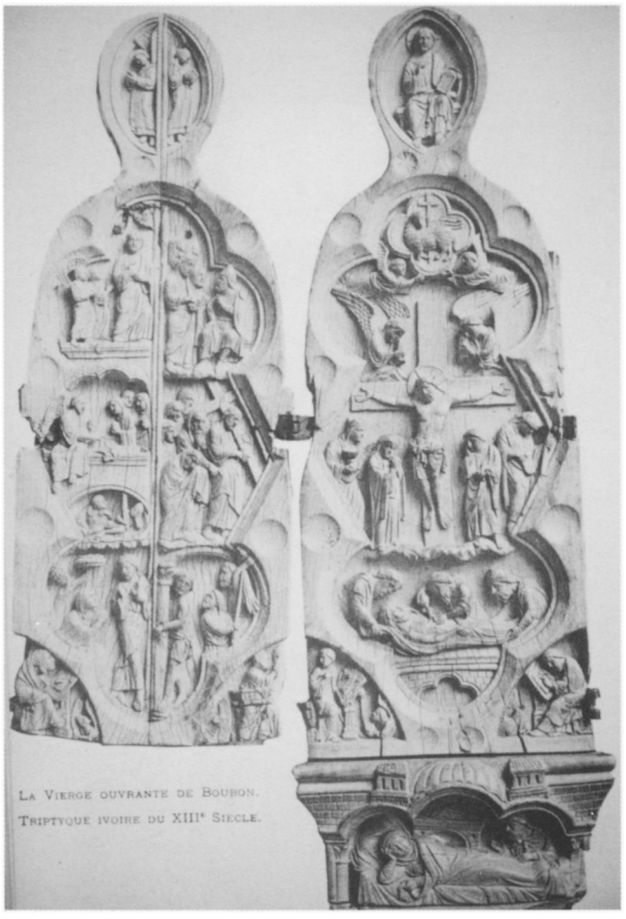

Fig. 17. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon*, incorrect reassembly of parts in 1898, in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 46 (1898), before p. 255.

the year before, in the house of the mayor of Abjat.[70] From these accounts, Magdeleine and René Blancher were able, in 1972, to piece together a coherent history of the statuette; their work, together with the original articles, has formed the basis for subsequent scholarly studies.[71]

The tale begins in 1792 with the dissolution of the Boubon priory following the French Revolution. At this time, the wings are separated from the central panel, perhaps as part of a division of the priory's treasures to protect them from hostile agents of the new government. One nun, Anne Hugonneau, takes the wings when she flees to the farm of her brother, Jean Hugonneau-Beaufet, located in Saint-Mathieu, near Boubon. There she remains until her death in 1826, when the wings are left to her nephew, also named Jean Hugonneau-Beaufet. He has a wife and family, and it is in this period that the wings are glued together to form a kind of doll for the Hugonneau-Beaufet children. It is even thought that the piece was dragged around by a string, possibly causing much of the wear seen on the parts today.

In 1839 one of these children, a son named Pierre, is ordained priest in Dournazac, a village near Saint-Mathieu and Boubon. The parents give the wings to Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet as a gift befitting his religious calling. Shortly after 1839, the priest, recognizing the value of the piece, sends it to Paris to be repaired and to have the damaged parts replaced.

Many years later, in 1874, Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet contacts a local priest in Limoges, André Lecler, to show him the wings and to request his assistance in arranging their sale. Lecler is also an amateur art historian and a member of the Société archéologique et historique du Limousin. Lecler, in turn, writes for advice to Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, the director of the *Annales archéologiques* in Paris.[72] Didron replies in the same year with his opinion that the object has great value and could fetch at least five hundred francs, perhaps even as much as fifteen hundred. He adds, however, that London would provide the best market, especially as the Kensington Museum is both wealthy and buying at this time. Despite these suggestions, the sale idea is dropped a few years later.

Lecler again visits Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet in 1879, accompanied by members of the Société française d'archéologie of Paris. In these years, Lecler begins his search for the missing central panel, which he has not found by 1889, when he publishes his first article in the Limoges *Bulletin*. Instead he presumes that the central panel must have been destroyed and contents himself with a description of the glued-together wings, mounted on a pedestal, as seen in the accompanying ink drawing by Bourdery (fig. 16). The matter does not appear to have progressed further.

The central panel of the statuette can also be traced back to the dissolution of Boubon in 1792, when it was removed by the priory's land agent, Chaperon. He, in turn, leaves it to his daughter, who is married to a Monsieur Duvoisin. Their son Antonin, a property holder in Abjat, inherits the panel, which appears to pass unnoticed through most of the nineteenth century. When Antonin Duvoisin dies without heirs in 1897, the piece is left to one of his sharecroppers.

It is in this year, 1897, that the central panel is brought to the attention of local art historians. For reasons that remain unclear, the sharecropper contacts a local nobleman, Pierre de Verneilh, at the time of his inheritance. The panel is subsequently given to Monsieur Lavergne, the mayor of Abjat. Here it is seen again by Pierre de Verneilh, who brings along his father, the Baron de Verneilh, also a member of the Société archéologique et historique du Limousin.

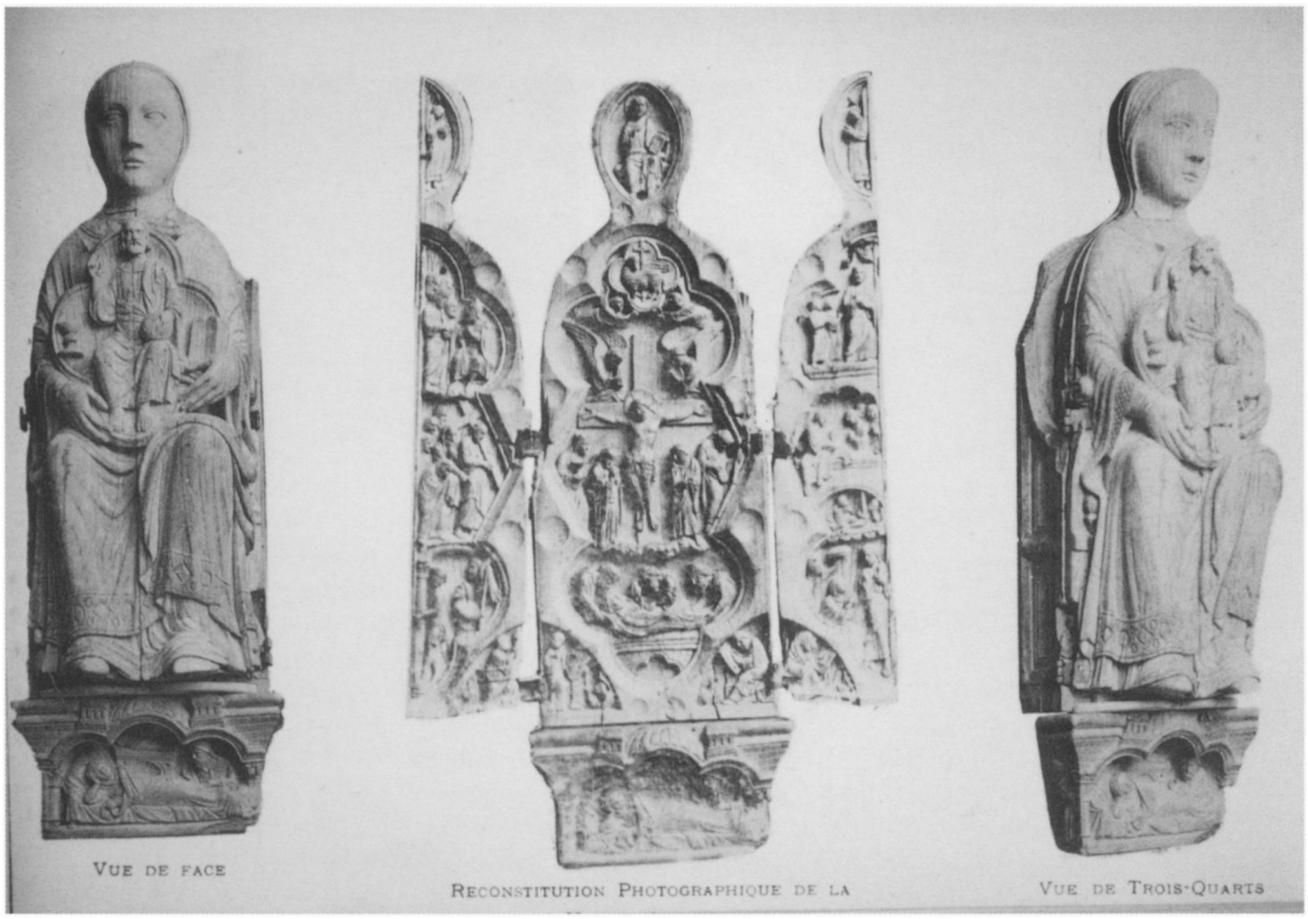

Fig. 18. *Vierge ouvrante de Boubon*, corrected reassembly of parts in 1898, in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 46 (1898), before p. 255.

The Baron de Verneilh is able to connect this panel with the wings owned by Hugonneau-Beaufet, despite claiming later to have had no knowledge of their publication eight years earlier by Lecler, his fellow member of the Société archéologique. Lecler had also made a presentation to the society, informing them of his fruitless search for the central panel,[73] but the Baron must not have been present. The Baron writes in 1898 that it was instead an acquaintance of his who told him about the wings, which the latter had seen in the home of Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet.

In the meantime, in 1896, Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet dies, leaving the Boubon wings to his eight nieces and nephews. By 1897 the wings are in the possession of a notary of Limoges, Sailly, who is connected to the Hugonneau-Beaufet family through marriage to one of the nieces.

Upon his discovery of the central panel, the Baron contacts Sailly, and the statuette is reassembled in the notary's Limoges office. The parts are found to be a perfect fit, and the Baron publishes his findings in the Limoges *Bulletin* of 1898. Sailly is charged by the family to sell the completed statuette, the mayor of Abjat having presumably either renounced or sold his share in the central panel. Sailly publishes a sales pamphlet in the same year, complete with photographs showing the statuette, the first with its wings still glued together (fig. 17), the second restored to its correct format with two opening wings (fig. 18).[74]

The Boubon *Vierge* is then sent to Paris to be displayed at the great *Exposition universelle* of 1900, in the section on French art from its origins to 1800. Shortly thereafter the *Vierge* is purchased by the Paris dealer Jacques Seligmann, who then sells it to Sir Thomas Carmichael of London. Carmichael's collection is sold in 1902, and the Boubon *Vierge* passes to the London dealer George Harding. In 1903, in New York, Harding sells the statuette to Henry Walters, who brings it down to his gallery in Baltimore in 1908.

The detailed provenance outlined above, although plausible enough, poses a number of problems with regard to the three fake *Vierge ouvrantes* in Lyon,

Rouen, and the Louvre. While it is most likely that the Boubon *Vierge* served as their model, it is difficult to explain how this could have been physically possible. According to this provenance, the Boubon *Vierge* was in two pieces in the early nineteenth century, preserved in two different locations and not reunited until the central panel was discovered in 1897.

If we take the authenticity of the Boubon *Vierge* as a given, there are only three possible ways to solve this puzzle. First, the three fakes are based upon a drawing or engraving of the Boubon *Vierge*; second, there was another genuine *Vierge* present in Paris in the early nineteenth century; or third, there is something seriously amiss with the provenance for the Boubon *Vierge*.

The first possibility can be ruled out rather quickly for the simple reason that the dimensions of all four *Vierges* are too close for the original not to have been seen by the forger. The heights alone are proof enough, as discussed above.[75] While a drawing or engraving of the Boubon *Vierge* made before 1830 could have provided the iconography, it could never have supplied the exact dimensions of the original object.

The second option, positing the existence of another genuine *Vierge ouvrante*, is supported by Radler as the only possible explanation for the discrepancy in dates.[76] She believes that there must have been a second *Vierge* in existence in the early 1800s, which was similar in appearance to the Boubon *Vierge* as well as to the statuette of the Virgin and Child in the Petit Palais. What she does not explain is how this second genuine *Vierge* could have subsequently vanished without a trace after having so conveniently served as a model for the ivory forger.

There is also no record of a fourth *Vierge ouvrante* among the writings of nineteenth-century ivory scholars, although, granted, these are not always the most reliable documents. Nevertheless, while the total disappearance of a medieval *Vierge* after 1836 cannot be ruled out, it remains an unlikely hypothesis, given the avid collecting of medieval works in the nineteenth century and the high prices they continued to command well into the twentieth. These factors also predicate against the destruction or recarving of the piece in this period.

We are now left to consider the third explanation, namely that the provenance of the Boubon *Vierge* is incorrect in a number of key places.[77]

One factor to be kept in mind is that this provenance is based entirely upon word-of-mouth accounts, passed through the Hugonneau-Beaufet family and related to Lecler in the mid-1870s. The accounts are recorded in articles of the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, written by Lecler and the Baron de Verneilh. All subsequent scholars have based their research on these accounts, for there is not a single written document to corroborate them. Given these circumstances, the likelihood of error is quite high. One of the family members may easily have confused events that had happened over thirty years previously, or even earlier, when the *Vierge* was first removed from Boubon in 1792.

One of the first events that needs to be examined is the separation of the wings from the central panel before the statuette left the priory. While it is all too likely that the piece was damaged during the French Revolution, what is harder to understand is why the wings would have been preserved separately from the body. If there were two nuns who both desperately wanted to keep the statuette, and were in a sense fighting over it, then perhaps the division could be seen as a compromise, albeit a not very Catholic one, since it destroyed not only the unity of the piece but also its religious and sacred aspects as a devotional triptych. However, according to the story, the central panel did not leave with a second nun but instead with the lay land agent Chaperon as a "souvenir" of his administration.[78] It is hard to believe that the nuns of Boubon would have willingly parted with such a precious object as their ivory *Vierge*, unless they were deeply indebted to this man for perhaps protecting them in a time of danger. It is equally possible that in the chaos surrounding the dissolution of the priory Chaperon simply took the central panel without the nuns' permission.

What if this land agent had in fact no connection with the ivory *Vierge*? What if instead the nun Anne Hugonneau had fled Boubon with the *Vierge ouvrante* intact, if slightly damaged? The only record we have of the separation of the wings from the central panel dates to Lecler's viewing of the wings alone, glued together, in 1874. The only other evidence is the oral account given by Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet. It was he, also, who claimed that Chaperon was the one who had taken the central panel. In order to pursue further the possibility that the *Vierge ouvrante* was intact in 1792 and into the early nineteenth century, we must presume that Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet misled Lecler as to its history; the reasons for his doing so will become apparent when we bring into the equation the three fakes in Lyon, Rouen, and the Louvre.

Let us begin by positing that the *Vierge ouvrante* was intact in 1792 and that the wings and central panel were both removed from the priory by Anne Hugonneau. Certain parts may have been damaged at

this time, or even earlier, before the French Revolution. As recorded above, we do know that the proper left half of the Virgin's head, the area of drapery around her left foot, and the head of Christ on the front were replaced at some time in the nineteenth century. There is no further evidence in the condition of the parts to suggest that the wings were removed as early as 1792, and thus the entire *Vierge* could have been safely kept by Anne Hugonneau, at her family's home, until her death in 1826.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the three fake *Vierge ouvrantes* have been loosely dated to around the year 1830, an opportunity for forgery made possible by the death in 1826 of the one person who would have cared most about the sacred nature of the statuette, Anne Hugonneau herself. If the Hugonneau-Beaufet family were aware of the value of the *Vierge* and had wished to show it to experts for appraisal, they may have waited until the nun's death to avoid upsetting her with the possibility of a sale.

It is at this point that we must consider the motivations of the Hugonneau-Beaufet family, and admit that it is impossible to say whether or not they connived at making copies of the Boubon *Vierge* for profit or whether they had merely wished to sell the piece for its market value beginning in 1826. Let us suggest that the process began with a desire to have the broken parts repaired or replaced and to obtain, in the process, an assessment of its monetary value. In fact, the idea of the three fakes may not have been conceived at this time but have occurred a little later, after the family had considered the amount of money such an ivory statuette could fetch on the market.

Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet told Lecler in the 1870s that he had sent the wings to Paris for repair sometime after 1839.[79] What if this had in fact occurred earlier, before 1836? Granted it would have been arranged by his father, for Pierre, born in 1816, was then a teenager; it would, though, have been possible any time after the family inherited the statuette in 1826. It seems more likely that the family would act at this time, rather than wait fourteen years to repair the statuette.

The necessity for assuming that the statuette, in its entirety, was sent to Paris shortly after 1826 is determined by the production of the three copies before the year 1836. Given the similar dimensions of all four *Vierges*, genuine and fake, the genuine one must have been seen in person by the nineteenth-century forger. If the Boubon *Vierge* arrived at an ivory workshop in Paris to be repaired, it would have been very convenient for the same ivory carver to make a few copies based upon the original before him. This forger and his workshop, possibly providing both legitimate repairs and pseudo-Gothic forgeries, would have been aware of their market value, as proven by the quick sale of all three fake *Vierges*. Not only were they sold quickly, but they all entered well-known collections in Lyon, Rouen, and the Louvre.

If the Boubon *Vierge* were indeed present in a Parisian workshop around 1830, then it raises the question of whether or not Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet was aware of this fact when he later told Lecler the statuette was sent north *after* 1839. It would appear he must have known, for he claimed to have arranged the sending of the statuette himself. He would have had a real reason to lie if he had any knowledge of the three fakes, for a post-1839 treatment of the statuette would naturally exonerate the Boubon *Vierge* from having served as the model for the forgeries.

It must be acknowledged here that the ivory carver in Paris may have made the three copies of the Boubon *Vierge* without the owner's knowledge. What argues against this hypothesis is not only the fabricated post-1839 date for the restoration but, more importantly, the fact that the Boubon *Vierge* was indeed dismantled after the fakes were made. The wings of the Boubon *Vierge* were seen in 1874 in their glued-together state by Lecler and an accompanying group of visitors from the Société française d'archéologie. At this time, Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet was interested in selling the wings and made no mention of the existence of a central panel when he contacted Lecler on the subject. Didron appears to have had no knowledge of it either.

For some unknown reason the idea of selling the wings was dropped shortly after Didron was contacted. Why was the sale proposal dropped, when Didron and Lecler had been so encouraging? Didron had even suggested that the piece be put on the market in London, where it would fetch a higher price and perhaps be purchased by the Kensington Museum. Perhaps Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet had only been testing the waters, so to speak, with the knowledge that the restoration of the central panel would raise the value and the price even higher. He may even have wanted to see if the wings of the Boubon *Vierge* would be compared to the three other *Vierges*, still considered genuine.

The location of the central panel becomes a key issue at this point, for its whereabouts following its separation from the wings, after 1839, are unknown. According to the Baron de Verneilh's account, the central panel was at this time still undiscovered and in the possession of the local property holder Duvoisin.

The section passed from Duvoisin's legatee, the sharecropper, to the mayor of Abjat, where it was seen by the Baron and his son in 1897.

If the Boubon *Vierge* were dismantled after the three fakes were made in Paris, the central panel could still have gone to a second party while the wings remained with the Hugonneau-Beaufet family. This may well have been the Duvoisins, although we cannot guess at their connection to the Hugonneau-Beaufet family, except that they were both local land holders and perhaps friends. There are, however, some odd features in the Baron's account, for it is hard to explain why a simple sharecropper would have contacted Pierre de Verneilh, a nobleman, to show him the panel. It is easier to imagine him passing the piece on to the mayor as the person best able to deal with such a venerable but strange object, as it must have appeared without its wings.

Following the dismantling of the statuette, and almost forty years later, Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet wishes to sell the wings, perhaps believing enough time had elapsed since the appearance of the fakes. He must have known that the recovery of the central panel was crucial in getting a high price for the Boubon *Vierge*. Had he started to publicize the wings in the hope of interesting the owner of the central panel in the possibility of a lucrative sale? Or is it possible that in the intervening forty years Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet had lost track of the central panel, which had been given away in his father's time? He may even have hoped that Lecler, a local priest and amateur art historian, had heard of the central panel and perhaps knew of its whereabouts.

As it turns out, Lecler had no knowledge of the central panel, and was even of the opinion that it had been destroyed long ago.[80] He writes in 1889 that he had given up hope after searching for the panel for over fifteen years, believing it lost after it had been taken from Boubon by another nun in 1792.[81] Whatever the reason, the idea of selling the wings of the Boubon *Vierge* is dropped before Lecler begins in earnest his search for the central panel.

What happens next is a series of coincidences that further stretches credulity in Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet's story and that points toward some form of collusion between his family and the production of the three fake *Vierge ouvrantes*.

Events come to a head in the period 1896–1897, beginning with the death of Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet in 1896. The wings of the Boubon *Vierge* are left to his nephews and nieces, who are interested in a sale as a way to divide this inheritance among them. Sailly acts as agent and effectively takes possession of the wings. He may have known the true history of the Boubon *Vierge* and of its use as a model for the other *Vierges*.

Also in this year, the authenticity of the three fake *Vierges* is first questioned by the respected scholar and Louvre curator Emile Molinier.[82] Is it a coincidence that only a few months later the Boubon central panel is "found" near Limoges and the entire statuette is reassembled and readied for sale? It is as if the Boubon *Vierge* no longer had to be kept in separate pieces, for the fakes had been doubted and the genuine article could be produced in all its glory. For the previous fifty years the Boubon *Vierge* had had to remain unknown in order for the fakes to pass as genuine, without their close parentage to the original being detected. Once the fakes were doubted, the original, which had served as the model, could be produced as the unique and stunning piece that it is.

This, in effect, is exactly what happens in the following years. The Boubon statuette is reassembled in 1897, and in 1898 Sailly publishes a sales pamphlet and the Baron de Verneilh an article in the Limoges *Bulletin*.

At this time, the suspicious nature of the events surrounding the repairs to the Boubon *Vierge* is remarked upon by Sailly, who, as hinted above, may have known the truth. In the published minutes of the Société archéologique et historique du Limousin,[83] Sailly claims that the Boubon wings were sent to Paris not after 1839 but rather in 1830, when they served as the model for the now suspected *Vierge ouvrante* in the Louvre. The central panel was thought to have been with the Duvoisins at that time, but Sailly's opinion on this point is not recorded.

Sailly's comments are also made to the Baron de Verneilh, who includes them in a letter to Lecler of 1898.[84] The Baron, however, adds rather acidly that Sailly merely proposes the earlier date of the restoration out of a desire to sell the statuette for the highest possible price as the only authentic *Vierge*. He also notes that there is still no way to explain how this could have been possible before the central panel was discovered.[85] Sailly may have known exactly how it was done, with the Boubon *Vierge* remaining intact through the 1830s, but did not explain his theory any further, perhaps out of a fear of discovery.

In the end, the issue remains unresolved, and the Boubon *Vierge* is proudly presented to the public at the Paris fair of 1900. The statuette is soon launched on its circuit of dealers and owners, leading finally to its purchase by Henry Walters in 1903.

Many of the early events described above cannot be proven one way or the other, given the lack of written

documents or corroborative sources for the years before 1874. What remains, however, is a staggering number of coincidences and the possibility of great financial gain through involvement in the lucrative market of pseudo-Gothic ivories. Indeed, the carving of the three fakes as early as the 1820s forms part of the picture of skilled forgeries chronicled by Jaap Leeuwenberg. Most importantly, the dismemberment of the Boubon *Vierge* after 1839, as opposed to before 1792, is the only way to account for the production of the copies before 1836. The presence of a second genuine *Vierge ouvrante* that only surfaced for those key years and then subsequently vanished is simply too tenuous to be believed.

While it may seem unusual to question the provenance of a genuine work of the thirteenth century, in the case of the Boubon *Vierge* the doubts put forward here serve to support the authenticity of the original and to explain the role it undoubtedly played in the creation of three early nineteenth-century fakes. While the authenticity of the Boubon *Vierge ouvrante* will no doubt continue to be challenged by some, its vindication through radiocarbon dating allows new issues of iconography, style, and provenance to be brought to the forefront of the discussion.

Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Postscript

Since the writing of this article, some new information has been brought to bear on the problem of the *Vierge ouvrante* at the Walters. It now appears likely that the *Vierge* was carved in the region surrounding Sens (Yonne, Champagne) as early as 1180–1210, based in particular on comparisons with the sculpture on the west façade of Sens Cathedral. This is, however, only a preliminary finding, and more research needs to be carried out with regard to the style of stone and wood carving in this region. I am grateful to Charles Little, Neil Stratford, and Paul Williamson for their advice regrading these as yet unresolved issues.

Notes

1. G. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna "Vierge ouvrante" von den bernhardinischen Anfängen bis zur Frauenmystik im Deutschenordensland, mit beschreibendem Katalog* (Frankfurt, 1990), 203–209.

2. M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches sur la Vierge de Boubon* (Paris and Cussac, 1972), 4–6; and A. Lecler, "La Vierge ouvrante de Boubon," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 36 (1889), 241–42.

3. B. de Verneilh, "La Vierge ouvrante de Boubon. Découverte de la seconde partie," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 46 (1898), 254–61.

4. *Exposition universelle de 1900. Catalogue officiel illustré de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art français des origines à 1800* (Paris, 1900), 264, no. 50.

5. A. Maskell, *Ivories* (London, 1905), 171–75.

6. R. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 52, and II, 3–4.

7. The photographs, of the *Vierge ouvrante* opened and closed, appeared in the Sunday edition of the *Baltimore Sun*, January 25, 1931.

8. L. Grodecki, *Ivoires français* (Paris, 1947), 81.

9. A. Schmid, "Die Schreinmadonna von Cheyres," *Lebendiges Mittelalter. Festgabe für Wolfgang Stammler* (Freiburg, 1958), 155.

10. M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches*.

11. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 203–209. Most recently, the Boubon *Vierge* was considered genuine by D. Sandron, "La Sculpture en ivoire au début du XIIIe siècle, d'un monde à l'autre," *Revue de l'Art*, 102 (1993), 48–49.

12. The letters cited here from the files of the Walters Art Gallery are unpublished.

13. R. Randall, *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore and New York, 1985).

14. These views were expressed to the author in a letter from Richard Randall of December 4, 1996. In a letter of December 10, 1996, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin wrote that she would need to study the Boubon *Vierge* further in order to give a firm opinion on its authenticity.

15. A certain degree of doubt and uncertainty was expressed to the author, either verbally or in writing, by Theodore Koehler (International Marian Research Institute, University of Ohio, Dayton), Charles Little (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Harvey Stahl (University of California, Berkeley), and Neil Stratford (British Museum, London).

16. P. Barnet, ed., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age* (Detroit, 1997).

17. For more information on the use of radiocarbon dating, see M.T. Gibson and E.C. Southworth, "Shorter Note. Radiocarbon Dating of Ivory and Bone Carvings," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143 (1990), 131–33. For more general information, see R. Gillespie, *Radiocarbon User's Handbook* (Oxford, 1984).

18. A crown, most likely gilt and set with semiprecious stones, could have been used to keep the Boubon *Vierge* closed, as there is no other sign of an original means of fastening the wings. There are also traces of a metallic stain on the front of the Virgin, perhaps from a jeweled collar.

19. These repairs are recorded by A. Lecler, "Nouveaux renseignements sur la Vierge ouvrante de Boubon," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 49 (1900), 207–208.

20. The Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, Oxford University, Oxford, England.

21. The results were published in the *Baltimore Sun* of July 28, 1996, in the article "Baltimore Madonna Turns Out to Be the Genuine Article," by Holly Selby.

22. These observations were made in a number of discussions with the author from September to November 1996.

23. *Images in Ivory*, 285–89, no. 83 (R. Randall).

24. Ibid., 285.

25. Ibid., 289.

26. Ibid., 287.

27. Issues of iconography in particular were raised by Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français*, 81, William Forsyth (letter of November 7, 1957), and Harvey Stahl (letter of October 28, 1996).

28. For the significance and function of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, see I.H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

29. See, for example, the ivory diptychs in the Detroit Institute of Arts (inv. 26.284 and 42.135) and in a private collection in Scarsdale, New York, as illustrated in R. Randall, *The Golden Age of Ivory: Gothic Carvings in North American Collections* (New York, 1993), nos. 68, 84, 155.

30. A. von Euw, *Elfenbeinarbeiten von der Spätantike bis zum hohen Mittelater* (Frankfurt, 1976), no. 12; and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 52.

31. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe* (London, 1974), no. 36, fig. 84; and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 53.

32. Scholars primarily concerned with inconsistent elements of the Boubon *Vierge*'s style include William Forsyth (letter of November 7, 1957), Thomas Hoving (letter of April 3, 1968); and Richard Randall (letter of May 22, 1968).

33. For a discussion of both the Cluny and Ourscamp Madonnas (following), see Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques*, I, 52; Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 54; and Sandron, "La Sculpture en ivoire," 48–59.

34. The Boubon *Vierge* can also be compared to a Virgin and Child statuette, 1200–1250, in the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark. See Tardy, *Les Ivoires. Evolution décorative du Ier siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1966), 57. Randall in *Images in Ivory*, 286, points to the Virgin and Child in the Hermitage. See *Great Art Treasures of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg*, II, V. Suslov, ed. (London and Hong Kong, 1994), 525.

35. On the mid twelfth-century Stavelot Triptych (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), the central panel is framed by a series of gilt-copper pointed scallops, which produce a geometric pattern not unlike that of the central panel of the Boubon *Vierge*.

36. These depressions are placed on the wings and central panel in facing pairs, suggesting that they may originally have held enamels or semiprecious stones. This type of decoration is, however, unprecedented, and given that the depressions are extremely shallow, they may instead have been simply painted or gilded.

37. This view is supported by Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 203; M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches*, 9; Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques*, II, 4; and de Verneilh, "Découverte," 18.

38. The ivory plaques usually referred to for their elegant figures and "Gothic sway" date to the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

39. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, nos. 12–14.

40. Ibid.

41. C. Baumer, "Die Schreinmadonna," *Marian Library Studies*, 9 (1977), 239–72, and 10 (1978), 207–208.

42. C. Baumer, "Die Schreinmadonna," 9 (1977), 267–70; and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 38–39. Baumer records inventory descriptions of *Vierges ouvrantes* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including a reference from 1380 to a *Vierge ouvrante* (probably metalwork) placed on the high altar of Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris.

43. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 59; M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches*, 24–25; and Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques*, II, 4.

44. Information on Jacques-Amédée Lambert was obtained from the files of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon; I would like to thank Mme Dominique Brachlianoff for her kind assistance. See also J.-F. Garmier, "Le Goût du moyen âge chez les collectionneurs lyonnais du XIXe siècle," *Revue de l'Art*, 47 (1980), 57, although here the donor's name is erroneously given as "Jacques-Antoine Lambert."

45. The base of the Lyon *Vierge* is somewhat darker in color and very grimy. It should also be noted that the ivory of the Lyon *Vierge* has not been radiocarbon dated, nor has that of the Rouen and Louvre *Vierges*.

46. This information was obtained from the files of the Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, with the gracious assistance of Mme Laurence Flavigny. The inventory of 1836 is that of A. Deville, *Catalogue du Musée Départemental des Antiquités de Rouen* (Rouen, 1836), 33.

47. Deville, *Catalogue*, 33.

48. H. Schnitzler, F. Volbach, and P. Bloch, *Skulpturen. Elfenbein, Perlmutter, Stein, Holz. Europäisches Mittelalter. Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger*, I (Lucerne, 1964), 17, no. S 32. The collection was sold at Sotheby's, London, on December 13, 1979, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Works of Art from the Collection of Ernst and Marthe Kofler-Truniger, Lucerne*, 44–45, no. 23. To date, enquiries directed to Sotheby's regarding the fragment's present whereabouts have produced no reply. I am grateful to Neil Stratford of the British Museum for bringing this fragment to my attention.

49. Schnitzler, Volbach, and Bloch, *Skulpturen*, 17. This is also the opinion of Sandron, "La Sculpture en ivoire," 48 and 57, n. 22. Neil Stratford suggests that the Kofler-Truniger fragment may be from a lost *Vierge ouvrante*.

50. For bestiaries, see W. George and B. Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London, 1991); and F. McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960). For moralized Bibles, see G.B. Guest, *Bible Moralisée. Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (London, 1995); and R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, 1977). Walter Cahn, in a letter to the author of November 22, 1996, also points to late medieval manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, which also appeared in later printed editions. Any of these sources could have been available to an early nineteenth-century artist, an opinion seconded by Harvey Stahl in a letter of October 28, 1996.

51. From the files of the Musée du Louvre, with access kindly granted by M. Jannic Durand.

52. J.O. Westwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1876), 180–81.

53. M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque Carolingienne à la Renaissance*, I (Paris, 1868), 134.

54. Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, 180–81.

55. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, 131–35.

56. E. Didron, *Etude sur les images ouvrantes et la Vierge en ivoire du Louvre* (Paris, 1870).

57. J. Leeuwenberg, "Early Nineteenth-Century Gothic Ivories," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 39 (1969), 142. In the exhibition catalogue *Fake? The Art of Deception*, ed. M. Jones (Berkeley, 1990), 182, nos. 190–91, the pieces are dated to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century; and in *Fälschung und Forschung*, ed. H. Althöfer (Essen and Berlin, 1976), 60, no. 58, three of the statuary groups are dated to around 1800.

58. Leeuwenberg, "Gothic Ivories," 142, and *Fake? The Art of Deception*, 180.

59. D. Gaborit-Chopin, "Les Ivoires gothiques. A propos d'un article récent," *Bulletin Monumental*, 128 (1970), 127–33.

60. See the exhibition catalogue *Le "Gothique" retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris, Hôtel de Sully (Paris, 1979), as well as extensive bibliography in *Faking It: An International Bibliography of Art and Literary Forgeries, 1949–1986*, ed. J. Koobatian (Washington, D.C., 1987); and R.G. Reisner, *Fakes and Forgeries in the Fine Arts. A Bibliography* (New York, 1950).

61. E. Maclagan, "Ivoires faux fabriqués à Milan," *Arethuse*, (October 1923), 41–43.

62. Gaborit-Chopin, "Faux ivoires des collections publiques," *Revue de l'Art*, 21 (1973), 94–101. See also P. Bloch, "Gefälschte Kunst," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 23 (1978), 66; and *Fälschung und Forschung*, 59.

63. Gaborit-Chopin, "Faux ivoires," 94; and H. Schnitzler, "Ada-Elfenbeine des Barons von Hüpsch," *Festschrift Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), 222–28.

64. Gaborit-Chopin, "Faux ivoires," 99–100.

65. Ibid., 94; and O. Kurz, *Fakes* (New York, 1967), 164.

66. F. Arnau, *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques* (London, 1961), 101–102; and P. Eudel, *Trucs et truqueurs. Altérations, fraudes et contrefaçons dévoilées* (Paris, 1907), 309.

67. Bloch, "Gefälschte Kunst," 61; Kurz, *Fakes*, 173; and G. Savage, *Forgeries, Fakes and Reproductions: A Handbook for the Collector* (London, 1963), 120.

68. Savage, *Forgeries*, 120.

69. Lecler, "La Vierge ouvrante" (1889), and "Nouveaux renseignements" (1900).

70. De Verneilh, "Découverte" (1898).

71. For example, in M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches*; and Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*.

72. The exchange of letters is reprinted in Lecler, "Nouveaux renseignements," 204–205.

73. Lecler, "La Vierge ouvrante," 242.

74. Sailly's pamphlet is reproduced in M. and R. Blancher, *Recherches*, figs. 3–7.

75. The Boubon *Vierge* is 43.5 cm high; the Lyon Vierge 40 cm; the Rouen *Vierge* 43 cm; and the Louvre *Vierge* 45 cm.

76. Radler, *Die Schreinmadonna*, 56.

77. The suspicion that there might be something amiss with the provenance was first voiced in 1898 by the Baron de Verneilh, "Découverte," 259–60. It was later echoed by Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques*, II, 4; and Baumer, "Die Schreinmadonna," 9 (1977), 247–48 (although Baumer believed the original Boubon *Vierge* to be lost, not having seen the *Vierge* in the Walters). For the reconstruction of the provenance of the Boubon *Vierge* given here, I am grateful to Gary Vikan and Terry Drayman-Weisser for their extensive input and suggestions.

78. De Verneilh, "Découverte," 13.

79. Recorded in a letter of Lecler to the Baron de Verneilh, 1898, in Lecler, "Nouveaux renseignements," 207.

80. Lecler, "La Vierge ouvrante," 242.

81. Ibid.

82. E. Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie du Ve à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Ivoires*, I (Paris, 1896), 177–78. In 1870 the Louvre *Vierge*, for one, was still thought genuine by Didron, *Etude*, 5–23.

83. The minutes of the session of October 26, 1897 are recorded in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 46 (1898), 479–80.

84. Lecler, "Nouveaux renseignements," 206.

85. Ibid. The Baron de Verneilh is even of the opinion that the wings of the Boubon *Vierge* were never sent to Paris, but were instead repaired locally, perhaps in Saint-Mathieu. This directly contradicts the claims of Pierre Hugonneau-Beaufet.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–5, 8, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 6, 14, 15, Paris, Photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux; fig. 7, Paris, Photothèque des Musées de la Ville de Paris/cliché Pierrain; figs. 9, 10, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, Studio Basset; figs. 11, 12, Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités, Photo Ellebé.

Un élément retrouvé du bréviaire choral W. 130 de la Walters Art Gallery: le ms. N. a. lat. 2511 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France

François Avril

In this paper, originally planned for inclusion in the Festschrift for Lilian Randall (Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, *54 [1996]), the author identifies a previously overlooked fragment from a choral breviary, other elements of which are now Walters Art Gallery W. 130. The new discovery assists in localizing production of the manuscript to Toulouse, confirming and refining Randall's original assertion.*

"Catalogus est Oculus vel Fenestra Bibliothecae": c'est sur ce joli aphorisme, repris de Sir Thomas Phillips, que s'ouvre le premier volume du catalogue de Lilian Randall décrivant les manuscrits enluminés d'origine française de la Walters Art Gallery. Et de fait, les descriptions extraordinairement détaillées et les reproductions de ce catalogue permettent désormais aux chercheurs de se faire une idée très précise sur un grand nombre de manuscrits mal connus et insuffisamment signalés, conservés dans le musée de Baltimore. L'un d'eux est le W.130,[1] un imposant bréviaire de choeur, dont la seule bibliographie consistait jusqu'ici en une notice de quelques lignes dans le *Census* de Seymour de Ricci et sur lequel nous disposons maintenant, grâce à Lilian, d'une remarquable notice occupant à elle seule quatre pages de format in-quarto! Rare représentant subsistant d'une catégorie de bréviaires qui dut être plus répandue qu'on ne le croit à l'époque gothique, et dont on n'a conservé que de très rares témoins, en France tout au moins,[2] ce grand volume de 84 feuillets de 514 sur 383 mm, ne représente en fait qu'un fragment d'un ensemble à l'origine beaucoup plus important. Il fut acquis par Henry Walters entre 1895 et 1931 de celui qui fut son fournisseur attitré pendant cette période, le libraire-relieur Léon Gruel, un intermédiaire qui n'hésitait devant aucun moyen pour que les pièces qui lui passaient entre les mains se plient aux critères d'une conception bibliophilique aujourd'hui dépassée: avec leurs 76 initiales historiées, ses 84 feuillets résultent en effet d'un écrémage dont ont fait les frais les feuillets dépourvus de décoration, ou en moins bon état, qui les complétaient et qui en ont été séparés.[3] C'est sans doute cette provenance qui explique le caractère factice du manuscrit dans son état actuel. Textuellement, les feuillets du volume de Baltimore appartiennent à deux parties distinctes du bréviaire: les ff. 3 à 17 proviennent du temporal et correspondent à l'office des vingt-deuxième à vingt-quatrième dimanches après l'octave de la Pentecôte; le restant, soit les feuillets 1, 2 et 18 à 83,[4] est tiré du sanctoral et a été relié dans un ordre souvent fantaisiste, qui ne tient pas compte de la séquence réelle des fêtes, sans doute après la mise à l'écart des feuillets complémentaires évoquée plus haut.[5] La lecture de la série de saints qui figurent dans ce sanctoral montre clairement que le manuscrit était destiné à une église du sud-ouest de la France située dans la région de Toulouse ou d'Albi: la présence de saints comme saint Exupère, archevêque de Toulouse, de saint Bertrand, chanoine de Toulouse, puis évêque de Comminges, de saint Tiburce, confesseur d'Albi, de saint Salvy, évêque d'Albi et de sainte Cécile d'Albi, auxquels il faut encore ajouter trois autres saints honorés à Auch, Agen et Lectoure, les saints Orientius (évêque d'Auch, 1.V), Dulcidius (évêque d'Agen, 16.X) et Genius (patron de Lectoure, 4.V), est très parlante à cet égard. Quelques saintes confirment cette implantation dans la région du sud-ouest, sainte Foi d'Agen et sainte Quiterie, d'Aire-sur-Adour, dont le culte il est vrai débordait les Pyrénées et s'étendait assez profondément en Espagne. Cette origine est amplement confirmée par la riche décoration peinte, pour laquelle Lilian Randall a proposé des rapprochements stylistiques convaincants avec l'enluminure toulousaine, que je m'efforcerai de resserrer encore davantage un peu plus loin. Que le sanctoral, tel qu'il est conservé aujourd'hui, soit incomplet, cela ressort avec évidence: il y manque en effet tous les saints dont la fête était célébrée entre les mois de décembre et d'avril. Mais il est tout aussi évident que des lacunes existent également dans la portion du

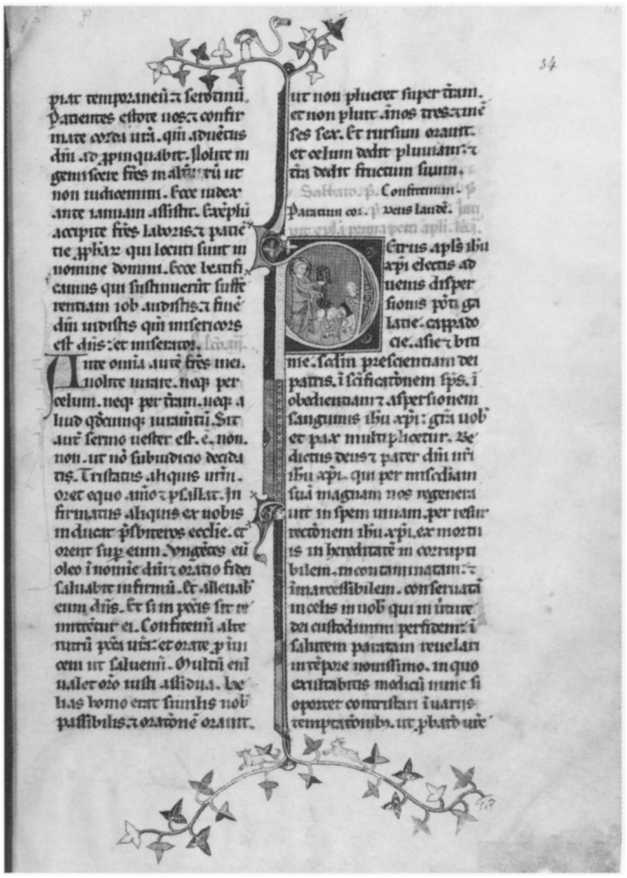

Fig. 1. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 34.

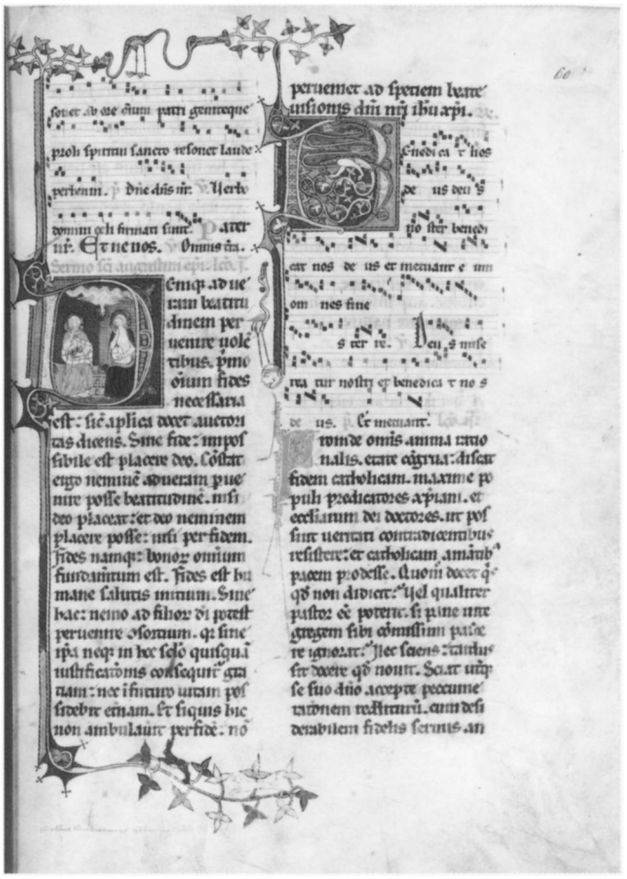

Fig. 2. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 60.

sanctoral contenue dans le W.130: la découverte toute récente par Christopher De Hamel de deux feuillets tirés de ce manuscrit et comportant les fêtes de saint Augustin (28.VIII) et de sainte Sabine (29.VIII), en est la preuve.[6] D'autres trouvailles du même genre devraient permettre, il faut l'espérer, de combler peu à peu ces lacunes.

D'ores et déjà, je souhaiterai présenter à Lilian, en hommage et en témoignage d'une vieille amitié, un autre élément, jusque là ignoré, de ce même bréviaire. Il s'agit d'un important fragment de 154 feuillets qui figure depuis 1879 sous la cote Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2511 dans les collections du Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale.[7] En dépit de son format monumental, nous avons bien affaire avec ce manuscrit à un élément du livre de l'office par excellence qu'est le bréviaire, et non pas à un lectionnaire et antiphonaire, comme il fut défini improprement, à l'époque de son acquisition, par Léopold Delisle.[8] Au surplus, les sujets traités dans les initiales historiées ne sont pas moins révélateurs de la catégorie liturgique à laquelle appartient le volume parisien, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

A la différence du fragment de Baltimore, le N.a. lat. 2511 n'est pas un échantillonnage factice de feuillets retenus pour leur seul décor enluminé, mais contient un morceau bien complet du temporal, qui s'étend, sans discontinuer, de l'office de Pâques à celui du vingtième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte:[9] ses dix-neuf cahiers de huit feuillets se succèdent régulièrement du début à la fin du volume, comme les réclames disposées horizontalement à la fin de chacun de ces cahiers permettent de le vérifier. (Ces réclames se trouvent aux feuillets 8v, 16v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 72v, 80v, 88v, 96v, 104v, 112v, 120v, 128v, 136v, 144v, 152v.) D'autres marques plus tardives ont été apposées sur ces differents cahiers, sans doute à l'occasion d'opérations de reliure ultérieures: une première série de signatures, consistant en lettres de l'alphabet suivi d'un chiffre romain (suivant le système suivant, correspondant aux quatre premiers feuillets de chaque quaternion: a, aI, aII, aIII) et donnant l'ordre des bifolia à l'intérieur de chaque cahier, semble remonter, d'après l'écriture, à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle. Les premiers feuillets de chaque cahier ont été marqués à une

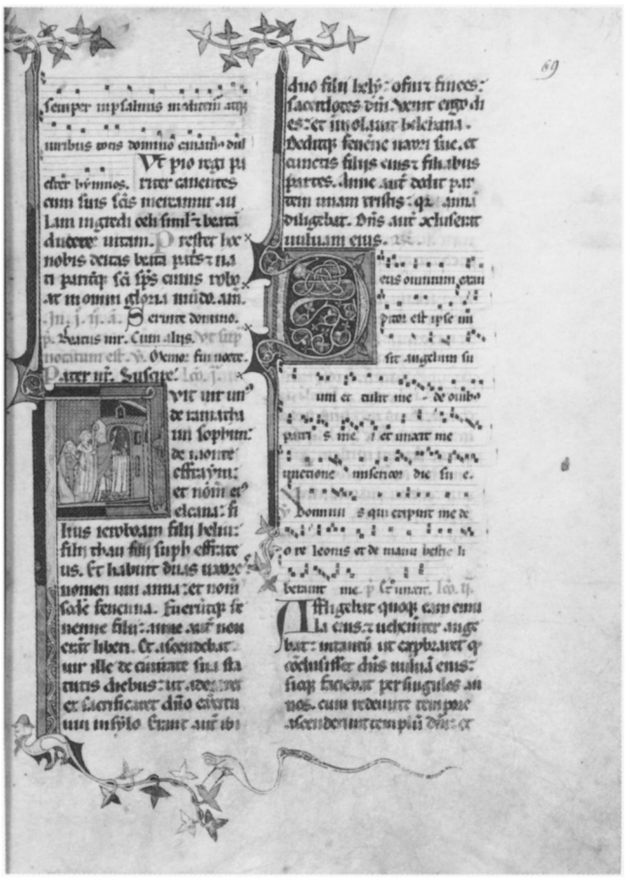

Fig. 3. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 69.

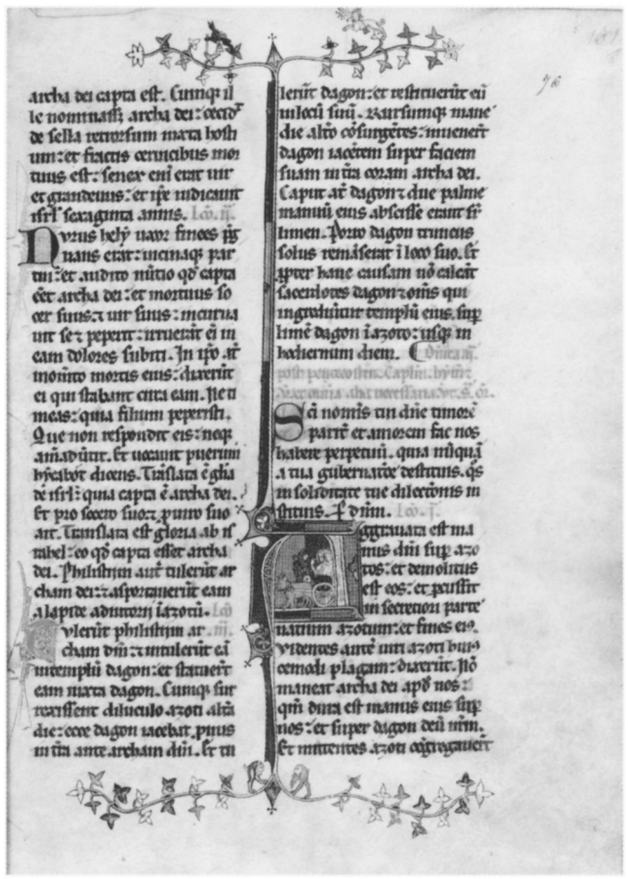

Fig. 4. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 76.

époque encore plus tardive (fin du XVIII[e] siècle?) d'une série de lettres en capitales, allant de A à T.[10] C'est à la même époque, vraisemblablement, qu'à été inscrite la mention: *tome premier* qui figure au bas du premier feuillet, mention qui a son répondant dans le fragment américain où se lisent au bas du feuillet 29 les mots *tome troisième* d'une écriture que Lilian Randall date de la fin du XVIII[e] siècle ou du commencement du siècle suivant. La remarquable similitude des données codicologiques ne laisse d'ailleurs planer aucun doute sur la solidarité des deux fragments, dont les feuillets offrent à peu de choses près les mêmes dimensions,[11] la même mise en page à deux colonnes de 34 lignes espacées de 11 à 12 mm, une justification à peu près identique (385 sur 260 mm, pour le volume parisien contre 390 sur 260 pour celui de Baltimore), la même écriture, une belle minuscule gothique aux formes aigues, ("spiky" come la définit, de façon imagée, Lilian Randall), d'aspect très méridional, haute de 5 à 6 mm, la même notation carrée sur portée de quatre lignes, le même type de réglure à la mine de plomb, et enfin la même décoration peinte et secondaire sur lesquelles nous allons revenir plus en détail. Notons enfin que la provenance supposée du manuscrit de Baltimore, en gros la région toulousaine, provenance déductible des données du santoral et du style de la décoration peinte dans ce manuscrit,[12] se trouve amplement confirmée de son côté par le fragment parisien. Au dire du vendeur de celui-ci, le libraire Pillet, ce manuscrit provenait de la région d'Albi.[13] Mais il est d'autres indices internes encore plus parlants en faveur de son origine méridionale: un certain nombre de ses initiales historiées sont accompagnées d'instructions à l'enlumineur, la plupart en latin, sauf deux d'entre elles, rédigées en occitan.[14] Enfin le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale comporte un certain nombre d'additions dont la plus intéressante est une note figurant dans la marge supérieure du fol. 10 et qui est ainsi libellée: *L'an mil IIII cens et LXIIII* (corrigé en *LXIII) e lo X de juni, fut portat de Tholosa a Cadonh lo sanct susarii*. Cette note fait de toute évidence allusion à un événement qui agita le monde ecclésiastique toulousain au XV[e] siècle, celui du retour subreptice à Cadouin, après une absence de plus de soixante ans,

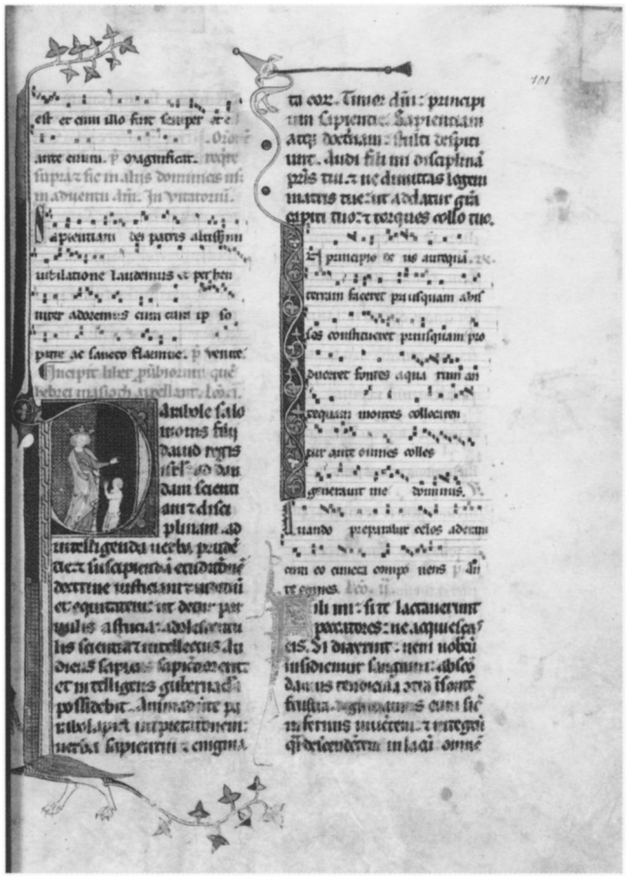

Fig. 5. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 101.

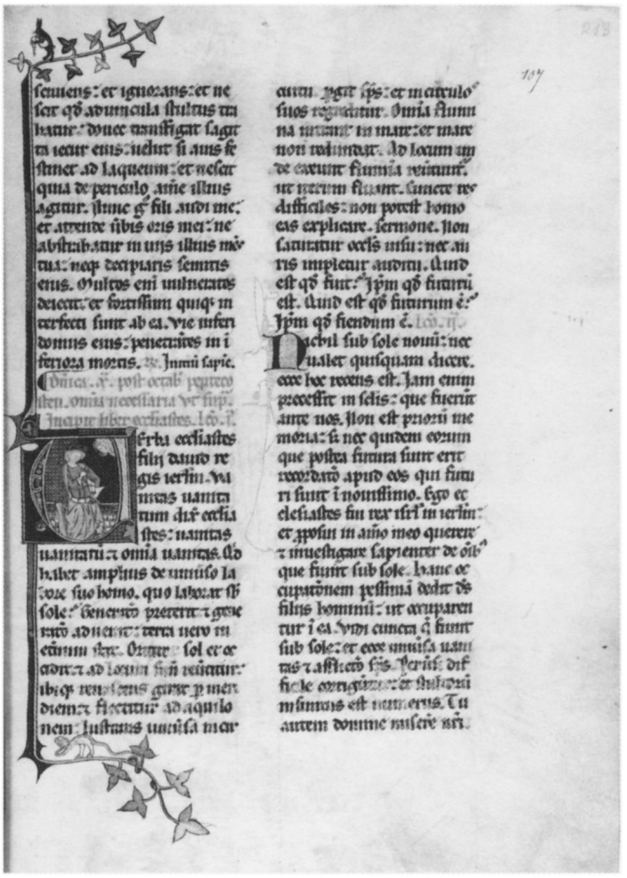

Fig. 6. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 107.

de la fameuse relique du saint Suaire que cette abbaye avait confiée en 1392 aux religieuses de Notre-Dame du Taur à Toulouse.[15] Si cette note exprimée d'un ton neutre et sans parti-pris n'implique pas nécessairement que le manuscrit sur lequel elle a été portée appartenait à une église toulousaine, sa présence dans le N.a. lat. 2511 indique que son auteur vivait à tout le moins dans le voisinage de la métropole languedocienne et se sentait concerné par l'évènement qui priva Toulouse d'une relique insigne, du moins localement. L'examen des particularités liturgiques du manuscrit ne contredit cette provenance: selon le Père Gy que j'ai consulté sur ce point et que je remercie de ses précieuses indications, les leçons des répons du temporal, à en juger d'après les tables de Dom Le Roux, se rapprochent uniquement de celles de Toulouse.[16]

La décoration peinte confirme amplement, comme nous allons le voir, la localisation en terre languedocienne et plus précisément toulousaine du manuscrit. Cette décoration consiste en une série de grandes lettres historiées ou simplement ornées dont la structure et le format sont fondamentalement identiques, si ce n'est que les secondes comportent des motifs ornementaux, végétaux ou animaux là où les premières sont illustrées d'une scène en rapport avec le contexte. Dans l'ensemble l'exécution picturale du manuscrit parisien semble homogène et l'oeuvre d'une seule main, seules les initiales ornées des ff. 97, 104 et 104v, de facture plus faible, dénonçant l'intervention d'un second artiste.[17] Ce n'est pas le cas dans le volume de Baltimore dont le décoration a mobilisé une équipe d'artistes:[18] l'un d'eux est de toute évidence le maître de la partie parisienne (fig. 15) et utilise le même répertoire;[19] un autre, manifestement influencé par le précédent, mais plus faible, est l'enlumineur du fol. 1 (fig. 124 de Randall) et de la plupart des initiales historiées à partir du fol. 21: le fragment vendu récemment à Londres par Sotheby's[20] est également de sa main, ainsi que les initiales des ff. 97, 104 et 104v du volume parisien signalées plus haut.

Passons tout d'abord en revue la série des initiales historiées contenues dans le volume parisien. En raison de la disparition de celle du dimanche de Pâques au fol. 1v, qui a été découpée, cette série d'initiales ne débute

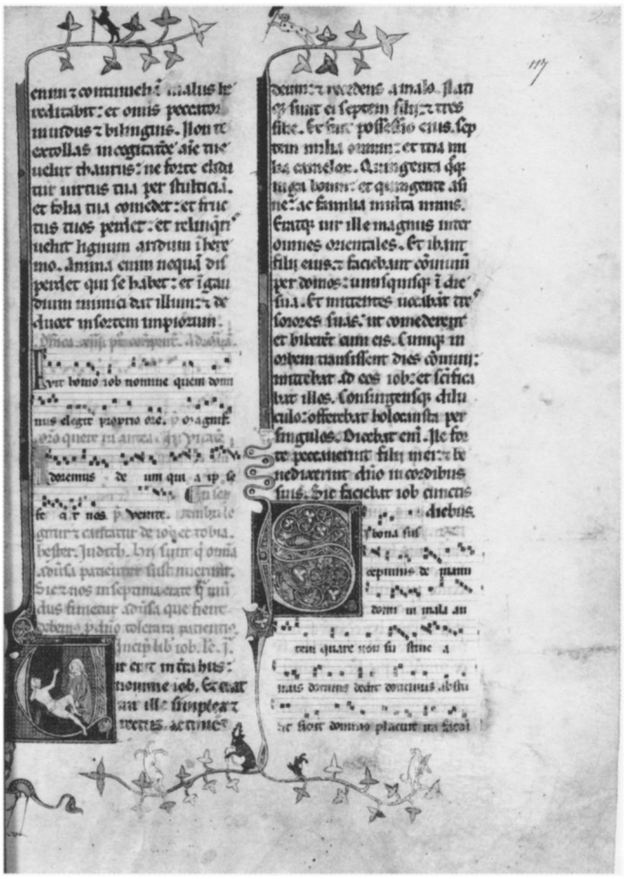

Fig. 7. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 117.

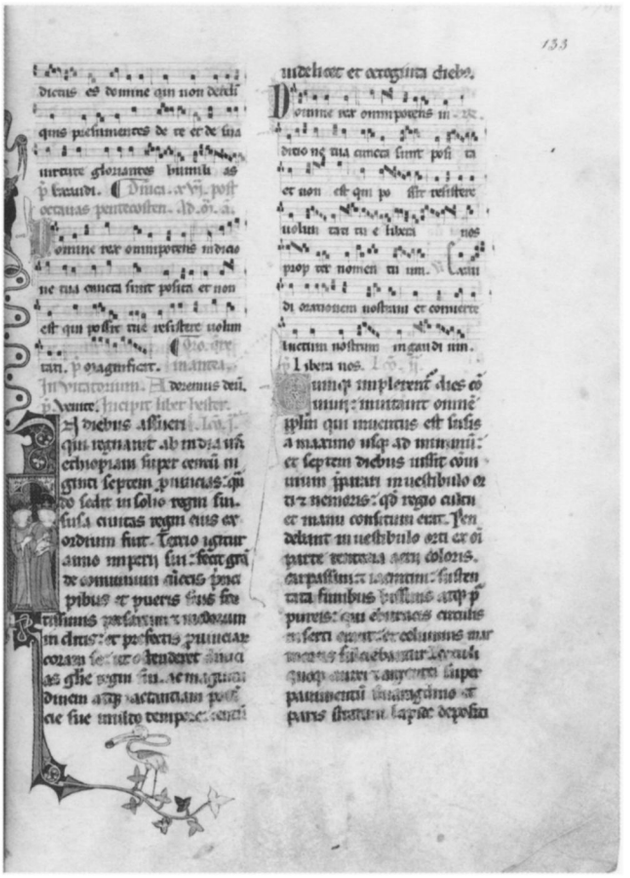

Fig. 8. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 133.

qu'avec l'office du premier dimanche après l'octave de Pâques (fol. 19v). Certaines de ces scènes sont encore accompagnées dans les marges d'indications en latin ou en languedocien, qui seront relevées au passage:

- fol. 19v (premier dimanche après l'octave de Pâques, scène illustrant la première lecture, tirée du livre de l'Apocalypse, *Apochalipsis Jhesu Christi*, initiale A): saint Jean l'Evangéliste écrivant (dans la marge inférieur, note à l'enlumineur: *Johannes apostolus scribens et nubes super eum)*.
- fol. 34 (fig. 1; troisième dimanche après l'octave de Pâques, scène illustrant la première lecture, tirée de la première épitre de saint Pierre, *Petrus apostolus*, lettre historiée P): saint Pierre debout, tenant une énorme clef et prêchant à un auditoire assis (note à l'enlumineur: *Ymago sancti Petri apostoli claves tenentis et predicantis populo presenti*).
- fol. 50v (Pentecôte, répons, lettre historiée D): la Pentecôte (saint Pierre et saint Paul au milieu du groupe des apôtres, au premier plan).
- fol. 60 (fig. 2; Fête de la Trinité, scène illustrant la première lecture tirée d'un sermon de saint Augustin, *Denique ad veram beatudinem*, initiale historiée D): la Trinité (en marge, note latine à l'enlumineur: *Pater filium tenens in cruce. Spiritus sanctus in forma columbe)*. On notera que l'enlumineur ne s'est pas conformé au type iconographique qui lui était spécifié, celui du Trône de grâce, mais qu'il a representé le Christ, torse dénudé, suivant le type du Christ du Jugement dernier, assis à côté d'un Dieu le Père barbu et chauve.
- fol. 69 (fig. 3; premier dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, scène illustrant la première lecture tirée du premier livre de Samuel, *Fuit vir unus de Ramathan*, initiale historiée F): prêtre célébrant assisté d'un acolyte tenant un flabellum; derrière eux, une femme agenouillée en prière. D'après le contexte, cette scène illustre évidemment le passage du premier livre de Samuel (I, 9–11), où Anne, la femme stérile d'Elcana, implore Dieu, au Temple, de la rendre féconde. Cette scène est souvent

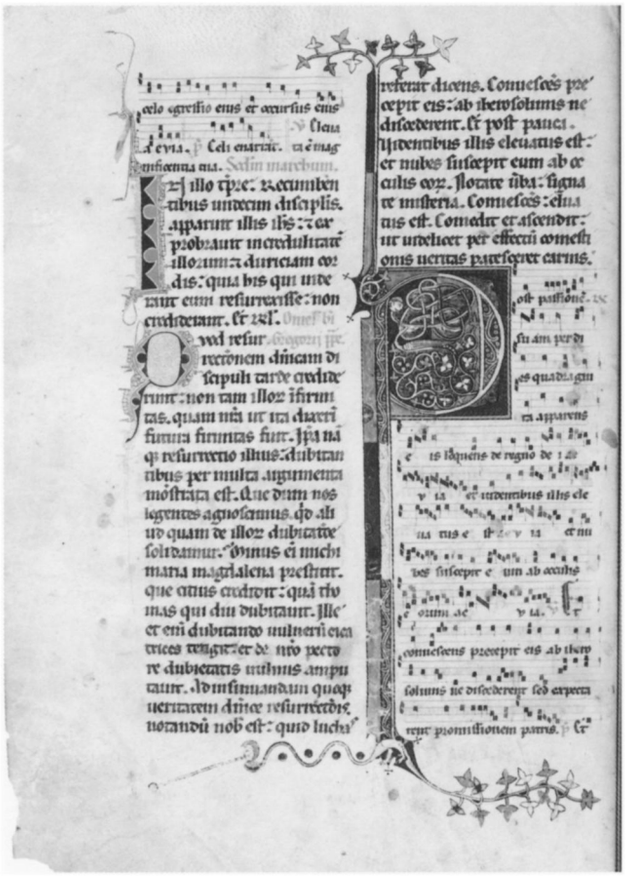

Fig. 9. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 39v.

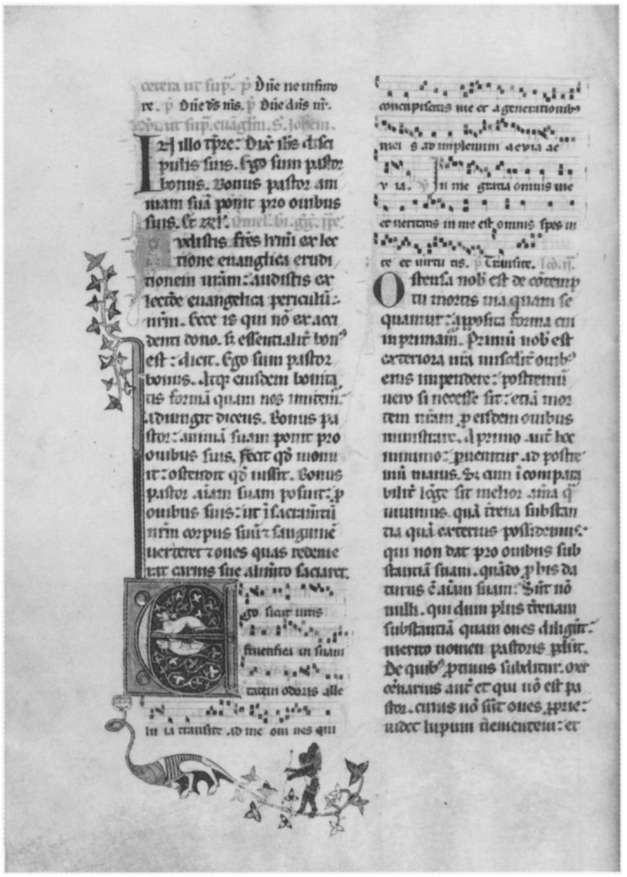

Fig. 10. Bréviaire choral. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. N.a. lat. 2511, fol. 18v.

représentée dans les bibles du XIII[e] siècle en tête de ce livre.

- fol. 76 (fig. 4; deuxième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture, *Aggravata est manus domini super Azotos*, I Samuel, 5, 6, initiale A): l'Arche d'Alliance posée sur un char tiré par des boeufs, renvoyé par les Philistins (en marge inférieure, note latine a l'enlumineur: *quadriga et archa desuper*...).
- fol. 101 (fig. 5; neuvième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du livre des Proverbes, initiale D): le roi Salomon châtiant un adolescent à genoux devant lui (note à l'enlumineur en bas de page: *.I. rei coronat ab .I. enfant... devant*).
- fol. 107 (fig. 6; dixième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture, tirée du livre de l'Ecclésiaste, initiale V): un roi (l'Ecclésiaste) assis sur un trône maçonné.
- fol. 110v (onzième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du livre de la Sagesse, *Diligite justitiam*, initiale D): un roi assis sur un trône, tenant un livre ouvert (note à l'enlumineur en bas de page: *.I. rei qui se eten .I. libre en sa ma*).
- fol. 117 (fig. 7; treizième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du livre de Job: *Vir erat in terra Hus*, initiale V): Job sur son fumier parlant avec sa femme.
- fol. 127 (quinzième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du livre de Tobie: *Tobias ex tribus*, initiale T): Tobie aveuglé dans son sommeil par la fiente d'un corbeau.
- fol. 133 (fig. 8; seizième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du livre d'Esther: *In diebus Assueri*, initiale I): Esther et Assuérus.
- fol. 137v (dix-septième dimanche après l'octave de la Pentecôte, première lecture tirée du premier livre des Macchabées: *Et factum est*, initiale E): scène de bataille entre cavaliers.

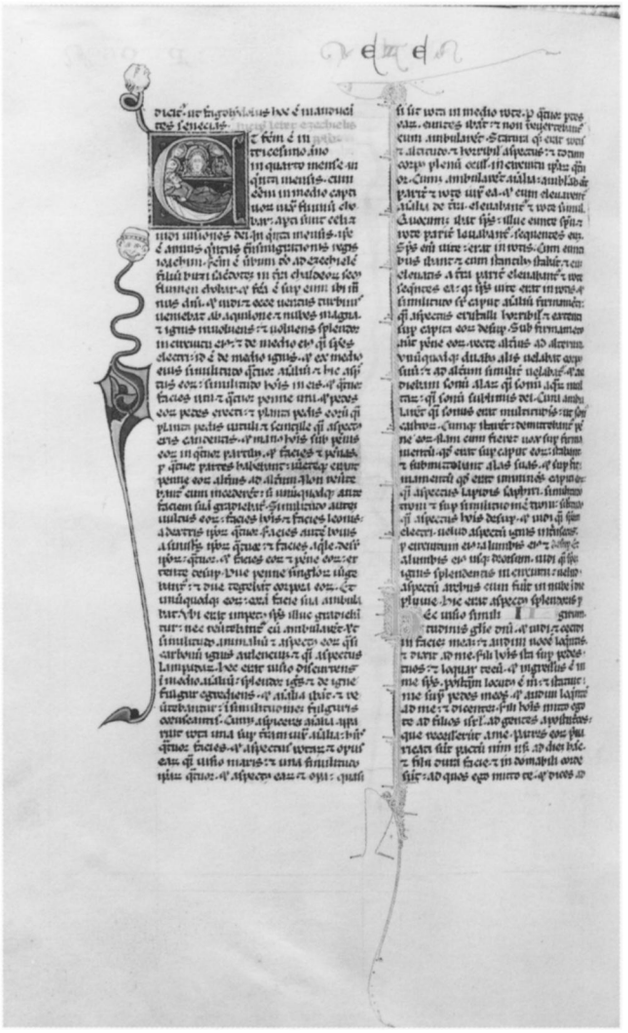

Fig. 11. Bible. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Bibl. 2°.8, fol. 310v.

Fig. 12. Gratien, *Décret*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. lat. fol. 4, fol. 245 (détail).

Cette séquence iconographique n'appelle que peu de commentaires. On notera seulement qu'à l'exception de l'illustration trinitaire du fol. 60, toutes les autres scènes figurées dans cette série sont directement inspirées de l'iconographie des bibles du XIII[e] siècle et se retrouvent plus ou moins fréquemment dans l'illustration des bréviaires, et dans le même contexte liturgique: c'est le cas notamment de la scène du fol. 69, (Anne, femme d'Elcana, priant au temple) qui figure également, pour le premier dimanche après la Pentecôte, dans le bréviaire franciscain de Blanche de France à la Vaticane (Urb. lat. 603, fol. 293), oeuvre parisienne des années 1310–1320, ainsi que dans le bréviaire dit de Martin V de la même bibliothèque (Vat. lat. 14701, fol. 225v), manuscrit exécuté en Avignon vers 1360–1370.[21] D'autres sont infiniment plus rares, telle la scène du renvoi de l'arche d'Alliance par les Philistins, au fol. 76, dont Leroquais ne signale que très peu d'attestations, d'ailleurs plus tardives.[22]

Stylistiquement, ces lettrines s'affilient clairement à celles des manuscrits du nord de la France à la même époque, tant du point de vue du traitement des figures que de la couleur et de la structure et du vocabulaire ornemental des initiales proprement dites: personnages sans épaisseur aux contours fortement marqués, palette restreinte où prédominent le bleu et tout une variété de rouges, avec apparition sporadique de vert, d'orange et de jaune pâle, lettrines se prolongeant dans les marges par des tiges végétales à grandes feuilles trifoliées et pointues parmi lesquelles évoluent diverses figures animales, dont certaines parodient les activités des hommes: c'est le cas notamment au fol. 117 (fig. 7) dans la marge inférieure duquel un chien et un lapin, tels des baladins, dansent sur leur pattes de devant au son de la musique dispensée par un cerf jouant de la cornemuse et un chien jouant de la vielle; sur l'antenne végétale de la partie supérieure du même feuillet, un chien au pelage blanc taché de noir—qui ressemble comme un frère au dalmatien figuré à la partie supérieure de l'initiale du fol. 12 du manuscrit de Baltimore (fig. 15)—menace de sa hallebarde un lapin voyageur.

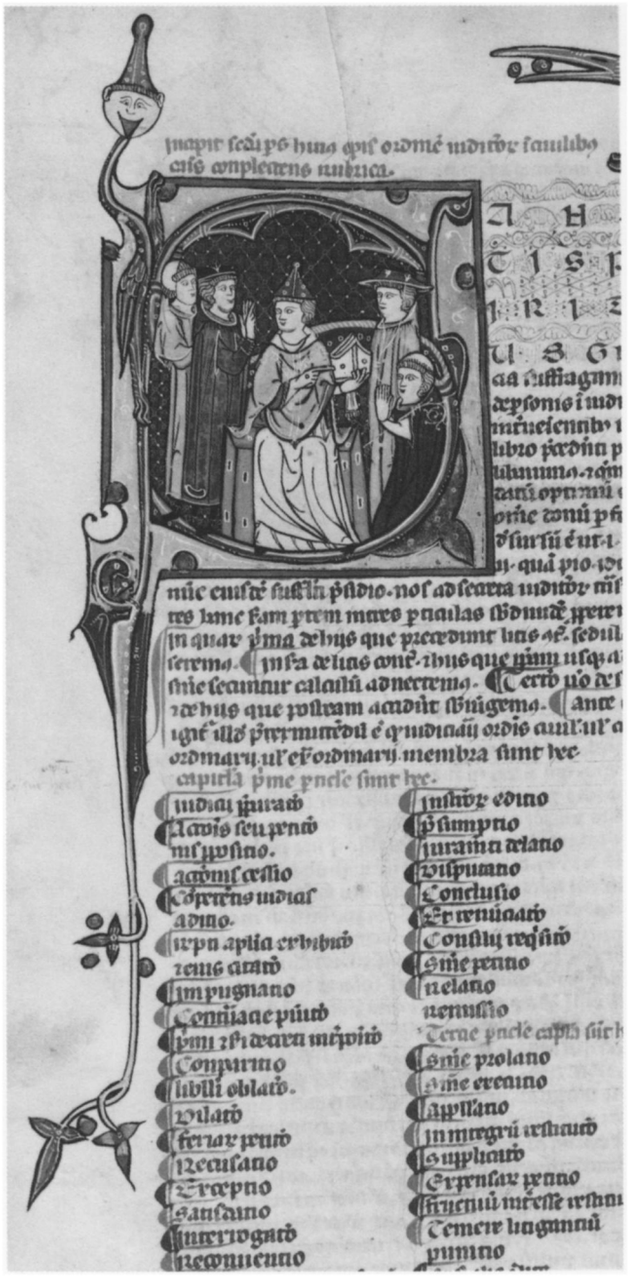

Fig. 13. Guillaume Durand, *Speculum judiciale*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 4258, fol. 74v (détail).

Fig. 14. Gratien, *Décret*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. lat. fol. 4, fol. 179v (détail).

Il existe pourtant dans ce dispositif décoratif quelques singularités qui méritent d'être relevées. Il s'agit tout d'abord de ces êtres hybrides au corps stylisé de dragon ou d'échassier et dotés de têtes humaines ou grotesques accrochées à l'extrémité de cous étirés et filiformes qui se déploient dans la marge en dessins variés, le plus souvent sinueux (ff. 39v, 117, 133, 144; fig. 7–10), parfois formant une boucle (ff. 18v, 117; fig. 7, 10), voire un noeud d'entrelacs lorsqu'ils occupent le champ d'une initiale (ff. 39v, 69, 127v; fig. 3, 9). Ces bizarres créatures se retrouvent identiques dans le volume de Baltimore (cf. la figure 125 déjà citée de Randall). Des échassiers au long cou ondulant et flexible figurent presqu'aussi fréquemment dans les marges (ff. 50v, 60 par exemple). Celui du fol. 69 avale un serpent dont la tête est pincée entre son bec tout comme l'hybride à tête d'échassier tenant un poisson, que signale Randall au fol. 21v du volume de Baltimore.[23] Notons encore un autre trait particulier du décor des deux fragments de Baltimore et de Paris et qui consiste à doter les animaux réels ou fabuleux remplissant le champ des initiales d'une queue végétale formant des arabesques et ornée des mêmes feuillages tréflés que les antennes végétales des marges (ff. 18v, 39v, 60, 69, 117). Sur le plan de l'utilisation de la couleur, on relèvera la bipartition chromatique fréquente du fond des miniatures, particularité qu'on ne rencontre que très rarement dans le nord. Comme nous allons le voir, ces motifs spécifiques, tout comme le style général des deux volumes, n'ont d'équivalent, à cette époque, que dans un groupe de manuscrits qu'il y a de bonnes raisons de rattacher à l'aire languedocienne et plus précisément à Toulouse.

La décoration des manuscrits en Languedoc au tournant du XIII[e] siècle reste encore, à l'heure actuelle,

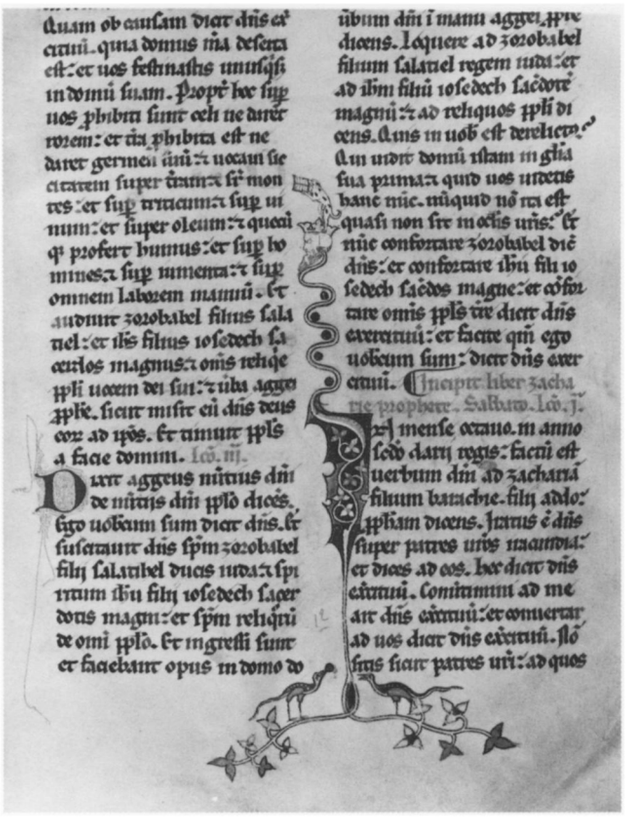

Fig. 15. Bréviaire choral. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. W. 130, fol. 12 (détail).

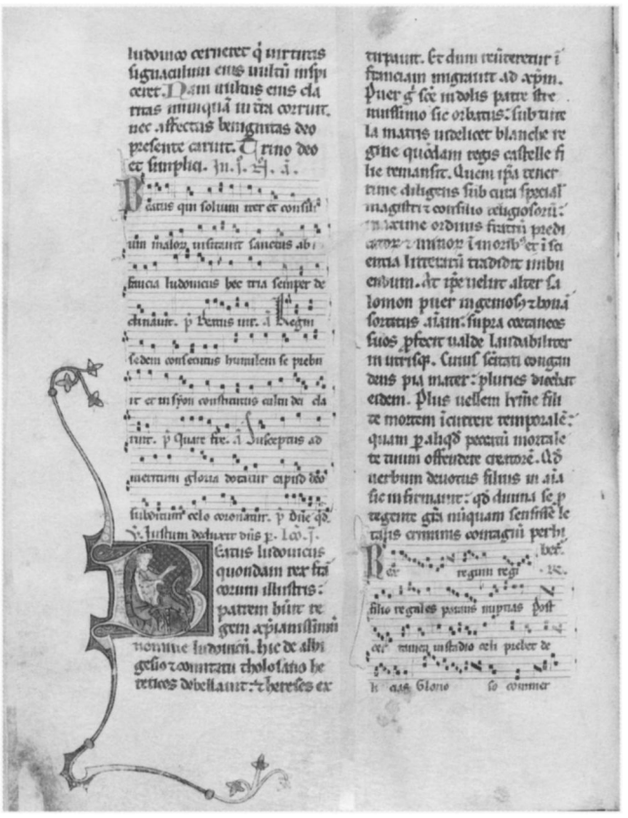

Fig. 16. Bréviaire choral. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. W. 130, fol. 50v.

un domaine insuffisamment exploré et pourtant prometteur. Il semble que la création, en 1229, d'une université à Toulouse, sur le modèle de la Sorbonne, université qui se spécialisa de plus en plus, à partir des dernières années du siècle, dans l'enseignement du droit,[24] ait joué un rôle déterminant dans l'éclosion d'une production de manuscrits, principalement de contenu juridique, dont les caractéristiques communes du point de vue de la décoration peinte, commencent peu à peu à se préciser.[25] Un autre manuscrit récemment réapparu renforce de façon décisive l'ancrage de ce groupe de manuscrits juridiques dans la cité languedocienne: il s'agit d'une superbe Bible conservée aujourd'hui à la Württembergische Landesbiblothek Stuttgart, et dont une inscription du XV^{e} siècle rappelle qu'elle fut donnée à la cathédrale de Toulouse par le patriarche d'Alexandrie et archevêque de Toulouse Jean de Cardaillac.[26] On trouve dans ce manuscrit des parallélismes frappants, du point de vue du style et de l'ornementation, avec le décor du bréviaire choral séparé entre Paris et Baltimore. Ses marges présentent notamment le même répertoire de figures drôlatiques à la tête perchée au bout d'un cou interminable, que nous avons relevées dans le bréviaire. Ainsi le grotesque peint en marge du fol. 310v de la Bible (fig. 11) a-t-il son exacte contrepartie au fol. 18v du volume de Paris (fig. 10): même face hilare au regard dirigé sur le côté et tirant la langue en direction du spectateur.[27] Ces figures au cou serpentin et à face comique constituent également une sorte de marque de fabrique des très nombreux manuscrits de droit civil et de droit canon ayant vu le jour dans le milieu toulousain entre la fin du XIII^{e} siècle et le milieu du siècle suivant.[28] L'un des plus représentatifs de cette production juridique toulousaine est un *Décret* de Gratien de la Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz de Berlin.[29] Exactement contemporain de notre bréviaire, c'est certainement le manuscrit qui représente les liens les plus étroits sur le plan de la décoration peinte avec celui-ci, même s'il est l'oeuvre d'artistes distincts: son décor marginal comporte exactement le même répertoire de figures grotesques, têtes hilares vues de face et tirant la langue (fig. 12), avec une variante, la bouche fendue en triangle jusqu'au bas du menton (fig. 2) qui nous permet de rattacher à cet atelier un *Speculum judiciale* de Guillaume Durand,[30] provenant du Collège de Foix à Toulouse, qui offre le même détail spécifique (fig. 13); tête embouchée d'une trompette (fol. 198),[31]

comme le grotesque du fol. 101 dans le volume parisien (fig. 5). Plus frappante encore est la réapparition dans le manuscrit de Berlin du rare motif de l'échassier engoulant dans son bec un poisson (ou un serpent?) vu de profil (fol. 179v, fig. 14), motif dont nous avons signalé une occurence dans le manuscrit de Paris (fig. 3). Notons encore les arabesques à feuilles tréflées dessinées par la queue du dragon remplissant le champ de l'initiale H au début du *Décret*, tout à fait comparables à celles qui apparaissent dans certaines initiales du volume de Paris, et la découpe identique des liserés doublant les antennes marginales avec leurs ressauts à pointes ornées d'une croix.

L'appartenance du bréviaire choral de Paris et de Baltimore à la production toulousaine des alentours de 1300 (les données liturgiques permettraient peut-être de cerner son exécution entre 1297 année de la canonisation de saint Louis qui figure dans le sanctoral et les environs de 1315, époque de l'adoption par l'Eglise romaine de la Fête-Dieu, absente du temporal) apparaît donc des plus problables. Si sa destination exacte reste encore à préciser, sa belle décoration peinte en fait un témoin essentiel de l'enluminure à Toulouse sous le règne de Philippe le Bel.

Bibliothèque nationale de France
Paris

Notes

1. L. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I: France, 875–1420*, (Baltimore et Londres, 1989), 158–162, no. 60, fig. 124, 125.

2. Leroquais n'en signale que quelques-uns, le plus proche du point de vue de format étant un bréviaire à l'usage de Paris, en deux grands et épais volumes (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 15181–15182), qui date, comme celui que nous étudions ici, des alentours de 1300 (*Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Mâcon, 1934), I:LVIII–LIX et III:260–63).

3. Cf. Randall, *Manuscripts*, 161: "The selection of extant folios, perhaps carried out at the Parisian firm of Gruel, ignored liturgical consideration in favor of visual appeal."

4. Le folio 84 n'est qu'une addition du XV^{e} siècle.

5. Voici la succession des fêtes du sanctoral, telle qu'on peut la reconstituer à partir de la description iconographique de Lilian Randall: fol. 1: saint Laurent (16.VI); 18: Cyrique et Julitte (16.VI); 19: Exupère (13.VI): 20: Barnabé (11.VI; 24: Prime et Félicien (9.VI); 22v: Marc et Marcellien (18.VI); 24: Quiterie (22.V); 25v: saint Jean à la Porte latine (6.V); 26v: Translation saint Etienne (7.V); 29v: Marie Madeleine (22.VII); 32v: Christophe (25.VII); 33: Nazaire et Celse (28.VII); 34v: Marthe (29.VII); 35v: Felix, Simplicius et Faustinus (29.VII); 36v: Abdon et Senne (30.VII); 37: Germain d'Auxerre (31.VII); 38v: saint Pierre aux liens (1.VIII); 39v: Etienne, pape (2.VIII); 40v: invention saint Etienne (3.VIII); 41: Dominique (4.VIII); 42v: Couronne d'épines (2.VIII) 43v: Tiburce (2.VIII); 44: Hippolyte (13.VIII); 45v: Radegonde (13.VIII); 46: Assomption (15.VIII); 47: Timothée (19 ou 22.VIII); 48v: octave Assomption (22.VIII); 49v:(?); 50v: saint Louis (25.VIII); 51: Assomption(?) (15.VIII); 53: Décollation saint Jean Baptiste (29.VIII); 54: Felix et Adauctus (30.VIII); 54v: Loup de Sens (1.IX); 55v: Gilles (1.IX); 56v: Antoine, martyr(?); 57: Antonin, martyr (3.IX); 58v: Genius (4.V); 59: Naissance de la Vierge (8.IX); 60: (?); 62v: Prote et Hyacinthe (11.IX); 63: Corneille et Cyprien (14.IX); 64v: Cosme et Damien (27.IX); 65: Nicomède (15.IX); 65v: Mathieu (21.IX); 66v: saint Michel archange (29.IX); 67: Leodegarius (2.X); 68v saint François (4.X); 69v: saint Michel au péril de la mer (17.X); 70v: sainte Foy d'Agen (6.X); 71v: Raphaël, archange (6.X); 72: Calixte (14.X); 73v: saint Bertrand de Comminges (16.X); 74: Dulcidius, évêque d'Agen (16.X); 75v: Claude, Nicostrate, Castor, Symphorien (8.XI); 76: Théodore (9.XI); 78: translation saint Etienne (21.XI); 79: Cécile (22.XI); 80: Chrysogone (24.XI); 81v: Catherine d'Alexandrie (25.XI); 82v: Hilaire et Valentin (3.XI).

6. Vente Sotheby's, 18 juin 1996, lot 13.

7. Il fut enregistré à la date du 14 octobre de cette année, sous le no. 7062, dans le registre des acquisitions du Département, et avait été acheté pour 150 francs de l'époque du libraire Pillet, rue des Bons-Enfants.

8. *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris, 1880), 442–43. Delisle a repris sa notice presque sans changement, mais en l'abrégeant, dans son *Inventaire alphabétique des manuscrits latins et français ajoutés aux fonds des Nouvelles acquisitions pendant les années 1875–1891* (Paris, 1891), 354. Le chanoine Leroquais n'en fait pas mention, et pour cause, dans ses *Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*.

9. La partie du temporal contenue dans le manuscrit de Baltimore (ff. 3–17) est presque exactement complémentaire et comprend, rappelons-le, l'office des vingt-deuxième au vingt-quatrième dimanches après l'octave de la Pentecôte.

10. Cette série alphabétique prouve que le manuscrit n'a pas subi de perte depuis le XVI[e] siècle et que le temporal débutait bien à l'office de Pâques et non pas au temps de l'Avent.

11. 514 x 383 mm pour le volume de Baltimore, contre 530 x 382 mm environ pour les feuillets du fragment de Paris, cette légère différence en hauteur s'expliquant peut-être par le destin divergent des deux morceaux, celui de Baltimore ayant peut-être été davantage affecté par le ciseau du relieur moderne. La différence est encore plus marquée en ce qui concerne les deux feuillets passés récemment en vente chez Sotheby's qui mesurent aujourd'hui 470 x 370 mm.

12. Randall, *Manuscripts*, 161–62.

13. Delisle, *Mélanges*, 443.

14. Fol. 101: *I rei coronat ab I. enfant . . . devant* (inscription accompagnant la scène, classique dans l'iconographie des bibles pour le livre des Proverbes, figurant Salomon enseignant un enfant); fol. 110v: *I rei qui se eten .I. libre en sa ma* (pour illustrer la lecture tirée du livre de la Sagesse).

15. Sur cette affaire, voir Dubédat, "Le Saint Suaire de Cadouin à Toulouse", *Revue catholique de Bordeaux*, 12 (1890), 63–73. D'après les sources de l'auteur, cet événement aurait eu lieu en 1455 ou 1456. En réalité le retour du saint Suaire à Cadouin s'est opéré en deux temps: la relique fut bien enlevée de Toulouse en 1456 par un "commando" de moines de l'abbaye périgourdine, mais fut d'abord mise à l'abri à Obazine avant de revenir définitivement à Cadouin le 10 juin 1463. Cf. le Père Alcide Carles, *Histoire du Saint Suaire de Cadouin*, 5[e] édition (Toulouse, 1879), 45–46, qui ne cite malheureusement pas ses sources. Sur le Saint-Suaire de Cadouin, voir également J. Maubourguet, "Le suaire de Cadouin", *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 63 (1926), 348–63; J. Francès, S.J., *Un pseudo-linceul du Christ* (Paris, 1933); et B. et G. Delluc, "Le suaire de Cadouin: une toile brodée", *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 110 (1983), 162–79. Je remercie Nicole Reynaud grâce à qui j'ai pu retrouver ces références récentes.

16. Cf. à ce propos, R.P. P.-M. Gy: Les répons de matines des trois nuits avant Pâques et la géographie liturgique du moyen âge latin, *Requirentes modos musicos, Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, éd. Dom D. Saulnier et M. Albert (Solesmes, 1995) 29–39. Le Père Gy observe également que les indications très dévelopées concernant les lectures d'été de la rubrique du fol. 1 du ms. N.a. lat. 2511, dénotent une influence de l'ordo canonial de l'ordre de Saint-Ruf tel qu'il est contenu dans le ms. BnF, latin 1233. A propos de ce dernier, voir R.P. P.-M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1990), 129. Sur la liturgie de Saint-Ruf, voir la contribution du même auteur, "La liturgie des chanoines de l'ordre de Saint-Ruf", *Cahiers de Fangeaux n° 24: Le monde des chanoines (XI[e]–XIV[e] s.)* (Toulouse, 1989), 181–91. A noter dans la rubrique du fol. 1 du N.a. lat. 2511, l'allusion à l'évêque comme officiant (*Deinde episcopus vel sacerdos ad altare incipiat sine capitulo*) qui semble indiquer une utilisation du manuscrit dans une église cathédrale.

17. Bien que certainement dessinée par le maître principal, l'initiale de la Pentecôte au fol. 50v donne l'impression d'être inachevée. Le contour des personnages semblent avoir été redessinés à une époque un peu plus avancée du XIV[e] siècle.

18. Lilian Randall distingue au moins trois mains dans le manuscrit. *Manuscripts*, 60.

19. Le dalmatien figuré sur la tête couronnée (fig. 15) a son équivalent au fol. 117 du N.a. lat 2511; la tête couronnée vue de profil a son jumeau dans l'hybride à chapeau de pélérin du fol. 69 de ce même manuscrit. D'après les indications de Lilian Randall, cet artiste semble n'être intervenu qu'aux ff. 2 à 20, qui correspondent au temporal.

20. Cf. note 6.

21. Sur ce dernier manuscrit, voir le catalogue d'exposition, *Liturgia in figura* (Vatican, 1995), 88, no. 1.

22. Bréviaire de Jean d'Amboise, évêque de Langres (Chaumont, bibl. municipale, ms. 33, fol 31) et Bréviaire de Jean de Bedford (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 17294, fol. 303), cf. Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, I:329 et III:307.

23. Randall, *Manuscripts*, 161.

24. Pour un bref aperçu des origines de l'université de Toulouse, voir S. Guenée, *Les Universités françaises des origines à la Révolution* (Paris, 1982), 122–26. Voir aussi C.E. Smith, *The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages* (Milwaukee, 1958) et le récent ouvrage d'H. Gilles, *Université de Toulouse et enseignement du droit* (Toulouse, 1996).

25. On peut d'ores et déjà renvoyer, à ce propos, à la thèse de troisème cycle, inédite, soutenue en 1986 par Margaret Rusius à l'Université de Paris-VI Sorbonne, thèse où, à partir des observations de C. Nordenfalk (dans son compte-rendu de l'ouvrage d'A. Melnikas sur les manuscrits illustrés du *Décret* de Gratien dans la *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 [1980], 335–36), l'auteur a pu définir un groupe de manuscrits du *Décret* illustrés à Toulouse entre la fin du XIII[e] siècle et la fin du siècle suivant (*L'illustration des Décrets de Gratien dans l'enluminure toulousaine au XIV[e] siècle*). A cette série de manuscrits du *Décret*, il faut ajouter un certain nombre de manuscrits de droit civil, essentiellement des traités de Justinien: ainsi trois exemplaires du *Digestum novum*, proches stylistiquement du bréviaire discuté ici, l'un à la bibliothèque universitaire de Bâle, C.I.2, le second, dont je dois la connaissance à Mme Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg, à la Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati de Sienne, ms. I.IV.5, et le troisème á la British Library, ms. Arundel 484. Voir quelques bonnes reproductions en couleur du volume siennois dans le catalogue d'exposition, *Lo Studio e i Testi. Il libro universitario a Siena (secoli XII–XVII)*, Sienne, Biblioteca comunale, 1996, 130–31, fig. 57–60.

26. Cod. Bibl. 2°.8. Sur ce manuscrit dont la donation à la cathédrale Saint-Etienne dut intervenir avant 1390, année de la mort du patriarche, voir désormais C. Sauer et U. Kuder, *Die Gotischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, I: Vom späten 12. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1996), 181–85, fig. 366–75, Ulrich Kuder, auteur de la notice, a donné un excellent aperçu de la production toulousaine de cette époque dans le commentaire stylistique qu'il consacre, pp. 184–85, à ce manuscrit. Je remercie vivement Mesdames les Prof. Dr. Herrad Spilling et Florentine Mütherich de l'aide qu'elles ont bien voulu m'apporter pour accéder à la notice de Monsieur Kuder à une époque où cet important catalogue n'était pas encore disponible à Paris. On trouvera deux reproductions en couleur de la Bible de Jean de Cardaillac dans le guide d'exposition de C. Sauer, *Studium, Lektüre, Andacht. Zur Handschriftenproduktion im 13. Jahrhundert. Eine Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1996), 28–29.

27. Les liens de la Bible de Stuttgart avec le bréviaire choral de Paris et Baltimore ne sont pas uniquement d'ordre stylistique: les particularités graphiques communes de l'écriture dans les deux manuscrits m'incitent à conclure que l'un et l'autre ont été copiés par le même scribe méridional, dont je reconnais également la main dans un missel papal du Fitzwilliam Museum de Cambridge, ms. McLean 51. Sur ce dernier manuscrit, voir M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McLean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1912) 101–103, pl. XXXVIII. La décoration peinte de ce missel, à en juger d'après la planche de James est également à rattacher à la production toulousaine qui nous occupe ici.

28. A ma connaissance, elles n'ont pas ou peu d'équivalent au nord de la Loire. L'un des rares manuscrits septentrionaux présentant à cette époque un motif comparable de tête perchée au bout d'un cou serpentin est le pontifical de Renaud de Bar, évêque de Metz, au Fitzwilliam Museum. Cf E.S. Dewick, *The Metz Pontifical. A Manuscript Written for Reinhald von Bar, Bishop of Metz 5 (1302–1316)* (Londres, 1902), pl. 40, 56, 63.

29. Ms. lat. fol. 4. Cf. A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani* (Rome, 1975), illustrations de la *distinctio I*, fig. 60, et des causes XV, fig. 22; XVI, fig. 25; XIX, fig. 31; XX, fig. 24; XXI, pl. II; XXII, pl. II; XXIII, fig. 18; XXIV, fig. 17; XXV, pl. III; XXVI, pl. IV; XXVII, fig. 20; XXVIII, fig. 14; XXIX, pl. I; XXX, pl. I; XXXI, fig. 21; XXXII, fig. 20; XXXIII, fig. 16; XXXIV, fig. 15; XXXV, fig. 22; XXXVI, fig. 19; et *de consecratione*, pl. II; M. Rusius, *L'illustrations des Décrets*, 264–66, fig. 81, 90, 107, 108, 112, 113.

30. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 4258.

31. Melnikas, *Corpus*, II, fig. 24 des illustrations de la cause XX.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–10, 13, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; fig. 11, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Fotograf, Joachim Siener; figs. 12, 14, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz; figs. 15, 16, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.