Metropolitan Museum Journal

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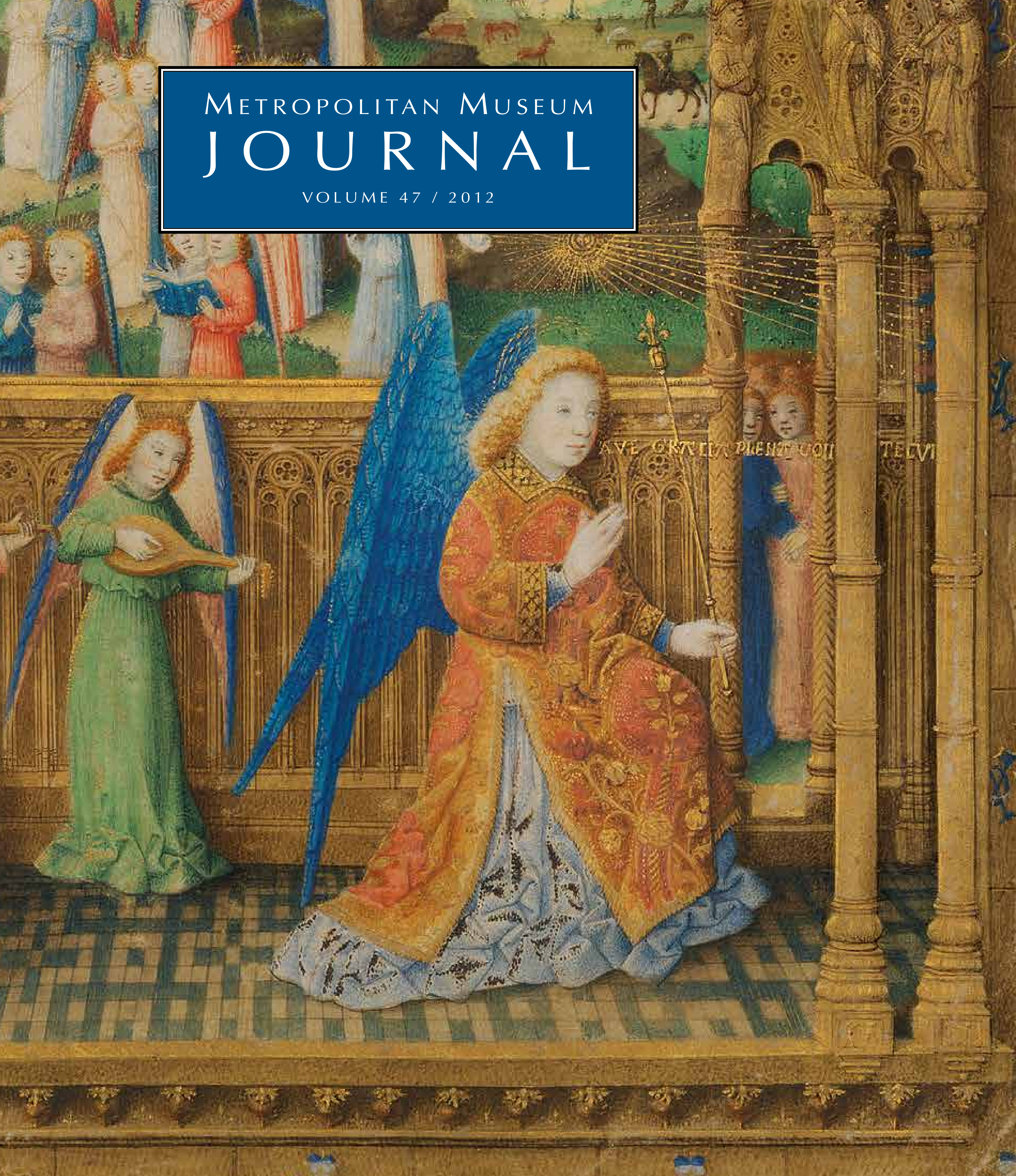

Metropolitan Museum Journal

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Cover illustration: Detail of Angel of the Annunciation, from the Hours of Charles of France, 1465 (see Figure 1, page 86). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection

To Jim Draper

Who since 1977 guided the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* with a keen eye, ear, and sense of humor

Contents

Manuscript Guidelines for the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

Metropolitan Museum Journal

Volume 47 / 2012

Treasures from Tell Basta: Goddesses, Officials, and Artists in an International Age

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"The Tell Basta Treasure" is the generally used designation for the gold and silver vessels and jewelry discovered in 1906 at Tell Basta, the ancient Bubastis, in the eastern section of the Egyptian Delta. . . .Aside from the intrinsic interest of the treasure, it has aroused considerable discussion among non-Egyptologists because of the possible Asiatic origin of some of the objects and among Egyptologists because of the general uncertainty which prevails as to the date of the treasure. Since the decorated patera from the find is a forerunner of the "Phoenician" paterae of a later date, the treasure has long been familiar to the classical archaeologist.

William Kelly Simpson used these words in 1959 to introduce his comprehensive study of decorated vessels from Tell Basta.[1] Despite Simpson's fundamental contribution, however, uncertainty has remained about the date and origin of the treasure's major items. In recent years, I have studied unpublished pieces in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum. These additions provide a means not only for clarifying the date and place of the treasure's manufacture, but also for better understanding the multicultural society in the eastern Delta at the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium B.C.—the Ramesside period in Egypt and the end of the Late Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age in the Levant.

In 1906 the Metropolitan Museum purchased objects from the first of two finds made that year at Tell Basta. In 1920 the Museum sent its fragmentary pieces to Paris for restoration, and in 1930 it received three additional Tell Basta items from the Theodore M. Davis Bequest (Figure 3 shows the major pieces, and see Appendix 1, where all of the Tell Basta objects are catalogued by type). Nora Scott published a photograph of most of the Museum's important pieces in 1944, but scholars obtained a better idea of the Tell Basta holdings in the Metropolitan Museum in 1959, when Simpson wrote his study of the decorated vessels in Cairo, Berlin, and New York and Curator William C. Hayes included the major objects in his handbook on the Museum's Egyptian collection.[2]

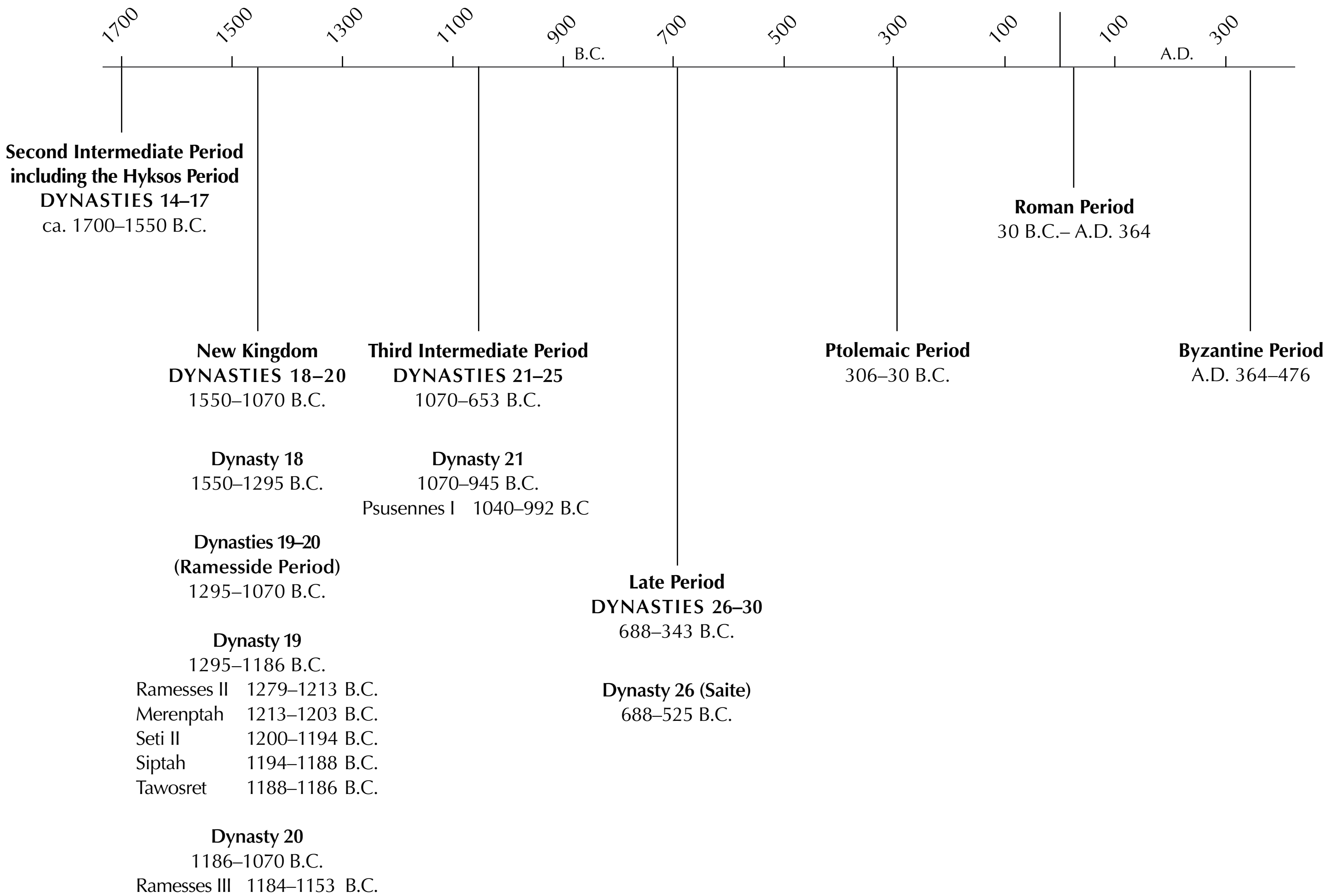
There were two finds at Tell Basta in 1906, the first on September 22 and the second on October 17. Scholars, including Simpson, combined the two groups for several reasons: The objects were reportedly from the same general location, displayed similar object types, decoration, and technology, and included 19th Dynasty inscriptions from the reigns of Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.) and the female pharaoh Tawosret (1188–1186 B.C.).[3] (See the chronology, Figure 1.) Although acknowledging the presence of motifs of foreign origin or character—as on two silver pitchers with gold animal handles (which Simpson called Vessels A and B) that are inscribed for one Atumemtaneb (Figures 5, 6, 39, 40)—scholars judged the published Tell Basta vessels to be Egyptian.[4] The exception was Pierre Montet, followed by Hermann Ranke, who maintained that the vessels were Levantine.[5]

Scholars also tended to consider the Tell Basta treasure Ramesside in date (1295–1070 B.C.), although here, too, there were exceptions. Perhaps thinking of the animal handles on Atumemtaneb's jugs, Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss dated some items to Dynasty 26 (688–525 B.C.).[6] Émile Vernier thought the more fragmentary pitcher of Atumemtaneb (Figure 6) was Ptolemaic (306–30 B.C.), and he provided no date at all for the famous "patera of Amy" (more properly called a carinated bowl; Figure 18).[7]

Simpson mainly discussed the Metropolitan's magnificent repoussé bowl (Figures 3, 43), but he also introduced a third jug of Atumemtaneb in the Metropolitan (Vessel C)

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

CHRONOLOGY



1. Dates relevant to the study of the Tell Basta treasure

and referred to a gold jar in Berlin, two gold jars in Cairo, and Amy's bowl (Figures 3, 41, 7, 12, 13, 18). He argued, on the basis of inscriptions, that these decorated vessels were made late in Dynasty 19 and deposited in Tawosret's reign or a bit later. Interpreting the vessels as most likely a "ritual table service" donated by the people whose names appeared on them to the temple dedicated to the feline goddess Bastet that stood in the center of the city of Bubastis, he supported manufacture in Egypt, against Montet.[8]

In 1983, in a survey of the copper-alloy vessels from pharaonic Egypt, Ali Radwan referred to the Tell Basta vessels as belonging, for the most part, to a gold and silver wine service of late Dynasty 19.[9] In 1982 and 2003 Kenneth Kitchen transcribed and translated the inscriptions on six of the vessels, maintaining Simpson's dating.[10] In 1990–91 Jack Ogden focused on technical aspects of the exceptional pieces, assigning them all to the Ramesside period. General Egyptological sources have followed Simpson's dating, usually commenting on the group's "foreign" flavor. Scholars of an "international style" attributed to the Late Bronze Age (roughly 1600–1200/1000 B.C.) have referred to the treasure variously, opening avenues for further research.[11] Scholars of the first-millennium B.C. Levant and Near East have explored the interchange of motifs and style in more depth, particularly as they appear in later Phoenician bowls and Assyrian and North Syrian ivories.[12] In 2010 Dirk Wicke examined Egyptianizing Levantine work in the eleventh to tenth century B.C. by studying the Amy bowl and a gold and silver bowl from Tanis that has similar iconography and is dated 1040–992 B.C. (Figures 44, 46).

The present study began during the complete reinstallation of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collection between 1972 and 1983. During that project small, unpublished vessel fragments from Tell Basta were restored and drawings made of them.[13] These fragments revealed themselves to be mainly parts of strainers. Once the major Metropolitan vessels were also drawn, it became obvious that the character of the Tell Basta treasure as a wine service should be investigated further.

In time, this study was expanded to include three related vessels that appeared on the art market about 1970, a small hoard found at Tell Basta in 1992, modern research at the site, and unpublished material in Cairo.[14] By including all the material from the treasure as well as related finds, and by making use of the increased awareness of interconnections between neighboring cultures fostered by excavations in the Egyptian Delta and Nubia during the 1960s, I was able to bring the understanding of the Tell Basta treasure to a definitive point. Two decorated bowls from the treasure have been discovered; scrap material has revealed the treasure's character as a hoard; two vessel owners have been linked to standing monuments; and answers to questions of artistic origin, style, and chronology can be seen more clearly. This study will, in the end, be useful also to scholars working with ivories and metalwork of the first millennium B.C.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FINDS AT TELL BASTA

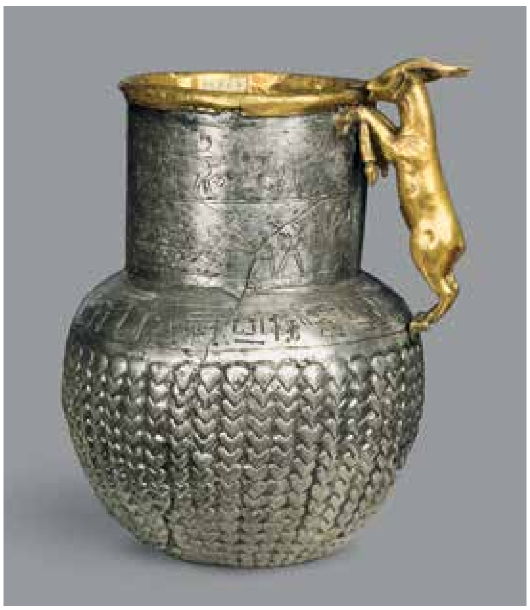
The First Find

The first of the finds at Tell Basta, near modern Zagazig in Lower Egypt (see the map, Figure 2), was made on September 22, 1906. It was announced by Gaston Maspero, director-general of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and described early the next year by C. C. Edgar, chief inspector of the Antiquities Service in the Egyptian Delta.[15] Neither man was present when objects were lifted from the ground, but Edgar's account is more careful.[16] He recalled how Tell Basta must have appeared to the Greek historian Herodotus, who in the fifth century B.C. described ancient houses and streets atop mounds overlooking a low area surrounded by the water of two-hundred-foot-wide canals. The large square red granite temple of Bastet stood there amid tall trees, enclosed in high walls adorned with sculptures. In 1903 workmen constructing a railway across the Nile Delta to connect the cities of Mansoura and Belbeis with Cairo had begun to remove the mounds, and in 1906 they made the first find of precious objects. According to Edgar, it was at a spot "west of the temple, 160 metres from the west corner of the ruins and 100 metres from the north-westerly of the two circular chambers in the Roman building . . . , not much higher than [the level] of the granite ruins." There, he said, "the tell was being demolished by the [Egyptian State] Railways workmen in a perpendicular section, in which one saw remains both of houses and of burials: as we afterward learned, the

2. Sites relating to the Tell Basta treasure. Map: Pamlyn Smith

3. Major gold and silver vessels in the Metropolitan Museum from the first find at Tell Basta. Left to right, back row: cats. 18 (Vessel C), 21, 31 (bottle of Meritptah), 32, 25, 9 (repoussé bowl); front row: cats. 40, 43, 33, 39, 26, 15, 24. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, cats. 15, 33, 43: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915; all others: Rogers Fund, 1907. Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

4. Lotiform goblet naming Tawosret from the first find (cat. 22). Gold, H. 3¾ in. (9.4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38708 and 39872, CG 53260, SR 1/6622). Photograph: Vernier 1927, pl. 104



5. Pitcher naming Atumemtaneb (Vessel A) from the first find (cat. 16). Silver with gold rim and handle, H. 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609). Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York. See also Figure 39.

treasure must have been discovered in the low ground level with the railway at the foot of this perpendicular cutting."[17]

From that first find the Metropolitan Museum purchased, in Cairo, the major vessels shown in Figure 3 as well as miscellaneous fragments (cats. 10–14, 17d, 17e, 19, 20, 27–30, 41, 44–52, 56–67, 84). The collector and benefactor Theodore M. Davis also purchased objects from the treasure in 1906: a gold strainer, a gold cone from a bowl, and part of a silver vessel with gold trim. These eventually came to the Metropolitan Museum and are also shown in Figure 3.

From that same find the Egyptian Museum in Cairo purchased a gold lotiform goblet naming Tawosret and the two silver jugs inscribed for the "first royal cupbearer" (or "butler," *wbꜣ nsw tpy*) and "envoy to all foreign countries" (*wpwty nsw r ḫꜣst nbt*) Atumemtaneb (Figures 4–6).[18] The pitchers were worked with chasing and repoussé and equipped with gold animal handles. The condition and exotic quality of the more complete of the two, which Simpson named Vessel A, immediately attracted the attention of scholars.

In 1910 the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin purchased, likewise in Cairo, parts of the fragmentary jug of Atumemtaneb (Simpson's Vessel B; Figure 6), a decorated gold jar, an electrum situla inscribed for Tawosret, an electrum strainer, and two fragmentary silver jars (Figures 7–10).

6. Pitcher naming Atumemtaneb (Vessel B) from the first find (cat. 17). Silver with gold handle. Body and neck fragment (cat. 17a): H. 5⅜ in. (13.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 44. Aurochs handle (cat. 17b): H. 4⅜ in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20106, now lost). Neck fragments with goat and lion and calf (lower left; cat. 17c): W. 2⅜ and 1⅜ in. (6 and 3.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20107a, b). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist. Body and neck fragments with goats, lion, and bovine (lower right; cat. 17d, e): H. of largest fragment 1⅞ in. (4.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.219–22, 242). Photograph: William Barrette. See also Figure 40.

8. Strainer and situla inscribed for Tawosret from the first find (cats. 55, 23). Electrum; strainer: H. 2⅝ in. (6.8 cm), W. 4¼ in. (10.8 cm); situla: H. 5⅛ in. (13 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20104, 19736; situla now lost). On the situla, the ruler's throne names appear in cartouches topped with ostrich feathers and a disk. Olive leaves encircle the vessel's rim and blue lotus sepals enclose the base.

7. Jar from the first find (cat. 38). Gold, H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 21134, now lost)

9. Jar from the first find (cat. 36). Silver, original H. 4⅜ in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20105). Photograph: Frank Marohn, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

10. Jar from the first find (cat. 37). Silver with gold rim, H. 3 in. (7.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20108). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist

The Second Find

After the find of September 22 Edgar worked with his own staff to clear some "peculiar buildings of Roman date close to the north-west end of the temple between the two temporary lines of the Railways . . . on practically the same level as the temple itself, which shows that that they must have lain within the precincts." Here, at a slightly higher level than the area where he understood the first group was found, in ground that had no traces of buildings though "still very high . . . , even the highest layer was pre-Roman," Edgar found a few pieces of jewelry and silver that he judged unrelated to the first find.[19]

On October 17 the railway's crew discovered a second major group that was at least equal in richness to the first. Edgar wrote that it was "in the level ground near the base of the perpendicular cutting . . . . It lay in one heap, just below the surface of the ground; the lesser silver objects were at the top; the gold was found below, amid the silver bowls. . . . The spot where the second treasure lay was quite close to the place where the first is supposed to have been found. But the two hoards must have been at least several metres distant from each other, for at the time when the first was discovered the mound under which the second lay buried had not yet been cut away. The first treasure must have lain a little nearer to the temple."[20] Like the spot where Edgar found a few objects he considered unrelated, this second location was quite empty. Except for the hoard, he wrote, it was "remarkably bare of antiquities," and without walls or rooms. It yielded very little pottery, only a fragment of painted New Kingdom ware and an industrial item commonly referred to as a firedog (Appendix 1, cat. 86).[21] Beneath this second major find were traces of burning and nearby were a limestone block and a smaller stone with a fragmentary inscription.

11. Tell Basta in the early 1900s. Note the railcar right of center. Photograph: Archives of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (P 64710)

In 1957 Labib Habachi placed the location of both hoards south of the *kꜣ*-temple of Pepi I (2289–2255 B.C.), and he also published blocks from a small chapel of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 B.C.) south of Pepi's temple. No photographs document this discovery, although whatever the location of the finds, it was not necessarily the place where the objects were originally used at Tell Basta. The most that can be said today is that in 1906 the site may have looked like a photograph taken early in the twentieth century (Figure 11) that was preserved among the papers of the Egyptologist Georg Steindorff.[22] Some impression of the circumstances of the second find may also be gleaned from a hoard discovered at Tell Basta in 1992. Found within the enclosure wall of the goddess Bastet's temple, ten feet underground, were a large pottery storage amphora and two travertine jars filled with items of adornment, namely, figurines, amulets, and pieces of gold and stone jewelry. These objects have been dated from the early New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period.[23]

The second Tell Basta find of 1906 provided much more information than the first. It contained a greater number of objects, most of them unknown until now. An Antiquities Service official was present at the discovery. All of the objects went to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where the most notable were published, albeit minimally, by Edgar and Vernier.

Precious Objects of the Second Find

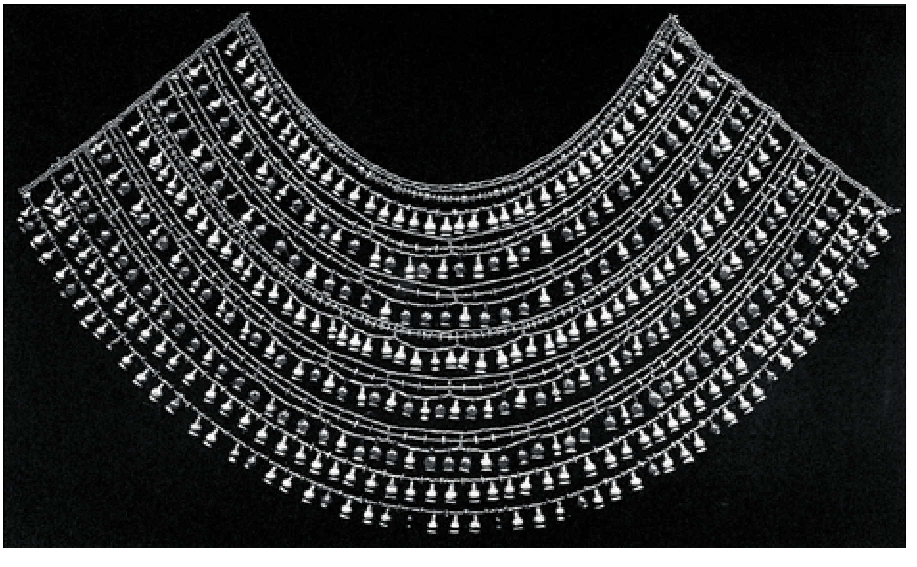
At the bottom of the intact group were two fine gold jars, two magnificent lapis-inlaid gold bracelets inscribed for Ramesses II, two pairs of gold ear studs, and gold and carnelian beads that may have been used with a clasp (Figures 12–17).[24] The gold jars, each with a ring handle, are beautifully chased, the smaller one with a cat, swags, and floral bands, the larger with floral bands, a lozenge pattern, and, on the base, a lotus. The lapis bracelets are representative of Ramesside jewelry,[25] although the ducks with backward-turned heads, the use of a large stone bezel, and the elaborate gold decoration originated in the Near East. Ear studs were likewise a borrowed form, but examples with rosettes were common in Egypt by the time of Ramesses II.[26] The Tell Basta studs are very like the bosses on gold earrings inscribed for Seti II (1200–1194 B.C.) that were found in the tomb of his wife and successor, Tawosret, at Thebes (KV 56, the "Gold Tomb").[27] The minute gold granulated beads and gold and carnelian pendants in the Tell Basta find, termed "lotus seed vessels" by Alix Wilkinson, occur in Dynasties 18 and 19 and were popular at Palestinian sites. [28] There is no known parallel for the long gold clasp in this second Tell Basta hoard, but gold bar fittings pierced with holes were found in the tomb of Tawosret.[29] All of this intact gold jewelry is of royal workmanship; perhaps it was given to the temple treasury by a king or an official.

13. Three views of a small jar from the second find (cat. 34). Gold with faience inlay on the ring handle, H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38707 and 39871, CG 53259, SR 1/6621). Photographs: Edgar 1907b, pl. 46

12. Large jar from the second find (cat. 35). Gold, H. 4⅜ in. (11.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38706 and 39870, CG 53261, SR 1/6624). Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York; Alfredo Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, New York

14. Bracelets inscribed for Ramesses II from the second find (cat. 68). Gold inlaid with lapis lazuli, greatest H. 2⅜ in. (5.9 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38710 and 39873, CG 52575–76, SR 1/6620). Photograph: Egypt Memory

15. Ear stud from the second find (cat. 70, see also cat. 69). Gold, Diam. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38712(a)–(b) and 39878(a), (b), CG 52327–28, SR 1/6615–16]. Photograph: Ahmed Amin, Egyptian Museum, Cairo



16. Gold beads and carnelian pendants from the second find (cat. 71). Greatest W. as strung 14⅛ in. (36 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38713 and 39875, CG 53184, SR 1/6611). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 52

17. Clasp from the second find (cat. 72). Gold, H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39876, CG 53182, SR 1/6610). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 53

18. Bowl inscribed for Amy with omega handle and cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 1). Silver with gold rim, handle, and cone; Diam. 6 in. (15.3 cm), Diam. of cone 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38709 and 39869, CG 53263, SR 1/6619). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 48. See also Figure 44.

Mixed in with the gold items, at the bottom of the deposit, were silver vessels that included the shallow bowl of Amy with swamp and desert scenes (Figure 18). Ogden has noted technical similarities between the gold cone in the center of this bowl and the granulation of the lapis and gold bracelets (Figure 14). He advocated a Ramesside date for the granulation, the guilloche decoration, and the beaded gold tubing on Tell Basta treasure items.[30]

20. Bowl with cloth impressions from the second find (cat. 7). Silver, Diam. 9½ in. (24 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.6, SR 1/6702). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

19. The three silver bowls shown in Figures 20–22 as they were discovered at Tell Basta in 1906. Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 47

21. Bowl with herringbone omega handle from the second find (cat. 2). Silver with gold rim, Diam. 6⅞–7⅛ in. (17.5–18.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.1, SR 1/6697). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

22. Base and rim of swimmers bowl from the second find (cat. 3). Silver with gold rim; Diam. of base 4¼ in. (10.9 cm), Diam. of rim 6⅜– 6¾ in. (16.1–17.2 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698). Photographs: Ahmed Amin. See also Figure 47.

Seven other silver bowls were found with Amy's bowl, but only three of them—corroded and stacked—were photographed by Edgar in 1906 (Figure 19). When the three were cleaned in the 1970s, they were revealed to be a plain, undecorated bowl with a recessed base; a bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and herringbone handle; and a similarly shaped bowl with a plain handle and a base decorated with swimmers and a conical omphalos (Figures 20–22). The plain bowl (on the bottom of the stack in Edgar's photograph) has traces of cloth on the inside and impressions of cloth on the outside, signs that it was wrapped in linen when it was deposited.

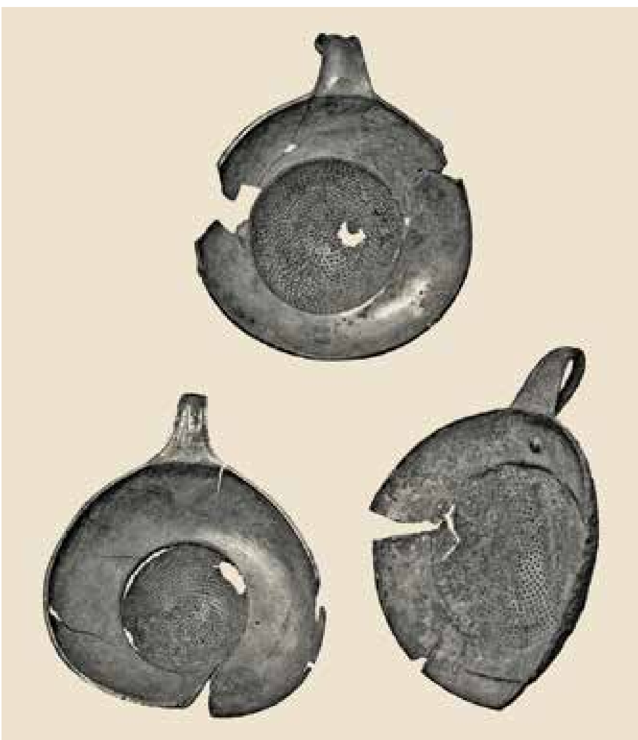
The remaining four silver bowls at the bottom of the second hoard were "of minor interest except for the specialist," according to Edgar. Edgar clearly saw very little of these vessels, however, owing to corrosion that was rectified through conservation only in the 1970s. Presented here for the first time thanks to the cooperation of Egyptian colleagues, these objects are a plain bowl with a recessed base, a striated handle, and an omphalos (Figure 23); a similar bowl missing its base (Figure 24); the recessed base of a bowl with a magnificent gold cone covering the omphalos (Figure 25); and a stunning decorated bowl inscribed for the official Ameneminet (Figure 26).[31] Three strainers may also have been included in this lower group (Figure 27). The shapes and the quality of all these vessels indicate that they were most likely part of a temple treasury and were used in drinking celebrations.[32]

23. Bowl with striated omega handle from the second find (cat. 5). Silver with gold handle, Diam. 6¼ in. (16 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.4, SR1/6700). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

24. Bowl with plain omega handle from the second find (cat. 6). Silver with gold handle, Diam. 6⅛ in. (15.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.5, SR 1/6701). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

25. Base of corroded bowl with a cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 4). Silver with gold cone, W. 5⅞ in. (15 cm), Diam. of cone ca. 1⅝ in. (4 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.3, SR1/6699). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

26. Bowl naming Ameneminet with repoussé friezes and a cone over the omphalos from the second find (cat. 8). Silver with gold rim, cone, and spheres; Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm), Diam. of cone 1⅜ in. (3.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789). Photograph: Ahmed Amin. See also Figures 42, 90.



27. Strainers from the second find. Silver; top (cat. 53): Diam. 4⅜ in. (11 cm), bottom left (cat. 54): L. of handle 2⅜ in. (6.1 cm), bottom right (cat. 42): 4 x 4¾ in. (10 x 12 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6694; JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6695; JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6693). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 49

28. Bangle from the second find (cat. 74). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39881[i]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

29. Finger rings from the second find (cat. 75). Silver, Diam. ½–1⅛ in. (1.2–2.9 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (clockwise from left JE 39882[ap], [as], [aq], [ao], [ar]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

32. Earrings from the second find (cat. 77). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (top: JE 39882[z], [ac]; bottom: JE 39882[x], [aj]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

30. Stirrup ring with a lion from the second find (cat. 75). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[c]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

31. Stirrup ring with goats from the second find (cat. 75). Silver. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[a]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

33. Silver pendants, earrings, and toggle pins from the second find (cat. 78). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[av], SR 1/7786). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

34. Silver scrap from the second find (cat. 78). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39882[au], SR 1/7785). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

Poor-Quality Silver Objects of the Second Find

What Edgar called the "lesser silver objects" at the top of the second find—above the gold jewelry and silver vessels—were silver jewelry of strongly Near Eastern character, parts of strainers and bowls, and scrap that suggests a metalsmith's hoard. Vernier catalogued nineteen fairly complete bangles, not in pairs; twenty-six crude finger rings; an assortment of earrings, worn and without mates; and fragments of jewelry and miscellaneous scrap (Figures 28–34).[33] His description of the fragments was brief; they can now be recognized as parts of bowls with gold papyrus fittings and pieces of toggle pins, wire, a gold-covered wedjat eye, worked scrap, and dotted pendants. Missing from Vernier's publications and only slightly mentioned by Edgar were bar ingots and folded ingots, some inscribed or decorated (Figures 35–37).[34]

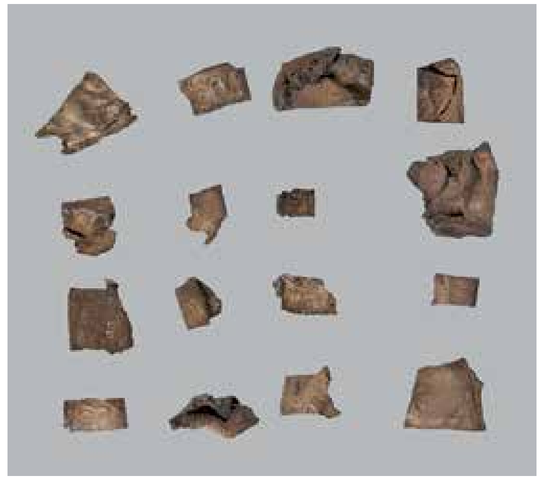
The bangles (see Figure 28), which have incised cross-hatching at the ends, sometimes with V-shaped lines, were dated by Vernier to the Ptolemaic period (306–30 B.C.) and by Maspero even later. Edgar, Montet, and Ogden, however, found second-millennium B.C. parallels for them, as well as for other Tell Basta forms, in Cyprus and the Levant. Further parallels may now be cited, among them the bangles found on the Late Bronze Age merchant ship that sank off the Turkish coast at Uluburun in about 1300 B.C.[35] Although such bangles could have been used as currency, gold examples that were clearly arm ornaments were found at Tell el-Ajjul, just south of Gaza.[36] The finger rings (see Figure 29) generally have Egyptian motifs: papyrus umbels framing a wedjat eye, tilapia, a mask of the goddess Hathor, the protector god Bes, or a uraeus. Neither the material nor the crudeness of the rings is traditional in Egyptian adornment, however. Two signet rings have eastern Mediterranean–Near Eastern motifs: on one (Figure 30) a dotted rosette and a striding lion with an open mouth and a hatched body and on the other (Figure 31) two facing caprids, or goats (with tethers?), with a schematic rosette above each and at least four dots below.[37] Two additional signet rings (cat. 75[b], [k]) have minimal designs but are shaped much like examples found at Syrian Ugarit.[38] As for the earrings (see Figure 32), they exhibit Near Eastern and Aegean shapes—boat, penannular, and drop—also current in Egypt during the Ramesside period.[39] The silver scrap jewelry (Figures 33, 34) likewise has Levantine or Cypriot parallels. The toggle pins are Near Eastern, and the two disk pendants with repoussé dots and incised rays, four on the larger and eight on the smaller, are Palestinian.[40]

The industrial ingots among the scrap items (Figures 35, 36) were surely the property of a metalsmith. It is doubtful that all of the decorated and inscribed sheet silver ingots (Figure 37) originated as vessels, given the large scale of the writing and decoration on several of them. The inscriptions are particularly important; Kitchen has been able to read the effaced name of Ramesses II twice and that of his son Merenptah once.[41]

A date in the Ramesside period for manufacture of the poor-quality silver jewelry is supported by the types of the strainers found with it (Figure 27) and will be affirmed in the discussion of the decorated vessels below. The date of deposition of the second find, then, can be placed in or later than the reign of Merenptah (1213–1203 B.C.).

The Second Find as a Hoard with Near Eastern Connections
Edgar wrote that the silver jewelry and scrap were "the contents of a silversmith's workshop," and indeed, the ingots, scrap, and unmatched jewelry parts point toward such an identification.[42] Heterogeneous groups of metal—usually silver—are known from many sites in the Near East, however, and have been interpreted variously as temple workshop contents, currency, and treasury objects.[43] In Egypt, the early el-Tod treasure, buried carefully in a Middle Kingdom temple as a dedication, might plausibly be identified as currency or booty.[44] The second Tell Basta find, however, containing valuable whole objects as well as miscellaneous scrap, has a more haphazard aspect.[45] T. G. H. James suggested that much of Egypt's silver—which is not native to the country—came there as scrap.[46] Nevertheless, to judge by the quality, at least the inscribed and decorated ingots at

35. Large silver ingots from the second find. Top (cat. 79): L. 5½ in. (14 cm); lower left (cat. 80): L. 2¾ in. (7 cm); lower right (cat. 75). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39883[a], [b], JE 39882[a]). Photograph: Ahmed Amin



36. Small silver sheet ingots from the second find (cat. 83). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705). Photograph: Ahmed Amin

37. Large decorated and inscribed silver sheet ingots from the second find (cat. 83). The fragment in the bottom photograph at top right names Merenptah; the two bottom fragments name Ramesses II. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705). Photographs: Ahmed Amin

Tell Basta were worked in Egypt.[47] While the poor-quality jewelry items could in theory have been made as temple votives like faience pieces of jewelry that elsewhere were dedicated in shrines for Hathor, I suggest that they were made for local residents.[48] In that case, both the owners and artisans of the rough silver pieces would have been of Levantine origin. Similar types of scrap were found within a hoard at Tell el-Amarna in a private area of the city (in other words, not in a temple area).[49] Amarna had a mixed population in about 1370 B.C., and in the Ramesside period, the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., the eastern Delta culture would have had an even greater degree of population diversity.[50] The Amarna and Tell Basta hoards have parallels in bags of silver scrap found at Megiddo in modern-day Israel and dated to the early part of the Iron Age, that is, starting somewhere between 1200 and 1000 B.C.[51]

Comparison of the Two Tell Basta Finds

It is possible that the character of the first Tell Basta find was similar to that of the second, discovered a month later "at least several meters" distant from it. The first find may also have included scrap jewelry, based on a report from Theodore M. Davis. After seeing alleged Tell Basta finds at a dealer's in Cairo late in 1906, Davis wrote to Albert Lythgoe, curator at the Metropolitan Museum, that "the gold and silver things are pitchers, vases, and bracelets."[52] The two finds also had differences, however. They both contained similar vessels (decorated bowls, cones, jars, and strainers), but the first included additional vessel shapes (jug, goblet, situla, bottle, flask). It also lacked finished gold jewelry, and its objects had inscriptions naming Tawosret rather than Ramesses II and Merenptah. Most importantly, it included the flask naming Meritptah, a "singer" (or "chantress," *šmʿyt*) of Bastet (Figures 3, 48). This woman can now be identified with a "singer of Bastet Meritptah" in the thirteenth-century B.C. Saqqara tomb of her husband, Ameneminet. Several monuments have survived for that Ameneminet, enough to be able to connect him to the Tell Basta bowl from the second find that bears his name (Figure 26). Thus it is now sure that the two Tell Basta finds are linked, and that the major objects did not come from a tomb.

At the same time, while it will be demonstrated that the contents of both finds are essentially Ramesside in manufacture, the first group—which became available through dealers—had objects that are post-Ramesside, one of them with parallels in late Roman or Byzantine times. These later objects are presented in Appendix 2. Whether they crept in from a dealer's stock or indicate a later history for the first find is unknown. Edgar stated that the second find was "twenty or more metres below the Roman stratum," and he reckoned that the first find had been at the same depth, thereby concluding that all objects were Ramesside.

DECORATED VESSELS FROM TELL BASTA

The decorated vessels are the most notable objects in the Tell Basta treasure. Made of silver and gold, they are worked with chasing and repoussé, have decoration and inscriptions, and display a variety of forms. Even copper-alloy vessels with figural scenes prior to the Late Period are rare: Radwan collected only two decorated bowls and three stands among the vessels of two and a half millennia he surveyed.[53] Few precious metal vessels have survived at all, even undecorated.[54] The major group is from the royal tombs at Tanis dating to Dynasty 21 (1070–945 B.C.), and only one example from there (Figure 46) is decorated with scenes.[55] Thus, the Tell Basta vessels in their context can tell a good deal about function and artistic style at the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the thirteenth to twelfth century B.C. Drawings of the decorated vessels from Tell Basta are shown on the same scale in Appendix 3.

Vessels for Wine Service

The first question to explore is function: how were these vessels used? Hayes, Simpson, and Radwan understood them to be appropriate for serving and drinking wine. Indeed, as Appendixes 1 and 2 demonstrate, virtually all the vessel shapes in the Tell Basta treasure match those used for wine service as it is depicted in tombs and temples. There are jugs for pouring, jars and a flask for mixing, many strainers for removing sediment, bowls for receiving and drinking, and situlae and a goblet for drinking.[56]

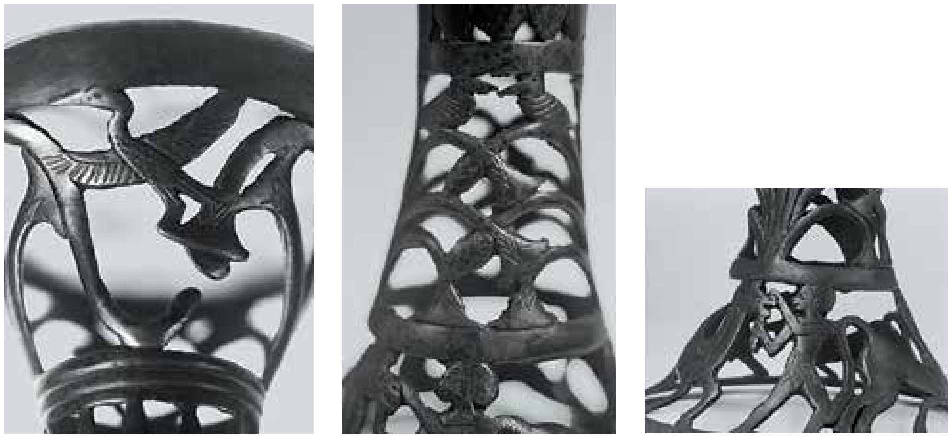
Wine services do not have a long history in Egypt. The first complete set was found in the 18th Dynasty Theban tomb of Kha,[57] although earlier metal stands and an omphalos bowl from Aniba, Nubia, were also likely used for wine.[58] The Aniba stands are a highly unusual form that has a parallel in the tomb of Kha.[59] While the Kha stand has simple geometric cutouts, one of the Aniba stands shows a banqueting scene where drink is served, and the other (Figure 38) has flying ducks, papyrus, and grooms leading horses—iconography similar to that on the Tell Basta vesssels.[60]

New Kingdom wine jugs, situlae, strainers, and bowls—especially from Ramesside times—have been found throughout the Nile Valley, although not often as complete sets. Beyond Egypt's borders, several of the shapes have been found in Cyprus,[61] but most examples come from the Levant, a wine-growing area in antiquity. Vessels found in the southern part of the region have been catalogued by Lilly Gershuny.[62] She considers them Egyptian in origin, even if some were made locally. She catalogues twelve sets from tombs and two from a hoard. She has not, however, dealt with the silver sets in Middle Bronze Age tombs at Byblos, and generally her sets date to the Late Bronze Age rather than the subsequent Iron Age, beginning sometime after 1200 B.C., when there are more examples.[63] Most importantly, she did not take into account the mixed population in New Kingdom Egypt. At the very least, it can be stated that Mediterranean immigrants in Egypt made and drank wine, and that wine was an important part of elite society in the Ramesside period.[64]

Egyptians used wine from earliest times.[65] It was thought to encourage creative and rejuvenating powers, and it was offered, along with food, to deities in temples.[66] But by the New Kingdom wine had an even greater role, namely in communal celebrations, several of which occurred in sequence at Thebes. Late in the year came the Feast of the Valley, where kings and the populace gathered at temples on the east bank of the Nile before crossing to the west for communing with the dead, thereby reaffirming continuity within the universe. Next came the Opening of the Year in the month of Thoth or creativity (celebrated throughout Egypt). This coincided with the beginning of the season of Inundation. It was followed by the Festival of Drunkenness, a feast celebrating the myth of the Distant Goddess. Finally came the Opet Festival associated with the flooding of the land.

Recently a "porch of drunkenness" was discovered by Betsy Bryan in the Mut temple at Luxor that showed that a festival of drunkenness occurred there as early as the reign of Hatshepsut (1473–1458 B.C.).[67] The goddess Mut was associated with Sekhmet, a goddess of pestilence; both goddesses could, however, use their ferocity to protect people. Lakes were built in temple precincts as watering holes to tempt leonine goddesses to come in from the desert, but beer and wine, too, could provide temptation. In the myth of the Destruction of Mankind, which became part of the myth of the Distant Goddess, the feline deity destroys mankind until she is tricked into drinking beer colored red like blood. Red was the color of wine as well as the first waters of inundation, and thus fertility was part of the rituals with leonine goddesses. Bryan suggests that at the Mut temple, intoxicating drink and sexual activity helped partakers experience the divinity of the goddess. Such a festival could also have occurred for the feline goddess Bastet at Tell Basta, for a statue found there was made for a priest of Sekhmet "in all her names." It relates that Amenhotep III (1390–1352 B.C.) visited the city for a festival of Bastet.[68]

Angela Milward Jones interpreted faience bowls of the Ramesside period (1295–1070 B.C.) decorated with erotic imagery as wine cups that reflect "the popular rites and celebrations connected with the flood . . . , a renewal of nature" at the time of the Feast of the Valley and the New Year.[69] These small bowls share some iconography with the Tell Basta vessels, and it is reasonable to suggest that fertility celebrations at Bubastis featured wine. The goddess Bastet was connected not only to the feline Sekhmet/Mut, but to Hathor, the eye of the sun god Re and inhabitant of the marshes where life began.[70]



38. Three details of an openwork stand from Aniba. Dynasty 18, ca. 1430 B.C. Metal, H. of stand 6½ in. (16.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig (4804). Photographs: Christine Lilyquist

A stone wine jar inscribed for "Osorkon," the name used by four Third Intermediate Period kings between the tenth and the eighth century B.C., has been connected by Ludwig Morenz to a festival at Tell Basta.[71] The jar was found in a Phoenician tomb in Spain and is inscribed with a toast that, like the inscriptions on the jugs of Atumemtaneb from Tell Basta, mentions the king's ka (*kꜣ*). And several scholars have interpreted the iconography on the famous silver bowl from Agios Georgios (Golgoi), Cyprus, as a Phoenician reference to a drinking festival at Bubastis similar to, or the same as, the event Herodotus witnessed in the fifth century B.C.[72]

Some evidence ties the greater use of wine in Egyptian culture to contact with the Levant and immigrants from that region. Egyptian vineyards were located principally in the Delta, the point of common entry for Western Asiatics immigrating from the eastern Mediterranean. A mid-second-millennium B.C. Egyptian text mentions a vineyard at the Delta Hyksos capital Tell ed-Daba, and remains of a winepress have been excavated there in strata of the late Hyksos period to early Dynasty 18 (ca. 1600 B.C.).[73] Leonard Lesko mentions the inclusion of immigrants in the wine-making industry in Egypt during the New Kingdom, and Dynasty 18 tomb representations show foreigners making wine as well as receiving wine to drink.[74] An 18th Dynasty wine flask and its accompanying openwork stand decorated with caprids facing composite plants ("sacred trees") name their owner as "the Asiatic [one]."[75]

Beverage strainers are known from Sumerian times, and pottery strainers have been identified in earlier second-millennium B.C. shapes of the Middle Bronze Age Levant.[76] In contrast, the straw and strainer are not found in Egypt until the New Kingdom (equivalent to the Late Bronze Age, or the late second millennium B.C.), and the Egyptian words for strainer appear only then.[77] Wine and other drinks were being used for feasting in the Near East,[78] and as Annie Caubet points out, communal celebrations with drink were both important and prevalent at Late Bronze Age Ugarit (1300–1150 B.C.).[79]

Vessels A, B, and C Naming Atumemtaneb

It is likely that the pitchers or jugs dedicated to the royal butler or cupbearer and royal envoy to all foreign countries Atumemtaneb were used to pour wine in celebration of, or devotion to, an Asiatic goddess and that with their use Atumemtaneb's spirit was blessed. James Allen has noted that the "butler/cupbearer" determinative (the sign indicating a word's particular meaning) on Atumemtaneb's inscriptions is a jug rather than the usual beer jar, perhaps a reference to the vessels on which the inscriptions occur.[80]

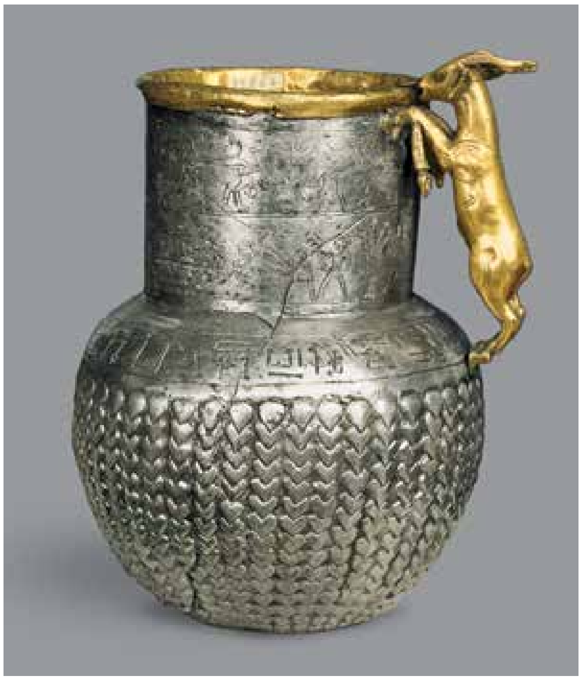
On the body of both Vessels A and B is a votive scene flanked by bands of inscription. On jug A (Figure 39), Atumemtaneb appears with a shaved head and a pleated linen dress, and his hands are raised with reverence toward a goddess.[81] The goddess wears a plain hemmed sheath and a broad collar. Her headgear appears to be a crown like that worn by the Egyptian goddess Neith (without projection), but with three hair tufts springing from the top.[82] She holds an ankh sign and, uniquely, a papyrus staff with a bird perched on top of its umbel. A small lettuce plant, signifying fertility, and an offering table with a lotus-draped ewer stand between her and the official.

On Vessel B (Figure 40) Atumemtaneb is shown raising one hand in adoration and with the other extending a fan toward a goddess. This gesture of reverence is known elsewhere in the Ramesside period. It is normally given to the king but can be offered to a deity as well. The flabellum signals Atumemtaneb's title "fanbearer" (*tꜣy-ḥw/t'y-ḥw*); the title "royal fanbearer" was used for officials having responsibilities outside Egypt.[83] The representation of Atumemtaneb is more detailed on Vessel B than on Vessel A: he wears a broad collar, a quite elaborate pleated linen dress, and sandals. The representation of the goddess is also more detailed. She wears the uraeus, headdress, armlets, bracelets, and ribbons befitting a queen or goddess, but her crown and her hair bunches are hatched, and locks fall below her crown. She carries a spear, and, like Neith, a shield.

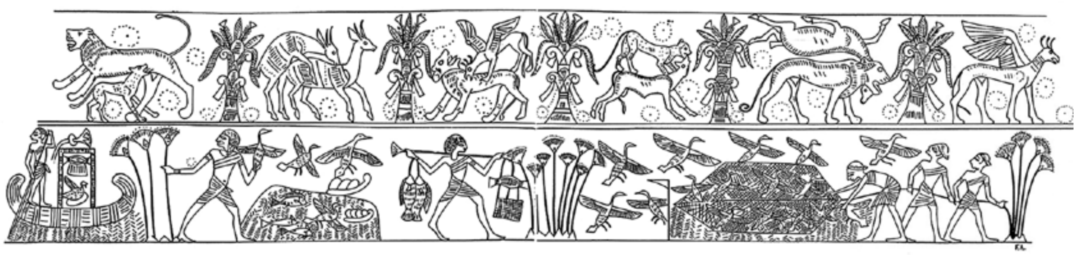
The hairstyles indicate immediately that the goddesses on both Vessels A and B are not Egyptian. The shield and spear could belong to either Anat or Astarte, Canaanite war goddesses popular in Ramesside Egypt who could also be protectors. No clue comes from the small bird on the papyrus scepter of Vessel A. Frustratingly, the personae of Anat and Astarte overlap in both Ugaritic and Egyptian texts. Izak Cornelius, who has studied these and related Canaanite goddesses, explains the difficulties of identifying one deity over the other in the Levant as well as ancient Egypt.[84] He declines to identify the goddesses on the Tell Basta jugs.[85]

Atumemtaneb's Vessel C (Figure 41) lacks a worship scene, and the inscription encircling the neck of the jug is fragmentary. Nevertheless, the inscription must have been similar to those on the necks of Vessels A and B. The vessel was put together from pieces, and its restoration is unsure. The largest fragment of the neck, attached to the handle, is sure. The smaller fragment with an inscription, however, would not have been placed as closely as Simpson showed it and Kitchen translated it. The goat on it should probably face a second goat, not a group of horses against tall papyri.

Kitchen has published the following translations of the text flanking the scenes on Vessels A and B and on the two fragments of Vessel C:[86]



39. Pitcher A naming Atumemtaneb (cat. 16), with a detail of the scene showing Atumemtaneb adoring a Canaanite goddess (on the bowl opposite the handle) and a detail and drawing of the frieze on the neck. Silver with gold rim and handle, H. 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609). Photographs: overall, see Figure 5; William Barrette (scene detail, from a reproduction in the MMA); Bernard Bothmer (neck detail). Drawing: Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, pp. 292–93.



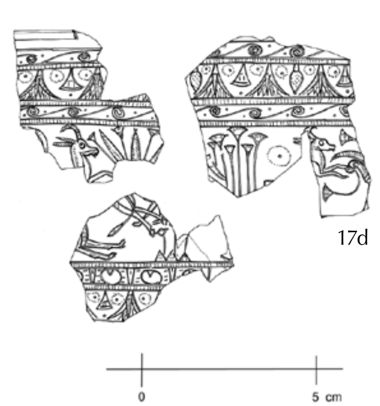
17a

17b

17c

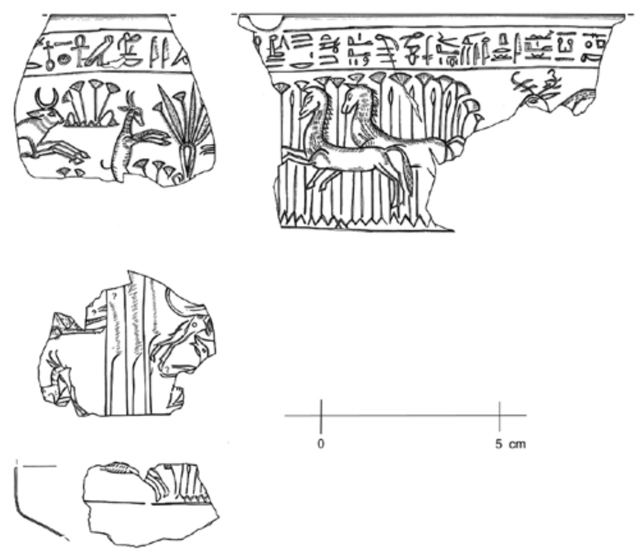
17c

17a



17d, e

40. Pitcher B naming Atumemtaneb (cat. 17), with a detail of the scene showing Atumemtaneb adoring a Canaanite goddess (on the bowl opposite the handle) and drawings of the three neck fragments in the Metropolitan (above). Silver with gold handle. Body and neck fragment (cat. 17a): H. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 44. Aurochs handle (cat. 17b): H. $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin (ÄM 20106, now lost). Two neck fragments with goat and lion and calf and two with goats (cat. 17c): W. $2\frac{3}{8}$ and $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6 and 3.5 cm). Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (ÄM 20107a, b). Photograph: Christine Lilyquist. Three neck fragments, one with lion and bovine and two with goats (cat. 17d): H. of largest fragment $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. (4.9 cm). Body fragments with heart pattern and upper part of scene (cat. 17e): H. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2.9 cm), W. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (4.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.219–222, 242). Photograph: William Barrette. See also Figure 6.



41. Two views of Vessel C naming Atumemtaneb (cat. 18). Silver; H. without handle $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.9 cm), Diam. of body $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (12.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.187). Photographs: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA. Drawings: William Schenck. The drawing in the upper right with horses renders a large fragment on the neck that is attached to the handle. The drawing to the left of it reveals a fragment now attached to the jug but probably not in the correct location. The drawings of two fragments below it have similar quality, and the hatching of the animals on all four sections has some consistency, but there are too many discrepancies in the three smallest fragments to place them conclusively on this vessel. They are presented here for convenience. The smallest fragment originated on a vessel at the point where the neck and body met.

Vessel A
band to the left of the official: "(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve a million years! (Life and prosperity) for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer, Atum(em)taneb, justified in peace."

to the right of the goddess: "(For) your spirit and your countenance, with life and happiness. May <you> achieve everlasting in life and prosperity! for the spirit of the Royal Cupbearer, Atumemtaneb, justified."

Vessel B
band to the right of the goddess: "Life (to) your spirit, and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you achieve the million of year[s]! [for the spirit of the] First [Royal] Cupbearer of the Lord of Both Lands, Atumemtaneb, justified."

band to the left of the official: "For the spirit of the uniquely excellent one, [truly] reliable [of disposition . . .]; Royal Envoy to all foreign countries, who pleases his lord, [Atumemtaneb]."

upper inscription within the panel: "Royal Cupbearer."

lower inscription within the panel: "[of the foreign land of] Ary."

Vessel C
fragment with a goat: ". . . (?) you]rs, namely life and happine[ss(?) . . . "

area with horses attached to the handle: ". . . your deed; for the spirit of the uniquely excellent (one), truly reliable of disposition, Royal Butler, pure of hands, Atumemtaneb, justified."

The ka to which all of Atumemtaneb's inscriptions refer is the life force the ancient Egyptians believed exists in every human being from birth. Other "ka vessels" are known: a calcite lotiform drinking goblet from the tomb of Tutankhamun, two drinking cups in an early 18th Dynasty temple inventory, three flat bowls with handles from other sites, and a situla with a handle.[87] These, as well as other inscribed vessels without the *n k3 n* phrase, were used for drink that could bring vitality, strength, and prosperity.[88] A scene in the tomb of the 18th Dynasty official Rekhmire at Thebes shows a servant pouring wine for guests at a funerary banquet and saying, "To thy ka, have a nice day."

The friezes on the necks of Vessels A and B can be expected to support the meaning of the texts on the bowls. In the lower register of Vessel A (see Figure 39) Nilotic scenes symbolize the verdant life that brings sustenance to the owner of the vessel. Egyptians believed that life began in primeval marshes, and such subject matter appears on vessels for temples and tombs throughout history (see also the discussion in Appendix 4c).[89] At the same time, what could have been a conventional Egyptian desert scene in the upper register is a medley of images: an Aegean-style griffin and wild animals in combat are interspersed with Near Eastern composite plants and rosettes having cosmic significance. Fantastic animals do appear on Predynastic Egyptian slate palettes, Middle Kingdom magic knives, and steatite kohl pots of early Dynasty 18.[90] The style and iconography of Vessel A's friezes are Near Eastern and Aegean, however, and they must have mythological meaning. Some of this iconography appears on a gold bowl from Ugarit, where vegetation, rosettes, a bull, a lion, and heroes refer to the superhuman world.[91]

The theriomorphic handles on the three Tell Basta jugs (Figures 39–41) probably also contribute to the vessels' meaning. On all three the rim is grasped by an animal's mouth.[92] The ruff on the feline indicates that it is a female; the goat and the aurochs are male.[93] According to Marjan Mashkour, the goat's nose ring indicates that it is domesticated.[94] Vessel B adds horses to marsh iconography; Vessel C adds a stag. In general, one may posit that all these scenes refer to fertility and the balance of nature that supports life. In addition, the bases of Vessels A and B both have a lotus, a symbol of rebirth.

Bowl Naming Ameneminet

The inscriptions and decoration on the bowl of Ameneminet (Figure 42), "royal scribe of correspondence of the Lord of the Two Lands," also reveal something about the vessel's function. The bowl is published here for the first time.[95] Ameneminet's name, "Amun in the Valley," is a reference to Thebes, the center for worship of the god Amun. Kitchen translates the inscriptions on the bottom of the bowl as:[96]

> reading right to left: "Long live your spirit, and your countenance, with life and prosperity! May you see Him who presides in Hesret, you being kept safe with [or in] a good lifespan . . . joy; for the spirit of the Royal Scribe Amenemone [Ameneminet], justified . . . "
>
> reading left to right: "Long live your spirit, and your countenance, may you be drunk every day, (and) may you see the Lords of Thebes; for the spirit of the unique(ly) excellent one, beneficial for his lord, the Royal Scribe of Correspondence of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenemone, justified . . . "

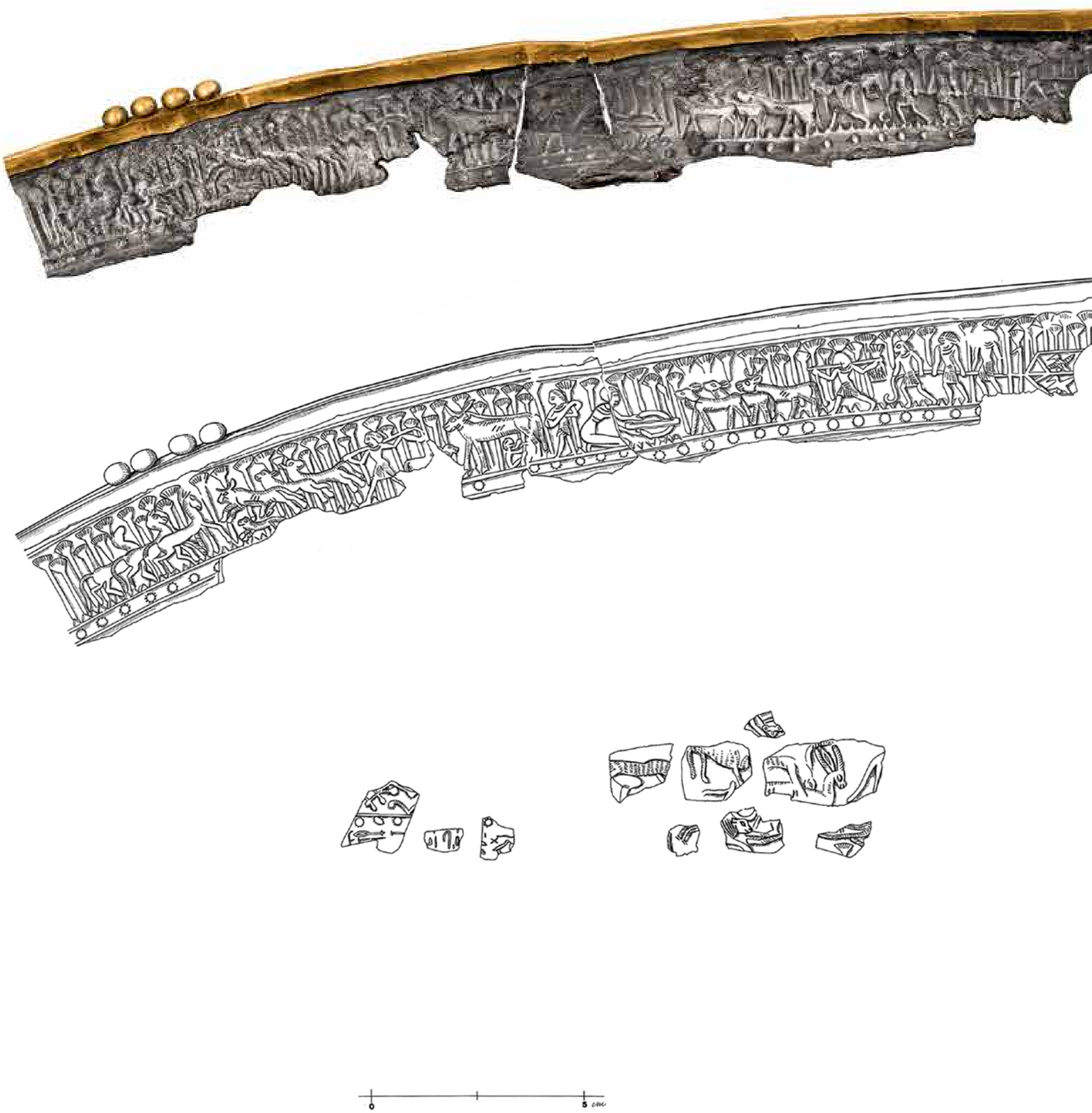
This inscription is also of the ka type, here beginning from an ankh sign rather than an adoration scene. Hesret is Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, home of the titular deity Thoth,

42a. Repoussé bowl naming Ameneminet (cat. 8). Silver with gold rim, cone, and spheres; Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm), Diam. of cone 1⅜ in. (3.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789). For a montage of photographs and a rollout drawing of the wall and base, as well as drawings of some unplaced framents (lower left), see overleaf. For the cone, see Figure 90, middle right. Photographs: Ahmed Amin. Drawings: William Schenck. See also Figure 26.

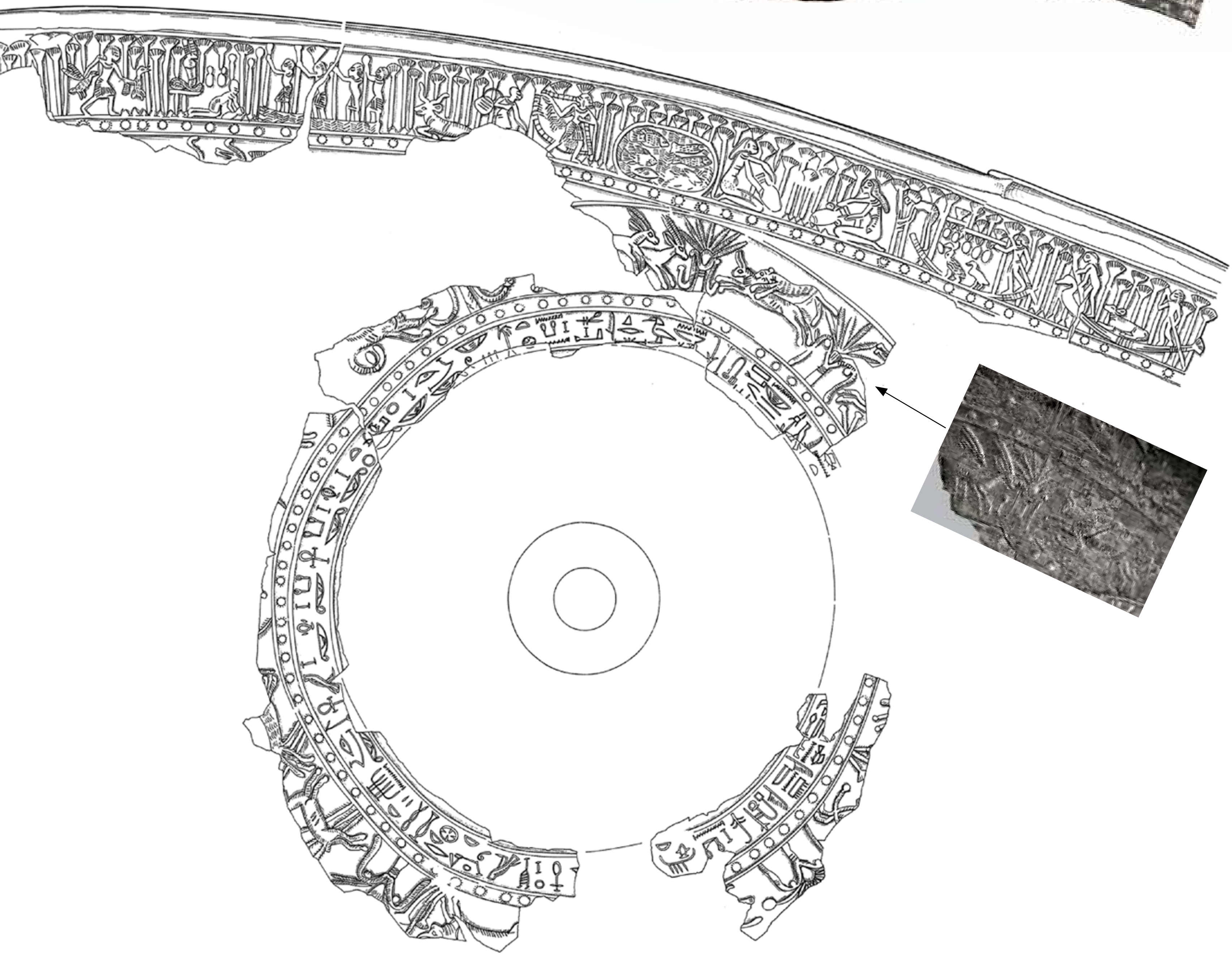
god of writing. Thebes is mentioned no doubt because Ameneminet held a position there. The inscription is noteworthy for its wish that the owner be drunk every day.

The bowl is large, about 7½ inches in diameter. It has chased and repoussé decoration on the interior of the wall and formerly had an omphalos covered by a gold cone in the center of a recessed base. Here the scheme of Vessel A's friezes is reversed (see drawing overleaf): the upper register is composed of marsh and agricultural scenes, while the lower register (now very fragmentary) shows desert animals and at least five elaborate composite plants. Some of the upper scenes are notable, if not unique, and will be described in more detail in the discussion of style below.

The large recumbent bovine with horns may be Hathor. In New Kingdom representations a standing cow in a boat has been so identified by Maya Müller.[97] The symbolism of the recumbent cow ferried by two men in a goose-headed skiff on this bowl is less clear. In Old Kingdom scenes a calf is ferried as part of provisions offered to the deceased.[98] In the New Kingdom, however, marsh scenes with recumbent calves in boats include bejeweled females in skiffs, musical instruments, monkeys, nests, the god Bes, and the Semitic goddess Qudshu—all symbols of the fertility and vitality with which Hathor was associated.[99] Müller terms the marshy fertile world "a liminal realm between humans and the greater gods."[100]



42b. Montage of photographs and rollout drawing of the wall and base of the repoussé bowl naming Ameneminet, with drawings of some unplaced fragments (at lower left)

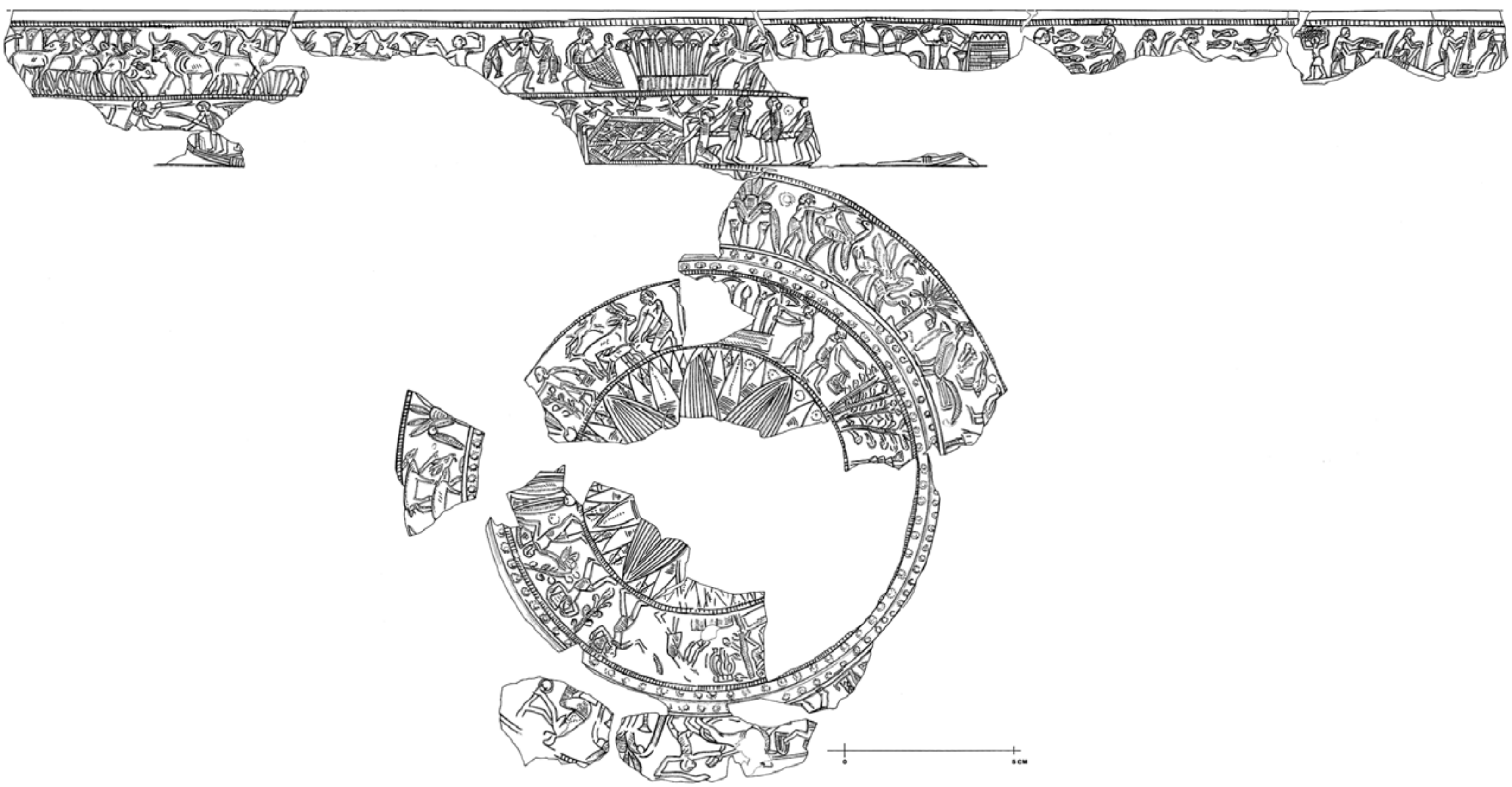


43. Three views of repoussé bowl (cat. 9) with rollout drawing. Silver, Diam. 8⅛ in. (20.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.20). Photograph at bottom left, opposite: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA. Drawing: William Schenck

Repoussé Bowl in the Metropolitan Museum

Similar in many ways to Ameneminet's bowl is the repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figure 43). A bit larger than Ameneminet's vessel, this bowl is not inscribed, lacks gold embellishment, and has repoussé and chasing covering the exterior rather than the interior. In broad terms, it has many more scenes than other Tell Basta vessels, and the decoration is freer in its intermingling of motifs. Marsh scenes are what remain in the two upper registers. The third register includes disparate scenes of desert, agriculture, and combat, while the innermost register illustrates husbandry and wine making. A large open lotus, more elaborate than those on Vessels A and B, fills the center.

This bowl is unique among Egyptian open vessels in having decoration on the exterior rather than the interior. Therefore, its function is less easy to characterize. The format has a parallel in the gold bowl from Ugarit that Annie Caubet dates to the mid-thirteenth century B.C. According to Caubet, that bowl was used for drinking, as recounted in the myth of the Semitic storm god Baal, and depicts "heroes fighting mythological beasts among sacred trees."[101] Here the scenes are derived from tomb decoration, which normally reflects wishes for the continuity of life.



44. Top and side views of bowl inscribed for Amy (cat. 1) with drawing of inside of bowl. Silver with gold rim; Diam. 6 in. (15.3 cm), Diam. of cone 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38709 and 39869, CG 53263, SR 1/6619). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 48. Drawing: William Schenck. See also Figures 18 and 90, lower right.

Bowl of Amy

A third person who left an inscribed and decorated bowl at Tell Basta that provides clues to vessel function was the "singer [or chantress] of Neith, Amy" (Figure 44). The inscription runs around the outer edge of her bowl, and Kitchen has translated it as follows:

> (For) your spirit and your (f.) countenance! One uses up (?) the years, abiding, spending the days(?). May your (f.) lifespan be doubled in health and life, may your (f.) step be extended as the morning comes(?), may there arise for you (f.) favour and wealth, in provision and food, may you be drunk with wine and pomegranate brew in the open court of Neith, O lady of the house, Chantress of Neith, ʾAmy (or *šmʿyt*), justified![102]

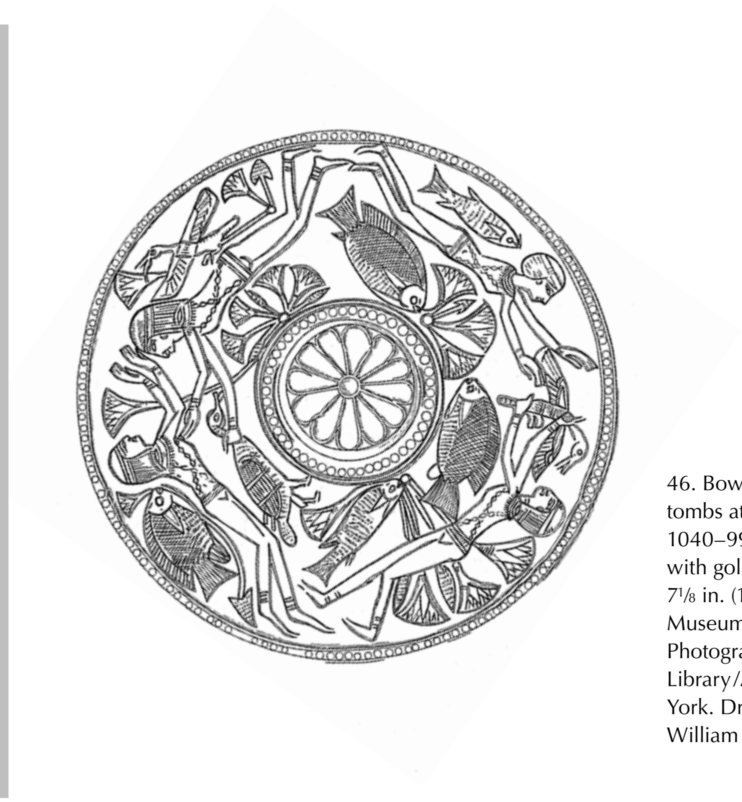
Amy's title (*šmʿyt*) indicates that she performed in daily temple rituals and at occasional festivals and funerary rites. According to Suzanne Onstine, many individuals with this title are known from the Ramesside period, when society was more pious; in particular, they were common in the reign of Ramesses II.[103] Three additional singers—at least two of them men—are known from Tell Basta, and singers are even attested in the Levant. A Megiddo ivory panel features a singer in the cult of Ptah South-of-His-Wall.[104] And Wenamun was comforted at Byblos, according to the Dynasty 20 story, by a singer from Egypt (*ḥs.t n km.t*) named *tꜣ-n.t-nw.t* (the one of Thebes).[105]

Radwan characterizes Amy's vessel shape as one for drinking. Drunkenness from wine and liqueur in a temple setting is specifically invoked in the bowl's inscription.[106] A Dynasty 26 tomb relief mentions a "chantress of Neith, Mistress of Sais" in a scene where two women gather grapes, the fruit from which wine was made.[107] Unfortunately, no other mention of Neith has been found at Tell Basta, according to Eva Lange, although there is slight evidence of an association between Neith and Bastet in a later period.[108] In fact, there is little evidence in Egypt for Neith's cult during the New Kingdom, but the goddess is attested during the Ramesside period and her historical cult center was at Sais, northwest of Tell Basta.[109] Furthermore, as Radwan has pointed out, Neith—whose attribute as goddess of war and hunting was a shield with crossed arrows—has parallels with Anat and Astarte.[110]

The decorative friezes on Amy's bowl match the scheme on Atumemtaneb's: depictions of desert and mythical symbols on the outer band and swamp on the inner. As on Atumemtaneb's jug, the desert scene includes fantastic creatures—here female sphinxes with characteristics more foreign than Egyptian: wild hair, upswung wings, and teats.[111] While an 18th Dynasty bronze bowl from the tomb

45. Bowl from the tomb of Hatiay, western Thebes. Dynasty 18, ca. 1340 B.C. Bronze, Diam. 7⅜ in. (18.6 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 31383). Photograph: Bissing 1901, p. 61; drawing of insert as in Radwan 1983, pl. 59

of Hatiay at Thebes (Figure 45) displays rich marshland iconography of the natural world, the Ramesside swamp scene on Amy's bowl highlights human sexuality. Fish and nude females swim in a narrow band of water, ducks fly, and a man ferries a boat with a standing cow that I here identify as Hathor, goddess of beauty and reproductive vitality. Swimmers occur on a Ramesside ostracon, faience tiles from a Ramesside residence at Qantir, a gold bowl from Tanis in the time of Psusennes I (1040–992 B.C.; Figure 46), and a faience relief chalice.[112] In a Saite tomb relief (688–525 B.C.) a swimmer floats below the tomb owner fowling in his skiff, a pose in itself referencing sexual prowess.[113] I am of the opinion that "the swimmer" is the same persona that appears in duck-headed skiffs, as mirror handles, and on other types of New Kingdom luxury arts; they are *nfrwt*, young women in the train of Hathor.[114]



46. Bowl from the royal tombs at Tanis. Dynasty 21, 1040–992 B.C. Silver with gold insert, Diam. 7⅛ in. (18 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 87742). Photograph: © DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, New York. Drawing of insert: William Schenck

47. Recessed base of swimmers bowl with conical omphalos (cat. 3), with detail and drawing. Silver with gold omphalos; Diam. of base 4¼ in. (10.9 cm), H. ⅜ in. (1 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698). Photographs: Ahmed Amin. Drawing: William Schenck. For rim, see Figure 22.

Swimmers Bowl

Like the Metropolitan repoussé bowl (Figure 43), this newly discovered bowl in Cairo (Figure 47) lacks an inscription, although it may originally have had one. In several ways this bowl is similar to Amy's bowl. They are shaped alike and have omega handles as well as gold spheres on the rim. Each also has a recessed base with an omphalos and probably originally a cone.[115] Both the outer and inner friezes of the new bowl have swamp scenes highlighting vitality: the outer band depicts females, fish, and ducks swimming with pleasure in a wide band of water, and the inner one shows men and cavorting calves among papyrus. There is no current evidence for an inscription on the swimmers bowl.

Bottle of Meritptah

This fragmentary bottle in the Metropolitan from the first find (Figure 48) has two votive scenes placed opposite one another. On one side, Meritptah (her name means "Beloved of Ptah") wears a pleated fringed garment and shakes a Hathor-headed loop sistrum to quiet the cat-headed goddess seated before her, "Bastet, lady of Dendera." Although Dendera was the cult home of Hathor and Bastet's home was Bubastis, Bastet was worshiped at other cities and was associated with Hathor.[116] Here she holds a papyrus scepter and an ankh sign toward Meritptah, who (like Amy) is identified as a chantress. Kitchen translates the text: "An offering that the king gives (to) Bast, that she may give life, (pros) perity (and) health (to) Mer-P<t>ah."[117]

This formulaic inscription—which differs from the ka type used for Atumemtaneb, Ameneminet, and Amy—is most often used in funerary contexts. Furthermore, the vine-wrapped papyrus stalk behind Meritptah is a symbol of regeneration often seen in Ramesside tombs. The formula here, however, which normally invokes a deity to "give life," occurs on a later Ptolemaic votive situla found among temple furnishings at Saqqara.[118] And Radwan points out that this "royal offering" type of text was used on objects in temple settings, namely on private statues invoking passersby to say the text on the owner's behalf.[119] Most importantly, although no parallels have been found for the shape of Meritptah's vessel, because her tomb was at Saqqara, the Tell Basta bottle must have been used in a ritual in a temple.

49. Vessel fragment showing Hathor and lion cubs (cat. 33). Silver neck with gold collar, H. 3 in. (7.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.370). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

48. Bottle inscribed for Meritptah (cat. 31), with details of scenes of Meritptah shaking a sistrum for Bastet. Silver; H. 6⅛ in. (15.5 cm), H. of neck ⅞ in. (2.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.228.19). Photographs: overall, Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA; details: William Barrette

Fragment of a Vessel with Hathor Iconography

Another decorated vessel from Tell Basta, although it is fragmentary, may offer clues to its function. The fragment is the upper part of a silver vessel, its neck ringed with gold repoussé symbols (Figure 49). On each side of the neck, a Hathor "mask" is flanked by animals—a grouping known since the 18th Dynasty.[120] The animals so depicted are often cats, but the square heads, widely spaced slightly pointed ears, flattened snouts, spotted coats, large paws, and long tails of these creatures identify them as lion cubs. Hathor was the eye of the sun god Re. She inhabited marshes, where life began.[121] She was the original Distant Goddess and, like the felines Sekhmet and Mut, was connected to Bastet. Bastet herself was represented as a lioness before she manifested as a cat. I believe that this particular vessel could have held intoxicating drink and that the symbols are a reference to the Distant Goddess.[122]

Summary of Inscriptions and Iconography

In essence, then, the inscriptions and much of the decoration of these Tell Basta vessels confirm the belief of Hayes, Simpson, and Radwan that the vessels served in a temple or shrine. The references are to vitality and to protection from the major goddesses Hathor, Neith, and Bastet. Anat and Astarte, either separately or together, are invoked too, although no shrine has been located for these Semitic goddesses at Tell Basta. On the other hand, Reshef, the Canaanite storm god of plague, is featured on several Ramesside stelae there,[123] and in the Late Period a list of festivals from the time of Nectanebo II (360–343 B.C.) shows Reshef accompanying Astarte while she rides sidesaddle on horseback.[124] That Anat could be worshiped by Egyptians working in Palestine is seen by a Ramesside stela set up at Beth Shan in the Jordan River valley in what is now Israel.[125]

It is clear that all of the decorated wine vessels from the Tell Basta treasure were made for temple or festival use in Egypt and that there are references to the Levant throughout the treasure and especially in the silver jewelry. That all of the identified owners had international connections as well as local responsibilities now merits further consideration. Atumemtaneb's and Amy's names are unknown outside the context of these vessels, where they are written in the "group writing" used in Egyptian for foreign words.[126] Ameneminet's and Meritptah's names are Egyptian, but they could be loyalist names of the type that were adopted by foreigners upon entry into Egyptian society.[127]

The titles inscribed on the vessels may also refer to foreigners. The majority of royal butlers (cupbearers) lived in the Ramesside period, according to Simpson.[128] Often they were described (as on Vessel C) as "clean of hands," an epithet Alan Gardiner thought would have been appropriate for the serving of royal meals. Yet the services of a royal butler went far beyond provisioning palaces. According to Bettina Schmitz, these men were initially officers who attended the king when he dined and made up his entourage when on campaign, thus earning enough trust to serve as special representatives when Egypt's bureaucracy broke down during the Ramesside period.[129] At that time a high percentage of the royal butlers or cupbearers were of non-Egyptian origin. Tombs for them have been found in the north at Saqqara, as has a tomb for an ambassador.[130] Atumemtaneb's second title, "royal envoy to all foreign countries," has in fact been equated with the modern term "ambassador" by Hassan El-Saady.[131] Although El-Saady does not include Atumemtaneb in his tally of Ramesside officials, he gives an idea of the duties such a person might have had while traveling along the eastern Mediterranean. Likewise, Betsy Bryan has characterized the cultural interchange that might have occurred when a representative of Egypt had administrative duties in Palestine.[132] In Atumemtaneb's case, the interchange must have been extensive, as he is identified as "the Ari(ite)" on Vessel B.[133] According to Kitchen, this term signals that the official's origin was either Arri (or Arra) in northern Syria or possibly "the less cosmopolitan Bostra in southeast Syria, east of the Sea of Galilee."[134]

The heights to which Atumemtaneb rose as a foreigner—including the title "fanbearer"—are impressive but not unknown in the Ramesside period. By that time the Egyptian administrative capital had been moved from Memphis to Qantir (ancient Pi-Ramesse, twenty-five miles northeast of Tell Basta), and the god Seth, who was identified with the Semitic storm god Baal, had risen high in the Egyptian pantheon.[135] Late New Kingdom Egyptian texts refer to Semitic deities worshiped at Memphis, to Asiatics being at ease there, and to goods and slaves arriving from Khor, Djahy, and Canaan, areas of today's Levant.[136] It is accepted that the chancellor Bay (died 1192 B.C.), a high-ranking and influential 19th Dynasty official (he also held the title "royal butler"), was of northern if not Syrian origin, and it has been suggested that the minor king Siptah (reigned 1194–1188 B.C.) had Syrian blood.[137] It was for Siptah that Tawosret became regent before she assumed kingship, and there are inscriptions mentioning him as well as Astarte at Qantir.[138]

The second important official at Tell Basta who must have had Asiatic connections was the "scribe of correspondence of the king," Ameneminet. We do not know Ameneminet's origins, but unlike Atumemtaneb he is known from both a large and impressive tomb at Saqqara and a statue now in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Figures 50, 51).[139] From them it is learned that the official's earliest titles were "attendant," "follower of the king in foreign lands," and "royal envoy abroad." Later, at home, he became "royal herald," "scribe of correspondence of the king," "treasury chief," "chief of works," and "high steward of the king" at the Theban funerary temple of Ramesses II. He also earned the high honorific "royal fanbearer."[140] In the inscription on his tomb Ameneminet said that he was "sent in commissions in every land" and called himself "[one] whom the king made (to) follow his way . . . , useful to his lord, who makes his speeches . . . , mouth of the king . . . , [and] royal messenger bearing the breath of life, [one] who enters into the king at any time."[141]

According to Kitchen, Atumemtaneb and others with foreign connections "were at court and quite close to the royalties they served. Ameneminet at least had earlier been a 'Royal Envoy to all foreign lands,' a very high role, hence was also a *1st* Royal Cupbearer. And in a very cosmopolitan context. Numerous foreigners served at all levels in Egypt—and abroad, one Amenmose (of Egypt) actually served the kings of Carchemish." Kitchen also notes that the Tell Basta vessels "belong to the world of Pi-Ramesse, Bubastis and Memphis, on a key communications route, and their links with the Levant and far beyond."[142] Yet in his Saqqara tomb Ameneminet and his wife Meritptah are not dressed or positioned as foreigners, although one representation, on the north face, does show the official with a fleshy face and a large nose, perhaps indicating that he was not a native Egyptian.[143] He is shown in the tomb holding a fan before Thoth and Anubis, just as Atumemtaneb holds one before a Canaanite goddess on Vessel B.[144] In the same scene, Meritptah grasps a very large Hathor-headed sistrum and flowers. She is identified as "chantress of Bastet," the same title that appears on her bottle from the first Tell Basta find, as well as "chantress of Bastet, lady of Thebes," a title that indicates that she performed temple ritual in the southern city where her husband was charged with estates of

50. Tomb relief of Ameneminet at Saqqara, Egypt, mid-13th century B.C. Photograph: Said Gohary

51. Statue of Ameneminet, mid-13th century B.C. Limestone, H. 34¼ in. (87 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (738). Photograph: André Bolshakov

Ramesses II. Given her devotion to Bastet, it is logical that Meritptah would offer a vessel in Bastet's home in the Delta, whatever her own origins or wherever her home may have been. Unlike her depiction on the Metropolitan's bottle (Figure 48), where she lacks formal accessories, here she wears a fillet and a lotus on her head. In a family scene of the Saqqara tomb, she wears an ointment cone and again holds a sistrum.[145]

The Saint Petersburg statue of Ameneminet (Figure 51) is also typically Egyptian, of good rather than excellent quality. The wig is "crinkled" in the upper part and broadly curled below. The toes and sandals are detailed, and the costume includes a *shebiyu* collar. The orthography of the statue is undistinguished, however, the official's neck is broad and his chest flat, the skirt flounces and neckline are rendered mechanically, and the arms merge into the offering table support. The last feature is reminiscent of the deep cutting of late Ramesside relief.[146]

It may be assumed that the anonymous owners of the remaining three decorated vessels from Bubastis—the bowl with swimmers, the Metropolitan repoussé bowl, and the Hathor fragment (Figures 47, 43, 49)—were also from the upper layer of society that had access to a quantity of silver, artisans, and inventive designs.

THREE RELATED BLACK BRONZE VESSELS

Another owner of a decorated vessel who had foreign connections and served in the cult of a goddess during the Ramesside period was the "singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana," as read by Kitchen. His name appears on a fragmentary carinated bowl of black bronze inlaid with gold (Figure 52).[147] The bowl was offered to the Metropolitan in October 1970 along with a black bronze goblet and fragments of a black bronze cup (Figures 53, 54), all three of which are assumed to have come from one find. They were subsequently purchased by Norbert Schimmel, and after Schimmel died, the bowl and cup were given to the Metropolitan.[148] The Israel Museum in Jerusalem purchased the goblet, which is also inlaid with gold and is much more slender and decorated than the naturalistic white-lotus gold goblet inscribed for Tawosret from the first Tell Basta find (Figure 4). The provenance of the three vessels is not known, although Jürgen Settgast suggested Qantir.[149] Their shapes and decoration indicate that they belonged to a wine service.

Like jugs A and B of Atumemtaneb (Figures 39, 40), the carinated bowl, which is comparable in size to Ameneminet's bowl and the repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figures 42, 43), has a central votive scene flanked by two ka-type

52. Fragmentary carinated bowl naming Sakawahikhana. Black bronze inlaid with gold, Diam. 8¼ in. (21.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.100). Photograph: Peter Zeray, Photograph Studio, MMA

53. Lotiform goblet. Bronze inlaid with gold, H. 5⅜ in. (13.7 cm). Israel Museum, Jerusalem (91.71.225)

54. Fragmentary cup. Black bronze inlaid with copper, silver, and gold, 5⅜ x 4¾ in. (13.7 x 12 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.99). Photograph: William Barrette. Drawing: William Schenck

inscriptions. Opposite this votive scene are the remains of a handle represented now only by papyriform fittings. The scene shows a kneeling man holding up a sistrum in one hand and raising the other in a gesture of adoration. Unlike Atumemtaneb, whose head is shaved, this official wears a wig. As Erika Fischer has pointed out, his pleated costume is very schematically rendered,[150] and the lioness-headed goddess, who extends a papyriform scepter in one hand and holds an ankh sign in the other, has atypical features. She wears a disk with a uraeus positioned in the center rather than on the front edge, her arm is hatched like the frame around the scene, and she sits far forward on her throne. She is identified as the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet. Kitchen translates the inscriptions as follows:[151]

right of the panel: "[May your spirit and your countenance] be sated with her (=Sekhmet's) provisions, (and) may you achieve 110 (years) at her hands! For the spirit of the Singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana, justified, daily."

left of the panel: "[May your spirit (and) your countenance (enjoy), or, May you spend] a lifetime in happiness, and years of life! For the spirit [of] the Singer of Sekhmet, Sakawahikhana, justified daily and for eternity."

Sakawahikhana's name is neither Egyptian nor Western Asiatic, according to Kitchen, who also rules out Hittite and Luwian, as well as Mycenaean Greek, Early Iranian/Old Persian, Sumerian, and Hurrian. He suggests that the name is most likely northeastern African—either Libyan or in an ancient Nubian tongue. In all events, Sakawahikhana is dressed as an Egyptian and shakes a sistrum to appease the leonine Egyptian goddess. Far fewer men had the title "singer" (*šmʿw*) than women, but two males in the funerary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes, who appear to be foreigners, were singers, and two men at Bubastis were singers as well.[152]

The cup associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 54) is the most interesting of the three black bronze objects.[153] It is richly inlaid with copper, silver, and gold. Some of the iconography on the Tell Basta vessels reappears here: An elaborate lotus fills the center; in the outer register a series of pendant lotuses and cornflowers encircles composite plants, caprids, a leaping bovine, desert animals, and a pair of female sphinxes with wild hair; and the inner frieze is a swamp scene with flying ducks, a mongoose, and a man ferrying what might be a standing cow, as on Amy's bowl.[154] According to Settgast, the decoration also included fish and a running man with a triangular net, motifs also included on Ameneminet's bowl and on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl (Figures 42, 43). The general scheme is very much like that on Amy's bowl (Figure 44). The iconography, which points to a date in the Late Bronze Age, is also similar. The cup's technique is not found on any Tell Basta vessels, and one cannot expect a less subtle technique to match the nuance of the repoussé work from Tell Basta. But the subject matter does provide a link between the disparate vessels.

THE STYLE AND DATE OF THE TELL BASTA DECORATED VESSELS

The Tell Basta treasure represents a broad spectrum of workmanship and quality that ranges from fine gold jewelry, jars, strainer, and cones to the flimsy Tawosret goblet; from plain silver jars, situlae, strainers, and bowls with handles to the decorated vessels of mixed iconography and style (Vessel A, the Amy bowl, the repoussé bowl, and the Ameneminet and swimmers bowls); and from the Canananite jewelry to metal scrap.

Vessels A, B, and C Naming Atumemtaneb

The most elegant and finely wrought metalwork in the Tell Basta treasure is found on Atumemtaneb's jug B (Figure 40). A series of running spirals, olive leaves, persea fruits, dotted circles, and pendant lotuses and poppies frame a single register with flying horses, virile goats and a composite plant, a leaping calf and a lion, and a duck with fluttering wings.[155] The votive scene on the body of the vessel is detailed, and its hieroglyphic signs were executed with sureness. The body of the gold aurochs handle is taut. Altogether, the quality is masterful and reminiscent of metalwork from the tomb of Tutankhamun.[156] The chased swags, cats, and bands of olive leaves, dotted circles, pendant lotuses, and floral arches on the gold jars from Tell Basta (Figures 7, 12, 13) are of similar quality.

The workmanship and style on Vessels A and C (Figures 39, 41) are much poorer. The marsh scenes on Vessel A, for example, relate to a scene in a Theban tomb, but the bird trap on the Tell Basta jug is simpler and less correct.[157] The drawing of the figures is weak as well, recalling a Palestinian ivory panel from Tell Fara (South) that could be contemporary.[158] The boatman on Vessel A (Figure 39) seems to be ferrying a bird, a box, and a trap, cargo that appears on a Ramesside bowl from Gurob with a female punter but is unusual.[159] The water is indicated by mounds marked with chevrons. The animals in the upper register have the open mouths common in depictions outside Egypt, but they resemble stuffed toys more than the leaping or ferocious beasts of Aegean and Near Eastern iconography.[160] In the votive scene the bird standing on top of the goddess's scepter (derived from Egyptian tomb paintings where birds sit on top of papyri in the marshes?) is reminiscent of a bird hunting for food under the chair of a prince on a Megiddo ivory.[161]

On Vessel C (Figure 41), the flying horses and rampant goat are frozen like wooden cutouts. The horses appear to be the compact *bréviligne* type but are more poorly drawn. The stag behind the horses was not native to Egypt. It could have been bred in the eastern Delta during the Ramesside period, but it belongs in a desert rather than a marsh scene.[162]

Surely the differences in the jugs of Atumemtaneb must be attributed to their artisans rather than to their date. On the basis of the owner's titles, Vessel A, inscribed "royal cupbearer," should be earlier than Vessel B, inscribed "first royal cupbearer." It is more likely, however, that the three jugs were created by contemporary craftsmen, one of whom had had more training in Egyptian artistic traditions than the others. To judge from the quality of Vessel B, all three objects should be dated in the reign of Ramesses II, or 1279–1213 B.C.

Bowl of Amy

The bowl of Amy (Figure 44) may also date to Ramesses II but is by a different hand. The rivets on the gold rim and the omega handle on the side are advanced features (see Appendix 4b), yet the registers have Late Bronze Age motifs (ca. 1600–1200/1000 B.C.): spiky plants, leaping animals, and opposing sphinxes with wild hair. The inscription on the bowl is paleographically similar to Atumemtaneb's on Vessel C, and the bowl's cone has the three-ply plait construction that Ogden assigns to the Ramesside period.[163] Thus, the bowl, with its international flavor, fits into Egypt's 19th Dynasty.

Repoussé Bowl

The repoussé bowl in the Metropolitan (Figure 43) was created by yet another artisan and may be dated to the reign of Ramesses II on the basis of its iconography, even if there are few parallels from that time.[164] Its agricultural, marsh, and desert hunting scenes would be most at home on tomb walls, but they are not typical in Ramesside tombs, where funerals and interaction with gods are generally represented.[165] One notable exception is in the tomb of Ipuy at Thebes from the time of Ramesses II, where a man carries a triangular net while other men net and clean whole fish, trap birds anchored by bird-headed posts, and tread grapes.[166] The tomb paintings also share some of the liveliness of the scenes on the repoussé bowl; they show, for instance, women selling fish and cakes who are wearing lotus buds on heavy wigs like those traditionally reserved for the Egyptian elite in formal settings.

The repoussé bowl has uncanonical features, however. Even when complete it is unlikely to have included a larger-scale figure of its owner. In tomb representations the owner oversees the various estate activities that will bring him sustenance in the next life. This bowl displays instead a collection of vignettes placed haphazardly in the registers. At the upper left in the rollout drawing calves confront cattle driven by a herdsman, and there is no water in sight. To the right a man carrying fish and a man with a triangular net run toward a bit of swamp to which horses (not the Ramesside *bréviligne* type) are being driven by a man with a lasso and a boomerang. To the right of that, past an unidentified reed structure, the fishing motif resumes as men wearing lotuses clean fish (shown whole rather than gutted as in the Old Kingdom).[167] At the left in the next register are jousting boatmen, a scene rarely depicted after the Old Kingdom. The men hold their poles at the ends, as if they were sticks, rather than in the middle as would be expected, according to Yvonne Harpur.[168] The men pulling the clapnet in the next surviving vignette are perched on their toes, like men on the ivory panel from Canaanite Tell Fara (South).[169] The next register shows a man with a group of ostriches that appear to be domesticated.[170] Next comes a type of jungle fowl known in the Near East, and Near Eastern composite plants function as scene dividers.[171] This band also shows a goat giving birth in the desert, a Nubian woman pounding some kind of solid foodstuff, and men with shields fighting a lion with an open mouth.[172] The innermost register illustrates another marsh scene (with a man pulling papyrus), various activities for wine making (though the vines look more like fig trees), and a wild desert animal suckling its young.[173]

Noteworthy stylistic features are the ubiquitous hatching and chevrons used for modeling, the dotted rosettes, and the bosses between registers, which echo details on the figures.

In essence, the repoussé bowl is not conventionally Egyptian. Its composition is whimsical and its scenes loosely structured. Its creator selected long-standing tomb and temple scenes but changed them slightly and augmented them with late second-millennium B.C. features or Near Eastern designs. The artist may have derived inspiration from Old Kingdom tombs in the north, but he worked with a Levantine sensibility.[174]

Ameneminet's Bowl and Bottle Naming Meritptah

The inner band of Ameneminet's bowl (Figure 42 and overleaf) also has Late Bronze Age iconography: a lion, bovids, a feline pouncing on a bovine, and composite plants. Further, the chased inscription is very well formed, and there are no orthographic mistakes. Yet the four decorative gold balls on the rim, with no corresponding ring or omega handle, are late features (see Appendix 4b). And although some of the iconography in the top register is New Kingdom, it is different from that on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl. Here the band of tuftlike papyri is continuous, static, and, as Harpur points out, juxtaposed with activities and images that do not belong in marshes: milking, grape treading, and the cobra Renenutet, goddess of the harvest.[175] On the left of the rollout drawing, elongated horses confront leaping bovines pursued by a man with a yoke; a cow is being milked while a calf and a man, who may have roped its leg, stand idly by; and a kneeling woman holds a hand trap for catching songbirds, an activity performed by men in the Old Kingdom. The scenes continue: a man transporting something on a yoke pursues three calves, three men pull a clapnet of Old Kingdom form, a man carrying birds walks in the opposite direction toward the cobra goddess Renenutet, a man with an elongated head fills a wine jar, four men who appear to be grasping ropes for support (as in the Theban tomb of Ipuy from the time of Ramesses II) tread grapes in a vat of wine (patterned horizontally rather than vertically), a large cow (probably Hathor) rests among the papyri, and a man carrying a bag walks in the opposite direction behind a man with an elaborate cloaklike net. Finally, two women fill wine jars next to an oval fishpond, a man incongruously gathers papyrus from a boat ferrying two ducks in an enclosure with hanging fruit, and a boat with a goose-headed prow poled by two nude figures carries a recumbent calf.

By comparison, the bottle of Ameneminet's wife Meritptah (Figure 48) is much more traditional in its iconography. Nevertheless, the goddess's dress and Meritptah's wig have an atypical chevron pattern. Furthermore, Meritptah does not wear the customary floral band or ointment cone. I have found such a feature on only one other monument, a stela from Amarna on which a woman named Arbura appears with her husband, Tarura. Both their names are of foreign origin.[176]

Ameneminet's tomb at Saqqara and the statue of him now in Saint Petersburg (Figures 50, 51) provide some evidence for dating his and Meritptah's vessels. In the tomb Ameneminet's figure is simplified and the relief carving deep, with intersecting layers. Eva Hofmann places the tomb in Dynasty 20, roughly 1190–1150 B.C.[177] This is later than the date Kitchen proposes for the official's inscriptions; he is inclined to place the official's career entirely in the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.), although he does not rule out the possibility that Ameneminet's service extended into the ten-year reign of Merenptah (1213–1203 B.C.).[178] Study of the tomb's location and its paleographic features has allowed Jacobus van Dijk to be more precise. He dates Ameneminet's Saqqara tomb to before the fourth decade of Ramesses II's rule (1249–1239 B.C.), although there is the possibility that it dates to Merenptah's reign or that of an immediate successor.[179]

Swimmers Bowl

Although fragmentary, delicate in scale, and missing much of the original detail (including, no doubt, a decorated gold cone in the center), the decoration on the Tell Basta swimmers bowl (Figure 47) is captivating and draws the viewer into an inner world of grace and beauty. In both bands the composition is anchored by the four figures, either calves or young women, but whereas the inner band with its papyrus freeze is more static, fluidity is achieved in the outer band by the long, sinuous bodies of the swimmers and the curving lotus stems that spring from the ring separating the registers. There is a variety of filler shapes, and the background is completely hatched (note the hatching in the fishpond on Ameneminet's bowl; Figure 42). One of the young women looks backward, and two of the four walking calves do the same.

Their long proportions indicate that these swimmers are later in date than those on Amy's bowl, but how much later is uncertain. Elongated proportions already occur in the temple of Ramesses II's wife Nefertari at Abu Simbel, yet the proportions are quite normal on a pair of later silver bracelets inscribed with Seti II's name on which Queen Tawosret is depicted pouring wine for her husband (Figure 55).[180] Admittedly, metalwork from Tawosret's era is scarce.[181] Ear pendants with the names of Seti II also from Tomb KV56 in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes probably belonged to her,[182] and three simple objects associated with her were in the Tell Basta treasure: the flimsy gold lotiform goblet with her name on the stem, a more substantial electrum situla (now lost) with the ruler's throne names in cartouches topped with ostrich feathers and a disk, and the rim of a simple silver bowl or cup in the Metropolitan on which the ruler's names are surrounded by two cartouches with the epithets "lord of the two lands" and "lord of crowns" written above them (Figures 4, 8, 74, cat. 11).

55. Bracelets inscribed for Seti II. From Tomb KV56, Valley of the Kings, Thebes. Silver, H. 2⅜ and 2½ in. (6.2 and 6.5 cm). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 52577, 52578). Photograph: Egypt Memory

A search for decorated metalwork later than Seti II's time that offers parallels with the swimmers bowl yields the silver and gold bowl from the royal tombs at Tanis in the northeastern Delta (Figure 46). If the swimmers bowl is set within the Ramesses II–Tawosret period, in line with the Tell Basta inscriptions, then the bowl from Tanis, a gift of Psusennes I (reigned 1040–992 B.C.) to his general Wandjebawandjed, would be at least 150 years later. This silver bowl with gold overlay has a single register with four women arranged in facing pairs surrounding an inlaid rosette. Tilapia and ducks are used as filler, as at Tell Basta, but there is no indication of water. The figures are large and their proportions regular. Their poses are more wooden than New Kingdom maidens'. Altogether, the vessel is striking and monumental but less engaging than the bowl from Tell Basta. Ogden has also noted the Tanis bowl's traditional style, which is in keeping with other precious vessels from there.[183] Like a contemporary mirror case for the wife of Pinodjem I from Thebes (1061–1040 B.C.), it displays the last remains of New Kingdom iconography with nude, bedecked females but in a much drier manner.[184]

The Tell Basta vessels with figurative scenes share a common format, New Kingdom iconography, and function, but they vary in style. A case can be made to date them from the reign of Ramesses II to that of Tawosret or a bit later, with Vessel B the earliest stylistic example, and Ameneminet's or the swimmers bowl the latest. The corpus is varied, however, and needs more study, with particular attention paid to the transition from the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period.

Third Intermediate Period faience relief chalices offer interesting comparisons to the Tell Basta treasure and related objects.[185] The inlaid bronze lotiform goblet associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) has zones on the cup as on the chalices, although the sepals that extend up the cup are bordered by a simple zigzag and an abstract pattern, and the stem has delicate alternating sedge and papyrus stalks.[186] The most naturalistic of the chalices, like the example shown here, share with the Bubastis vessels some of the figural iconography (stands of alternating papyri, punting, a recumbent bovine in a boat, a triangular net, a calf suckling its mother, a swimmer looking back, even the horse, as on the Rothschild cup), the use of relief (all except Atumemtaneb's jugs and Meritptah's bottle have repoussé as well as chasing), and the placement of decoration on the exterior (as on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl).[187] Furthermore, the chalices feature iconography of the inundation and rejuvenation while adding deviations from traditional subject matter. On a chalice in the Metropolitan (Figure 56) a young female briskly punts a boat, and on a fragment of a chalice in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a young woman with a long wig touches a calf.[188]

Unfortunately, inscriptions that could help date chalices occur on only the most elaborate Third Intermediate Period examples, which are not the most naturalistic.[189] Continued study could yield further information relevant to the Tell Basta vessels, however. Bubastis thrived during Dynasties 21 and 22, and there were connections with the Levant, as shown by the fine bronze statue base of Ramesses VI excavated at Megiddo and the ivories at Tell Fara (South) and Megiddo.[190] The makers of Phoenician bowls could have attended festivals for Bastet and intermingled with the Delta populace, as there was interest in Egyptian deities in the Levant.[191]

Indeed, William Stevenson Smith suggested that the artisans who created the Tell Basta vessels belonged to an eastern Delta workshop that derived its repertoire from a style with "a certain international flavour" formed during the second half of Dynasty 18.[192] "Foreign" motifs had crept into Egypt earlier: ivory game boards of early Dynasty 18 feature leaping animals, a wooden box in Bologna from about 1450 B.C. has a clumsy group of caprids flanking a composite plant, and a wooden pyxis probably from the time of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 B.C.) has Hathor-like protomes, a chevron-delineated band of water, a central rosette, and female sphinxes flanking composite plants.[193] The Dynasty 18 bronze bowl from the tomb of Hatiay (Figure 45) has an omphalos and displays a man in a boat, animal combat, chevrons, a band of rosettes, water with hatching (as on the swimmers bowl at Tell Basta), and perhaps a recumbent calf.[194] Such evidence leads us to ask how much of the Tell Basta iconography is "Egyptian" and how much "Levantine."

56. Lotiform chalice. Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 22, ca. 945–712 B.C. Faience, H. 5½ in. (14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.182.53)

In the Ramesside period, any Tell Basta immigrant artisan could have had access to traditional monuments, such as earlier tombs at Saqqara or in the Delta. It is doubtful that these artisans would have understood the iconography as traditional Egyptians did, however. The early Dynasty 18 maker of the Aniba stands (Figure 38) was likewise interpreting traditional imagery in a lively although somewhat inept manner: a groom turns back to grasp a rope that looks like a beard, the horse's mouth is open, the horse tails and papyrus calyxes are marked with chevrons, and the birds look like pelicans.[195] Conversely, it is unlikely that traditional Egyptian artists understood the Near Eastern iconography on the wooden pyxis or on the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl from Tell Basta. Certain motifs and stylistic features were nevertheless used widely throughout the Late Bronze Age, especially from the eastern Delta up along the eastern Mediterranean, as Erika Fischer and Dirk Wicke have noted.[196] And Susan Braunstein has remarked on the creation of hybrid forms at Tell Fara.[197]

The Tell Basta craftsmen, as well as officials, newly transplanted to the Delta, added substantially to culture there and were key participants in artistic production. In the end, the labels "Egyptian" and "Near Eastern" are too restricted to describe the sumptuous objects that were produced in the religious, administrative, and culturally pluralistic society of Tell Basta in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. As a whole, this treasure hoard reflects the varied culture in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

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NOTES

1. Simpson 1959, p. 29. Simpson had published an introductory study, written while he was assistant in the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum, in the *MMAB* in 1949.
2. Scott 1944, fig. 19; Hayes 1959, pp. 358–60.
3. These are traditional dates, which would be shifted according to dates now proposed by Jacobus van Dijk for the reigns of Horemheb and Seti I; see Van Dijk 2008 and 2011.
4. Bissing 1910 and 1914; Scharff 1930, pp. 114–16; W. Smith 1958, pp. 227–29.
5. Montet 1937, pp. 133–35, 138–50; Ranke 1941. Montet had excavated in the 1920s at Byblos, Lebanon, a site with many Egyptian ties. For a review of his 1937 publication, see No. Davies 1938.
6. Porter and Moss 1934, p. 34.
7. The term *patera* is usually applied to Roman shallow bowls with a straight handle, used for libations rather than drinking (conversation with Joan R. Mertens, August 26, 2010). It is an inappropriate term here.
8. Simpson 1959, p. 43. See also W. Smith and Simpson 1998, pp. 222–24.
9. Radwan 1983, pp. 136, 143–44, 157, 163.
10. Kitchen 1982a, pp. 372–73; Kitchen 2003, pp. 270–71.
11. J. Smith 2003 and Niemeier 2003. See also Crowley 1989, pp. 221–27, 398, nos. 494–500, with summaries of earlier discussions. In 2006 (pp. 38–41, 101, 136) Marian Feldman posited that certain iconography of the Amy bowl and Vessels A and B was part of an international koine used to signal political status among the elite; see Fischer and Wicke 2011.
12. J. Meyer 1987; Gubel 1987 and 2000; Boschloos 2009. The Cypriot scholar Einar Gjerstad (1946, pp. 3–4, 17–18) had followed Bissing's assessments, but this was before the gold bowl from Ugarit and ivories from Megiddo and Tell Fara (South) were known.
13. Cats. 10–14, 17d–e, 19, 20, 27–30, 44–51, 56–62, 84. These fragments were referred to in Hayes 1959, p. 358, and in Simpson 1959, nn. 65, 68. They were restored by Marjuka Kaminen. With the exception of Figures 74, bottom, 77, and 78, all of the drawings in this article were produced by William Schenck, and most were photographed by William Barrette.
14. For the modern research, see Leclère 2008, pp. x–xi, 363–91; information from Mohammed Bakr and Christian Tietze, as well as current members of the joint Egyptian-German excavations, now under the directorship of Eva Lange; and Rosenow 2010. See also Habachi 1975, L. Martin 1995 and 2010, and Ashmawy Ali 2009. Dr. Wafaa el-Saddik (Director), Mme Hala Hassan (Curator of the First Section), Dr. Yasmin el Shazley (Registrar of the Registration, Collections Management, and Documentation Department), Ahmed Amin (photographer), and Dr. Janice Kamrin (Director, Egyptian Museum Database and Registrar Training Project) were extraordinarily helpful in providing access to and transmitting information and photographs in 2009–10. Dr. Hoda Abdel-Hamid and the restorer Nabila Ramadan extended themselves to stabilize objects for study and photography in a very short period of time.
15. See Maspero 1907, p. 341; Maspero 1908a and 1908b; and Edgar 1907b. Edgar published further notes on the jug with a goat handle (Figure 5) in 1925, after it was cleaned.
16. Maspero's accounts in 1907, p. 337, and 1908a, p. 403, are not reflected in Edgar's descriptions.
17. Edgar 1907b, pp. 93–95. I take "perpendicular cutting" to mean working with hoes from top to bottom, moving parallel to the mounds.
18. For a photograph showing the relative size of Cairo vessels from both finds, see Steindorff 1928, pp. 299, 327–28, and for good color photographs of the Cairo objects, see Tiradritti 1998, pp. 260, 264–65, and H. Müller and Thiem 1999, pp. 193–94.
19. These were a broad collar, a "flat piece of silver covered with gold leaf," and "two small figures, one of gold and one of electrum, apparently made for attachment against a flat surface" (Edgar 1907b, pp. 94, 106–7, pl. 55). See Vernier 1927, CG 53181 (collar), CG 53256 (electrum Hathor amulet), CG 53257 (gold Isis amulet). Vernier gives their date of acquisition as 1900, but they were entered into the Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1906 as 38676–77 and in 1908 as 39879(a)–(b).
20. Edgar 1907b, p. 95.
21. On these enigmatic objects, see Aston 1989.
22. This is one of six photographs of Bubastis in the Georg Steindorff papers at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (P 64706–11), that were kindly called to my attention by John Larson. They seem to have been prepared for an article or a display, with captions in English. The photographs need not be Steindorff's, and they are undated. Steindorff wrote a section on

Bubastis for an English-language publication of 1903 (Steindorff 1903, p. 684), and he wrote about Bubastis from 1902 onward for the travel guide publisher Baedeker. Kerstin Seidel (emails to the author, June 2009) has ascertained that Steindorff was at the site with Günther Roeder and Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1928–29. In any event, François Leclère, Daniela Rosenow, and Eva Lange (conversations with and emails to the author, June 2009) do not believe the photographs show the alleged spot of the buried treasures but rather an area to the east of it—within the temple of Bastet and somewhat northeast of it.

23. Bakr 2008; Bakr and Brandl 2010, pp. 43–53, 206–45. I warmly thank Mohammed Bakr and Helmut Brandl for sharing detailed information with me.
24. Wilkinson 1971, pp. 156, 225.
25. H. Müller and Thiem 1999, pp. 194, 195, fig. 411. Ogden (1990–91) describes twisted and hollow beaded wire as well as granules fused onto gold sheet. For bezels, see Edwards 1976c, p. 22, fig. 13.
26. See also Wilkinson 1971, pp. 156, 225.
27. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 39675); see Vernier 1907–9, pp. 137–38, nos. CG 52397–98, pl. XXVII; and Altenmüller 2008, p. 210, fig. 75.
28. Wilkinson 1971, pp. 125, 150, 152; Lilyquist 2003, pp. 185–86. On the Palestinian sites, see Dothan 1979, pp. 42–43, and 2008, pp. 45, 152, 159.
29. Davis et al. 1908, p. 38, pl. 14.
30. Ogden 1990–91.
31. Many decorated fragments and an omphalos are now associated with this bowl; the photograph in the Cairo museum's Special Register for Section 1 for its number, 7789, taken in the 1960s or 1970s, shows the bowl complete.
32. Examples of silver temple treasures are from Toukh el-Karamus, in the eastern Delta north of Tell Basta (Edgar 1907a), and Dendera (Abdalla 1995, pp. 22–26), both of the Ptolemaic period.
33. Appendix 1, cat. 76 (JE 39882 [an]): "un lot de débris, argent, poid 11 gr. 80 . . . débris au nombre de huit, bague, boucles d'oreilles, et incertains."
34. See Appendix 1: bar ingots: cats. 79, 80; folded ingots: cat. 83; wire ingot: cat. 75 (SR 1/6632).
35. Pulak 2008.
36. Sparks 2007, p. 115, no. 141. See also the silver examples in Ziffer 1990, p. 54*, fig. 66.
37. Edgar thought that the marks in the lower right were a third animal. I sincerely thank Annie Caubet and François Poplin for comments on the rings (conversation with and email to the author, September 2010).
38. Conversation with Annie Caubet, September 16, 2010.
39. For the lance-shaped earring at the center top of Figure 33, see McGovern 1985, fig. 46. Edgar (1907b, p. 104) found parallels for these in Cyprus as well.
40. McGovern 1985, p. 134.
41. Edgar 1907b, pls. 50, 51, p. 96; Kitchen 1982a, p. 373, g, and letter of July 2009.
42. Negbi 1970. Goring (1989) sees certain items as weights; see also Snell 1995, pp. 1488–90, and Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 178.
43. Osborne (2004) reviews many of the reasons for deposits. For some examples from Cyprus, Syria, and Mesopotamia, see Åström 1983, McClellan 1986, and Lilyquist 1994. Such deposits have been interpreted as treasury workshop contents in Negbi and Moskowitz 1966 and Bjorkman 1993; as currency in Kletter 2003 and Kroll 2003; and as treasury objects in Feldman 2009.
44. Pierrat 1994. The objects are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the Musée de Louvre, Paris. For thoughts on "treasures" in Egypt, see Vernus 1989.
45. Scenarios about origin are given in Drenkhahn 1980, pp. 72–73, and Settgast 1986, pp. 136–37.
46. James 1984, pp. 185–86.
47. A hoard of silver scrap was found at Ugarit near a mold (Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 178).
48. For faience marsh bowls and pieces of jewelry (with uraei, wedjat eyes, Hathor masks, papyri, and Bes) dedicated to Hathor, see Pinch 1993, pp. 78–80, 275, 326–60. Faience objects with Tawosret's name were found in temples in Sinai and what are now modern Jordan and Lebanon (Marée 2006, p. 126; Griffiths 2006; Doumet-Serhal 2008).
49. Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933, pp. 59–61; James 1984, p. 186; Bell 1986. Christopher Naunton kindly sent photographs of the Amarna pieces from the Egypt Exploration Society archives (TA_30-31_0026, 0045a, 0047, 0106).
50. Bubastis long had an intermixed culture; see Bakr 1982 and Helck 1955, pp. 1930–31, nos. 719, 720.
51. Loud 1948, pp. 157, 290, provenience 2012, plan 386, pl. 229 (Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, A 18295a–e). See the discussion in Gershuny 1985, p. 42. For the dating to the beginning of the Iron Age, see Mazar 2011b, and for the dating of Megiddo VIA, where the silver hoard was found, see Beth-Valley Archaeological Project 2010. Caubet (conversation with the author, November 2010) dates the transition in Syria and the Levant to 1180/60 B.C.
52. Davis to Lythgoe, December 1906, Department of Egyptian Art, MMA. Maspero, too (1907, p. 336), refers to silver jewelry as being present in the first find, but his account is somewhat problematic.
53. Radwan 1983, nos. 328, 334, 467–69.
54. Lilyquist 1988.
55. An earlier instance of silver being used with gold highlights occurred in the remarkable tomb of Yuya and Thuya, from the time of Amenhotep III (Tomb KV46 at Thebes; now Egyptian Museum, Cairo); see Lilyquist 1997.
56. For depictions of some of these vessel shapes, see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pls. 22, 23 (Theban Tomb 17); No. Davies 1943, pl. 66 (Theban Tomb 100); No. Davies 1905, pl. 32 (tomb of Meryra); and Davis et al. 1908, pp. 39–40, pls. 8, 9 (bracelets with Seti II). For Ramesside examples, see Fischer 2011.
57. Radwan 1983, nos. 332, 449, 466, and Schiaparelli 1927, pp. 83–84: Turin 8394 (silver situla), 8392 (silver strainer), 8401 (silver bowl), 8393 (bronze strainer). Other Kha vessels could be related: Radwan 1983, nos. 249, 312, 464. It seems likely that a flask with a stand from Semna was used for wine (ibid., nos. 238, 397, 462a,b).
58. Radwan 1983, nos. 304, 467, 468; Rommelaere 1991, no. 18; Dreyfus 2005.
59. Radwan 1983, no. 466.
60. Ibid., no. 467; Dreyfus 2005. The horses are the *longiligne* type that appears early in Egypt and has its origin in the Sudan or Turkmenistan.
61. Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1983, pp. 172–73, N 1220–22), Kition (Karageorghis 1974, p. 90, 3[a]–[b]), and Kourion Kaloriziki Tomb 40 (Gershuny 1985, p. 16).
62. In addition to the eight sets in Gershuny 1985, Gershuny 2003 includes sets from Dan Tomb 387, Sa'idiyeh Tomb 32, Tel Nami Tomb 69, and incomplete sets from Tel Nami Tomb 69, Sa'idiyeh Tombs 102 and T119, and Deir el-Balah Tomb 118. I am grateful to Dr. Gershuny for a copy of her 2003 unpublished paper.
63. For the sets in the tombs at Byblos, see Montet 1928–29, no. 746, and associated silver vessels. On the dating, see Gershuny 1985, pp. 46–47, and also Moorey 1980.

64. Kitchen 1982b.
65. James 1995.
66. Poo 1986 and 1995; C. Meyer 1986.
67. Bryan 2005 and 2008.
68. Bakr and Brandl 2010, pp. 176–79, no. 53 (Archaeological Museum of Zagazig University).
69. Jones 2011.
70. See Morenz 2006, pp. 50–51, 57, and especially von Lieven 2003.
71. Morenz 2006. For the vessel (Museo Arqueológico de Granada, 8329), see Gamer-Wallert 1978, fig. 1, no. G-39, pp. 30–34, 284–85, pl. 4. On the name Osorkon, see Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006, pp. 493–94, and Aston 2009, pp. 19–37.
72. Möller and Schubart 1910, no. 97, pl. 15; Gubel 1987, p. 267, and 2000, p. 87, citing Emma Brunner-Traut. The bowl is in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussamlung Berlin. For a discussion of this and other Egyptian festivals, see Lloyd 1976, pp. 267–76.
73. Bietak 1985.
74. Lesko 1995, pp. 222, 228–29. For the tomb representations, see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 17ff., pls. 14, 15, 23.
75. Radwan 1983, no. 469 (Art Institute of Chicago); Dreyfus 2005, p. 249.
76. Ziffer 1990, p. 84*, fig. 134. For a general account of viniculture along the Levant, see McGovern 2009, pp. 172–82.
77. Klebs 1934, pp. 58–60; Simon 1992; Janssen 1975, pp. 431–32.
78. Collon (1992) shows that many more occasions gave rise to banquets in the Near East than in Egypt, where the banquets depicted are generally funerary. See also Ziffer 2005. For Late Bronze Age representations, see Liebowitz 1980 and Fischer 2011.
79. Conversation with the author, January 3, 2009; Caubet 2012.
80. Conversation with the author, August 2005.
81. The cranium appears to be emphasized; it is unlikely that a handkerchief is represented, as in the scene in No. Davies 1948, pls. 22, 30, or a shortened version of a long-stemmed lotus, as in Fischer 2007, no. *H.32, pl. 49, and Hofmann 2004, p. 24, fig. 25.
82. Such spiky tufts are worn by a variety of people, young and old, male and female (see the Nubian in Raven 2007, fig. 6). However, the Tell Basta examples best recall female sphinxes on ivory plaques from Megiddo (Loud 1939, pl. 7).
83. Pomorska 1987, pp. 44–46, 54, 70, 90.
84. Cornelius 2004, pp. 89–91. See also Leclant 1975 and Leitz 2002–3, vol. 1, p. 124, vol. 2, pp. 174–75, 212–13, vol. 8, p. 126.
85. Cornelius 2004, pp. 29, 35–36, figs. 8, 20.
86. Kitchen 2003, p. 270, ll. 372:l, 10, 15. "Justified" means that the person is accepted as worthy by the gods in the next world. Kitchen has used > < to indicate a sign omitted by a scribe in error, < > to bracket an omitted sign, and [ ] to indicate a lacuna in the text where he suggests a possible reading.
87. Edwards 1976a, no. 2. For the cups, which were equipped with silver stands and are described in the inventory as being of gold and of silver rimmed with gold, see Sethe 1906, p. 22, ll. 13–17, stela CG 34001. For the bowls and situla, see Radwan 1983, nos. 332 (*Schale*), 335, 336 (*flache Schüssel*), 410.
88. For example, Radwan 1983, nos. 334, 335, 344, 405, 411, 414.
89. Arnold 1972, colorpl.; Tait 1963; Jones 1982; Radwan 1983, nos. 328, 334; Pinch 1993, pp. 312–15.
90. Bourriau 1982, Sparks 2006.
91. Caubet 2012. See also Ziffer 2005.
92. Maspero thought the goat was smelling the wine contained therein.
93. The goat lacks a beard—unlike the typical Near Eastern animal—but seems to show the sheath of a phallus. Maspero (1907, p. 340, and 1908b, p. 40) referred to the animal as both male and female.
94. Email to the author, November 9, 2009. The ring is notably large, however. Maspero (1908b, p. 30) and Edgar (1907b, p. 99) thought the ring could have functioned to hang the vessel, but the jug does not need to be hung and, in fact, cannot physically be hung (see Appendix 4b).
95. Additional photographs of it and other vessels are available in the Department of Egyptian Art, MMA, and planned for an e-journal.
96. Letter to the author, November 16, 2009.
97. M. Müller 2003.
98. Paget and Pirie 1898, pl. 32. In the Dynasty 18 tomb of Neferhotep (Theban Tomb 49), a cow is ferried in a skiff flanked by men pulling papyrus, an activity pleasing to Hathor since the Old Kingdom.
99. Derchain 1976.
100. Müller suggests the ferried cow is is a symbol of masculinity. A pottery "votive bed" shows the nude Qudshu in a boat flanked by two cows (Loeben and Kappel 2009, no. 264; reference and photographs kindly supplied by Loeben in March 2011). The animals on an example in Chicago look more like gazelles (OIM 14782, Teeter 2010, no. 239). Stadelmann 1985, fig. 1, pl. 40a, is very worn.
101. Caubet 2012. See also Schaeffer 1934, pp. 124–31, and Herbordt 1986, where the bowl is dated considerably earlier. On the Ugaritic myth of Baal, see Pardee 1997, pp. 261–62.
102. Kitchen 2003, p. 271, l. 373:5b ("f." stands for the feminine possessive and subject); el-Sayed 1975, p. 278, doc. 88; el-Sayed 1982, pp. 79–80, doc. 394. Amy's name is unique, and some Egyptologists have restored a "t" in order to relate it to an Egyptian name (Ranke 1935, p. 357 no. 5). The Egyptian word formerly read pomegranate (*šdḥ*) is now read as distilled red wine (Tallet 2010).
103. Onstine 2005, pp. 11–17, 27, 29–31, 78–79 (two male singers at Tell Basta and two in the funerary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes who appear to be foreigners), 130, no. 684. On elite women in temple service, see Quirke 1999, pp. 228–29.
104. Loud 1939, pls. 62, 63, nos. 378–82 (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, East Jerusalem, and Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
105. Schipper 2005, p. 94; Breasted 1906, § 589.
106. Red wine within the bowl would also have provided the swimming maidens with an appropriate environment.
107. Desroches-Noblecourt 1954. A scene of early Dynasty 18 also includes a woman (Hugonot 1989, pp. 262–63). Pischikova (conversation with the author, 2006) relates this type of scene to those where women pick flowers for perfume.
108. Lange, email to the author, June 2009; Leitz 2002–3, vol. 1, pp. 511, 514, and vol. 8, pp. 265–74.
109. Schlichting 1982; el-Sayed 1982, vol. 1, p. 165.
110. Conversation with the author, October 2009.
111. Bryan 1996, p. 72. Such creatures are known at least since the time of Amenhotep III on a wooden box from Gurob; see Lilyquist 2012.
112. For the ostracon, see D'Amicone and Fontanella 2007, p. 212, and Decker and Herb 1994, vol. 1, p. 861 no. T 2.5, vol. 2, pl. 437; the tiles (JE 89486, JE 89488), Habachi 2001, pp. 242–44; the bowl, H. Müller and Thiem 1999, fig. 449; and the chalice, Tait 1963, no. XXXVII.
113. Derchain 1972, pp. 12–13.
114. Lilyquist 2007, pp. 98–99. For a skiff, see Leahy and Leahy 1986, p. 133n3 (JE 37913); for mirror handles, Vandier d'Abbadie 1937–46, no. 2667, and 1959, nos. 3019, 3021. The swamp scene painted on an 18th Dynasty pottery situla in the Brooklyn Museum (59.2) includes two nude young women in boats. For studies of the swimmer, see Fischer 2007, pp. 305–14, 346; Lohwasser 2008; and M. Müller 2010.

115. The gold cone found with the swimmers bowl in 2009 (Figure 90, middle right) covers the basal leaves of the papyri of the lower register of the bowl; it has subsequently been placed with Ameneminet's bowl. The omphalos of the swimmers bowl is cone-shaped, projecting upward from the base, and slightly golden, and it may have signs of wear, the cause of which I do not know. A Late Bronze bronze bowl from Ugarit also has a conical omphalos (Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 290).
116. Otto 1975; Morenz 2006, p. 54.
117. Letter to the author, July 2009.
118. Green 1987, no. 168 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, not registered as of 1987).
119. Conversation with the author, October 2009.
120. Compare Hayes 1959, fig. 108; and G. Martin 1974, p. 88, no. 368.
121. This is extensively studied in von Lieven 2003.
122. See Pinch 1993, pp. 190–97, especially p. 194.
123. Schulman 1984.
124. Naville 1891, pl. 45a. Rashef's right arm is raised, no doubt to hold a spear.
125. The man is assumed to be Egyptian because of his dress. Cornelius (2004, no. 3.1) identifies the goddess as Anat. For current studies of this site, see Mazar 2011a.
126. Ranke 1952, pp. 268, 380, no. 22 (for Atumemtaneb), n. 10 (for Amy).
127. Note the Egyptian and foreign names of an ambassador (a royal envoy par excellence) buried at Saqqara (Zivie 2006).
128. For the title, see *Egyptological Bibliography* 2001, and more recently, Kitchen 2000 and 2003 and Raven 2007.
129. Schmitz 1986. Gardiner is cited in Simpson 1959, p. 35.
130. Málek 1985 and 1988, Van Dijk 1993, Zivie 1997, Raven 2007, Daoud 2011. For the ambassador's tomb, see Zivie 2006.
131. El-Saady 1999.
132. Bryan (1996) convincingly argues that Palestine was heavily influenced by Egypt but did not have a permanent resident Egyptian population. For discussions of Ramesside culture in the Sudan and in the Levant, see Vincentelli 2006 and Redford 1992, pp. 202–3.
133. Kitchen, letter to the author, July 2009. In Kitchen 2003, p. 270, l. 372:10, the inscription is translated slightly differently as "[of the foreign land of] Ary." Yoyotte had made this suggestion in 1962 (pp. 467–68). Schulman (1986, p. 195) thought "Ari" could be Atumemtaneb's Semitic name.
134. Letter to the author, July 2009. Belmonte Marín (2001, p. 36) calls Arra "a provincial Syrian center on a key route through north and central Syria."
135. On Ramesside officials at Qantir, see Bietak and Forstner-Müller 2011.
136. Caminos 1954, pp. 16, 117, 138, 200–201, 333, 337, 384.
137. Callender 2004, Dodson 2011.
138. Edgar Pusch, emails to the author, June 17 and July 23, 2009.
139. For the tomb, see Gohary 1991; Tawfik 1991, no. St 101, pp. 405, 407–8, pls. 56a, 57b,c, 58, fig. 1; and Van Dijk 1993, pp. 156–57. For the statue, see Málek 1999, p. 591, no. 801-638-300; Kitchen 2000, p. 148; and al-Ayedi 2006, p. 576, no. 1936. I am very grateful to André Bolshakov for information and photographs.
140. Kitchen, letter to the author, June 28, 2010. See also Pomorska 1987, pp. 178–80.
141. Gohary 1991.
142. Undated letter of summer 2009; see Kitchen 2006. On foreign features found at Pi-Ramesse, see Pusch 1996.
143. Gohary 1991, pl. 51.
144. Ibid., pl. 56.
145. Ibid., pl. 58, panel 4.
146. Habachi 2001, pl. 26; Hofmann 2004, fig. 130.
147. Black bronze is a copper alloy whose surface is artificially patinated, in this case no doubt to show off the inlaid metals (information supplied by Deborah Schorsch of the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation, February 26, 1992). A more sharply carinated 18th Dynasty bowl in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC64770) was said by Petrie (1937, p. 28, no. 31, pl. 40) to be from "one of the great silver groups at Bubastis." According to Petrie Museum curator Stephen Quirke (email to the author, 2009), there is no information about the bowl's provenance. A second Petrie bowl (Petrie 1937, no. 30) is of uncertain date.
148. Schimmel exhibited all three in Berlin in 1978 (Settgast 1978, nos. 249–51). I thank Daphna Ben-Tor of the Israel Museum for very kindly supplying photographs of the goblet.
149. Settgast 1978, no. 249. Whether Settgast had any particular information from the art market is not known.
150. Email to the author, January 16, 2011. Compare Habachi 2001, pl. 26, left, and G. Martin 1997, pl. 31.
151. Letter to the author, July 2009.
152. Onstine 2005, pp. 78–79. See also note 103 above.
153. The fragments of the cup were X-rayed when they were at the Museum in October 1970. The X-ray cannot be located today, however, and the cup has suffered since it was exhibited in 1978. The drawing is the result of studying the 1978 catalogue illustration and the object as it is today.
154. Note a Ramesside ostracon with a marsh scene from Deir el Medineh with female punting and duck with eggs (Vandier d'Abbadie 1959, no. 3020).
155. The horses on Vessels B and C are closest to the *bréviligne* breed known in the Ramesside period (Rommelaere 1991, pp. 34–37, 44–46). Rommelaere has only one example of horses with all four legs off the ground (no. 50).
156. Edwards 1976a–c.
157. No. Davies 1927, pl. 30.
158. Decamps de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. 1. The panel, exhibited currently in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, is dated in Brandl 1995 to the thirteenth century B.C.; see also Fischer 2011.
159. Petrie 1891, pl. 20:4. The "box" is marked similarly; see Wallis 1900, fig. 40.
160. For an example of Near Eastern metalwork, see the detailed photographs of the gold bowl from Ugarit in Lilyquist 1988, p. 33.
161. Loud 1939, pl. 4:2 (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, East Jerusalem, 38.780).
162. Kitagawa 2008.
163. Ogden 1990–91, p. 10.
164. For bird trapping and netting in middle Egypt and in the north at Saqqara during the Ramesside period, see Berlandini 1982, pp. 86–92; Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, pls. 54, 55; and Hofmann 2004, pp. 119–20. See also G. Martin 1987, Zivie 2003, and notes 157 and 166 above and below.
165. An example at Saqqara is published in Ockinga 2004.
166. No. Davies 1927, pp. 60–62, pls. 30, 37, 40.
167. Simpson (1959, p. 38) called the reed structure a "windbreak." Pischikova (conversation with the author, January 1, 2006) has identified it as a shrine holding a mummy being dragged forward by horses (rather than the more usual oxen) driven by a man with a lasso and a throwstick. See Barthelmess 1992, pl. 4 (Theban Tomb 296). No other scenes on the repoussé bowl are explicitly funerary, however, and horses in marshes do appear on Tell Basta vessels.

168. I am grateful to Harpur for many observations of Old Kingdom relief; her website (www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com) is an excellent resource for Old Kingdom tomb decoration.
169. See note 158 above.
170. Several 18th Dynasty Theban tombs show ostriches being hunted or brought back to a tomb owner (Porter and Moss 1960, p. 468, [d]; Edwards 1976a, p. 52; Decker and Herb 1994, vol. 1, pp. 330 no. J 89, 338 no. J 107, vol. 2, pls. 157, 167), but in the Tell Basta case they appear to be domesticated. The ostrich may have a history in the Near East, for it appears on a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal of the first millennium B.C. on which the bird is pursued by a hero (Porada 1948, p. 70, no. 606).
171. A Middle Assyrian box offers the best parallel for the bird and its chicks; see Houlihan 1986, pp. 79–81, and Harper et al. 1995, pp. 83–85.
172. Lions were normally a royal symbol in Egypt; in the temple of Ramesses III (reigned 1184–1153 B.C.) at Medinet Habu, they appear in scenes of chariotry and the hunt (Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 17, 35). A lion being speared by an Asiatic was depicted in Egypt during the Hyksos period (Arnold 2008), but the gold drinking cup from Ugarit provides a better parallel yet (Schaeffer 1949, pp. 23–48, pl. 8).
173. See the gazelle on a Ramesside bowl from Gurob (Petrie 1891, p. 19, §39, pl. 20:5).
174. For Old Kingdom blocks reused in tombs near Ameneminet's, see Tawfik 1991, p. 409, and Daoud 2011. Determining relationships between monuments of different eras is a complex matter, however; see Der Manuelian 1994, pp. 51–58, and Stammers 2009, pp. 85–86. Harpur suggests that there would have been other vehicles for transmitting iconography.
175. For a late Dynasty 18 depiction of Renenutet presiding over wine-making, see No. Davies 1933, p. 37, pl. 48.
176. Russmann 2008.
177. Hofmann 2004, pp. 109–10.
178. Ameneminet had a title at the Ramesseum, and a cartouche of Ramesses II appears in the tomb that is spelled in the post–year 20 form (Van Dijk, email to the author, December 15, 2010, and see Gohary 1991, pl. 56, panel 2, col. 9).
179. Email to the author, December 15, 2010, and see also Van Dijk 1993, chap. 6. He looks at the particular form of the "seated man" determinative in inscriptions of the Saqqara necropolis (Gohary 1991, pl. 56, panel 2, cols. 12, 18; G. Martin et al. 2001, p. 25) and the location of the tomb adjacent to that of the vizier Neferrenpet, who announced the tenth and eleventh Sed festivals of Ramesses II (years 57 and 60).
180. Davis et al. 1908, pp. 39–40, no. 15, pls. 9, 10; Altenmüller 2008, fig. 77.
181. For monuments of her period, see Callender 2004 and Altenmüller 2008. For a consideration of different contemporary styles in the Ramesside period, see Brand 2011, p. 57.
182. Altenmüller 2008, figs. 76, 77 (in Cairo).
183. Ogden 1990–91, p. 13. For other vessels, see Montet 1951 and 1960.
184. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 44101); see Bénédite 1907 and Bianchi 1996, p. 159.
185. See Bissing 1910 and 1941, Tait 1963, Fazzini 2001 (two fragmentary chalices in the Brooklyn Museum), and Lilyquist, database of faience relief chalices (in preparation). In addition to two complete chalices (Figure 56 and MMA 26.7.971), the MMA has numerous fragments.
186. Radwan (1983, no. 406) noted the unconventional decoration of this goblet.
187. The Rothschild cup was in the collection of Edmond de Rothschild when Tait discussed it in 1963 (chalice IV, fig. 2). It has not been seen since.
188. Wicke 2010, figs. 11 (MMA 13.182.53), 12 (Fitzwilliam E.256.1939).
189. For chalices with inscriptions, see Tait 1963, nos. XVI (reconstruction based on four fragments, one of which is MMA 30.8.154) and XXXII (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, 4563). Fazzini (1988) assigned the second chalice to Osorkon II (872–842 B.C.), but the first has names used by Smendes (*Hedjkheperra setepenra*, ca. 1076–1052 B.C.) and Sheshonq I (943–923 B.C.). It has more divine symbols, however, so a progression from naturalistic to symbolic is indicated. A chalice fragment from Jordan (Milward 1975) has *Hedjkheperra*, a name also used by several Dynasty 22–23 kings. For a naturalistic chalice, in the Toledo Museum of Art (1983.12), see H. Müller 1979. The dates here derive from Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006, pp. 493–94; for Third Intermediate Period dating, which is still under discussion, see also Aston 2009, pp. 19–37 and Broekman, Demarée, and Kaper 2009, p. 445.
190. At Tell Basta, Habachi (1957) found the Ramesside names Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II, Tawosret, Ramesses III, Ramesses VIII, and Ramesses X. See also Lange 2010. On the Levant, see Gubel 2000. For the statue base, see Breasted 1948, from a mixed context.
191. Eggler and Gubel 2010. For good illustrations of the bowls, see Fontan and Le Meux 2007, pp. 12, 21, 126, 166, 169, 343–45. Some Phoenician bowls have associations with late ninth-century Cypriot pottery (Caubet, conversation with the author, November 2010).
192. W. Smith 1958, pp. 227–29. In 1963, in an unpublished review for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Smith's student Donald P. Hansen wrote, "Elements of style and iconography of the original arts . . . become so familiar that they remain, as it were, in a state of flux, divorced from the mother art, and capable of being employed by the craftsmen in any of the great cosmopolitan centers."
193. Roehrig 2005, cat. 25; Wicke 2008, p. 258, Gurob.1.
194. Bissing 1901, pp. 60–62, ill.; Radwan 1983, no. 328, pl. 59.
195. The stand with the banquet (Radwan 1983, no. 468) is especially maladroit; the heads of the figures are placed directly under pendant lotuses, making it appear as though the banquet guests wear lotus hats. These stands must have been made locally, and one even wonders if the artist could have been an Asiatic.
196. Conversation with the author, January 2009.
197. Braunstein 2011.

Items marked with one asterisk came from the first find (September 22, 1906); those with two asterisks are from the second find (October 17, 1906).

The objects are grouped first by type and then by location, in accession number order. Accession numbers preceded by JE, CG, and SR 1/ denote objects now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; those preceded by ÄM refer to objects in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin; and MMA numbers refer to objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cats. 15, 33, 43: Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915; all others: Rogers Fund, 1907). The pieces of a single object in the Metropolitan may have individual accession numbers; in that case the lowest number is given to the entire group.

Objects in Cairo were registered in the museum's Journal d'Entrée (JE), Catalogue Général (CG), and Special Register of Section 1 (SR 1/). Objects on display were registered in the Journal d'Entrée twice, once in 1906 and again in 1908. A concordance of the two sets of numbers was written into the Journal by Guy Brunton, who was keeper from 1931 to 1948. The tags with uniform handwritten JE numbers still attached to some of the items today probably date to that time. The corroded and fragmentary silver items were registered briefly in 1908, received a bit more detail in the Special Register of the 1960s, and underwent restoration in the 1970s.

Some of the objects that went to Berlin were lost during World War II, so the dimensions given here for them are from the museum's register. I measured the objects I saw in the museum in 1987.

Shapes and features that occur on multiple vessels are reviewed in Appendix 4.

57. From left to right: reproduction of Amy's bowl (cat. 1) by Émile Gilliéron (MMA, Dodge Fund, 1931, 31.10.20a); repoussé bowl (cat. 9); and reproduction of goblet naming Tawosret (cat. 22) by Émile Gilliéron (MMA, Dodge Fund, 1931, 31.10.22). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

VESSELS

Bowls

**1. Silver with gold rim, omega handle, and cone over omphalos. Interior with chased outer register of animals and chased recessed base with swamp. Inscribed on exterior for Amy
Diam. 6 in. (15.3 cm), Diam. of cone $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.8 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 102–3, pl. 48; Vernier 1927

JE 38709 and 39869, CG 53263, SR 1/6619
Figures 18, 44, 57, 77, 90, Appendix 3

**2. Silver with gold rim, herringbone omega handle
Diam. $6\frac{7}{8}$–$7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.5–18.2 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 47, middle

JE 39884.1, SR 1/6697
Figures 21, 91

**3. Silver with gold rim, omega handle, and cone-shaped omphalos. Recessed base with swimmers
H. about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (3.5 cm), Diam. $6\frac{3}{8}$–$6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.1–17.2 cm); H. of recessed base, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (1 cm), Diam. $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.9 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pl. 47, top

JE 39884.2, SR 1/6698
Figures 22, 47, 92, Appendix 3

**4. Corroded silver base with gold cone over omphalos
W. $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (15 cm), Diam. of gold cone ca. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (4 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.3, SR1/6699
Figures 25, 90

**5. Silver with striated gold omega handle and omphalos
Diam. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.4, SR1/6700
Figures 23, 91

**6. Silver with plain gold omega handle
Diam. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15.5 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101

JE 39884.5, SR 1/6701
Figures 24, 91

**7. Large corroded silver with cloth impressions. Five decorated fragments, one inscribed, that do not belong to the bowl
Diam. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 47, bottom

JE 39884.6, SR 1/6702
Figures 19, 20

58. Gold cone (cat. 15). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

**8. Silver with gold rim, gold cone over omphalos, and gold spheres. Repoussé swamp and animal friezes. Numerous decorated fragments, the most readable included in drawing. Inscription naming Ameneminet
Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm), Diam. of gold cone 1⅜ in. (3.6 cm)

JE 39884.10, SR 1/7789
Figures 26, 42, 90, 92, Appendix 3

*9. Silver. Extensively chased with repoussé scenes
Diam. 8⅛ in. (20.7 cm)

MMA 07.228.20
Figures 3, 43, 57, 76, Appendix 3

*10. Silver rim, fragment
W. 4¾ in. (11.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.195
Figure 74

*11. Silver rim, fragment. With Tawosret's names surrounded by two cartouches with the epithets "lord of the two lands" and "lord of crowns" written above them
Diam. 4¼ in. (10.9 cm)
Simpson 1959, pp. 39–40

MMA 07.228.196
Figure 74

*12. Silver rim of open vessel, fragment
W. 3⅞ in. (9.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.208
Figure 74

*13. Silver rim of carinated vessel, fragment
W. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)

MMA 07.228.251a
Figure 75

*14. Bronze
Diam. 5⅜ in. (13.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.255
Figure 74

*15. Gold cone
Diam. 2⅜ in. (6.15 cm)

MMA 30.8.371
Figures 3, 58, 90

Jugs

*16. Simpson's Vessel A. Silver with gold rim and goat handle. Chased neck, repoussé body, and lotus on base. Inscribed for Atumemtaneb
H. 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 98–99, pl. 43; Vernier 1927

JE 38705 and 39867, CG 53262, SR 1/6609
Figures 5, 39, Appendix 3

*17a–e. Simpson's Vessel B. Silver with gold aurochs handle. Chased neck, repoussé body, and lotus on base. Inscribed for Atumemtaneb

a. Body and neck fragment
H. 5⅜ in. (13.5 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 99–100, no. 2, pl. 44; Vernier 1927

JE 38720 and 39868, CG 53258, SR 1/6623

b. Aurochs handle. Formerly in Berlin, lost in World War II
H. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)

ÄM 20106

c. Two neck fragments. Lion and calf; goat and floral bands
W. 2⅜ and 1⅜ in. (6 and 3.5 cm)

ÄM 20107a, b

d. Three neck fragments. One with lion and bovine; two with two goats
H. of lion and bovine fragment 1¾ in. (4.6 cm); H. of largest fragment 1⅞ in. (4.9 cm); H. of rim fragment 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.219, 222, 242

e. Body fragments. Heart pattern; inscription from scene
H. 1⅛ in. (2.9 cm), W. 1¾ in. (4.4 cm)

MMA 07.228.221, 220

Figures 6, 40, Appendix 3

*18. Simpson's Vessel C. Silver with lioness-headed handle. Inscription naming Atumemtaneb
H. without handle 6¼ in. (15.9 cm), Diam. of body 5⅛ in. (12.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.187
Figures 3, 41, 79, Appendix 3

59. Silver jug with gold rim (cat. 21). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

*19. Chased silver fragment with reed leaves. Possibly from Simpson's Vessel C
H. 1⅞ in. (4.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.215
Figure 41, Appendix 3

*20. Chased silver fragment with part of vessel body. Possibly from Simpson's Vessel C
W. 1½ in. (3.8 cm)

MMA 07.228.246
Figure 41, Appendix 3

*21. Silver with gold rim. No chasing
H. 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.15
Figures 3, 59, 79

Goblet

*22. Gold. Inscribed Tawosret
H. 3¾ in. (9.4 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 99, pl. 44(1); Vernier 1927

JE 38708 and 39872, CG 53260, SR 1/6622
Figures 4, 57

Situlae

*23. Electrum. Inscribed Tawosret
H. 5⅛ in. (13 cm)

ÄM 19736 (lost in World War II)
Figure 8

*24. Silver with plain rim
H. 5 in. (12.6 cm), Wt. 3 oz. (85.4 g)

MMA 07.228.17
Figures 3, 60, 80

*25. Silver with chased leaf rim
H. 5⅜ in. (13.7 cm), Wt. 2½ oz. (69.6 g)

MMA 07.228.18
Figures 3, 60, 80

60. Situlae and flask. From left to right, three situlae: silver with a chased leaf rim (cat. 25), electrum with floral decoration (cat. 26), and silver with a plain rim (cat. 24); silver flask (cat. 32). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

*26. Decorated electrum
H. 5 1/8 in. (13.1 cm), Wt. 2 1/2 oz. (72.4 g)

MMA 07.228.22
Figures 3, 60, 80

*27. Silver base with lotus design
H. 3 1/8 in. (7.9 cm)

MMA 07.228.188
Figure 80

*28. Silver wall fragment with leaf
H. 1 3/4 in. (4.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.191

*29. Silver neck with chased leaves
H. 1 3/8 in. (3.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.209
Figure 80

*30. Silver cylindrical neck
W. 1 3/8 in. (3.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.250a–d
Figure 80

Bottle

*31. Silver with oval body. Scenes of Bastet, inscribed for Meritptah
H. 6 1/8 in. (15.5 cm); H. of neck 7/8 in. (2.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.19
Figures 3, 48, 81

Flask

*32. Silver with pointed base
H. 5 5/8 in. (14.4 cm)

MMA 07.228.181
Figures 3, 60, 82

Unidentified closed vessel

*33. Silver neck with gold Hathor band
H. 3 in. (7.7 cm)

MMA 30.8.370
Figures 3, 49, 83

Jars

**34. Gold chased with cat, swag, and floral bands. Ring handle with faience inlay
H. 3 in. (7.6 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 101, pl. 46; Vernier 1927

JE 38707 and 39871, CG 53259, SR 1/6621
Figures 13, 61

61. Jars. From left to right, gold chased with a cat, a swag, and floral bands, with a ring handle with faience inlay (cat. 34; reproduction by Émile Gilliéron in MMA: Dodge Fund, 1931 [31.10.23]); gold chased with floral bands and a lozenge pattern, with a ring handle with a recumbent calf (cat. 35; reproduction by Émile Gilliéron in MMA: Dodge Fund, 1931 [31.10.21]); silver with a high neck (cat. 39); silver with a low neck and gold rim (cat. 40). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

**35. Gold chased with floral bands and lozenge pattern. Ring handle with recumbent calf. Lotus on base
H. 4 3/8 in. (11.2 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 100–101, pl. 45; Vernier 1927

JE 38706 and 39870, CG 53261, SR 1/6624
Figures 12, 61

*36. Silver chased with floral and heart patterns. Restored original H. 4 3/8 in. (11 cm)

ÄM 20105
Figure 9

*37. Silver fragments with gold rim. Chased with floral elements and heart pattern. Virtually complete profile
H. 3 in. (7.5 cm)

ÄM 20108
Figure 10

*38. Gold chased with floral bands and heart pattern. Ring handle with recumbent calf. Lotus on base
H. 3 1/4 in. (8.4 cm)

ÄM 21134 (lost in World War II)
Figure 7

*39. Silver with high neck
H. 4 in. (10.3 cm), Wt. 3 oz. (85.8 g)

MMA 07.228.16
Figures 3, 61, 84

*40. Silver with low neck and gold rim
H. 2 1/2 in. (6.5 cm), Wt. 1 3/8 oz. (39.3 g)

MMA 07.228.21
Figures 3, 61, 84

*41. Silver body without neck
H. 2 3/4 in. (7.1 cm)

MMA 07.228.193
Figure 84

62. Gold strainer with chasing (cat. 43). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

Strainers, shallow

**42. Silver with lotus on handle. Rivet attaching end of handle
4 x 4¾ in. (10 x 12 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pl. 49, lower right

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6693
Figure 27

*43. Gold with chasing
Diam. 4¾ in. (12 cm), Wt. 2⅜ oz. (67.2 g)

MMA 30.8.369
Figures 3, 62, 85

*44. Silver profile. No handle preserved
W. 3½ in. (9 cm)
Quantitative analysis by Mark Wypyski (MMA) by SEM, June 9, 2006: Cu 5.1, Zn .07, Ag 91.9, Au 2.8, Pb .09
Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.185
Figure 86

*45. Silver profile. No handle preserved.
W. 4¾ in. (11.9 cm)
Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.186
Figure 86

*46. Silver rim fragment with lotus handle
W. 5⅛ in. (12.9 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.189
Figure 87

*47. Silver rim fragment with complete lotus handle
W. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.190
Figure 87

*48. Silver profile. No handle preserved
W. 4¾ in. (12 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.194
Figure 86

*49. Silver rim
W. 5⅛ in. (12.9 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.198
Figure 86

*50. Silver upper part of vessel. No handle preserved
W. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)

MMA 07.228.207
Figure 86

*51. Silver profile with lotus handle
W. 4½ in. (11.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.249a
Figure 87

*52. Silver fragments (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.252

Strainers, deep

**53. Silver with broad handle
Diam. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 103, pl. 49, top

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6694
Figure 27

**54. Silver with lotus handle
L. of handle 2⅜ in. (6.1 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 103, pl. 49, lower left

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6695
Figure 27

*55. Electrum
H. 2⅝ in. (6.8 cm), W. 4¼ in. (10.8 cm) (measured by author in 1987)

ÄM 20104
Figure 8

*56. Silver
H. 2⅛ in. (5.5 cm)
Simpson 1949, p. 65

MMA 07.228.184
Figure 89

*57. Silver
Diam. 2⅜ in. (6.1 cm)

MMA 07.228.226
Figure 89

*58. Silver
Diam. 2½ in. (6.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.227
Figure 89

Strainer parts *(see also Silver Jewelry, Vessel Parts, and Scrap, below)*

*59. Plain silver handle
L. 1⅜ in. (3.6 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.201
Figure 88

*60. Silver handle with rivet
L. 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.204
Figure 88

*61. Silver handle
L. 1¾ in. (4.3 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 68

MMA 07.228.237
Figure 88

*62. Silver wall fragment with rivet
W. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)

MMA 07.228.247
Figure 88

Undetermined vessel types

*63. Silver from wall (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.200

*64. Silver wall. Curved
W. 1¾ in. (4.6 cm)

MMA 07.228.238

*65. Silver fragments (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.251b–e

*66. Silver fragments with incised lines (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.253a–g

*67. Silver fragments (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.256–58

GOLD JEWELRY

**68. Gold bracelets inlaid with lapis. Inscribed for Ramesses II
Greatest H. 2⅜ in. (5.9 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 106, pl. 54; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38710 and 39873, CG 52575–76, SR 1/6620
Figure 14

**69. Large pair of inlaid gold ear studs
Diam. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 105–6, pl. 53 left; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38711, 39593, 39594, and 39877(a)–(b), CG 52325–26, SR 1/6617–18
Figure 63

63. Inlaid gold ear stud (cat. 69). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 53, left

**70. Small pair of inlaid gold ear studs
Diam. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 105–6, pl. 53, center and right; Vernier 1907–9

JE 38712(a)–(b) and 39878(a)–(b), CG 52327–28, SR 1/6615–16
Figure 15

**71. Assemblage of gold and carnelian beads
W. as strung 14⅛ in. (36 cm)
Edgar 1907b, pp. 104–5, pl. 52; Vernier 1927

JE 38713 and 39875, CG 53184, SR 1/6611
Figure 16

**72. Gold clasp
H. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 105, pl. 53, top; Vernier 1927

JE 39876, CG 53182, SR 1/6610
Figure 17

SILVER JEWELRY, VESSEL PARTS, AND SCRAP

**73. Parts of shallow strainers
Large folded and crushed fragment, 2⅛ x 2⅜ in. (5.5 x 6 cm); small crushed fragment with chevrons, greatest H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm); wall and lotus handle, W. 2¾ in. (7 cm), W. of handle 1½ in. (3.7 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51 (two)

JE 38716 and 39880, SR 1/6690
Figure 64

64. Parts of shallow silver strainers (cat. 73). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 51

65. Silver jewelry and silver fragments (cats. 74–78). Photograph: Edgar 1907b, pl. 50

**74. Seventeen complete and two nearly complete bangles
Diam. 2½–4 in. (6.2–10.1 cm); W. of two fragments 2 and 2¾ in. (5 and 6.9 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39881(a)–(u), CG 52613–32, 35, SR 1/6696 and 6670–89
Figures 28 (JE39881[i]), 65

**75. Silver wire ingot and twenty-six silver finger rings, most with papyrus umbels: four stirrup, six amuletic uraeus, six amuletic wedjat, five amuletic Hathor head, three amuletic fish, two amuletic Bes
Diam. ½–1⅛ in. (1.15–2.9 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39882(a)–(t), (w), and (ao)–(as), CG 52268–87 and 52337, SR 1/6327–6646, 6663, and 6665–69
Figures 29 (JE 39882[ap], [as], [aq], [ao), [ar]), 30 (JE 39882[c]), 31 (JE 39882[a]), 35 (JE 39882[a]), 65

**76. Jewelry scraps
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (a few); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39882(an), CG 52354, SR1/6664
Figure 65

**77. Silver earrings: fifteen loops with thickest part vertical or horizontal, one with pendant grape cluster, one fragmentary with incised design on oval plate
Greatest dimension 1 in. (2.6 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (some); Vernier 1907–9

JE 39882(u)–(v), (x)–(z), (aa)–(am); CG 52288, 52336, 52338–45, 52347–53; SR 1/ 6625–26, 6647–54, 6656–62
Figures 32 (JE 39882[z], [ac], [x], [aj]), 65

**78. Three boxes of silver fragments
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50 (a few)

JE 39882(at)–(av), SR 1/7785–87
Figures 33 (JE 39882[av]), 34 (JE 39882[au]), 65

**79. Silver ingot
L. 5½ in. (14 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51

JE 39883(a), SR 1/6691
Figure 35

**80. Silver ingot fragment
L. 2¾ in. (7 cm)
Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51

JE 39883(b), SR 1/6692
Figure 35

**81. Two rim fragments of carinated bowl connected by plain gold omega handle

JE 39884.7, SR 1/6703

**82. Three fragments of crushed silver carinated bowls, one with gold sedge fitting with ring
greatest dimension 3¼ in. (8.2 cm)

JE 39884.8, SR 1/6704

**83. Sixteen pieces of scrap silver, most folded, some cut
Hieroglyphs: Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 50; Kitchen 1982a, p. 373, g; papyrus and bird: Edgar 1907b, p. 104, pl. 51 (some); cartouche of Ramesses II: Edgar 1907b, p. 96

JE 39884.9, SR 1/6705
Figures 36, 37

*84. Silver beads, ring, and bits (too small to draw)

MMA 07.228.254a–h

POTTERY

**85. “Painted fragment of New Empire style” (blue-painted?)
Edgar 1907b, p. 96

**86. “Part of a portable brasier”
Edgar 1907b, p. 96; see Aston 1989

APPENDIX 2: OBJECTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART THAT POSTDATE THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD (Photographs are by William Barrette. Drawings, all at a scale of 3:5, are by William Schenck.)

Among the objects purchased by the Metropolitan Museum alleged to come from the Tell Basta treasure are some that, for various reasons, appear to be later than the Ramesside period. Hayes (1959, pp. 358–60) and Simpson (1949, p. 64, and 1959, n. 65) mentioned some of these objects. Whether they are indeed from Tell Basta is unknown, although their corroded silver state when they were acquired matched that of the Ramesside items. A number of them have gilding, however, a technique not seen on other Tell Basta objects (light gilding was reported on the body of cat. 37 but I did not find it) and that is not documented until after the Ramesside period (see Ogden 2000, p. 160). A silver wedjat eye among the scrap of the second find (Figure 34) is gilded only by mechanical gold foil application. Items comparable to this group of objects have been found in later times.

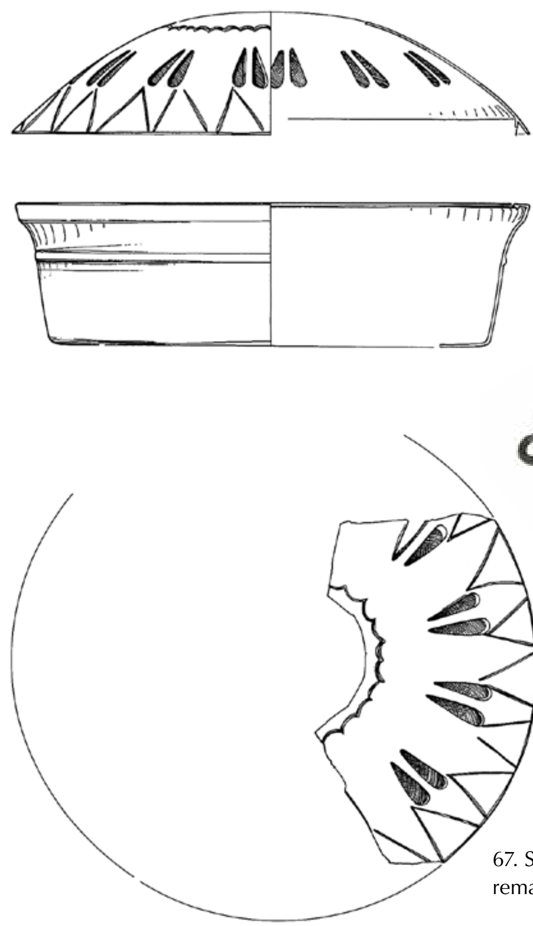
Gilded silver Harpocrates
The child god wears an elaborate headdress and is seated with a suspension loop attached to the upper part of his back. Similar figures in the Louvre are gradated and suspended from a wire torque (Vandier 1948). According to Marsha Hill (conversation with the author, April 30, 2008), the Tell Basta figure is probably Ptolemaic.
H. 5¼ in. (13.3 cm)
Simpson 1949, p. 63; Simpson 1959, n. 65

MMA 07.228.23
Figure 66

Silver "incense burner" and braided chain
The chased decoration could be interpreted as floral, with pairs of drop-shaped holes near the petal tips. It is the holes that indicate that the object may be an incense burner. The closest Egyptian parallels are part of the Ptolemaic temple hoard from Toukh el-Karamus (Pfrommer 1987, nos. KTK2 and KT17, pls. 3, 21). The chain, composed of four braided sets of wire, was found corroded in the pyxis when purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. One fitting remains on the chain while another gilded fitting has broken from the chain. No parallel has been found for the fitting.
H. 2⅛ in. (5.5 cm), Diam. of bowl 4¼ in. (10.8 cm), Diam. of lid 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm)
Simpson 1949, p. 64

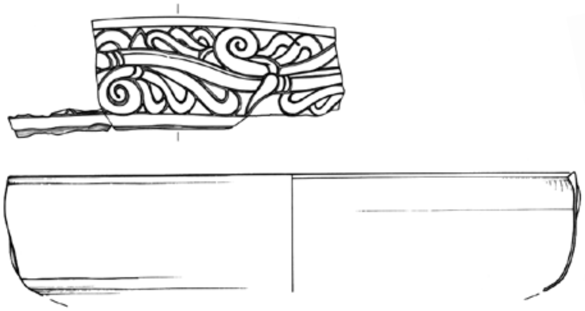
MMA 07.228.183a, b
Figure 67

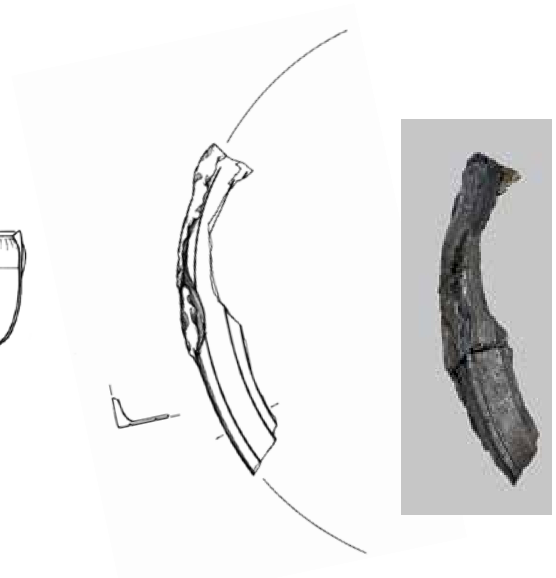
66. Gilded silver Harpocrates



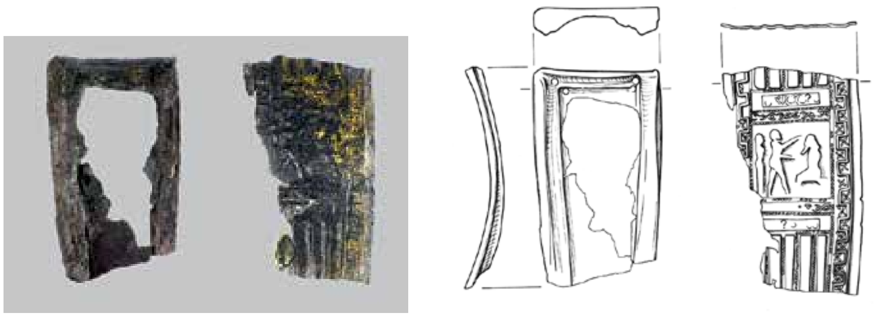
67. Side and top views of silver "incense burner," and the remains of its braided chain

68. Gilded silver vessel wall with swirls



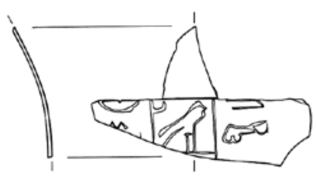


69. Fragment of a silver lid or base

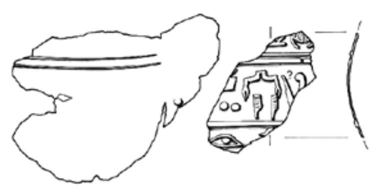


70. Gilded silver repoussé scene with frame

71. Leaded tin vial



72. Plain silver inscribed piece



73. Gilded silver inscribed fragment

Gilded silver vessel wall with swirls
See the design on a stand from Toukh el-Karamus (Pfrommer 1987, no. KTK 3, pl. 4).
W. 2 in. (5.15 cm), Diam. 4⅝ in. (11.7 cm)

MMA 07.228.217
Figure 68

Fragment of silver lid or base
L. 2½ in. (6.3 cm)

MMA 07.228.248
Figure 69

Gilded silver repoussé scene with frame
The iconography of the scene is unusual, with two votaries approaching a seated bearded figure. The scene recalls a second-millennium B.C. limestone stela from Ugarit thought to show the king making an offering to the seated god El (Yon et al. 1991, pp. 305–7; Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 148). Along the edges of the band is a series of quatrefoils inscribed within squares. Above and below the scene are horizontal bands of guilloche pattern, bosses, and fields comprised of five vertical ridges.
Frame: W. 1 in. (2.4 cm), band: H. 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm)

MMA 07.228.210, 07.228.239
Figure 70

Leaded tin vial
Mark Wypyski of the Department of Scientific Research at the MMA performed energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry in June 2009. The tests revealed that the vial is 75.5% tin and 24.5% lead, by weight. The material, container type, and fabrication find parallels in Byzantine times, and the iconography is generally Christian (Engemann 2001, Bakirtzis 2002, Ghini-Tsofopoulou 2002, Papadopoulou 2002; I thank Christopher Lightfoot for the references). One vial displays a simple shell and an Arab inscription for a Christian pilgrim (Jašaeva 2010, p. 483). Helen Evans (conversation with the author, June 2010) suggests it is reasonable to believe that the Tell Basta vial could be an earlier example of the type. Sheila Canby (conversation with the author, February 1, 2010) suggests later Islamic parallels: the shape is reminiscent of a thirteenth-century A.D. glass bottle from Egypt, although the bottle is much larger; the vertical decorative forms could be cypress trees, a motif used in Egypt in the fourteenth century A.D.
H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 65

MMA 07.228.192
Figure 71

Plain silver inscribed piece
The inscription was read by Kitchen (letter of July 2009) as "before Hathor, lady of [Byblos]." For a Demotic parallel of the Ptolemaic period, see MMA 26.2.46 (Shore 1979).
W. 1½ in. (3.8 cm)

MMA 07.228.245
Figure 72

Gilded silver inscribed fragment
A post-Ramesside date is supported by Kitchen (correspondence with the author, June 2010), who read the fragmentary inscription as "Khepri" (the god) and "weary ones."
a: three lines of inscription in raised relief, W. 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm);
b: corroded, W. 1⅝ in. (4.3 cm)
Simpson 1959, n. 65

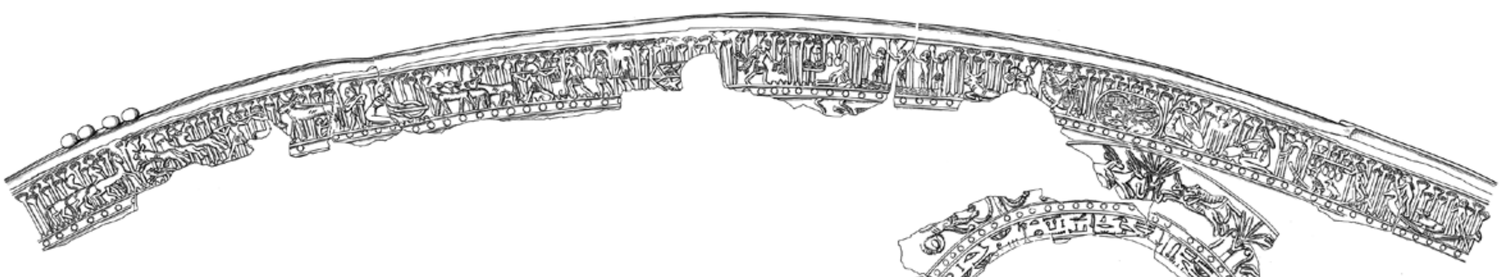
MMA 07.228.244a, b
Figure 73

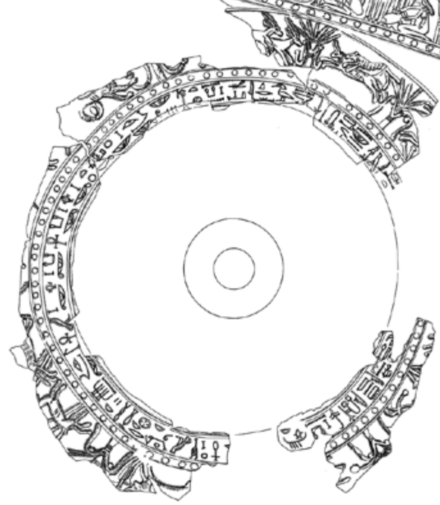
APPENDIX 3: DRAWINGS OF TELL BASTA DECORATED VESSELS AND RELATED BOWLS, ALL SHOWN AT A SCALE OF 1:3

Frieze on the neck of Vessel A from Tell Basta (Figure 39, cat. 16)

Fragments in the MMA of Vessel B from Tell Basta (Figure 40, cat. 17)

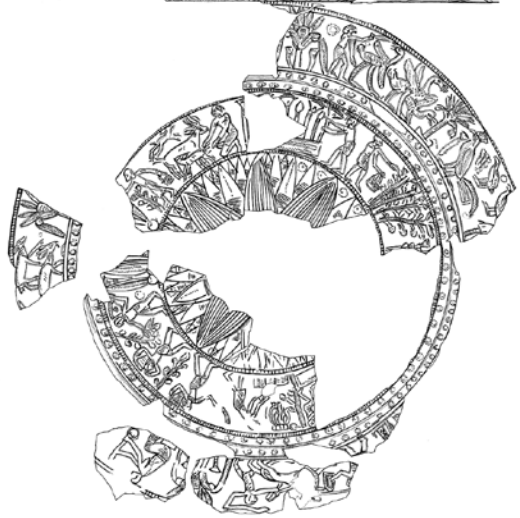
Fragments on or associated with Vessel C from Tell Basta (Figure 41, cat. 18)





Rollout drawing of the repoussé bowl naming Ameneminet from Tell Basta (Figure 42, cat. 8)

Rollout drawing of the MMA repoussé bowl from Tell Basta (Figure 43, cat. 9)



Bowl of Amy from Tell Basta (Figure 44, cat. 1)

Bowl from the tomb of Hatiay (Figure 45)

Bowl from the royal tombs at Tanis (Figure 46)

Swimmers bowl from Tell Basta (Figure 47, cat. 3)

Fragmentary black bronze cup from the art market (Figure 54)

APPENDIX 4: THE SHAPES, MECHANICAL FEATURES, AND MOTIFS AND ICONOGRAPHY OF TELL BASTA AND RELATED VESSELS (The scale of all drawings is 1:3 except Figure 90, which is at 1:1.5. All drawings are by William Schenck except Figures 74, bottom, 77, and 78, which are by Tamara Bower.)

a. Vessel Shapes

With the exception of the goblet (cat. 22) and a bowl with a constricted neck in the Egyptian Museum (such as cat. 1), all of the vessel shapes catalogued in Appendix 1 exist as examples in the Metropolitan. Drawings have been made of all the vessels and reconstructable fragments in the Museum. The shapes are reviewed here with notes to illustrate how interrelated the Tell Basta vessels are in terms of function and iconography, while at the same time having both Egyptian and Near Eastern parallels.

Simple bowls (cats. 10–12, 14, Figure 74).[1] The most significant fragment (cat. 11) has the cartouches of Tawosret, while the most open shape (cat. 12) is echoed in the black bronze cup inscribed for Sakawahikhana from the art market (Figure 54).

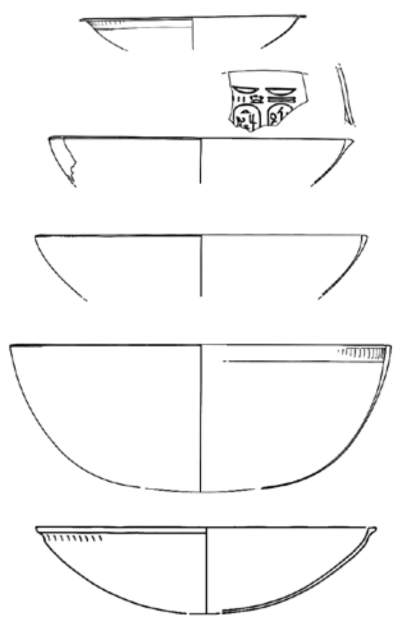
Carinated bowl (cat. 13, Figure 75). The fragmentary carinated bowl lacks a base. Radwan catalogues no exact parallel.[2]

Bowls with a convex wall, flat base, and recessed center (cats. 6, 7, 9, Figure 76), **two with an omphalos** (cats. 5, 8).[3] The flat recessed base with an omphalos and a gold cone but without walls (cat. 4) could belong to the preceding shape or the next.[4]

Bowls with a constricted neck and carinated shoulder (cat. 2), **two with a recessed base with an omphalos** (cats. 1, 3, Figure 77).[5] The swimmers bowl (cat. 3) has a flat base with an integral cone-shaped "omphalos." Erika Fischer (in a conversation with the author, January 16, 2011) has suggested that British Museum 1987,0727,136 from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh 232 is similar. The related black bronze bowl inscribed for Sakawahikhana from the art market (Figures 52, 78) is this shape, but with a rounded base.

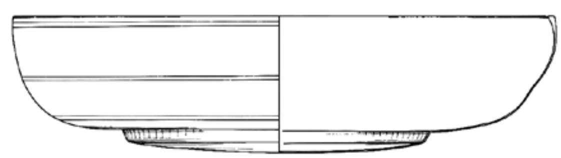
Jugs (cats. 16–18, 21, Figure 79). A decorated and a plain jug (cats. 18, 21) were acquired by the Metropolitan from the first find. Cairo received two additional decorated examples at that time (cats. 16, 17). No jugs were present in the second find.

Goblet (cat. 22). The white-lotus shape of the chalice from the first Tell Basta find, which is inscribed on the stem with Tawosret's birth name in a cartouche surmounted by a pair of tall plumes and a sun disk, is represented on the pair of silver bracelets that depict Tawosret—still a king's wife—pouring from a situla into a goblet held by her husband, Seti II (Figure 55).[6] The goblet from the art market associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) is the blue-lotus shape commonly used for faience chalices that have reference to rebirth (see Figure 56).

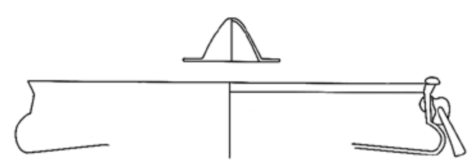


74. Simple bowls. From top to bottom: cats. 12 (silver rim fragment, W. 3⅞ in. [9.9 cm]), 11 (silver rim fragment naming Tawosret, Diam. 4¼ in. [10.9 cm], 10 (silver rim fragment, W. 4¾ in. [11.9 cm]), 14 (bronze bowl fragment, Diam. 5⅜ in. [13.6 cm]), Figure 54 (fragments of black bronze cup associated with Sakawahikhana from the art market)

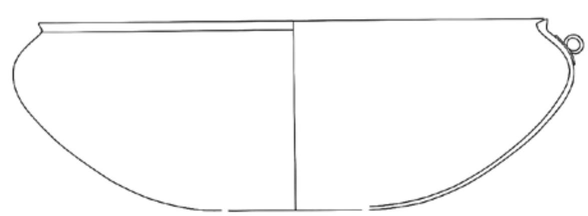
75. Carinated bowl, cat. 13 (silver rim fragment, W. 4⅜ in. [11 cm])



76. Bowl with a convex wall, flat base, and recessed center, cat. 9 (silver repoussé bowl, Diam. 8⅛ in. [20.7 cm])



77. Bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and recessed base with an omphalos (not drawn), cat. 1 (silver bowl with gold rim inscribed for Amy; Diam. 6 in. [15.3 cm], Diam. of cone 1½ in. [3.8 cm])



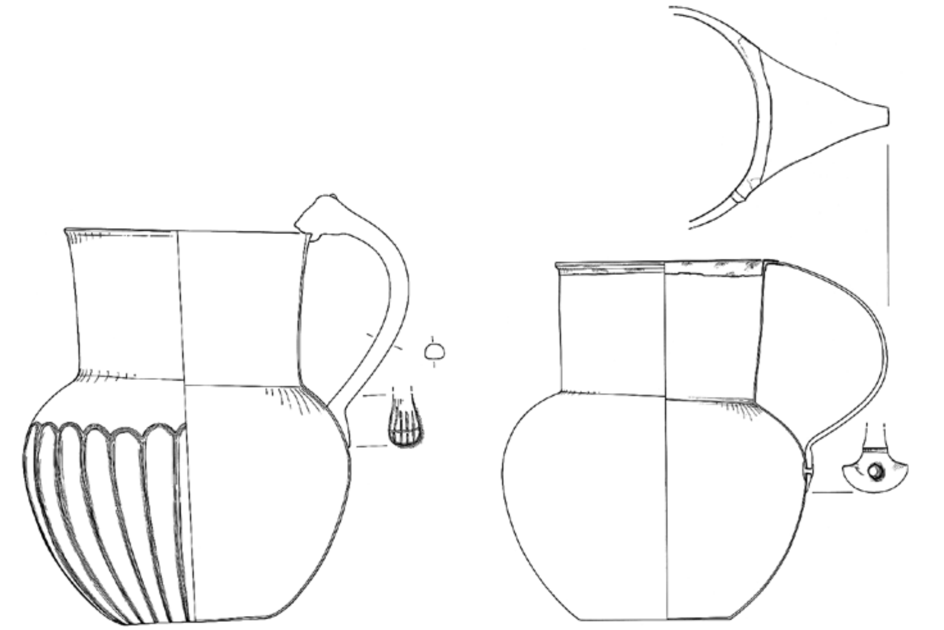
78. Bowl with a constricted neck, carinated shoulder, and rounded base, Figure 52 (fragmentary black bronze bowl inscribed for Sakawahikhana, Diam. 8¼ in. [21.1 cm])

Situlae (cats. 24–27, 29, 30, Figure 80). The first find yielded seven situlae, of which six are in the Metropolitan and one was in Berlin (cat. 23) and was lost during World War II. The shape occurs in Egyptian pottery and was widely made in metal, although Radwan found no decorated bronze examples.[7]

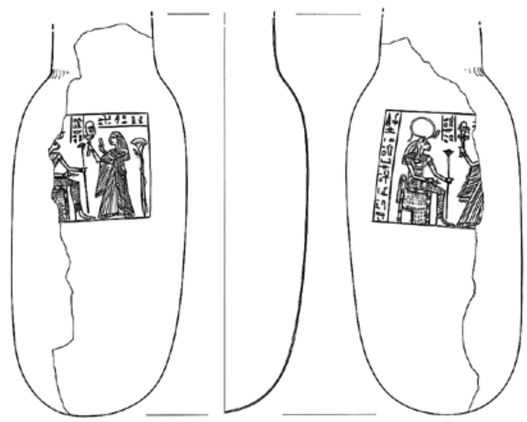
Bottle (cat. 31, Figure 81). The shape of the one bottle in the Tell Basta finds has not been located elsewhere.

Flask (cat. 32, Figure 82). This shape is a smaller version of flasks that were used in washing or for decanting wine catalogued by Radwan.[8] No exact parallel has been found, although Radwan includes decorated flasks of a comparable size.[9]

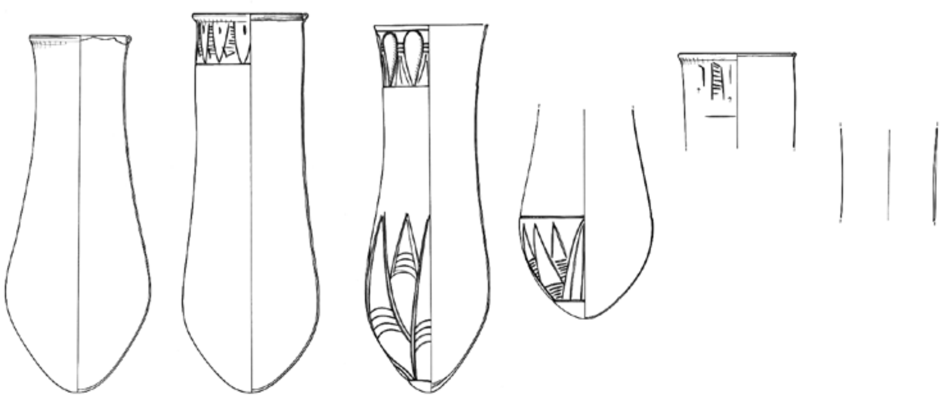
Unidentified closed shape (cat. 33, Figure 83).



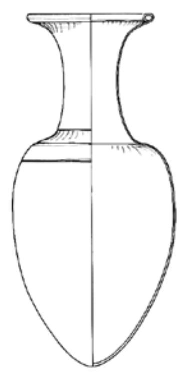
79. Jugs, cats. 18 (Vessel C: silver , H. without handle 6¼ in. [15.9 cm]), 21 (silver with gold rim, H. 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm)



81. Bottle, cat. 31 (silver with oval body, inscribed for Meritptah, H. 6⅛ in. [15.5 cm])

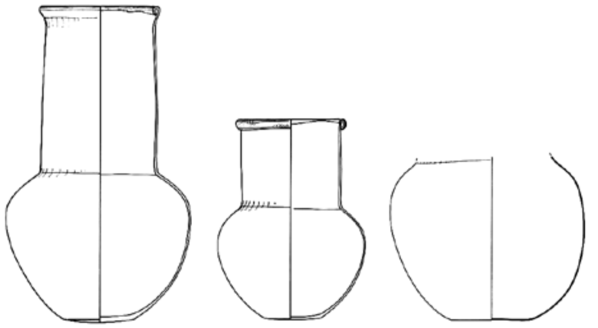


80. Situlae. Complete examples, left to right: cats. 24 (silver with plain rim, H. 5 in. [12.6 cm]), 25 (silver with chased leaf rim, H. 5⅜ in. [13.7 cm]), 26 (electrum with floral decoration, H. 5⅛ in. [13.1 cm]); fragmentary examples, left to right: cats. 27 (silver base with lotus design, H. 3⅛ in. [7.9 cm]), 29 (silver neck with chased leaves, H. 1⅜ in. [3.5 cm]), 30 (silver cylindrical neck, W. 1⅜ in. [3.5 cm])

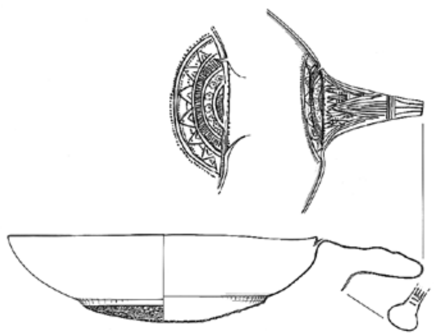


82. Flask, cat. 32 (silver with pointed base, H. 5⅝ in. [14.4 cm])

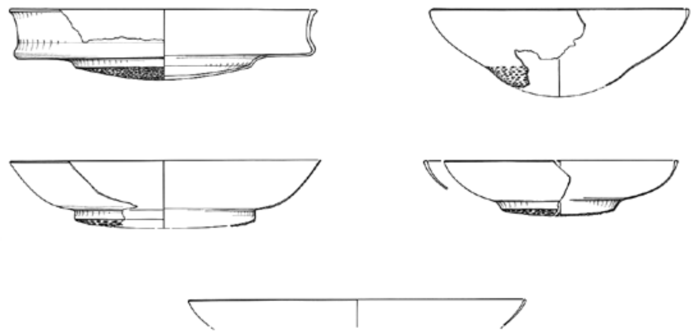
83. Unidentified closed shape, cat. 33 (gold-embellished silver neck with Hathor symbols, H. 3 in. [7.7 cm])



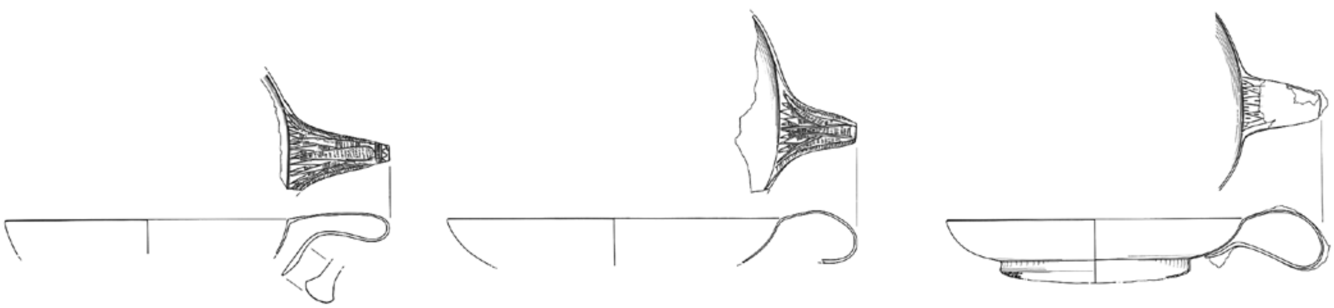
84. Jars. Left to right: cats. 39 (silver with high neck, H. 4 in. [10.3 cm]), 40 (silver with low neck and gold rim, H. 2½ in. [6.5 cm]), 41 (silver body without neck, H. 2¾ in. [7.1 cm])



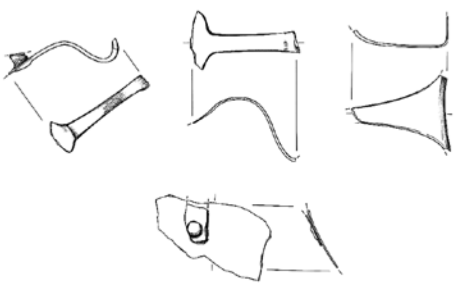
85. Complete gold shallow strainer, cat. 43 (Diam. 4¾ in. [12 cm])



86. Fragments of bodies of silver shallow strainers, clockwise from top left: cats. 45 (profile fragment, W. 4¾ in. [11.9 cm]), 50 (fragment of upper part, W. 4⅜ in. [11 cm]), 44 (profile fragment, W. 3½ in. [9 cm]), 49 (rim fragment, W. 5⅛ in. [12.9 cm]), 48 (profile fragment, W. 4¾ in. [12 cm])



87. Silver lotus handles from shallow strainers, cats. 47 (rim fragment with handle, W. 4⅜ in. [11 cm]), 46 (rim fragment with handle, W. 5⅛ in. [12.9 cm]), 51 (profile fragment with handle, W. 4½ in. [11.5 cm])



88. Fragments of silver handles from shallow strainers, clockwise from top left: cats. 60, 61, 59, 62 (W. 1⅜–1¾ in. [3.6–4.3 cm])

89. Deep strainers, cats. 56 (fragment, H. 2⅛ in. [5.5 cm]), 57 (fragment, Diam. 2⅜ in. [6.1 cm)), 58 (fragment, Diam. 2½ in. [6.2 cm])

Jars (cats. 34–41, Figure 84). Berlin acquired a decorated gold jar with ring handle (cat. 38) and two decorated silver examples (cats. 36, 37) from the first find. New York has two high-necked plain examples from that find (cats. 39, 40), as well as the bowl of a larger example (cat. 41). Cairo has two gold jars from the second find (cats. 34, 35) that are quite similar to Berlin's from the first. Surprisingly, Radwan does not catalogue the shape, although Gershuny has restored a similar form from Palestine.[10]

Strainers (cats. 42–62, Figures 85–89). The shallow type is best represented in the gold MMA strainer (cat. 43). It is similar to a strainer from Gurob that Radwan dates to Dynasty 19.[11] The Tell Basta example is also similar to examples from Palestine, although those lack lotus decoration.[12] Parts of many shallow silver examples were in the first find (cats. 44–52). The deep strainer is a type well represented in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Kha and in Palestine.[13] Berlin had a deep electrum example, also from the first find (cat. 55). A shallow silver strainer and two deep ones from the second find are in Cairo, along with undetermined parts (cats. 42, 53, 54, 73).

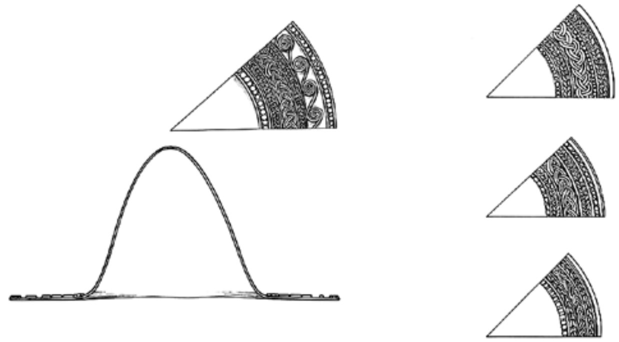
b. Mechanical Features

Theriomorphic handle (cats. 16–18). On Atumemtaneb's jugs A and B (cats. 16, 17) a complete animal forms the vessel's handle; the mouth grasps the rim, while the forelegs are bent against the vessel neck and the tips of the hind hooves touch the bowl, a papyriform fitting anchoring them there.[14] The handles differ markedly from those on later Achaemenid amphorae but are not so different from a representation in an 18th Dynasty tomb displaying foreign vases.[15] On Vessel C (cat. 18, see Figure 79) the tubelike handle ends in the head of a lioness, also biting the rim. For this form, Ogden cites a Mycenaean goblet with dog-headed handles.[16] A ceramic example is also known from the same period in Anatolia, about 1600–1400 B.C.[17]

Omphalos (cats. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8). Omphaloi are documented since early Dynasty 18 in Egypt.[18] The earliest examples are on large basins with loop handles.[19] On smaller vessels, omphaloi could serve as an aid in pouring and drinking, as shown in the tomb of Rekhmire; following the Egyptian convention of rendering three dimensions, the ompholos is visible as a protrusion from the base.[20] Ompholoi seem to have already appeared in the Middle Bronze Age royal tombs at Byblos and are known in Late Bronze Palestine and Syria.[21] On several Tell Basta shapes (cats. 1, 3, 5) they are used instead of an open lotus, a symbol of regeneration (see Figure 43). Radwan has proposed that the mound in the center of Hatiay's bowl (Figure 45) is the sun disk Re emerging from the watery abyss of Nun as a symbol of rebirth.[22] A bowl with a similar profile was excavated at Kition in Cyprus in a context dated about 1225 B.C.; no parallel had been found for it there at the time that it was published.[23]

Cone (cats. 1, 4, 8, 15, Figure 90). The three cones on bowls from the second find now in Cairo (cats. 1, 4, 8) are of similar size; the Metropolitan Museum's cone from the first find (cat. 15) is much larger and more elaborate. All four have three-ply plaiting and are similar except that the Museum's example has a running spiral. The cone on Amy's bowl (cat. 1) is the least well made. Radwan published no examples of cones, since they are an elaborate form not found on bronze vessels.

Ring handle (cats. 34, 35, 38). The ring handles on the three gold Tell Basta jars resemble nothing so much as the thickened shanks of finger rings held to the jar by a riveted fitting with papyrus buds.[24]



90. Cones. Left: cat. 15 (Diam. 2⅜ in. [6.15 cm]); right, top to bottom: cats. 4 (Diam. ca. 1⅝ in. [4 cm]), 8 (Diam. 1⅜ in. [3.6 cm]), 1 (Diam. 1½ in. [(3.8 cm])

At the point where the tips are inserted into the fitting, one jar has an inlaid bezel and the other two each have a recumbent calf.[25] Bovines appear in Egypt and the Levant in the form of weights for measure; a vessel fragment from Dan in Palestine has an animal on an omega handle.[26]

The function of the ring handles on jars is puzzling. Reproductions of the Cairo jars (see Figure 61) show that the handles have little practical use.[27] A flat-bottomed jar does not need a ring for suspension, and the jar's bulbous body prevents the vessel from hanging on a peg. Further, the ring's placement near the rim does not facilitate pouring. The purpose of such a handle is thus unclear. Another example has been found on a jug from the Sudan.[28]

Most commonly, ring handles in Egypt are found on bowls, especially in Dynasties 19 and 20 when, according to Radwan, ring handles with wire wrapping occur.[29] He classifies such bowls as *Trinkschale* (drinking bowls). Ring handles on open forms are rare in Palestine; Gershuny illustrates them only on one rim piece and a complete strainer from Deir el-Balah.[30] One bowl from Ugarit has a ring handle.[31] Hartmut Matthäus locates the origin of the ring handle in Egypt and the Near East during Dynasties 19–20 (1295–1070 B.C.), mentioning an example from Hama, Syria, from the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.[32] Possible precursors may occur in Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine. Radwan associates several Dynasty 18 bowls having vestigial handles at the rim with food and drink.[33] He terms the bowl with an omphalos from Aniba a *Trinkschale*.[34] Bruce Williams dates a tomb at Qustul, also in Nubia, that yielded a bowl with an omega handle to the time of Tuthmosis III.[35] It could be that, as with other vessel features and types, a form of the ring handle originated outside the Nile Valley but was developed substantially within it. Gershuny states that "bar handles" on pottery are common in Palestine from the Middle Bronze Age II into the Iron Age.[36]

Omega handle (cats. 1–3, 5, 6, 81, Figures 91, 92). Omega handles were found on three undecorated and two decorated Tell Basta bowls, as well as on one fragment (cat. 81), in Cairo. Ameneminet's bowl and the Metropolitan's repoussé bowl (cats. 8, 9) lack such handles. Two other bowls (cats. 4, 7) are not complete enough to know whether they had them or not. All the bowl handles are small versions of the bail handles used at the mouths of toilet vessels in the tomb of Kha.[37] A larger version of that handle occurs on an early vessel from Thebes.[38] Four of the omega handles in Cairo (cats. 1, 3, 6, 81) are plain, one (cat. 5) is striated with parallel rings, and another (cat. 2) has a herringbone pattern (see details in Figures 91, 92). The papyriform fittings that attach them to the bowls vary in quality, as do such fittings for the theriomorphic and ring handles.

Radwan dated the copper alloy vessels on which he found omega handles to Dynasties 19 and 20.[39]

91. Omega handles. Top left and right: plain handle on the exterior and interior of cat. 6; bottom left: handle striated with parallel rings (cat. 5); bottom right: handle with a herringbone pattern (cat. 2). Photographs: Ahmed Amin, Egyptian Museum, Cairo

92. Spheres on rims. Left and center: details of exterior and interior of swimmers bowl (cat. 3); right: interior of Atumemtaneb's bowl (cat. 8) before cleaning. Photographs: Ahmed Amin

Spheres on rim (cats. 1, 3, 8, Figure 92). On two vessels in Cairo (cats. 1, 3) gold spheres are placed on the rim above an omega handle. The spheres also occur on the rim of Ameneminet's bowl (cat. 8), which has no handle at all. In the latter case, the spheres may mark the place where the ends of the gold rim strip meet, although they would not have been functionally necessary. If anything, the spheres should be attached to the interior of the wall opposite the exterior ring or omega handle (see cat. 6, Figure 91), as on basins that Radwan dates to Dynasty 19 and the Dynasty 21 bowl from Tanis (Figure 46).[40] The origin of the spheres—like that of the ring and omega handles—is unknown.[41] A silver bowl from the tomb of Psousennes in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 85905), offers a comparison in that it has a series of gold rivets near the rim on both sides that serve no purpose.

c. Motifs and Iconography

Heart-shaped and lozenge patterns (cats. 16, 17, 35–38). A heart-shaped pattern appears on the bodies of Vessels A and B (cats. 16, 17) and on three Berlin jars (cats. 36–38), all from the first find.[42] No parallels have been found. Edgar saw a fortuitous similarity with Mycenaean ivy leaves; Fischer compares it to a scalelike pattern first noted about the time of Tutankhamun, but the orientation is different.[43]

The lozenge-shaped pattern on the body of the larger gold jar in Cairo from the second find (cat. 35) is unique; Tiradritti suggests that it represents the seeds of a pomegranate.[44] A silver pomegranate vessel was found in Tutankhamun's tomb.[45]

Lotus (cats. 9, 16, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27, 35, 38, 43, 46, 47, 51, 54, 73). Opening as they did each morning in the marshes, lotuses were a striking symbol of rebirth. Presumably, the Egyptians also knew that the lotus contained narcotic alkaloids.[46] On the Tell Basta vessels, the form occurs variously. Vessels A and B (cats. 16, 17), Cairo's largest gold jar (cat. 35), and Berlin's gold jar (cat. 38) each have an open lotus incised on the exterior of the base.[47] The Metropolitan's decorated bowl (cat. 9) has a very elaborate example in repoussé on the exterior.[48] The black bronze cup or bowl associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 54) has the lotus on the interior. Calyx leaves appear on the bases of situlae (cats. 23, 26, 27), and blossoms occur on strainer handles (cats. 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 54, 73). The goblet of Tawosret (cat. 22) and the chalice associated with Sakawahikhana (Figure 53) are lotiform.

Floral bands (cats. 17, 25, 26, 28, 29, 34–38). Olive leaves and elaborate garlands decorate the necks and rims of Vessel B and several jars and situlae. The broad floral collar (swag) used on the smaller gold jar from the second find in Cairo (cat. 34) reinforces the idea of verdant vitality.

Composite plants (cats. 1, 8, 9, 16, 17d, 18, and see also Figure 54). Although no exact parallels have been found for the plants on the Tell Basta vessels, they manifest an internal consistency.[49] Most are single volutes with spiky stems alternating with papyrus buds like those seen on mid- to late 18th Dynasty Egyptian objects and on objects from Megiddo.[50] Megiddo and Ugarit examples have featherlike leaves.[51] The double volute stem on Vessel A (cat. 16) appears on a limestone fragment from the palace of Amenhotep III (reigned 1390–1352 B.C.) at Malkata in western Thebes.[52]

A plant flanked by rampant goats, which appears on Amy's bowl (cat. 1), is derived from Near Eastern prototypes. The motif occurs in Egypt as early as mid–Dynasty 18. Its appearance on the representation of a bucket in the tomb of Ramesses III indicates that the iconography continued at least until the mid-twelfth century B.C.[53]

Figural decoration (cats. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16–18, 31, 33). By and large, Egyptians did not decorate vessels with figurative scenes. Major exceptions are Predynastic painted pots (before 3000 B.C.) and, in the New Kingdom, steatite kohl containers, faience lotus bowls, blue painted pots, black and red painted pots, and faience situlae.[54] Marshes or divine symbols occur on faience relief chalices of the Third Intermediate Period, as well as on Late Period New Year's flasks. Bowls generally have such decoration on the interior. Radwan suggests that two New Kingdom metal bowls with swamp scenes on the interior were used for drink, but he mentions food and ritual as well.[55]

Marsh and desert scenes (cats. 1, 3, 8, 9, 16–18). Early examples of marsh and desert creatures occur on Dynasty 11 pottery lids from el-Tarif at Thebes.[56] Incised pottery "fish platters" from the Hyksos period, just prior to the New Kingdom, also combine fish and desert animals.[57] The iconography of the Tell Basta vessels, however, begins properly with the bronze bowl of Hatiay, about 1340 B.C. (Figure 45).[58] It shows men in skiffs, walking and recumbent cattle, a suckling calf, a feline attacking a bull, rosettes, and broadly hatched water.

Marshes with ducks, nests, gazelles and calves, lotuses, and rosettes appear later on blue-painted ware and tomb painting in the mid-18th Dynasty,[59] in representations of vessels during the Ramesside period,[60] and on faience relief chalices of the Third Intermediate Period (see Figure 56).[61] The marsh became increasingly important in Egyptian religious iconography in Dynasties 21–24, but there was greater emphasis on the divine than on the naturalistic world.[62]

Animal combat (cats. 1, 8, 16, 17c, d, and 18[?]). The Metropolitan repoussé bowl (cat. 9) has humans battling an animal. The bronze bowl of Hatiay (Figure 45) may be the earliest known vessel from Egypt depicting animal combat. Enigmatic wooden boxes of the Egyptian New Kingdom studied by Angela Busch have such imagery.[63]

Horses (cats. 8, 9, 17c, d, and 18[?]). High-status animals, horses were brought into Egypt during the New Kingdom and were associated with the king and the elite. They are depicted with chariots, grooms, and scouts and as tribute and commodities. In more casual settings they are represented on a variety of small objects: an 18th Dynasty axe, wig curlers, a kohl tube, the Aniba stand (Figure 38), and a finger ring.[64] They were also represented on elaborate vessels during the Ramesside period.[65] The horses posed with all four feet off the ground on two Tell Basta vessels (cats. 17, 18) are remarkable. Only one other example of a representation of a horse with all four feet off the ground has been found, on a painted pottery jar of the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1400 B.C.) in Berlin.[66] Otherwise, with the exception of Vessel B (cat. 17), on the Tell Basta objects the poses and detailing of the horses are poor, as on the Aniba stand.

Astarte was the main deity associated with the horse, and she would have been known to any Asiatic craftsman. Her warlike nature made her protective, especially of Ramesses II.[67] Rommelaere catalogues Dynasty 18–22 scarabs on which a horse replaces a sphinx.[68] Still, it is difficult to understand the meaning of horses on vessels. Horses and chariots are often seen on drinking vessels at Ugarit.[69]

NOTES TO APPENDIX 4

1. See Radwan 1983, nos. 153A (Dynasty 6), 233 (Second Intermediate Period, 266 (with omphalos, for drinking).
2. See ibid., pls. 49, 50.
3. See ibid., no. 270 (for drinking); Gershuny 1985, pl. 5; and Loud 1948, pl. 190:13.
4. For an early example of the recessed base, see Radwan 1983, no. 302, a Cypriot-derived vessel.
5. See ibid., nos. 275 (for drinking), 335, 336 (wash basins of Dynasties 19–20).
6. Altenmüller 2008, p. 211.
7. Radwan 1983, nos. 347 (Kha) and 348 (Diospolis Parva) are of comparable size.
8. Ibid., pp. 140–44.
9. Ibid., nos. 401, 402.
10. Gershuny 1985, no. 123.
11. Radwan 1983, no. 450; see also no. 452.
12. Gershuny 1985, nos. 115, 117.
13. Radwan 1983, no. 449; Gershuny 1985, pls. 17, 18.
14. The handle of Vessel B (cat. 17) disappeared in Berlin during World War II, but a photograph of it survives (see Figures 6, 40). A bit of the rim is preserved on MMA 07.228.242 (cat. 17d, also shown in Figures 6, 40), but there is no evidence of gold.
15. Ogden 1990–91.
16. Demakopoulou 1988, pp. 68–69. In fact, four drinking cups with dog-head handles were found in a shaft grave at Mycenae; see Thomas 1938–39, pp. 68–72, where it is suggested that Cyprus is a probable origin for the motif. Note also the bowl and pitcher from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan, with a handle in the form of a ruminant's head, its neck and horns oriented outward (Gershuny 1985, p. 45, pl. 12).
17. Oriental Institute Museum A 10959, from Alishar.
18. Lilyquist 1988, pp. 17–18, and see Radwan 1983, nos. 262–68, 304–6, 312, 333, 334.
19. Radwan 1983, nos. 305, 306.
20. No. Davies 1943, pl. 64.
21. Montet 1928–29, no. 776; Gershuny 1985, pl. 3; Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 291.
22. Radwan 1983, no. 328.
23. Karageorghis 1974, p. 63, no. 20, pp. 90, 93–94, pls. 81, 165 (Diam. 7¼ in. [18.4 cm], H. 1⅜ in. [3.5 cm]).
24. For a finger ring, see Andrews 1990, fig. 49.
25. A fitting of similar type but different style in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC 59671; Petrie 1937, p. 28, no. 44) is without provenance.
26. Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 132; Gershuny 1985, no. 85. A recumbent cat is pegged to an ivory box from Lachish (Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940, p. 61, pl. 17:11).
27. Electrotype reproductions made by Émile Gilliéron in the 1920s and purchased from him by the MMA have been invaluable for studying the Cairo vessels from which they were cast.
28. Vincentelli 2006, p. 43, fig. 2.24, no. 138.
29. Radwan 1983, p. 113, nos. 316A–322.
30. Gershuny 1985, p. 9, no. 86, pp. 15–16, no. 116. See also Dothan 2008, p. 34.
31. Galliano and Calvet 2004, no. 291.
32. Correspondence with the author, March 2009; see Mätthaus 1985, p. 131, where later examples in Cyprus are cited, especially those found in pairs: nos. 325, 328, 373, 500, 502, 511.
33. Radwan 1983, nos. 303, 304, 311, 312, pp. 111–12.
34. Ibid., no. 304.
35. Williams 1992, pp. 101, 288, V 48–54; for the dating, see p. 18.
36. Gershuny 1985, p. 10.
37. Turin 8487, 8490.
38. Radwan 1983, nos. 408–11.
39. Ibid., nos. 323–36.
40. Ibid., nos. 335, 336. The Tanis bowl (H. Müller and Thiem 1999, fig. 449) has a tube on the exterior through which the wire handle passes. The tube is apparently riveted to the side of the bowl (Montet 1951, pl. 55).
41. For the difficulty of tracing ceramic and metal vessel features, see Bergoffen 2007.
42. Edgar 1907b, p. 98 n. 1.
43. Conversation with the author, January 16, 2011. See Edwards 1976a, no. 29.
44. Tiradritti 1998, p. 265.
45. Edwards 1976a, no. 50.
46. Harer 1985.

47. On Vessel A, see Edgar 1925, pl. 2.
48. An elaborate version is seen on a faience vessel of the Ramesside period (Borchardt 1910, pl. 14).
49. Kepinski 1982, nos. 919, 920.
50. For the Egyptian objects, see ibid., nos. 1167 (a box without provenance), 938, 945, 946 (a dagger sheath and two tunics from Tutankhamun's tomb), 922, 923, 1152 (two faience wine cups and a box from elsewhere in Egypt). For an ivory plaque from Megiddo, see ibid., no. 769.
51. Ibid., no. 662 (the gold bowl from Ugarit; see text, note 91).
52. Ibid., no. 936.
53. Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pl. 84; Kepinski 1982, no. 931.
54. For the kohl containers, see Sparks 2006; for the bowls and pots, Bell 1987, Hope 1987, Aston 2011, and Jones 2011; and for the situlae, Lilyquist 2008.
55. Radwan 1983, pp. 116–19.
56. Arnold 1972.
57. Aston and Bader 2009.
58. Radwan 1983, no. 328.
59. Hayes 1959, fig. 150 (MMA 11.215.460, a blue-painted amphora from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata in western Thebes); Ni. Davies 1936, pl. 43 (a fragment of wall painting from Theban Tomb 63 showing decorative gold vessels).
60. Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pls. 85, 95–97.
61. Tait 1963, no. 2.
62. Fazzini 1988, pp. 22–23, 27.
63. Busch 2010.
64. Dreyfus 2005 (axe); Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 69308 (wig curler); Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, no. 20 (kohl tube); Andrews 1990, p. 165 (finger ring).
65. Rommelaere 1991, pp. 141–44; Prisse d'Avennes 1878, pls. 85, 86. Prisse publishes a representation from Theban Tomb 65 of a vessel with a caprid running in the marshes (ibid., pl. 84; Rommelaere 1991, no. 127). The tomb was created in the time of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III and usurped in the time of Ramesses IX. There is no way to know whether Prisse restored some of the vessel. E. Meyer (1973, photo 753) and Wreszinski (1923–36, pl. 225) show little of it preserved.
66. Rommelaere 1991, no. 50, and compare pp. 68–76, 85.
67. Ibid., pp. 135–40.
68. Ibid.
69. Caubet 2012.

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From Mesopotamia to the Met: Two Assyrian Reliefs from the Palace of Sargon II

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Among the most magnificent works of art given to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pride of place arguably belongs to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art's monumental Assyrian relief sculptures presented by John D. Rockefeller Jr. between 1930 and 1931.[1] The story of eighteen of these sculptures—brought to England in the mid-nineteenth century from the Assyrian capitals of Nimrud and Nineveh (in present-day northern Iraq)—is well known, having been most extensively recounted by John M. Russell.[2] Rockefeller's gift, which also included works that he had acquired from two colleges, joined other reliefs from Nimrud already in the Museum.[3] The Metropolitan Museum's acquisition of these remarkable sculptures has tended to overshadow a further gift by Rockefeller in 1933 of two Assyrian reliefs that have an equally compelling story of discovery and display (Figures 1, 3).

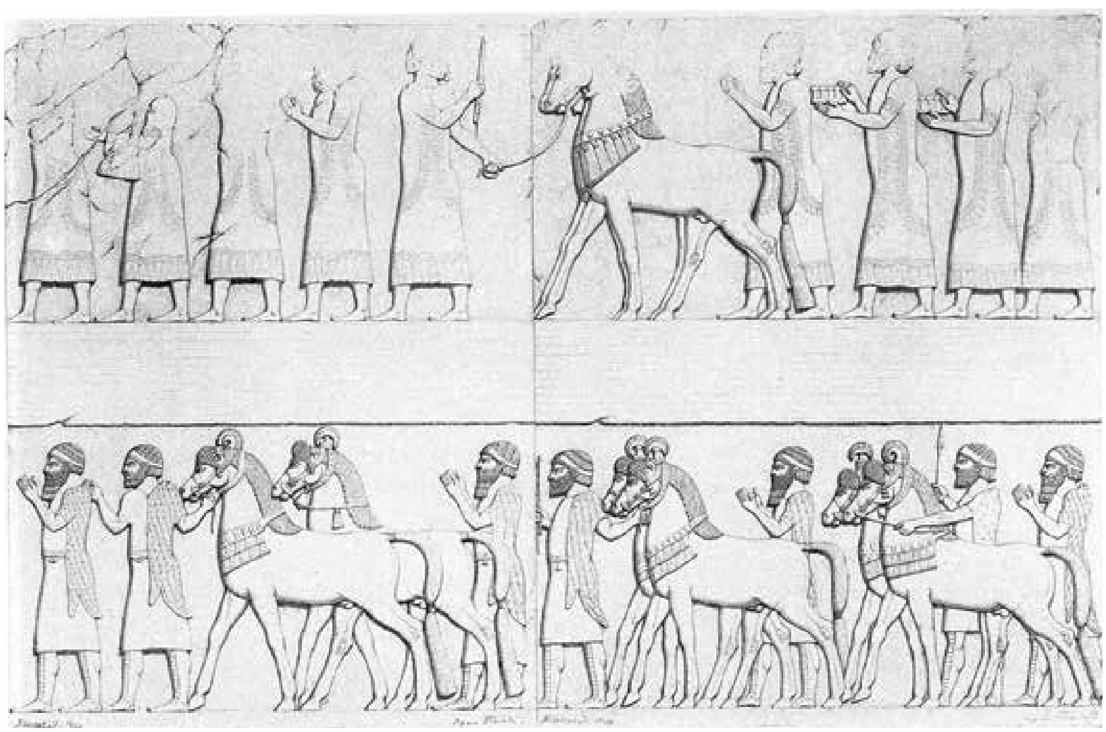
The gypsum reliefs that form the subject of this article come from the palace of the Assyrian king Sargon II (r. 721–705 B.C.) at Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin), located some fifteen miles to the north of the later royal center of Nineveh (see Figure 5). Campaigns by Sargon had extended the Assyrian Empire from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Egypt, including, perhaps most famously, the completion of the conquest of Samaria, capital of the kingdom of Israel, in 722–721 B.C. The king's hard-won power and prestige were proclaimed in the construction of Khorsabad, which, surrounded by a wall some four miles long, contained an enormous artificial terrace surmounted by temples and a magnificent palace of more than 240 rooms. In the tradition of some earlier Assyrian royal builders, Sargon had the lower walls of principal rooms and courtyards in his palace decorated with carved gypsum slabs depicting his triumphs in battle and the hunt, as well as distinctive banqueting scenes and long processions of tribute bearers from different regions of the empire. These reliefs were part of a wider decorative scheme that included wall paintings and hangings, ceramic plaques, and inlaid metal furniture. Construction at Khorsabad was halted in 705 B.C., when Sargon was killed in battle and his successor, Sennacherib (r. 704–681 B.C.), moved the capital to Nineveh. Khorsabad was largely abandoned, and following the disintegration of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the seventh century B.C., the reliefs were eventually buried by the decaying mud brick walls of the palace.

Some of the reliefs were uncovered between 1843 and 1844 when an area of Khorsabad, then within a province of the Ottoman Empire, was excavated by Paul-Émile Botta (1802–1870), the French consul at Mosul.[4] This was the first major archaeological exploration of an Assyrian site. Botta had initially dug into ancient mounds that lay across the Tigris River from Mosul—later demonstrated to be the remains of Nineveh—but a lack of major finds led him to shift his attention to the ruins of Khorsabad, where he discovered the palace of Sargon II (see Figure 6). At the conclusion of the excavations, Botta made a selection of the best-preserved sculptures, and these were packed into crates, hauled to the Tigris, floated on rafts to Basra, and shipped to France.[5] Although a number of the reliefs were sent to Paris, the majority of those uncovered at Khorsabad were left in situ, either because they were considered too fragile to move or because their imagery was similar to the sculptures selected for transport to France.[6] Nonetheless, they were all recorded in very fine drawings by Eugène Flandin (see Figures 2, 4, 12).[7]

The news of Botta's discoveries at Khorsabad aroused considerable interest both in Europe and among the close-knit network of European diplomats, merchants, and travelers in the Middle East. The site had yet to be firmly identified from the cuneiform texts that were carved across the sculptures because the decipherment of this script was still in its infancy.

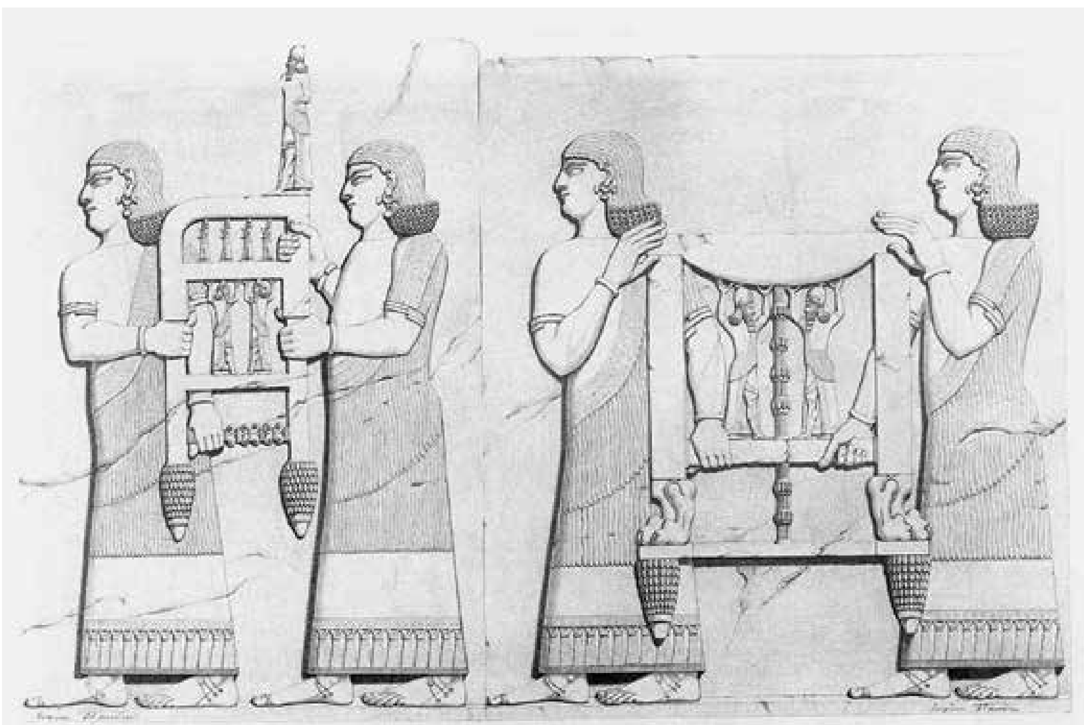
Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Foreign groom in a tributary procession. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 721–705 B.C., Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin). Alabaster (gypsum), 19¼ x 31 in. (48.9 x 78.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1933 (33.16.1). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



2. Eugène Flandin (French, 1809–1876). Drawing of relief panels (slabs 11, 12) from room X at Khorsabad. From Botta and Flandin 1849–50, vol. 1, detail of pls. 132, 133

3. Head of a beardless royal attendant, possibly a eunuch. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 721–705 B.C., Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin). Alabaster, 21½ x 19 in. (54.6 x 48.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1933 (33.16.2). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

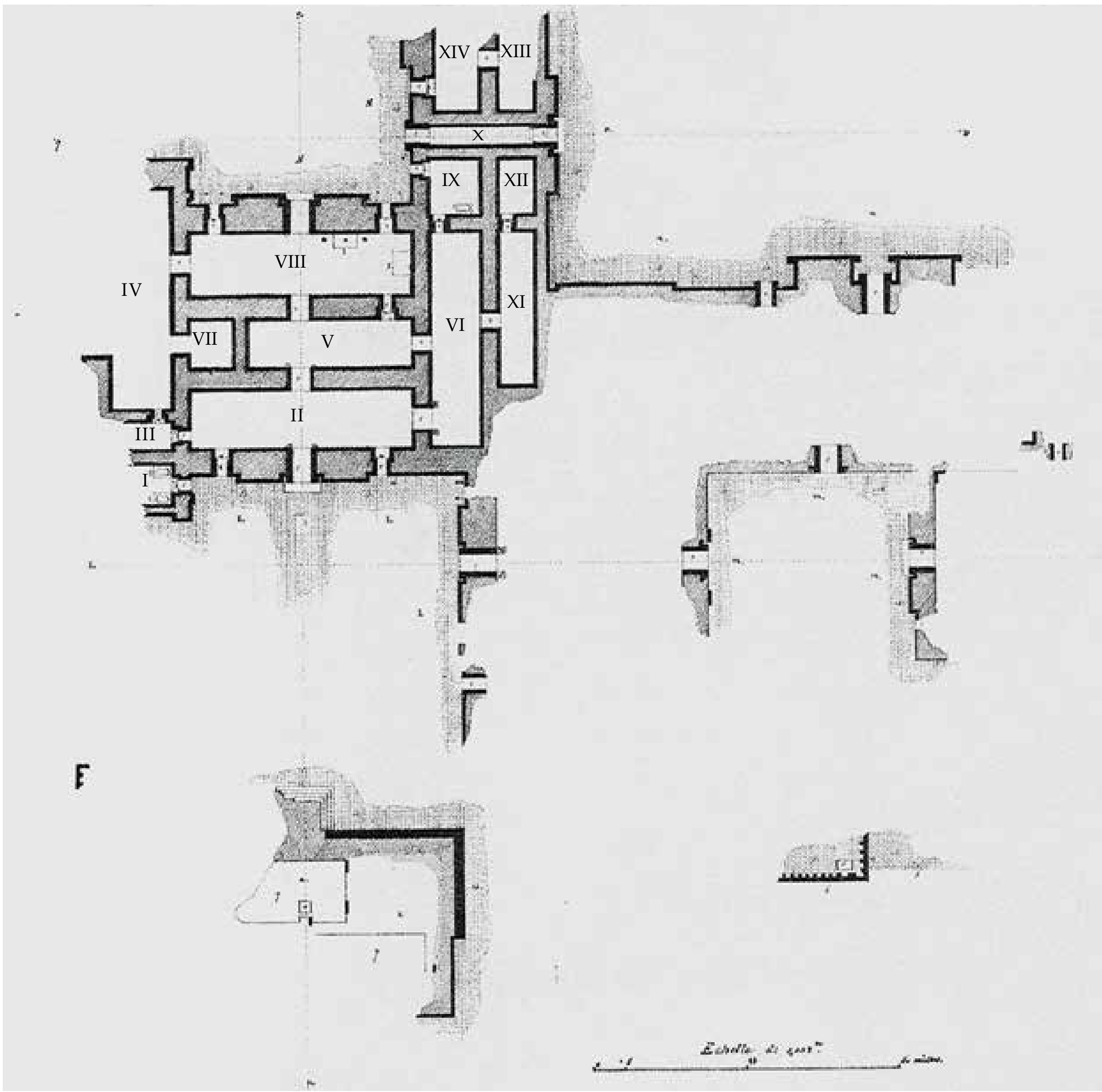


4. Eugène Flandin. Drawing of relief panels (slabs 28, 29) from facade L at Khorsabad. From Botta and Flandin 1849–50, vol. 1, pls. 18, 19

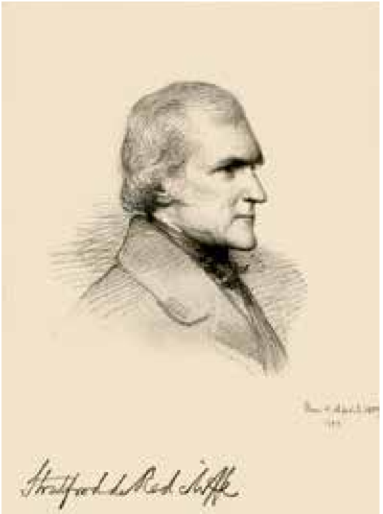
5. Map showing Assyrian capital cities and neighboring regions (modern names in italic). Map: Terra Forma 2000, AI Interactive Ltd.

It was already understood, however, that Khorsabad was an Assyrian site, often associated in both scholarly and popular texts with the name of Nineveh. Here was evidence in stone of the Assyrian Empire, famous from accounts in the Old Testament and classical sources. Among those who recognized the significance of these discoveries was the Englishman Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894), an acquaintance of Botta's, who by 1843 was working in Constantinople as both an agent for the British embassy and a foreign correspondent; he wrote excitedly about the French achievements in the *Malta Times*, and his reports were reproduced in a number of European journals.[8]

Layard's enthusiasm for Botta's excavations was shared by his friend Alexander Hector (1810–1875). After joining an expedition led by a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney in 1835–37 to explore the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, Hector had settled in Baghdad, establishing himself as a



6. Plan of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad as excavated by Paul-Émile Botta. From Botta and Flandin 1849–50, vol. 1, pl. 6



7. Rudolf Lehmann (German, 1819–1905). *Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe)*, 1859. Graphite on paper, 10⅛ x 7½ in. (25.6 x 18.9 cm). The British Museum, London (BM 1906,0419.42). Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum

8. After Sir Thomas Lawrence (English, 1769–1830). *Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne*, 1827–63. Etching, stipple, and engraving on *chine collé*, 8¼ x 5¼ in. (21 x 13.4 cm). The British Museum, London (BM 1863,0110.57). Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum

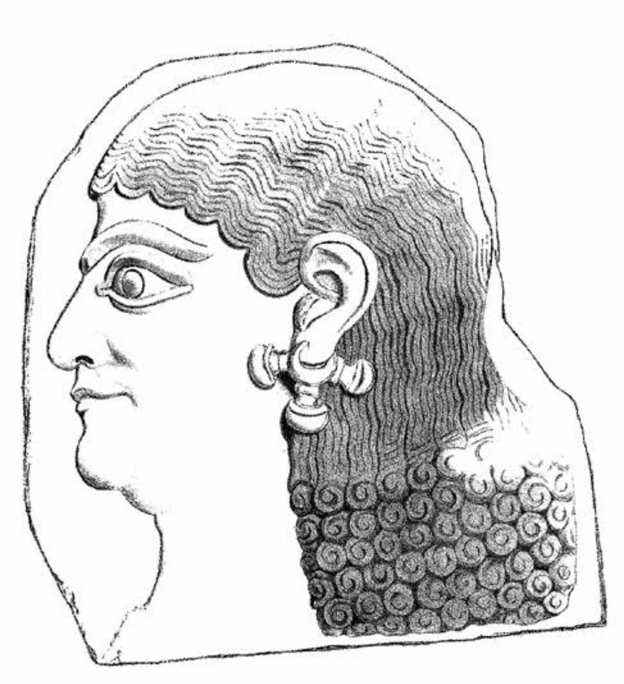
9. After Sir Thomas Lawrence. *Sir Robert Peel*, 1836. Mezzotint, 15⅛ x 11⅜ in. (38.3 x 28.8 cm). The British Museum, London (BM 1841,1113.122). Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum

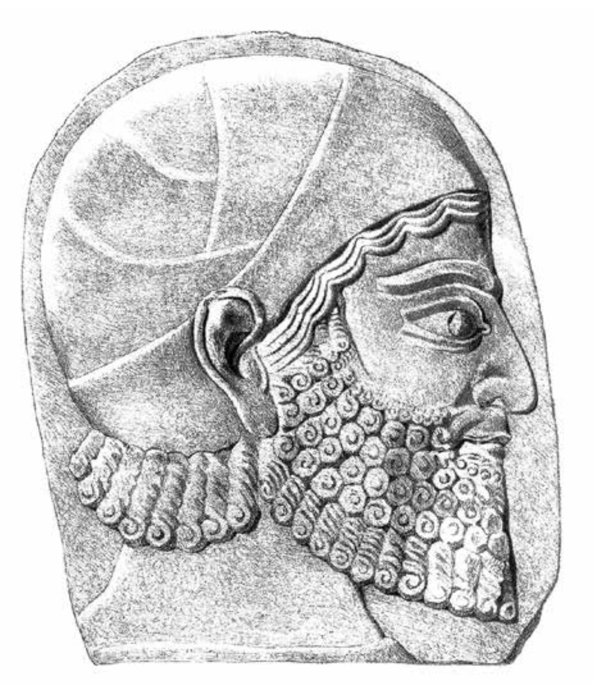
merchant.[9] In 1845, following Botta's departure for France, Hector visited the abandoned site at Khorsabad, perhaps on more than one occasion, and removed some reliefs from various areas of the palace.[10] Because of the massive scale of the sculptures (complete stone panels could measure some eight by ten feet and weigh several tons), only sections of the reliefs—generally the heads of humans and horses, as well as inscriptions—were taken. Sawed off from the larger figures, Hector's carvings were more manageable for transport. With their size reduced, they did not need to follow the route taken by Botta's complete reliefs but could travel westward from Mosul by camel caravan to the port of Iskenderun on the Mediterranean.

Given the immense excitement in England aroused by the Khorsabad discoveries, Hector may have recognized a potential market for the reliefs; he would, in fact, sell fifty of his fragments to the British Museum in 1847.[11] In addition, however, the sculptures had come to play a role in the imperialist contest between France and England in the Middle East, and Hector's motives were interpreted by some in England as "a patriotic desire to secure to the nation any relics or information of value."[12] In this atmosphere of nationalistic competition, four of the Khorsabad sculptures, which were almost certainly part of the collection gathered by Hector,[13] were forwarded by Christian Rassam, the British vice-consul at Mosul, to Sir Stratford Canning (1786–1880), the British ambassador in Constantinople (Figure 7).[14] Indeed, the rivalry with the French soon induced Canning to sponsor excavations by Layard at Nimrud beginning in November 1845, in hope of discoveries that would "beat the Louvre hollow."[15]

Although not impressed by the artistic value of the Khorsabad sculptures, Canning was keen to be associated with the finds in order to curry favor with two of the most powerful British politicians of the day: the Marquess of Lansdowne (1780–1863) and the British prime minister, Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850) (Figures 8, 9).[16] He sent each of them two reliefs on September 14, 1845. One of the sculptures (Figure 1) sent to Lord Lansdowne was originally part of a series of relief panels that decorated a corridor in the palace at Khorsabad, designated by Botta as room X (see Figure 6).[17] Flandin's drawing of the northern wall of this room shows two registers of carvings divided by a wide band that, on the actual panel, was filled with an inscription (Figure 2). In the lower register a procession of men and horses advances to the left; their distinctive clothing and hairstyles serve to identify the men as foreigners who are bringing the richly caparisoned horses as tribute or gifts. Horses were so valuable to the Assyrian military's chariotry and cavalry that campaigns were regularly launched to acquire them from the mountainous lands to the north and east of Assyria—the likely home of these tribute bearers. The figure in the Lansdowne relief may be identified as the man who appears on slab 12 in Flandin's drawing; he grips a whip in his right hand and leads a pair of horses with his left. His hair falls in ringlets and is secured by a wide headband, and his beard is formed of tight curls. A tufted fleece is draped over the man's left shoulder. His two horses are elaborately adorned

10. Drawing of an Assyrian relief from Khorsabad depicting a beardless attendant. From Birch 1847, pl. XIV





11. Drawing of an Assyrian relief from Khorsabad depicting a foreign tributary. From Birch 1847, pl. XIII

with crescent-shaped, tasseled headdresses and bridles decorated with rosettes. Traces of red ocher on parts of the relief are remnants of more extensive paint (red, blue, black, and white) that once covered all the Khorsabad sculptures.[18]

The second of the Lansdowne reliefs depicts the head of a beardless Assyrian attendant, facing left (Figure 3). Such individuals are generally interpreted as eunuchs; their beardless faces and, in the complete figures, their potbellies may indicate that these men were castrated.[19] Eunuch courtiers, known to have occupied key roles in the later Byzantine, Ottoman, and Chinese royal courts, may have held comparable positions in the Assyrian palace. This attendant has wavy hair, which is brushed behind his ears and ends in rows of tight curls at the shoulder. He wears a large three-armed earring, and his fringed garment is ornamented at the shoulder with two bands of alternating rosettes and concentric squares—presumably intended to represent embroidery. The sculpture was possibly cut from carved panels decorating facade L at Khorsabad, perhaps slab 28 or 29 (Figure 4).[20] The reliefs depict a procession of attendants who approach the king and carry vessels and furniture in preparation for a celebratory banquet.

Another, very similar head of an Assyrian attendant facing to the left (Figure 10) was sent by Canning to Sir Robert Peel; it may also have been cut from facade L. Peel's second sculpture depicts a bearded foreigner facing right (Figure 11). The turban on his head and the style of his hair identify him as someone from the west of the empire, possibly the Syrian coast. The relief may have been cut from one of the panels from facade *n* in which tributaries lead horses and carry vessels and sacks of goods (Figure 12).

Along with the stone carvings, Canning sent letters with enclosures containing descriptions and background information about the reliefs that were probably composed by Layard. To Lansdowne he wrote:

> I am almost ashamed of sending two such scraps of sculpture, as those which accompany this letter, to one who possesses so many beautiful objects of art. But their great antiquity, the curious tomb, or rather buried palace from which they have stepped out after so many centuries of oblivion, and the high state of preservation, which though fragments only, they have interest [*sic*], may possibly give them some little interest even in your eyes.
>
> At all events I hope you will forgive the boldness with which I have taken this opportunity of recalling myself to your recollection.
>
> Allow me to add my respectful compliments to Lady Lansdowne, and with every good wish believe me, my dear Lord, very sincerely and gratefully yours,
> Stratford Canning

The enclosure described the carvings as follows:

> The two accompanying reliefs were found by M. Botta among ruins near the village of Khorsabad. The beardless head is that of an eunuch who follows the King, as in the sculptures of Persepolis, with a fan or fly-flipper; the other, that of a man, with the heads and necks of two caparisoned horses which he appears to be leading. They have been detached

from the entire figures for convenience of removal, as they were brought by land from Mosul.

Khorsabad is situated some 12 miles from the artificial mounds opposite Mosul, usually known as the ruins of Nineveh. From the nature of the cuneiform inscriptions found with the sculptures, and from some peculiarities in the sculptures themselves, it has been conjectured that the ruins are those of a monument or palace built during the reign of a King of the second Assyrian Dynasty. Since the destruction of the building the earth has accumulated over the remains, and has formed a large mound, which was lately opened by M. Botta, son of the Historian, and French Consul at Mosul.

The valuable and extensive specimens of Sculpture which that gentleman has obtained are by this time probably on their way from the Euphrates or Shet-el-Arab, to France.[21]

In his letter to Peel, Canning similarly noted the historical rather than artistic importance of the works and identified them as "the first arrivals of this kind in England":

Happening to be in possession of two sculptural heads taken out of the burial place lately brought to light by M. Botta on the supposed site of Nineveh, I take the liberty of sending them to you. They are not remarkable for execution, though better than would have been expected for the time and place, but considering their antiquity and state of preservation you will not perhaps find them without interest. They are likely I understand to be the first arrivals of this kind in England. A few more particulars relating to them are stated in the enclosed note drawn up by a friend of mine.

With many excuses for intruding even in this brief manner upon your valuable time. I beg you will believe me, Dear Sir Robert, much faithfully, and respectively yours,
Stratford Canning[22]

The enclosure to Peel repeats the information recorded in the Lansdowne enclosure but includes additional geographic and historical details:

The village of Khorsabad is located about twelve miles from the collection of artificial mounds opposite Mosul, usually known as the ruins of Nineveh. The place is mentioned by Yahuti under the name of Khistabad or Kishtabad and that geographer says that it occupies the site of an Ancient Assyrian city called Sarahan or Saraghan. . . .

Before M. Botta's discovery sculpture of this epoch were only known by one or two fragments found chiefly by Mr. Rich at Nineveh. The ruins at Khorsabad are of the highest interest both in an historical and philological point of view. All the scenes represented appear to illustrate events of great importance and are accompanied by long inscriptions in the cuneiform or arrow headed character, and in good preservation.[23]

By the beginning of January 1846, the carvings sent to Peel had arrived at Whitehall, the center of government in London; it is very likely that the Lansdowne reliefs arrived in England at the same time. They were indeed the first such reliefs to reach Europe: it would be another eleven months before Botta's sculptures would arrive in France, and the first of Layard's discoveries from Nimrud would not be delivered to the British Museum until mid-1847.

Peel, who had been appointed a trustee of the British Museum in 1833, immediately wrote to the museum's secretary, Reverend J. Forshall, on January 8:

The marbles to which the enclosed letter from Sir Stratford Canning and the accompanying memorandum refer have arrived at Whitehall.

Before I send them to the country, I will—if you think the Trustees of the museum would desire it—forward them to the museum to remain there for a time, in order that they may be compared with other ancient sculpture.

Should the Trustees wish to have casts taken from them I shall not have the slightest objection.[24]

At a meeting of the British Museum's trustees two days later, the prime minister's offer was accepted and the reliefs were sent to Bloomsbury, where the museum's new

12. Drawing by Eugène Flandin of relief panels (slabs 20–22) from facade *n* at Khorsabad. From Botta and Flandin 1849–50, vol. 1, pls. 36–38

Greek Revival building was reaching completion.[25] Samuel Birch, assistant keeper in the Antiquities Department, gave two lectures on the sculptures to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and drawings of the reliefs (reproduced here as Figures 10, 11) were later published in the society's journal.[26] The casting of the sculptures was undertaken by one Mr. Pink, who was often employed by the British Museum for such work. The casting process involved either making papier-mâché molds or applying layers of plaster directly on to the surface of the sculpture, which was sometimes oiled to assist in removing the mold. Any traces of paint on the stone might be protected with thin sheets of metal foil. Plaster casts were then made from the resulting negative mold.[27]

Eight months later the reliefs were returned to Peel. Correspondence between him and the Reverend J. Forshall indicates some discussion of possible damage to the surface of one of the sculptures. Peel wrote to Forshall on August 27, 1846:

> On unpacking the Heads from the Ruins of Nineveh which were sent to me by Sir Stratford Canning I think it right to mention to you that one of them from which I believe Casts were taken has been very materially injured by that operation.
>
> The surface which appeared in a perfect state of preservation—when the head was sent to the museum—is taken off in some places.
>
> I mention this here in the way of precaution than of complaint.[28]

On August 29 Forshall replied, explaining that every care had been taken with the sculptures; that there had never been cause for complaint about Mr. Pink's work; that there was no evidence of color on the reliefs before the cast had been taken; and that the white color of the stone was the result of the "cleaning" of the surface during the casting process but that it would soon regain its original appearance.[29] Peel responded two days later: "If there had been mere discolouration I would not have mentioned the subject—but parts of the surface are taken off—particularly in the case of the small circular projections [drawing of six roundels] which are meant to represent the Beard. However as I before said I mention this principally as a caution for the future."[30] The matter was taken no further, and the reliefs entered Peel's extensive collection of sculptures and paintings in his country home of Drayton Manor in Staffordshire.

Meanwhile, Lord Lansdowne's two reliefs had joined what was widely regarded as one of the finest private collections of ancient sculpture—the "beautiful objects of art" that Canning had mentioned in his letter to the marquess. Assembled by Lansdowne's father, William Petty-Fitzmaurice (1737–1805), 2nd Earl of Shelburne and 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, the collection resided in his London home, Lansdowne House, off Berkeley Square in Mayfair.[31] Many of the pieces had been excavated by Gavin Hamilton from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and the "Lansdowne Marbles" were famous among connoisseurs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who viewed the Roman sculptures as the next-best thing to the idealized humanism of Greek art, considered the pinnacle of human creativity.

In a culture where classicism reigned supreme, the Assyrian reliefs came to be viewed as an evolutionary link in a developmental sequence that led from Egyptian art to the ultimate triumph of ancient Greece. Direct comparisons were made between the perceived progression of ancient art and that of Europe, beginning with early medieval art and culminating in the work of the cinquecento. Thus, the critic John Ruskin cited the reliefs from Nineveh apposite to the Italian primitives and English folk art, associating them with aesthetic infancy, as distinguished from aesthetic manhood, which he equated with ancient Greek art.[32] In assessing the artistic value of the Assyrian carvings, the English connoisseurs paid little attention to the fact that they had been cut down from larger panels. In fact, Ruskin saw fit to compare Assyrian art with that of the early quattrocento with the result that the heads in the cut-down reliefs could be viewed as comparable to fifteenth-century European portrait paintings.[33] It comes as little surprise, therefore, that the two Lansdowne reliefs were not displayed alongside classical sculptures but were consigned to the back garden of Lansdowne House.[34] Indeed, by the time that Ruskin was pronouncing on the place of Assyria in the supposed hierarchy of art, many of the magnificent discoveries from Layard's excavations at Nimrud and Nineveh had arrived in London, and the unique status of the Khorsabad reliefs as the only Assyrian sculptures in England had been lost.

The four reliefs remained in their respective homes for more than fifty years until a new chapter in their histories began in the twentieth century. After Peel died in 1850, his heirs failed to manage the fortune he left in his estate. A large number of paintings and drawings were sold in 1871 to the National Gallery in London, and by 1900, financial pressures forced the sale of the remaining Peel family heirlooms. The sale by the London auctioneers Robinson and Fisher took place over two days, May 10 and 11, and attracted great interest. Among an assortment of classical and recent sculptures, the sale catalogue for the second day lists the two Assyrian reliefs, though their description as "a pair of Egyptian bas-reliefs, Heads, male and female, from Nineveh" is inaccurate on almost every point.[35]

Both the *Times* of London and the *New York Times* recorded the sale of the most famous pieces, which together earned close to £62,500; the buyers included the art dealers George Agnew and Joseph Duveen. The Assyrian sculptures were not considered worthy of mention in the newspaper reports, nor were details of their purchasers or sale prices recorded in any of the annotated sale catalogues, and their current locations remain a mystery. The author hopes that republishing drawings of the reliefs in this article may bring to light information concerning their whereabouts and later histories.

The provenance of the Lansdowne Assyrian reliefs is better documented than that of the Peel sculptures. In 1929 Lansdowne House was sold and transformed into a private club. During the remodeling, the front of the building was taken down to make way for a new road, and two of the rooms were shipped intact to the United States. The "'First Drawing Room" was reinstated at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the dining room was reerected at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[36] On March 5, 1930, the Lansdowne collection of sculpture was sold at auction. Given the collection's reputation, the sale attracted considerable interest among museums, dealers, and private collectors around the world—including William Randolph Hearst and John D. Rockefeller Jr. (Figure 13). Among Rockefeller's purchases was a Roman sculpture of a wounded Amazon (which he would later present to the Metropolitan Museum),[37] as well as the two Khorsabad reliefs.

Rockefeller, who owned one of the most impressive collections of Assyrian sculptures outside of London and Paris, was clearly fascinated by Assyrian reliefs. In 1927 he had acquired from the art dealer Dikran Kelekian eighteen sculptures from Nimrud and Nineveh that had been on temporary display in the University Museum in Philadelphia since the previous year. By January 1930 he had decided that they should have a permanent home in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and plans were made to install the reliefs prominently in a proposed new wing to be built at the north end of the museum.[38]

On May 19, 1931, Rockefeller wrote to Joseph Breck, curator of Decorative Arts and assistant director of the Metropolitan Museum, informing him that three Nimrud sculptures he had acquired from Union College and Auburn Theological Seminary could be included with the eighteen Assyrian reliefs he had given to the Museum the previous year.[39] Rockefeller concluded his letter with an offer of a temporary loan of his two Khorsabad heads, mistakenly referring to the three college reliefs as also part of the Lansdowne collection: "The two heads from the same collection which are now in my home and which you are going to look at this morning, I shall be glad to lend to the Museum for the present; that is, for a year or two or three, without any committal as to the future, if the Museum would care to take them on those terms."[40]

13. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Glass negative, approx. 4 x 5 in. (10.2 x 12.7 cm). April 5, 1920. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gift, Herbert A. French, 1947 (LC-F8-7430)

That day Breck visited Rockefeller's Manhattan town house at 10 West Fifty-Fourth Street to look at photographs of the college reliefs and took the opportunity to view the two Khorsabad sculptures. He was thrilled by what he saw and asked if they might be put on exhibition at once.[41] The following day Rockefeller replied, correcting his error over the origin of the Nimrud reliefs and suggesting that, since the two Lansdowne heads "come, I assume, from the same palace [*sic*] whence come all the other pieces I have given to the Museum, would it not be better to hold them all until the new wing of the Museum is completed and they can all be installed and exhibited together?"[42]

The two Khorsabad heads were delivered to the Museum on May 21 and were stored in anticipation of their installation in the planned extension. By early 1932, however, the Great Depression had forced the postponement of the construction of the new wing, and the building project was eventually

14. View of 1933 installation of Assyrian sculpture at the south end of the Great Hall of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photograph: Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980, p. 5

abandoned. Late in October, the eighteen Philadelphia reliefs, including the colossal bull and lion guardian figures, arrived at the Museum. Herbert E. Winlock, who had been appointed the new director that year, initially wanted to place them in the Cast Gallery (now the Medieval Sculpture Hall), but it was eventually decided to install them at the south end of the Great Hall, along a narrow passageway at the entrance to the Greek and Roman galleries (Figure 14).

On January 10, 1933, as the installation of the sculptures was nearing completion, Winlock learned that the Khorsabad reliefs were not part of Rockefeller's gift but were merely on loan to the Museum. The following day, he wrote to Rockefeller:

> I had been planning to place these two pieces in a very prominent location at the entrance to the Assyrian Gallery, and had chosen one for illustration in an article in the Museum Bulletin, when a final check up of the records disclosed this fact.
>
> Before actually placing them upon the walls I am writing to you to ask whether you think it likely that you would desire their return in the near future, as, if you do think you might want them back soon, I should make some slight readjustments in the proposed arrangements which would make their removal more convenient than from the place which I had originally selected for them.[43]

Rockefeller's reply a week later was welcome: "Why these two smaller pieces were not included with my gift of three pieces of Assyrian reliefs made to the Museum at that time, I cannot now recall. I shall be happy, however, now to present them to the Museum, and to have them exhibited as part of the *collection*."[44]

The reliefs were duly registered, and on February 27, 1933, the display of Assyrian sculptures opened to the public. As Winlock had indicated to Rockefeller, the event was commemorated with an article in the Museum *Bulletin* titled "Assyria: A New Chapter in the Museum's History of Art" and illustrated with a photograph of the Khorsabad relief depicting a tributary with horses (see Figure 1). For twenty-four years the Assyrian reliefs welcomed visitors to the south wing of the Museum. In 1957 they were dismantled and, three years later, reinstalled on the first floor at the north end of the building. It was not to be their last journey within the Museum. In 1967 the reliefs were again deinstalled, this time in favor of Egyptian antiquities, and the Assyrian sculptures were sent into storage in the museum's North Garage. Through the generosity of Raymond and Beverly Sackler, the reliefs returned to public view in a new gallery on the second floor of the south wing in 1981. The Khorsabad sculptures, the first Assyrian art ever seen in Europe, remain one of the highlights of this magnificent display.

NOTES

1. MMA 31.72.1–3; 32.143.1–18; 33.16.1, 2.
2. MMA 32.143.1–18. See Russell 1997; see also Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980, Porada 1945, and Gadd 1936.
3. Seven Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud were already in the collection: the first to enter The Metropolitan Museum of Art was a gift of Benjamin Brewster in 1884 (MMA 84.11), and six further sculptures were given by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1917 (MMA 17.190.2077–2082).

   On January 13, 1930, Rockefeller sent a list of fifty-five Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud located in various colleges and institutions to the art dealer C. Edward Wells, stating that if any of the sculptures could be obtained he would be willing to buy them (John D. Rockefeller Jr. to C. Edward Wells, January 13, 1930, folder 281, box 28—MMA—Gift of Assyrian Sculpture, 1929–1960, Record Group 2 Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller [OMR], Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center). Rockefeller was able to acquire through Wells two reliefs from Union College in Schenectady, New York, and one from Auburn Theological Seminary, New York. These three sculptures had been sent to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century by the Reverend William Frederic Williams (see Franck 1980). See note 39 below.
4. Albenda 1986, pp. 26–27.
5. The Khorsabad reliefs arrived at Le Havre in December 1846 and by February the following year had reached Paris and the Louvre; a public display of the reliefs was opened on May 1, 1847. French excavations at Khorsabad were resumed in 1852–55 under the direction of Victor Place.
6. Within a few years of Botta's departure from Khorsabad, many of the exposed reliefs were disintegrating badly or were being buried by the collapse of the earth walls of the excavation trenches. See Layard 1853, p. 131.
7. They were published in Botta and Flandin 1849–50.
8. Layard 1849, vol. 1, p. 15.
9. Hector returned to England in 1857 with a large fortune. See Elizabeth Lee, "Hector, Mrs. Annie French," in *Dictionary of National Biography: Second Supplement*, vol. 2, *Faed–Muybridge*, ed. Sidney Lee (New York and London, 1912), p. 236.
10. Bonomi 1875, p. 347.
11. See Gadd 1936, pp. 160–63. Hector consigned the fifty fragments to a colleague, Thomas Stirling of Sheffield, who negotiated their sale to the museum in July 1847 for £400. They entered the collections only a few weeks after the arrival of the first Assyrian reliefs from Layard's excavations at Nimrud.
12. Bonomi 1875, p. 347.
13. Reade 1994, pp. 121–22, fig. 3.
14. The involvement of Rassam as the official conduit of the Khorsabad reliefs to the British ambassador is recorded by Birch 1847, p. 168. By 1845 Canning had nearly thirty years' experience in home and foreign service for the British government, including an appointment in 1819 as minister-plenipotentiary to the United States. In 1825 Canning was sent to Constantinople as ambassador. His second ambassadorship lasted from 1842 to 1852, and in this period he came to be seen as one of the leading figures in Constantinople. In 1852 he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.
15. Canning to Sir Robert Peel, April 18, 1846. Quoted in Lane-Poole (1888) 1976, vol. 2, p. 149. Canning provided sixty pounds for Layard, who chose to dig at the site of Nimrud. So successful was the work at Nimrud that in 1846 funding was taken over by the British government and Layard became an agent of the British Museum, where the majority of his discoveries were sent.

16. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, was Lord President of the Council from 1830 to August 1841 and again from 1846 to 1852. His social influence and political moderation made him one of the most powerful Whig politicians, frequently consulted by Queen Victoria. Sir Robert Peel, 2nd Baronet, was a British Tory statesman, credited with the establishment of the modern Conservative Party, who served as prime minister from December 10, 1834, to April 8, 1835, and again from August 30, 1841, to June 29, 1846.
17. Opitz 1930–31, p. 126, fig. 1; Albenda 1986, p. 182, fig. 59. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago conducted seven seasons of excavation at Khorsabad from 1928 to 1935; in the process of these excavations, room X was reexamined, and many of the carved panels were removed to Chicago.
18. See Verri et al. 2009.
19. Julian Reade (1972, pp. 91–92) has discussed beardless men in the Assyrian reliefs and their likely identity as eunuchs. For a recent review of the evidence, see Tadmor 2002.
20. Albenda 1986, pp. 182–83.
21. The letter and enclosure are reproduced in Lansdowne sale 1930, pp. 105–6. My thanks to Ian Jenkins, senior curator, Department of Greece and Rome, The British Museum, London, for bringing this catalogue to my attention.
22. Additional Manuscripts 40582: 21, Department of Manuscripts, British Library, London.
23. Additional Manuscripts 40582: 23, Department of Manuscripts, British Library. A copy of the enclosure also exists in the British Museum Central Archive (C11/1/46), London. The "one or two fragments found chiefly by Mr. Rich" refers to three very small and worn fragments of sculpted stone, each approximately 2½ inches (6.4 cm) high, that had been recovered from the surface of Nineveh by Claudius James Rich in 1820; they entered the collections of the British Museum in 1825 (BM 1825,0503.61, 62, 72). See Simpson 2003, p. 199.
24. Sir Robert Peel to the British Museum Secretary, January 8, 1846, C11/1/46, British Museum Central Archive.
25. Trustees Standing Committee Minutes, January 10, 1846, British Museum Central Archive.
26. Birch 1847.
27. In 1836 the British Museum began to produce casts commercially, and the public could consult lists of available molds. By the late nineteenth century, plaster casts from the British Museum and other international collections had become fashionable both in the home and in museum displays, alongside original sculptures around the world.
28. Sir Robert Peel to the British Museum Secretary, August 27, 1846, C5/9/46, British Museum Central Archive.
29. Letter Book, August 14, 1846–January 22, 1847, number 28, British Museum Central Archive.
30. Sir Robert Peel to the British Museum Secretary, August 31, 1846, C5/1/46, British Museum Central Archive.
31. The Earl of Shelburne was a Whig politician who pursued a conciliatory policy toward America during its fight for independence from the British Crown; he was appointed prime minister in 1782 but resigned the following year. In 1784 Shelburne was made Marquess of Lansdowne.
32. Ruskin 1849, pp. 109–10, para. 31.
33. See Bohrer 2003, pp. 164–65.
34. The location of the Assyrian sculptures within Lansdowne House is recorded in Smith 1889, p. 48.
35. Peel sale 1900, lot 22.
36. MMA 32.12.
37. MMA 32.11.4.
38. Russell 1997, p. 164.
39. The three Nimrud reliefs were duly accepted by the trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art at a meeting on June 8, 1931 (MMA 31.72.1–3).
40. Rockefeller to Breck, May 19, 1931, folder 281, box 28, Rockefeller Family Archives. Rockefeller's mistake in associating these three reliefs with the Lansdowne collection is repeated by Gadd 1936, p. 235.
41. Breck to Rockefeller, May 19, 1931, folder 281, box 28, Rockefeller Family Archives.
42. Rockefeller to Breck, May 20, 1931, folder 281, box 28, Rockefeller Family Archives.
43. Winlock to Rockefeller, January 11, 1933, folder 281, box 28, Rockefeller Family Archives.
44. Rockefeller to Winlock, January 19, 1933, folder 281, box 28, Rockefeller Family Archives.

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The Cloisters Annunciation by the Master of Charles of France

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Among the collection of illuminated manuscripts and cuttings belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art is an extraordinary double miniature of the Annunciation to the Virgin (Figure 1).[1] This diptych, together with the book of hours from which it came, provides an exceptional opportunity to examine the production of a late medieval manuscript in its sociohistorical context. As we shall see, the material evidence of the book, dated 1465, and the history of its commission demonstrate a critical change in the conception of its decorative content. This in turn reflects significant developments in the history of French manuscript illumination in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, marking an important moment when the pictorial innovations of the predominant French painter and illuminator Jean Fouquet were absorbed and reshaped by his contemporaries.

The Cloisters leaves present the sacred scene of the Annunciation to the Virgin as viewed through an elaborate framing architecture. This architecture, with its variety of columns, sculptures in niches, gables with pinnacles, and tracery, creates the illusion of stagelike spaces in the foreground. Each of the two leaves utilizes this space differently. On the left-hand page, a balustrade marks the back of the stage. Beyond is a landscape dominated by a hillside and a castle in the far background. Innumerable angels playing musical instruments descend from the heavens, alight on the hillside, and enter the foreground on the left. They join Archangel Gabriel, who kneels at the right, facing the opposite page. A dove hovers above Gabriel. Golden rays project from the bird through a doorway on the right and onto the facing page, indicating that the two leaves depict a continuous space. In the center foreground of the right-hand page, the Virgin Mary sits reading and raises her head as though she has just noticed the archangel's presence. She sits below a richly ornamented octagonal stone cupola supported by columns. Behind the Virgin is a choir screen, and in the background a priest stands before an altar, suggesting that the octagonal space represents the crossing of a church—likely an allusion to the octagonal shape of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Similar architectural frames border the narrative scenes on both pages, but in the Virgin miniature the relationship between the architectural frame and the church architecture is unclear, and the towering cupola barely fits into the space provided by the frame. We look at the exterior and the interior of the church simultaneously. While the frames surrounding the two scenes separate them, the spaces merge into a seemingly coherent and continuous—if unrealistic—space, especially in the lower registers. The doorway before Gabriel grants access to the right half of the diptych and into the church. Gabriel's space is thus to be read as an antechamber and the doorway as a portal to the church. Followed by his entourage of angels, Gabriel has descended from heaven to announce the birth of the Christ Child just as he is about to enter the Lord's house.

On the verso of the Virgin miniature, the text of the Hours of the Virgin begins with Matins (Figure 2). The composition of the page repeats aspects of the Gabriel miniature, including an architectural frame, a stagelike setting with a balustrade, and a landscape extending into the background. A tablet suspended by a chain from the top of the frame obscures most of the Visitation scene, allowing only a glimpse of Mary and Elizabeth in the left foreground and a castle in the distant background. On the tablet are the first verses of Matins. The effect is that of a text written on a plaque, perhaps of stone, that was hung from the frame.[2] The text is embellished with an initial D historiated with the Virgin Mary at her loom amid music-making angels, adding yet another layer of visual and spatial complexity to this composition. The text is off-center in keeping with medieval

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, two leaves from the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, 1465. Colors and gold on vellum; Angel of the Annunciation: 6¾ x 4⅞ in. (17.3 x 12.5 cm), Virgin of the Annunciation: 6¾ x 4⅞ in. (17.2 x 12.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1958 (58.71a, b)

conventions of page layout, which implies that the traditional division between text and border is preserved. However, the realms of text and border have been merged to a degree that produces the effect of a full-page miniature. Around the outside of the frame, a painted inscription identifies the patron and the date: KAROLVS DE FRANCIA / KAROLI SEPTIMI FILIVS / NORTHMANNORVM DVX / NONVS ANNO MCCCCLXV VIVAT (Charles of France, son of Charles VII, ninth duke of Normandy, in the year 1465). In the foreground, two kneeling angels hold his coat of arms, while on either side a standing angel carries a banner decorated with an image of Archangel Michael. The same arms are attached to the top of the frame of the Gabriel miniature.

In 1936, Edith Greindl established that the manuscript from which the Cloisters Annunciation leaves were removed is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris (MS 473).[3] This book lacks the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, and on its folio 63 the text continues seamlessly from the opening of Matins on the Cloisters page. Moreover, the dimensions of the text block (about 2⅞ x 1⅞ in. [7.4 x 4.9 cm]) as well as the number of lines per folio (14) are the same in the Mazarine manuscript. The arms featured in two of the Mazarine miniatures, identical to the ones in the Gabriel miniature and those held by the kneeling angels on the Cloisters Visitation, are those of Charles of France as duke of Normandy.[4] It is undisputed that the same artist painted the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation and the miniatures in the Mazarine hours (except one, fol. 13), and he has been named after this manuscript, Master of Charles of France.[5] This master illuminated several manuscripts for Charles, and he may well have been based in Bourges, the capital of Berry.[6] He portrayed Charles's nearby birthplace and favorite residence, the Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre, in the background of the Gabriel miniature.[7]

Charles of France (1446–1472) was the youngest child of Charles VII, king of France (b. 1403; r. 1422–61).[8] After his

2. Master of Charles of France. The Visitation and the beginning of Matins on the verso of the Virgin of the Annunciation in Figure 1. The date 1465 is in the inscription down the right side.

3. Master of the Munich Boccaccio. Betrayal of Christ, in the Hours of Charles of France. Tours or Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 13. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

father's death and the accession to the throne of his older brother, Louis XI (1423–1483), Charles became duke of Berry and Dauphin. On October 5, 1465, he was granted the Duchy of Normandy according to the provisions of the Treaty of Conflans, which ended the conflict between the king and the League of the Public Weal, a coalition of French nobles that opposed the king's centralizing policy. Charles's new status as duke of Normandy is reflected in the arms in the Cloisters and Mazarine miniatures, and the inscription around the Visitation celebrates his political success and territorial gain. The significance of that year in Charles's life and career suggests that the October treaty was a catalyst in the production of this book.

Work on the manuscript must have begun prior to that date, however, for in two instances the book shows Charles's arms as duke of Berry. As mentioned, the miniature on folio 13, the Betrayal of Christ (Figure 3), is the only illumination in the book done by an artist other than the Master of Charles of France. It was once attributed to Jean Fouquet but has recently been given to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, Fouquet's closest follower.[9] It has been examined in detail by Stephen Clancy, who has shown that the bifolio that included folio 13 was removed from the manuscript, painted under circumstances different from the rest of the manuscript, and subsequently reinserted.[10] To account for Charles's arms as duke of Berry on that page, Clancy concluded that either the Betrayal was painted before October 1465 or the artist, who was not closely involved in the book's production, was simply unaware of the swiftly unfolding events surrounding the Treaty of Conflans and Charles's new title.

The other instance of Charles's arms as duke of Berry is on the verso of the Crucifixion (fol. 122). As Nicole Reynaud observed, those arms were painted over the arms of Louis, Bastard of Bourbon (d. 1486), count of Roussillon, an illegitimate son of Charles I, duke of Bourbon, which indicate that the manuscript was initially intended for him.[11] Louis had been a supporter of the League of the Public Weal, but he entered the king's service after the Treaty of Conflans. In 1466, for instance, he assumed the politically influential and lucrative post of Amiral de France, and in 1471 he became Lieutenant-Général of Normandy. Early in November 1465, four weeks after the Treaty of Conflans, Louis was betrothed to the king's natural daughter Jeanne de Valois, dame de Mirabeau (d. 1519).[12] A marriage contract was signed on Thursday, November 7, at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.[13] The festivities took place at the end of February the following year.[14] This chain of events suggests that during the negotiations between the crown and the league, the king promised his daughter to Louis in return for his allegiance. In the Mazarine hours, the Crucifixion shows the initials L and I in the lower right corner of the miniature, seemingly a reference to Louis and his new bride, Jeanne (Figure 10). In the lower left corner of that folio is a drawing of a shield, but the details of the coat of arms were not sketched in. Although the drawing is difficult to decipher, it is topped with what could be identified as a crown. Perhaps Louis commissioned the manuscript in anticipation of his union with the royal daughter Jeanne.[15]

Soon the manuscript passed into the possession of Charles of France. This must have happened before the Treaty of Conflans because Charles's arms that were painted over those of Louis on the verso of the Crucifixion were his as duke of Berry. Subsequent work on the manuscript was short-lived, however, for its decoration remains largely unfinished.[16] The completed miniatures were: the Betrayal of Christ (Figure 3) by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, illustrating the Passion of Christ; the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (Figures 1, 2), beginning the Hours of the Virgin; the Journey to Bethlehem (Figure 5) and the Nativity (Figure 4), illustrating Lauds and Prime of the Hours of the Virgin; and the Assumption of the Virgin (Figure 7), now lost, also part of the Hours of the Virgin, at Compline.[17] Another two miniatures have some paint applied: the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6) and the Crucifixion (Figure 10). There are preliminary drawings for an additional thirteen miniatures. In twelve further instances, there are only empty fields that indicate images (see Appendix).

The history of the commission as outlined here has long been known. What has not been remarked upon, however, is that the book's textual content and its decoration were significantly altered during its production. This is most obvious in the textual additions that make up gatherings 8 and 9 (fols. 47–62), in which there are thirteen short prayers (see Appendix). In order to begin the prayers on a new gathering (8), blank folios were left at the end of gathering 7. The textual decoration of the prayers was never carried out, unlike that in the rest of the manuscript. In addition, the planned miniatures within folios 47–62 are the only ones in the book that leave space for several lines of text beneath them. None of these miniatures was ever begun, whereas in the rest of the book all except one of the planned miniatures (fol. 34v) at least received underdrawing. Finally, it seems a different scribe was employed for gatherings 8 and 9, for his ink now appears brownish instead of the black in the rest of the manuscript. Thus, these thirteen prayers were evidently not part of the original textual sequence.

As for changes in the decoration of the book of hours, the illustrations for Matins and Lauds of the Office of the Dead—the Funeral Service (fol. 164) and the Last Judgment (fol. 195v)—seem also to have been later additions to the manuscript as it was originally planned. These increased the number of illustrations for the Office of the Dead from one to three—one for each of its hours, Vespers (Deathbed Scene, fol. 154), Matins, and Lauds. Addition of these illustrations is indicated by odd gathering structures amid the book's regular sequence of quaternions that were apparently made to accommodate the extra images:[18] the Last Judgment on folio 195v was inserted as a singleton into a quaternion (gathering 27, fols. 190–198),[19] and gathering 23, which features the Funeral Service, consists of only one bifolio (fols. 164–165). The catchword on folio 163v ("regem cui") indicates the beginning of Matins on folio 164v ("Regem cui omnia vivunt . . ."), thus ensuring the correct textual sequence. A catchword on folio 165v serves the same purpose. Both were inserted by a hand different from the scribe who wrote the other catchwords in the book.[20]

While Greindl convincingly argued that the Cloisters leaves introduced the Hours of the Virgin in the Mazarine manuscript, the codicological implications have never been properly examined. Contrary to what the double miniature might suggest, that gathering 10 lacks two bifolios, it lacks only one. This can be deduced from the amount of text missing between the manuscript's present folios 68 and 69, which would have fit on the recto and verso of a single leaf. This would have been the conjoint of the leaf with the Virgin of the Annunciation on the recto and the Visitation and opening words of Matins on the verso. Therefore, the page showing Gabriel must have been integrated either as a single leaf or as part of a single bifolio preceding gathering 10.

Clancy reconstructed a similar scenario for the Hours of Diane de Croy, a book of hours illuminated by a follower of Fouquet: an existing manuscript was upgraded to feature a double miniature of the Annunciation. In order to do so, the gathering's first folio was cut out and a single bifolio inserted in its place to accommodate the diptych (Figure 11); the lost text was then rewritten on the verso of the second leaf, as is indicated by a different script, by thirteen instead of the book's usual fourteen lines of text to a page, and by

4. Master of Charles of France. Nativity, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 85v. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

5. Master of Charles of France. Journey to Bethlehem, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 72*bis*. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

different textual decoration.[21] In Charles's hours, the integration of the new leaf was subtler, but here, too, there are indications that the text was rewritten. First, the ink appears brownish rather than black. More compelling is the fact that the line fillers on the Cloisters leaf feature rows of either French lilies or lions *passant guardant*, references to Charles's arms as duke of Normandy, instead of the simple decorative designs elsewhere in the book.[22] If we assume that the text and its decoration were accomplished before work on the illustrations was begun, as was customary, these line fillers indicate that the text on the Visitation page was rewritten when the Annunciation was upgraded. In other words, the original outermost bifolio of the opening of the Hours of the Virgin was replaced and one leaf added to allow for the insertion of the two-page miniature.

Given that this upgrade can be linked to Charles, the addition of illustrations to the Office of the Dead and of prayers before the Hours of the Virgin were likely done at his request as well. According to this reconstruction, thirteen short prayers were added, nine of which were to be illustrated; two illustrations were added to the Office of the Dead; the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin was turned into a double miniature; and the Betrayal on folio 13 was assigned to the workshop of Jean Fouquet. These changes would almost have doubled the number of illustrations.

This program of enhancements also affected the appearance of the individual miniatures. The standard layout of the miniatures consisted of the narrative scene surrounded by a frame of even width.[23] In the finished or nearly finished miniatures, these frames were sites of the artist's great inventiveness. The frame of the Nativity, a finished leaf, features an aviary populated with peacocks (Figure 4). It is a three-dimensional, box-shaped construction made of wood poles. On either side three peacocks proudly fan their tails. Six birds perch across the top, two flanking Charles's coat of arms, and two stand on the ground among the wood slats, here again flanking Charles's arms. Through the framing structure one looks at the stable, in which Mary and Joseph adore the Christ Child. The Journey to Bethlehem (Figure 5), also finished, is surrounded by a frame made of an illusionistic elaborately carved wood casing in which standard-bearers with banners display Charles's arms. The frame of the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6), an unfinished leaf, is made of boxes resembling caskets, in which children sit or stand. The inventiveness demonstrated in these frames certainly accords with the highly creative treatment of the architectural frames of the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (Figures 1, 2).

This arrangement of narrative scene and surrounding frame was altered in one way or another in several of the

6. Master of Charles of France. Massacre of the Innocents, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 92v. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

7. Master of Charles of France. Assumption of the Virgin, from the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Miniature detached from Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473; location unknown

miniatures. The most obvious case is the finished Betrayal (Figure 3), executed by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. It is a true full-page miniature, that is, without a frame and surrounded only by a narrow brown line. Among the finished miniatures painted by the Master of Charles of France, only the Assumption is truly a full-page illustration, but there is evidence that the composition originally included a frame. In the photographic record of this miniature (Figure 7), the frame's inner contour defined in the underdrawing can be seen through the painted surface, especially in the light blue sky and in the damaged paint surface below the tomb. Was there a drawing for the original conception of the narrative, as is common in this book? What did it look like and how was it changed? The underdrawing for the angels in the mandorla, where discernible, does not reveal any major compositional changes. The painting follows the drawing fairly truthfully. The flanking angels playing music and the tree at the lower left are largely confined to the space formerly allocated to the frame. Omitting them would not compromise the iconographic integrity of the composition, which suggests that the earlier composition was simply enlarged by adding motifs to the left and right. In the lower half of the Assumption, Saint Thomas and three other apostles could also be additions to the original composition. Iconographically, an Assumption without apostles is unusual but not without precedent. The tomb, on the other hand, poses a problem. The fact that it transgresses into the area that would have been the frame might not have bothered the artist. He did not seem to mind truncation, for in the Funeral Procession (Figure 8), he cut off the entire upper part of the body of a soldier lying on the ground in the lower right corner. However, in the Assumption, the tomb would have been awkwardly off-center if the inclusion of apostles had not been part of the original plan. While the outline of the frame in the underdrawing shows through the thin layer of gray used for the base of the tomb and its cover, there is no indication of a different positioning of the tomb itself. Although the composition was changed, it remains unclear exactly what the original design looked like.

A change in layout of the miniature can also be sensed in the Cloisters leaves, in which the framing architecture largely respects the space given to the frames in this book, but architecture and narrative scenes are fused in an attempt to create a coherent space.

The usual process of preparing an illustration for this illuminator was with two successive layers of drawing that established the frame and sketched the composition of the narrative scene.[24] A first sketch in a gray-blue medium, perhaps metalpoint, was superseded by a more detailed one in brown-black ink. Occasionally revisions occurred

8. Master of Charles of France. Funeral Procession, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 108. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

9. Master of Charles of France. Apocalypse, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 131. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

between the first and the second. For example, in the Death of the Virgin for None in the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 103), the Virgin's deathbed is surrounded by women and, more prominently, men, some of them reading. Two windows in the back help define the setting. At the upper right a bearded man lifts his hat as he enters the room through an open door. In the first sketch, however, there was an opening in the room's back wall parallel to the picture plane, consisting of a double arch supported by a central column.

In the two miniatures that were added to the Office of the Dead, the Funeral Service (fol. 164) and the Last Judgment (fol. 195v), modifications between the first sketch and the ink drawing significantly pertain to the frames. The initial sketches show the standard squared-off area of the frame, but in the more detailed drawings, the narrative scenes extend into the space reserved for the frame, of which only the exterior outline was repeated in ink.

This change in layout can be observed in two more drawings, namely, the illustrations for the Hours of the Cross (Crucifixion, fol. 122) and the Penitential Psalms (Apocalypse, fol. 131). The drawing for the Apocalypse (Figure 9)—an iconographically unusual introduction for the Penitential Psalms—has the frame fully laid out in the gray-blue medium and ink, but both drawings transgress into this space. A seven-headed leonine dragon moves from right to left through the foreground of a landscape that is little defined except for a large castle not far behind. Much smaller apocalyptic (?) horsemen and -women precede the dragon. The architecture extends across the full width of the scene but not into the frame. Dragon and horsemen also respect the frame. Only a smaller structure adjacent to the castle on the left and a fine line characterizing a rolling hill just in front of the architecture on the right trespass this boundary. Flanking the apocalyptic vision to left and right are tall standing figures of a naked man and woman with long tails and diabolic heads. These are confined to the frame space. Since they do not appear to be necessary to the narrative and they are much taller than the dragon and the horsemen, they seem an afterthought to an earlier composition. Adding two standing devils could easily be done, as the frames did not receive their underdrawing at the same time the main scene did, as will be discussed later.

Even more interesting and complex in terms of its genesis is the full-page Crucifixion (Figure 10). Its unfinished state permits reconstruction of the creative process that led to this composition. Below the castle at the upper left, the group of horsemen, which was never executed beyond the drawing stage, extends to the left edge of the miniature as it appears today. The sketch for the horsemen approaching Golgotha from the lower left, however, suggests that an earlier

10. Master of Charles of France. Crucifixion, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 122. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

conception of the miniature did include a frame, for they do not transgress into the space usually allotted to it. Moreover, the two female figures occupying the lower left and right corners seem like additions to the initial composition. The one on the right holds the letters L and I, and the one on the left, the empty shield and the presumed crown. Behind them rise rocky cliff formations, which are connected across the picture plane by a low, narrow ridge. On the cliffs are the lion and the ox, symbols of Apostles Mark and Luke. This iconography is highly unusual for a Crucifixion in a book of hours. It likely derives from the standard illustration for a Missal, where the Crucifixion is on a page facing one showing Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the apostles. The symbolic-heraldic area denoted by the two women, the lion, and the ox is carefully separated from the biblical narrative through landscape elements and by the size of the women and animals in relation to the soldiers casting the dice over Christ's clothes.[25] It clearly belongs to a realm different from the main scene, framing the narrative both figuratively and literally. Its coinciding with the space that would have been provided by a frame implies that the Crucifixion was initially meant to have a frame, which was subsequently omitted to expand the narrative into a full-page composition. The reason for its iconographic idiosyncrasies thus lies in the genesis of the composition. Again, introducing the additional elements did not require changes to the main scene, except perhaps for the elongation of the crosses at the top of the miniature.

At what point in the production of this book, and ultimately why, did this experimentation with the layout take place? As can be seen on folios 34v, 211v, and 216v, all seemingly intended to be full-page miniatures, the work began with a rectangle drawn on the page, establishing the outer border of the frame and thus the dimensions of the illustration. The illuminator then provided the underdrawings for the miniatures, which included outlining the frames but not specifying their motifs. Apparently it was important first to conceive the narrative cycle as a whole. For the eight textual divisions in the Hours of the Virgin, the sequence is quite unusual: Annunciation, Journey to Bethlehem, Nativity, Massacre of the Innocents, Virgin reading, Death of the Virgin, Funeral Procession, and Assumption. The Visitation appears very small on the verso of the Annunciation and thus at Matins, and the Nativity for Prime incorporates an Adoration of the Shepherds and also shows the Magi arriving in the background. Extant notations on almost all of the pages with illustrations served as directions for the illuminator, but they refer only to the text. For example, in the lower right-hand corner of the Crucifixion (fol. 122), the notation reads, "histoire de la croix"; the notation on the drawing for the Virgin reading (fol. 98), "histoire a sexte," indicating the fifth of the Hours of the Virgin.[26] After the narrative scenes were sketched in and before the illuminator began applying paint, the frames received their underdrawing, as can be deduced from the unfinished miniatures of the Massacre of the Innocents and the Crucifixion. In the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6), the drawing for the children and their coffers is still visible, and it reflects the morbid theme of the miniature.

Where in the book the process of painting in the miniatures began cannot be determined with certainty, but the Crucifixion (Figure 10) seems the most likely candidate because of its reference to Louis in the lower corners. The overpainting of his coat of arms on the verso with those of Charles as duke of Berry seems a logical first step to adapt the manuscript to its new owner.[27] Work on the Hours of the Virgin began afterward, as indicated by Charles's arms as duke of Normandy (see note 4), and it proceeded somewhat systematically. The illustrations for the first three Hours—Matins (Annunciation and Visitation), Lauds (Journey to Bethlehem), and Prime (Nativity)—were finished first. The illustration for Terce, the Massacre of the Innocents, received only shades of blue, green, and brown, and the figures and parts of the architecture were never taken past the underdrawing stage. Charles's arms could easily have been added to the existing designs, since they appear in the frames, which, as we have seen, were drawn in after the narrative scenes.

The Assumption (Figure 7) is the obvious exception to this otherwise methodical procedure, and its position in the chronology of the production process remains difficult to explain. Since it does not include any heraldry, it cannot be securely connected with Charles. Although the drawing originally included a frame, it now seems the most advanced among all the finished miniatures in the book (except fol. 13). However, in the Crucifixion, the reference to Louis and Jeanne in the initials held by the woman in the lower right corner, within the space where the frame would have been, suggests that this experimentation with the full-page format began before Charles took over the commission. The Master of Charles of France faced the challenge of adapting the existing design to the new format, and his attempt to do so resulted in the iconographic and compositional discrepancies described above. Perhaps this was found unsatisfactory and suggests why work on the manuscript was continued in another part of the book.

In any case, miniatures without frames became the governing design principle. The Betrayal (painted separately), the Annunciation (with architecture merging narrative and frame), the Assumption, the Crucifixion, the Apocalypse, and the two miniatures added to the Office of the Dead (Funeral Service and Last Judgment) all attest to the preference to exclude the frame. In addition, two drawings at the end of the manuscript illustrating prayers to Saint John the Baptist (fol. 214) and Saint Michael the Archangel (fol. 215) do not show any sign of a frame, which suggests that these prayers were added later, like the ones inserted before the Hours of the Virgin.[28] While this creative process and its development are difficult to disentangle, it is clear that the full-page narrative scene replaced the concept of scene plus frame.

The decision to expand and modernize the Hours of Charles of France likely reflects its new owner's aesthetic preferences. Charles was an important patron for illuminated manuscripts—as was Louis[29]—and he may well have been familiar with current artistic tendencies. Full-page miniatures were rare before the 1450s but became increasingly popular, especially among the followers of Jean Fouquet, from the 1460s on. Fouquet's prominent use of this format, most notably in his book of hours made for Étienne Chevalier, seems to have been the catalyst.[30] The Master of the Munich Boccaccio, who painted the Betrayal of Christ in Charles's book, took his composition from the Chevalier hours.[31]

Fouquet may also have been the inspiration for the double miniature of the Annunciation at the Cloisters. In the Hours of Étienne Chevalier of about 1450–55, for instance, Chevalier and his patron saint kneel on the left page before the Virgin and Child, on the right.[32] An artist from Fouquet's workshop, one close to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, painted a double miniature of the Annunciation in the Hours of Diane de Croy of about 1470 that is analogous to the Cloisters Annunciation (Figure 11),[33] even though the Master of Charles of France retained a distinctly Gothic, even fantastical, architecture compared with Fouquet's familiarity with the burgeoning forms of the Italian Renaissance. Much as in the Cloisters leaves, Gabriel and Mary occupy facing pages, and while the setting and the figures' interaction suggest a coherent space, both miniatures retain their respective frames. On the lower edges of the frames the opening words of the prayer appear on blue scrolls, an arrangement reminiscent of the playful illusionism familiar from the Cloisters Visitation.

Also relevant to the Hours of Charles of France is the Hours of Simon de Varie.[34] About 1455, Fouquet was commissioned to paint a double miniature for this manuscript, a book otherwise illuminated by the Dunois Master and the Master of Jean Rolin II. The left of the diptych shows the Virgin and the Christ Child (Figure 12). The kneeling patron appears on the facing page accompanied by his motto and arms. A latticework frame intertwined with flowering vines surrounds each miniature, not unlike the aviary framework for the Nativity in the Hours of Charles of France (Figure 4). Simon de Varie was a rich and powerful local merchant and royal official from Bourges.[35] Fouquet had numerous connections with that city, for the church in which the Annunciation in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier takes place was clearly inspired by the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges, likely known to Fouquet from firsthand experience.[36] He also painted a portrait of Charles VII, today in the Louvre, Paris, which is known to have been in that chapel in the fifteenth century.[37] A copy of this portrait was

11. Artist close to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. Annunciation to the Virgin, in the Hours of Diane de Croy. Tours, ca. 1470. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548, fols. 18v–19

12. Jean Fouquet. Virgin and Child Enthroned with Simon de Varie kneeling in prayer, in the Hours of Simon de Varie. Tours, ca. 1455. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Partial gift of Gerald F. Borrmann, MS 7, fols. 1v–2. Photograph: The J. Paul Getty Museum

subsequently included in one of the miniatures in a *Romuleon* owned by Charles of France and illustrated by the Master of Charles of France.[38] Fouquet's influence on the Master of Charles of France's work in terms of pictorial innovation and, more generally, on the appearance of Charles's book of hours thus far exceeds that suggested by his workshop's contribution of a single miniature (fol. 13).

Including the Cloisters Annunciation, there are four known Annunciations to the Virgin painted by the Master of Charles of France. One is in a book of hours at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire (Figure 13).[39] Otto Pächt attributed it tentatively to Fouquet, although he would soon give it to the Master of Charles of France.[40] He dated it to about 1440 based on an analysis of its perspective, representation of space, and figure style, and thus recognizing it as work that predated Fouquet's journey to Italy.[41] Gabriel and the Virgin in the Stonyhurst Annunciation especially recall their counterparts in the same scene in the Hours of Diane de Croy of some years later. According to Pächt, the Stonyhurst miniature is an early example of the French adaptation of an early Netherlandish convention for the representation of interior space. The perspective is empirical but shows signs of horror vacui, particularly in the central column. In addition, the figures display features of the "angular" style and block-like form typical of the work of Jan van Eyck and other exponents of Netherlandish art at this time. Pächt also acknowledged that the central column is reminiscent of church interiors typical of Annunciations in French manuscripts.[42] Furthermore, the historiated medallions alternating with acanthus and floral motifs in the borders of the Stonyhurst hours are common motifs in early fifteenth-century French manuscripts, particularly books produced in the workshops of the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters.[43] While Pächt's analysis of the Stonyhurst hours indeed suggests an early date for the book, it should be given a date of about 1450–55 because the Master of Charles of France collaborated with illuminators from the Jouvenel group, artists who did not begin working until the late 1440s.[44] In the Stonyhurst hours, the Master of Charles of France made no attempt to integrate miniature and border, and Gabriel and Mary are not hierarchically distinguished through architecture as they are in the Cloisters Annunciation. His use of pictorial conventions of the earlier fifteenth century, still unaffected by the Italian Renaissance, suggests an artistic formation at a time and within an artistic milieu that made him reluctant to adopt a purely Renaissance treatment of, for instance, architecture.

Also painted by the Master of Charles of France but later in date is a book of hours of about 1455–60 today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (N. a. Lat. 3191). As in the Stonyhurst miniature, the layout of the Annunciation in this book (Figure 14) is traditional in its division of narrative

13. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Bourges) made for Louis, Bastard of Bourbon. Angers or Bourges, ca. 1450–55. Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38, fol. 40. Photograph: Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, sale cat., lot 90

14. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Poitiers). Bourges, ca. 1455–60. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. Lat. 3191, fol. 26. Photograph: BnF

15. Master of Charles of France, Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Rome). Bourges (?), ca. 1465–67. Private collection, fol. 15. Photograph: Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1990, sale cat., lot 140

scene and framing acanthus border, even though the border at the top of the page is replaced by sculpture on the roof of the church standing out against a blue sky. The Virgin and the angel are in a church setting, and as in the Stonyhurst Annunciation, a column assigns distinct spaces to each figure. As with the Cloisters Annunciation, both the interior and the exterior of the architecture are represented simultaneously. The text has the appearance of being written on scrolls that are attached to the base of the architecture, anticipating the same motif painted by a follower of Fouquet's in the Hours of Diane de Croy (Figure 11). It also anticipates the more sophisticated trompe l'oeil in the Cloisters Visitation of 1465 (Figure 2).

A fourth book of hours, now in a private collection, takes the development of this illusionism still further.[45] It shows the Annunciation as a full-page miniature, completely omitting a decorative border or frame (Figure 15). There is a fine brown line around the miniature except for the architectural base, which evokes a plinth on which the painting is standing. The beginning of the text is painted as if it were carved into the stone instead of written on a scroll. However, the scene is similarly composed to the one in the book of hours in Paris (Figure 14), particularly with respect to interior versus exterior view of the church setting and the central column. Unlike in the Paris Annunciation, this column functions to create a spatial hierarchy, effectively making visible the exalted status of the Virgin. As in the Cloisters Annunciation, the Virgin is placed in the crossing or choir of the church, while Gabriel remains in an antechamber, the nave, or a lower aisle. The Cloisters Annunciation astonishes in its detail and complexity, while the miniature in the privately held book of hours is at once more sober and a more advanced pictorial solution. The most likely date for this last book is about 1465–67, based on initials in the manuscript that link it to an older sister of Charles of France, Yolande, and her husband, Amadeus IX, duke of Savoy.

The evolution toward the full-page narrative scene without a frame that we can trace in the Hours of Charles of France is paralleled in the artist's treatment of the Annunciation throughout his known work. The Hours of Charles of France is a milestone in this development, and the examples presented here are essential to understanding the creative process that led to the Cloisters Annunciation. They reveal an effort toward a more refined representation of space and an attempt to adhere to a new convention in pictorial form that evolved in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was widely disseminated in the ensuing decades. Charles's book is thus an experimental and highly creative landmark in this development, and its unfinished condition allows a glimpse into the illuminator's creative struggle toward the new mise-en-page.

NOTES

1. The only extensive discussion of the Cloisters Annunciation is Freeman 1960.
2. This detail was commented on in Sterling 1975, p. 31. See also Pächt 1948.
3. Greindl 1936. For a bibliography of the manuscript, see Avril 2003, p. 309. To this should be added Martin 1909, p. 101; Martin 1928, p. 79; Blum and Lauer 1930, pp. 32, 74; La Batut 1932, p. 42; Friedländer 1948, p. 253; Sterling 1975, pp. 30–34; Manchester 1976, p. 31; Clancy 1988, pp. 31–42, 179–81, 206; de Winter 1996.
4. Charles's arms as duke of Normandy are on Mazarine folios 72*bis* (Journey to Bethlehem; Figure 5) and 85v (Nativity; Figure 4). The shield in the drawing on Mazarine folio 92v (Massacre of the Innocents; Figure 6) is quartered to accommodate those arms, but they were never painted in. Folio 72*bis* was once detached from the Mazarine hours but was pasted back into the manuscript; see Delisle 1894.
5. John Plummer (1982, pp. 48–49, no. 64) was the first to coin the name Master of Charles of France. A few years earlier, Otto Pächt called him Master of Charles of Normandy; see Manchester 1976, p. 31.
6. For Charles of France, in addition to the Mazarine book of hours, the artist illuminated a *Romuleon* (Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Geneva, MS 143); and Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1949).
7. His representation of the Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre on the Gabriel half of the Cloisters diptych was identified in Freeman 1960, p. 109. See also Meiss 1967, vol. 2, fig. 430. The identification is reiterated in Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 157–58; Avril 2003, p. 308. The château is depicted as well on folio 22 of the Bodmer *Romuleon* (see note 6 above).
8. For a biography of Charles of France, see Stein 1919.
9. See Avril 2003, pp. 308–9. The entire Mazarine manuscript was initially thought to be the work of Jean Fouquet; it was first mentioned as such in Vallet de Viriville 1857, p. 435. Since Freeman 1960, it has been accepted that its illumination includes the work of two hands.
10. Clancy 1988, pp. 37–42; Clancy 1993, pp. 213–16.
11. See Reynaud 1981, p. 86n168. Louis's coat of arms can be seen in a book of hours at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire (MS 38, fol. 40; see Figure 13—the arms in the initial D). For Louis's biography, see Anselme (1726–33) 1967, vol. 1, pp. 308–9, vol. 7, p. 857; Amat 1954; and La Mure 1860–97, vol. 2, p. 224n2.
12. November 2, 1465, is given as the date of the marriage in Anselme (1726–33) 1967, vol. 1, p. 309; Amat 1954, col. 1409; and La Mure 1860–97, vol. 2, p. 224n2. The date of November 7, 1465, is given in Mandrot 1894–96, vol. 1, pp. 136–38. A letter to the duke of Milan, dated November 9, 1465, written by Giovan-Pietro Panigarola and Cristoforo da Bollate, mentions that the French king had married one of his daughters to the Bastard of Bourbon; see Mandrot 1916–23, vol. 4, p. 65. For biographical information about Jeanne, see Durand-Delga 1997 and 2004. Subsequently, Louis was granted various estates by the king by letters patent issued on November 11, 1465; see Blanchard 1715, pp. 299, 301.
13. For a transcript of the contract, see Commynes 1747, vol. 2, pp. 544–48.
14. Jeanne was legitimized on February 25, 1465 (old style; 1466, new style); see the transcription of the document in Gallier 1873, p. 51.
15. Jeanne apparently had an interest in illuminated manuscripts herself, as she owned an illustrated copy of Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, French translation by Laurent Premierfait (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 230).
16. Perhaps Charles's tenuous status and loss of revenue early in 1466 led to the abandonment of this ambitious and costly commission: King Louis, not inclined to fulfill the terms of the Treaty of Conflans, moved his army to Normandy and occupied its capital, Rouen, early in 1466. Charles fled to Brittany, seeking protection from Duke Francis II, and remained there almost continuously until 1469. See Greindl 1936, p. 221, and Reynaud 1981, p. 56.
17. Avril and Reynaud 1993, p. 160, where the Assumption is mentioned as having been seen in a German private collection in 1970. Its current location is unknown, but there exists an excellent photograph of it, which is reproduced here.
18. Apart from irregularities in the gatherings owing to loss, the only other anomalies can be found in gathering 7, which preceded the Hours of the Virgin before the additional prayers were inserted, and gathering 18, which contains the full texts of the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. See Appendix.
19. The notations on the bifolios in this gathering are si through siiii (fols. 190–193), followed by the thread. The catchword appears on folio 198v. Thus, the single added leaf seems to be inserted before folio 196, but the tight binding of the manuscript makes it impossible to be certain. I express my gratitude to Yann Sordet and Patrick Latour at the Bibliothèque Mazarine for their examination of the gathering in question.
20. The insertion of additional miniatures suggests that leaves were replaced and texts rewritten. This would have affected the text on the new leaf and perhaps also the following leaf or the conjoint leaf if a double folio was replaced. However, it is difficult to be certain of the use of different inks without further technical analysis.
21. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548; Clancy 1993, p. 224. In this case, a stub indicates the missing original first folio of this gathering. Clancy also mentions another case, somewhat similar though less successful, involving a miniature by Fouquet or a close follower in the Hours of Louis Malet de Graville (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 1163).
22. For an analysis of the differences in completion of the textual decoration throughout the Hours of Charles of France, see Clancy 1988, pp. 179–81.
23. The miniatures that have frames indicated or painted are folios 28v (Luke), 31 (Matthew), 40 (Virgin and Child), 72*bis* (Journey to Bethlehem), 85v (Nativity), 92v (Massacre of the Innocents), 98 (Virgin reading), 103 (Death of the Virgin), 108 (Funeral Procession), 122 (Crucifixion; layout changed), 126v (Transfiguration), 131 (Apocalypse; layout changed), 154 (Deathbed Scene), 164 (Funeral Service; layout changed, discussed below), and 195v (Last Judgment; layout changed). In some of them, aspects of the narrative scene extend into the frame, as will be discussed. The narrative scenes on folios 40 and 98 have rounded tops, which extend into the upper section of the frame.

24. Alexander 1992, p. 40.
25. The Crucifixion resembles compositions by Fouquet, especially in the circular arrangement of the onlookers, the view of the horse from behind, and the soldiers rolling the dice over Christ's clothing. Compare, for example, the Crucifixion in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 71; see Reynaud 2006, p. 87). Unlike Fouquet, the Master of Charles of France combined a populous Crucifixion with a "devotional" type that includes only Christ on the Cross, Mary, John, and Mary Magdalen, which is unusual as well.
26. The notation read "histoire a nonne," but "nonne" was crossed out and "sexte" written above it. These notations may have been written in the same hand as the catchwords on folios 163v and 165v; if so, that would further support the observation that this gathering (23) was not part of the original plan for the manuscript.
27. As already mentioned, the Betrayal (Figure 3), which also has Charles's coat of arms as duke of Berry, is a different case, for that bifolio seems to have been sent to Fouquet's workshop even before the textual decoration in the manuscript was completed; see Clancy 1993, p. 214.
28. The miniatures for the prayers to Saints James (fol. 216v) and Bernard (fol. 211v) did not receive underdrawing. Only a faint line marking the outer borders of the miniatures is visible.
29. Manuscripts made for or owned by Louis are Ludolph of Saxony, *Le livre de vita Christi* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 177–179); *Secret des secrets* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. Fr. 18219); Frontinus, *Le livre des strategemes*, French translation by Jean de Rovroy, and *Notables extraictz du livre de Vegecce* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1235); Book of Hours (Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38; see discussion below and note 39); Missal (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, MS 2); Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Les faits du grand Alexandre*, French translation by Vasco de Lucena (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 2566); *Les faits des romains* (Bibliothèque de Genève, Fr. 80). To Jeanne de France, duchess of Bourbon, the wife of his brother Jean II de Bourbon, Louis presented a copy of *La Boucquechardière* of Jean de Courcy (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 329).
30. Musée Condé, MS 71. For this manuscript, see Avril 2003, pp. 193–217, no. 24, and Reynaud 2006.
31. For the Betrayal in the Chevalier hours, see Reynaud 2006, pp. 50–53, no. 7.
32. See ibid., pp. 39–45, nos. 4, 5.
33. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548, fols. 18v–19. See Avril 2003, pp. 364–66, no. 43.
34. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MSS 74 G 37 and 74 G 37a; and J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 7. See Marrow 1994 and Avril 2003, pp. 187–92, no. 23. In Plummer 1982 (p. 47), the Madonna on folio 1v in Los Angeles is attributed to the Master of Charles of France; it is now given to Fouquet.
35. See Avril 1985 and Marrow 1994, pp. 111–44.
36. See Reynaud 2006, p. 59, Annunciation ill. p. 55.
37. See Avril 2003, pp. 101–10, no. 4.
38. Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Geneva MS 143, fol. 6v; see Reynaud 1981, p. 17. For the manuscript, see Pellegrin 1982, pp. 349–53.
39. Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38, fol. 40. The manuscript was offered at *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, sale, Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, lot 90, but it was not sold.
40. Pächt 1974, pp. 82–85 (attribution to Fouquet); Manchester 1976, p. 31 (attribution to Master of Charles of Normandy; see note 5 above).
41. Pächt 1974, pp. 82–85.
42. This tradition is referred to in ibid., p. 77. See also Panofsky 1935, p. 445: "the French fifteenth century painters were extremely reluctant to adopt the bourgeois interior type" and (p. 445n24) "retained . . . their traditional iconographical schemes, namely . . . the church interior types"; Robb 1936, p. 495: "The Annunciation's ecclesiastical setting is the outstanding characteristic of its French iconography in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."
43. See, for example, the Annunciation in the Mazarine Hours (Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 469, fol. 13); Paris 2004, ill. p. 285.
44. Manchester 1976, pp. 31–32, no. 57. As a date for the Stonyhurst book of hours, the sale catalogue Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, lot 90 (see note 39 above), suggests about 1460–70; this is surely too late. For the Jouvenel group, see König 1982, pp. 213–20, and Avril 2003, pp. 414–17.
45. *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, sale, Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1990, lot 140; and *The Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection of Important Books and Manuscripts*, sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 21, 1998, lot 36 (called the Northumberland Hours). According to the 1998 sale catalogue, this book seems to have been produced in several phases, as was the Hours of Charles of France. The Master of Charles of France shared the commission with the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio and the Master of the Échevinage de Rouen.

Hours of Charles of France (use of Paris)

Bourges (and Tours?), dated 1465

Parchment; 218 folios, 7⅛ x 5¼ in. (18 x 13.3 cm); 14 lines, 3 x 1⅞ in. (7.5 x 4.8 cm)

Catchwords and gathering signatures largely intact (see below)

Modern Arabic foliation: 1–220; 72*bis* is inserted, 159 is not assigned

Written in bastarda, by two hands

Bound in red Morocco leather, semé of fleurs-de-lis

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473 (813)

iii + gatherings 1–2^{6} (fols. 1–12), 3^{8} (13–20), 4^{6} (21–26), 5^{8-2} (27–32), 6^{8} (33–40), 7^{6} (41–46), 8^{8} (47–54), 9^{8} (55–62), 10^{8-2} (63–68), 11^{8-2+1} (69–74), 12–16^{8} (75–114), 17^{8-2} (115–120), 18^{10} (121–130), 19–21^{8} (131–154), 22^{8} (155–163), 23^{2} (164–165), 24–26^{8} (166–189), 27^{8+1} (190–198), 28–29^{8} (199–214), 30^{4} (215–218) + iii

Calendar (fols. 1–12v)

Passion of Christ (13–25v)

- 13: Betrayal of Christ, attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio (finished; Figure 3)
- 26–26v: blank

Gospels (27–34, defect at beginning and end)

- 28v: Saint Luke (drawing)
- 31: Saint Matthew (drawing)

Obsecro te (35–39v), introduced by planned miniature on fol. 34v

O intemerata (40v–45), introduced by the Virgin and Child on fol. 40 (drawing)

- 45v–46v: blank

Prayers (47–62v)

- 47–49: Narrative of Christ's Passion based on John 19:1–36 and Matthew 27:30, 34, "In illo tempore apprehendit pilatus ih[esu]m et flagellavit eum . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 49–50: Prayer, "Deus qui man[us] tuas et pedes tuos . . ."
- 50v–51: "O salutaris hostia," introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 51: Prayer, "Perpetua q[uae]s[umus d[omi]ne pace custodi quos per lignum sancte crucis redimere dignatus es salvator mundi. amen."
- 51v–54: "Stabat mater dolorosa," introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 54: "Ave regina caelorum"
- 54v: "Salve regina mater misericordiae"
- 55: Prayer, "Post partu[m] virgo inviolata perma[n]sisti. Dei genetrix intercede pro nobis"; followed by "Concede nos famulos tuos q[uae]s[umus] domine deus perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere et gloriosa beate marie semper virginis intercessione a pr[aes]i[n]ti liberari tristicia et eterna perfrui leticia per d[omi]n[u]m."
- 55v–57: Prayer to Saint Sebastian, "Egregie dei martyr Sebastiane, princeps ac propagator . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 57v–58: Prayer to Saint George, "Corona[m] glorie pona[m] super caput martiris dicit d[omi]nus . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 58v–59v: Prayer to Saint Christopher, "Cum autem complevisset sanctus xpo[christo]forus or[ati]onem suam . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 60–61: Prayer to Saint Catherine, "Virgo s[an]c[t]a katherina grecie ge[m]ma urbe alexa[n]drina costi regis erat filia . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature
- 61v–62v: Prayer to Saint Barbara, "Media nocte circumfulxit lux de celo beata[m] barbara[m] in apparuit ei salvator dicens . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

Hours of the Virgin (63–120)

- 63–72v: Matins, originally introduced by the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (finished; Figures 1, 2)
- 72*bis*v–85: Lauds, introduced by the Journey to Bethlehem on fol. 72*bis* (finished; Figure 5)
- 86–92: Prime, introduced by the Nativity on fol. 85v (finished; Figure 4)
- 93–97v: Terce, introduced by the Massacre of the Innocents on fol. 92v (unfinished; Figure 6)
- 98v–102v: Sext, introduced by the Virgin reading on fol. 98 (drawing)
- 103v–107v: None, introduced by the Death of the Virgin on fol. 103 (drawing)
- 108v–115v: Vespers, introduced by the Funeral Procession on fol. 108 (drawing; Figure 8)
- 116–120: Compline (defect at beginning), originally introduced by the Assumption of the Virgin (finished; Figure 7)
- 120v–121v: blank

Hours of the Cross (122v–126), introduced by the Crucifixion on fol. 122 (unfinished; Figure 10)

Hours of the Holy Spirit (127–130v), introduced by the Transfiguration on fol. 126v (drawing)

Penitential Psalms (131v–146), introduced by the Apocalypse on fol. 131 (drawing; Figure 9)

Litany (146–153v)

Office of the Dead (154v–211)

- 154v–163v: Vespers, introduced by the Deathbed Scene on fol. 154 (drawing)
- 164v–195: Matins, introduced by the Funeral Service on fol. 164 (drawing)
- 196–211: Lauds, introduced by the Last Judgment on fol. 195v (drawing)

Verses of Saint Bernard (212–213v), introduced by planned miniature on fol. 211v

Suffrages (214v–217v)

- 214v: Saint John the Baptist, introduced by a miniature of Saint John the Baptist holding a book and a lamb on fol. 214 (drawing)
- 215v–216: Saint Michael the Archangel, introduced by a miniature of Saint Michael and the Devil on fol. 215 (drawing)
- 217–217v: Saint James, introduced by a planned miniature on fol. 216v
- 218–218v: blank

Production Marks
In gathering 5/on fols. 27–29: aºii, aºiii, aºiiii; 6/33–36: bºi, bºii, bºiii, bºiiii; 7/41–44: cºi, cºii, cºiii, cºiiii(*); 10/63, 65: aii, aiiii; 11/69, 70: bi, bii; 12/75–78: ci, cii, ciii, ciiii; 13/83–86: di, dii, diii, diiii; 14/91–94: ei, eii, eiii, eiiii; 15/99–102: fi, fii, fiii, fiiii; 16/107–110: gi, gii, giii, giiii; 17/115–117: hi, hiii, hiiii; 18/121–125: Ii, Iii, Iiii, Iiiii, Iv; 19/131–134: ki, kii, kiii, kiiii; 20/139–142: Li, Lii, Liii, Liiii; 21/147–150: mi, mii, miii, miiii; 22/155–158: ni, nii, niii, niiii; 23/164, 165: oi, oii(*); 24/166–169: pi, pii, piii, piiii; 25/174–177: qi, qii, qiii, qiiii; 26/182–185: ri, rii, riii, riiii; 27/190–193: si, sii, siii, siiii; 28/199–202: ti, tii, tiii, tiiii; 29/207–210: vi, vii, viii, viiii; 30/215–217: ui, uii, uiii(*)

Catchwords—on fols. 13v(*), 20v, 40v, 54v, 74v, 82v, 90v, 98v, 106v, 114v, 129v(*), 138v, 146v, 154v, 163v (different hand), 165v (different hand), 173v, 181v, 189v, 198v, 206v, 214v

(*)—denotes an irregularity in a production mark

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Canvas Matches in Vermeer: A Case Study in the Computer Analysis of Fabric Supports

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Old master paintings were executed on various types of support, most commonly on wood panel or canvas, but also on copper and other metal sheets, and much more rarely on slabs of stone, such as slate, alabaster, or marble. The type of wood (usually oak in northern Europe and poplar in Italy) and, when possible, dendrochronology can help determine the approximate period of a painting's execution, country of origin, and, in some cases, authorship. The weave of a canvas (its pattern or fineness) may bear on the same questions or be otherwise revealing, for instance, by suggesting that two paintings were intended as a pair.[1]

For the past several years two of the present study's authors, C. Richard Johnson Jr. and Don H. Johnson, have developed computer algorithms that allow an analysis of canvas weaves that is more precise than traditional methods.[2] They have digitally mapped canvases used by European artists ranging in date from the 1450s (Dieric Bouts's *tüchlein* paintings, in London, Los Angeles, and Pasadena) to Vincent van Gogh's pictures of 1888–90 (187 canvases from that period alone).[3] The results so far have been variously revealing for those artists and for Velázquez, Vermeer, Monet, Renoir, Gauguin, and Matisse.[4]

In the case of Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675), twenty-nine of his canvases have been digitally mapped to date, out of the thirty-six paintings by him (two of which are on wood) that are generally accepted by scholars.[5] As discussed below, three canvas weave matches were found, with three different implications: a question of authenticity; another concerning chronology; and the hypothesis that two pictures were intended by the artist as a pair.

Most Dutch painters, including Vermeer, used linen canvases of a "plain" or "tabby" weave: the threads go under and over each other one at a time, forming the simplest crisscross pattern. Until very recently, distinguishing one canvas from another was largely limited to making thread counts. The standard method of thread counting uses a radiograph (X-ray image) of a particular canvas support, the lead-bearing priming of which makes the individual threads visible.[6] Threads per centimeter in both directions are counted with a pointer under magnification, with fractions estimated by eye. Several samples are taken on each canvas, perhaps four or as many as fifteen (their locations are virtually impossible to specify using this manual method). The samples on one canvas are then averaged, and the support may be said to consist of an average of about 12.5 x 17.2 threads per centimeter or a similar (by digital standards) approximation.

In our survey of twenty-nine canvases used by Vermeer, four of them present a very close correlation of thread counts in both the warp and the weft direction. Here are the average thread counts per centimeter (with height before width), as calculated automatically by computer:

1. *The Milkmaid* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam): 14.4 x 14.7
2. *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam): 14.6 x 14.7
3. *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (Mauritshuis, The Hague): 14.2 x 14.1
4. *Study of a Young Woman* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York): 14.3 x 14.8

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Johannes Vermeer (Dutch, 1632–1675). *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*, ca. 1670–72. Oil on canvas, 9¾ x 7⅝ in. (24.7 x 19.3 cm). Private collection, New York (L29)

2. Johannes Vermeer. *The Lacemaker*, ca. 1669–70. Oil on canvas, 9⅜ x 8⅛ in. (23.9 x 20.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (L36). Photograph: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; Louvre, Paris, France

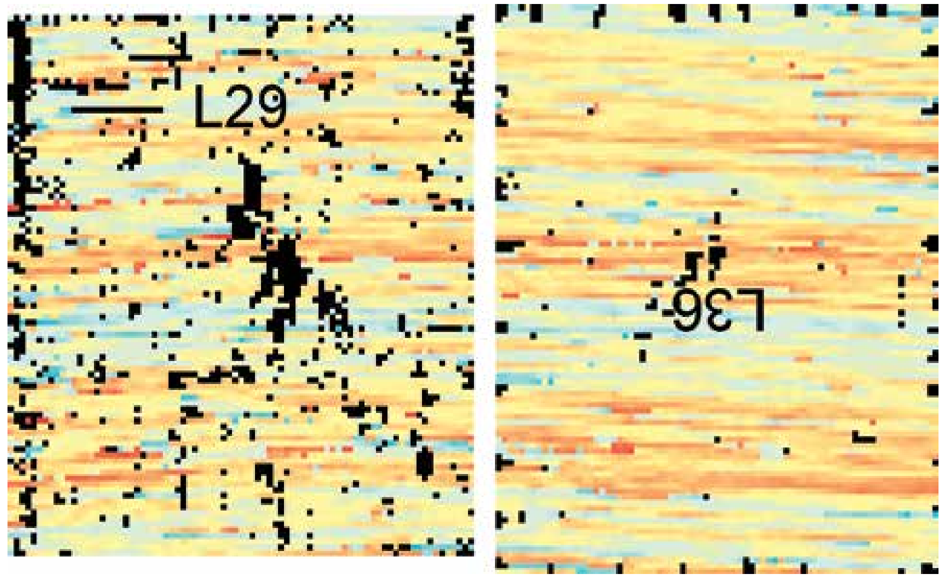
The first, second, and fourth canvases reveal thread counts so consistent with each other as to encourage conjectures about the pictures' dates or Vermeer's working methods, while the third and fourth paintings (the two *tronies*, or "head studies," in The Hague and New York) are on canvases similar enough in weave and in their present sizes (44.5 x 39 cm and 44.5 x 40 cm, respectively) to support an argument that they were painted at the same time or even intended as a pair. Computer analysis, however, proves that these four canvases come from four different bolts of cloth: in other words, there is *no* match among them, or between any one of them and the other twenty-five canvases scanned so far. To paraphrase George Orwell, two weaves may be "identical," but some are more identical than others.

In an article of 2006 on Vermeer's *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* (Figure 1), the conservators Libby Sheldon and Nicola Costaras published radiographs of that picture and of *The Lacemaker* (Figure 2).[7] They reported that the latter was painted, like the former, "on a canvas made of precisely the same type of rather coarse fibre . . . [with] exactly the same thread count," namely 12 x 12 threads per centimeter.[8] This turns out to be accurate for *Young Woman Seated*,[9] whereas *The Lacemaker* actually has an average of 11.9 threads per centimeter vertically and 12.4 horizontally. Thus, the match is less close than in the case of *The Milkmaid* and *Woman in Blue* (nos. 1 and 2 above). In this case, however, computer analysis confirms the suggestion by Sheldon and Costaras that *Young Woman Seated* and *The Lacemaker* "could well be from the same bolt of cloth."[10]

Fabrics differ in several qualities other than thread count, as could have been explained by the sitters in Rembrandt's *Syndics of the Clothmakers' Guild (De Staalmeesters)* of 1662 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), who were responsible for monitoring the quality of the dyed woolen cloth produced by Amsterdam guild members (*staalmeester* means "sample master"). Conservators and art historians have occasionally noted canvas characteristics other than thread count. For instance, Ernst van de Wetering, writing on "the canvas support" in Rembrandt paintings, points out "characteristic differences in nature between the warp and weft threads." In a survey of radiographs, he mentions "the impression of 'fluffiness' or 'smoothness' one gets from the threads . . . A feeling develops for the 'style' of spinning or weaving, irrespective of whether these styles were dictated by material or technical circumstances or, indeed, by the individual spinners' and weavers' working habits."[11] Nonetheless, one must accept that "the pattern in linen weave [unlike twill] is simple and invariable. The only way of comparing canvases with a linen weave is to measure the number of threads/cm in the warp and weft (a 'threadcount') and, so far as the radiograph allows, to compare the peculiarities of the yarn used."[12] Computer analysis now allows a much more detailed accounting of each linen canvas's characteristics.

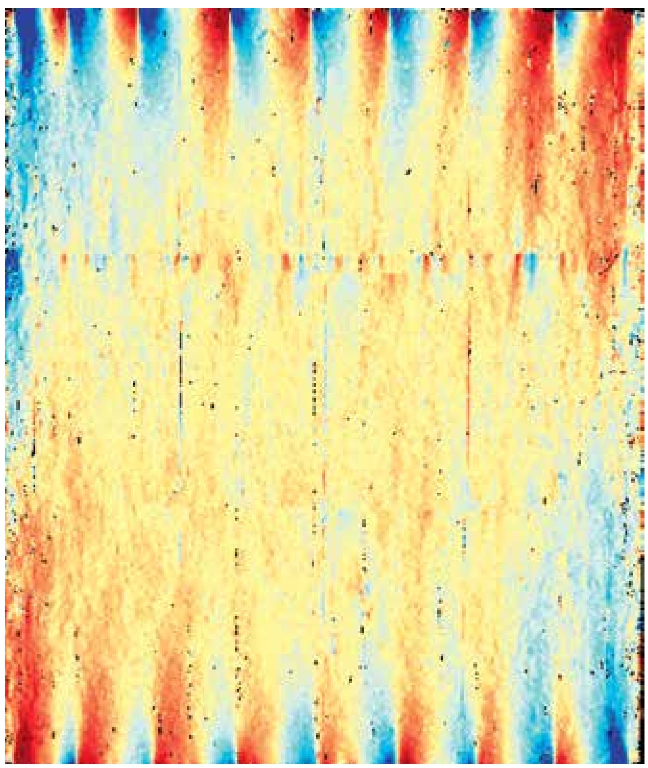
Linen threads are spun from the fibers of the flax plant, a commodity from which the Utrecht painter Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638) and his son Peter (1596–1660) "made a fine fortune," according to Joachim von Sandrart, in 1626.[13] The quality of cleaned flax fibers and standards of spinning (a cottage industry in the Netherlands) determined the consistency, fineness, and strength of linen thread. Warp threads (the vertical threads) on a loom were stretched tight and thus had to be of higher quality than weft threads. The latter (also known as "woof" or "filling yarn") are woven horizontally over and under the warp threads, with a wooden shuttle leading the weft thread (which, unless it breaks, is one continuous thread). At the end of each transverse pass the weft thread is tugged to an appropriate tautness (another variable) and then turned back to weave in the other direction. Each round-trip of the weft thread is called a "pick"; the loops to either side form a finished edge or "selvage." After each pick a comblike "reed" is used to "batten" (press down) the weft thread. If the weft thread is pulled too tautly after a horizontal pass, the battening will produce a wavy, rather than a nearly straight, line or (our own term) a "weft snake." This occurs only in weft threads woven on hand looms (or, less noticeably, when a machine loom stops). About 40 percent of the Vermeer canvases surveyed so far reveal weft snakes. Each session on a loom—that is, the continuous use of the same warp and weft threads—produces a "bolt" of cloth. A "roll" is simply a length of linen cut off the bolt.

For readers of art historical literature, none of these terms will be as alarming as "algorithm," to say nothing of "spectral-maximum-based automated thread counting."[14] The formulation of particular algorithms allows supercomputers (or laptops working for a very long time) to generate automated thread counts and "weave maps" of specific kinds. "Weave density maps" (such as those in Figure 3) show variations in thread density over the entire canvas (if all of it appears in the scanned radiograph).[15] The orange-red bands in the weave map indicate a denser packing of threads than the average thread count for the canvas as a whole, and the blue stripes show a looser weave (such as when weft threads were less tightly battened down). The black squares represent areas where the radiograph was not sufficiently clear for the algorithm to produce reliable thread counts. Obviously, these "maps" are graphs, not images; gradual changes in threads per centimeter would be almost impossible to see in a radiograph of actual size. In "weave angle maps" (Figure 4), deviations from rectilinear axes are graphed, which are especially revealing of primary and secondary cusping at the edges of a canvas, but also of "weft snakes."[16]



3. Weave density maps of the canvases reproduced in Figures 1 and 2

All this data is easily stored and searchable. A computer can match thread counts between or among canvases as well as determine weaving anomalies, just as a word-processing program can quickly tell a writer how often the



4. Weave (weft-thread) angle map of Johannes Vermeer's *The Art of Painting*, ca. 1666–68. Oil on canvas, 47 1/4 x 39 3/8 in. (120 x 100 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (L26). This graph of the weft threads (running horizontally, in this case) records cusping at the top and bottom of the canvas and a horizontal weft snake about one-third from the top.

5. Johannes Vermeer. *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal*, ca. 1670–72. Oil on canvas, 20⅜ x 17¾ in. (51.8 x 45.2 cm). The National Gallery, London (L33). Photograph: © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY; National Gallery, London, Great Britain

6. Johannes Vermeer. *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*, ca. 1670–72. Oil on canvas, 20¼ x 18 in. (51.5 x 45.6 cm). The National Gallery, London (L34). Photograph: © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY; National Gallery, London, Great Britain

same term has been used on a single page. As larger samples are taken—say, of dozens of canvases used by Delft artists active about 1650–75—external evidence (such as paintings that are dated) might be brought to bear upon the oeuvre of Vermeer or, indeed, of another artist. The first Delft painting in the Metropolitan Museum, other than its five Vermeers, to be radiographed for the purpose of canvas weave analysis was Hendrick van Vliet's *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft* of 1660. While it did not provide a match with any canvas by Vermeer,[17] it is historically plausible, for example, that three works by another Delft painter, dating from the late 1650s, could be shown to have been painted on canvases coming from the same bolt as the canvas used by Vermeer for a painting such as *A View of Delft* (Mauritshuis, The Hague), which is usually dated to about 1661–63. Would we then date the famous cityscape earlier, or would there be some other explanation? For instance, might Vermeer have held a large roll of canvas in reserve, or even have bought a spare piece from the other artist? Questions like these may become easier to answer as additional computer analysis is carried out and the results are combined with other types of historical and technical evidence.

Returning to Vermeer's *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* and *The Lacemaker* (Figures 1, 2), we find that the two canvases reveal a matching pattern of weft thread densities when one of the canvases is turned upside down (Figure 3). Such a match might also occur between a canvas with weft threads running horizontally, as here, and another canvas with weft threads running vertically (as would often be the case in a large canvas of broad format).[18] (Canvases might also match front to back, if the artist purchased pieces of an unprimed bolt of canvas and then painted different sides.)

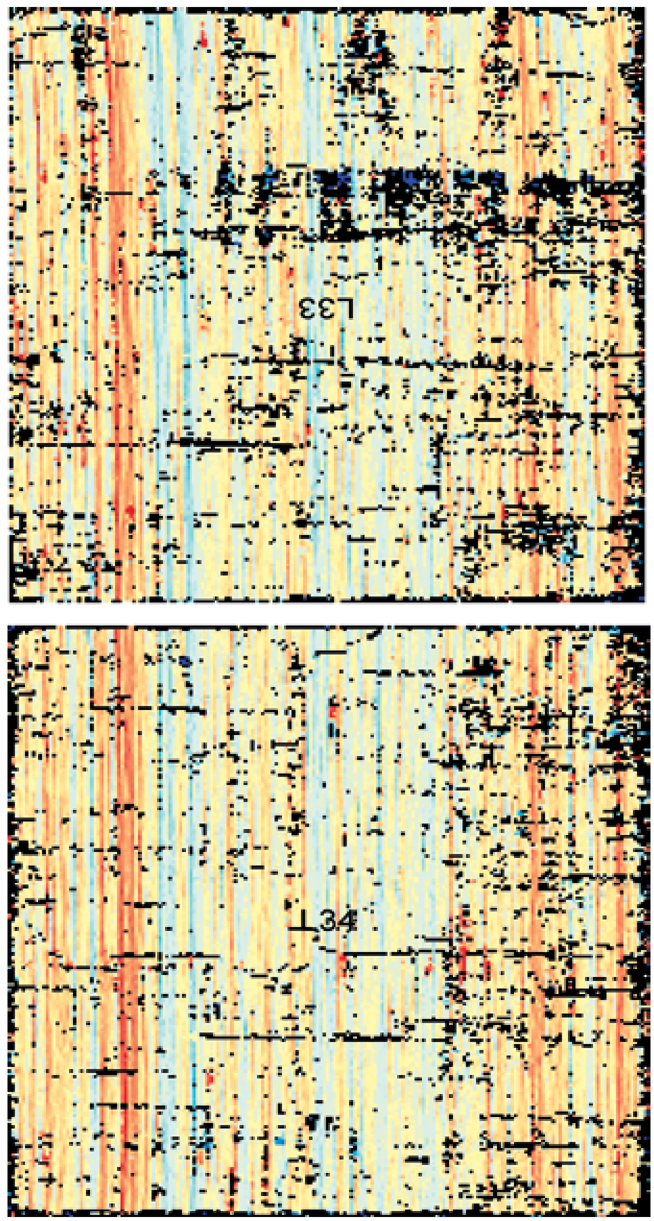
Serious study of *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*, a painting that was nearly inaccessible for decades, effectively began in the present century and advanced considerably with the 2006 article by Sheldon and Costaras.[19] Therefore, the main significance of the weave match seen in Figure 3 is that it confirms one of the technical arguments that have been advanced in favor of an attribution to Vermeer.[20] This match also raises the question of whether *The Lacemaker*, which is usually dated about 1669–70, should be dated somewhat later. *Young Woman Seated*, like the two pictures in the National Gallery, London (Figures 5, 6), and *The Guitar Player* (The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood House, London), is dated about 1670–72 by Liedtke,[21] whose conjectural chronology of Vermeer's late works does not differ much from that of most other scholars. However, the dates proposed by scholars are not far apart, and the dating of late Vermeers is mostly guesswork, based on stylistic nuances and assumptions about the artist's life (for example, that the economic depression of 1672–75 would have discouraged him from painting at all).

A more concrete reason for leaving the chronology alone, at least in this case, is that the inventory of the house Vermeer shared with his wife and mother-in-law, dated February 29, 1676 (about two and a half months after his death), lists in the artist's studio, together with other supplies, two easels, three palettes, six panels, and "ten painter's canvases" (*10 schilderdoucken*).[22] There can be little doubt that this entry refers to ten unused, stretched, and probably primed canvases. The notary describes at greater length things he could not simply name (thus, Vermeer's maulstick is "a cane with an ivory knob on it"), and the ten canvases are listed right after the "six panels," a term that would not likely be employed by a notary for finished paintings on wood. Presumably the canvases were of different sizes and formats, offering the artist or a client choices when the next picture was begun. Nonetheless, the implications for a painter who produced, on average, no more than three finished paintings a year are clear enough: some canvas supports remained in the studio for years, and so dating by "weave match" must be supported by other evidence.

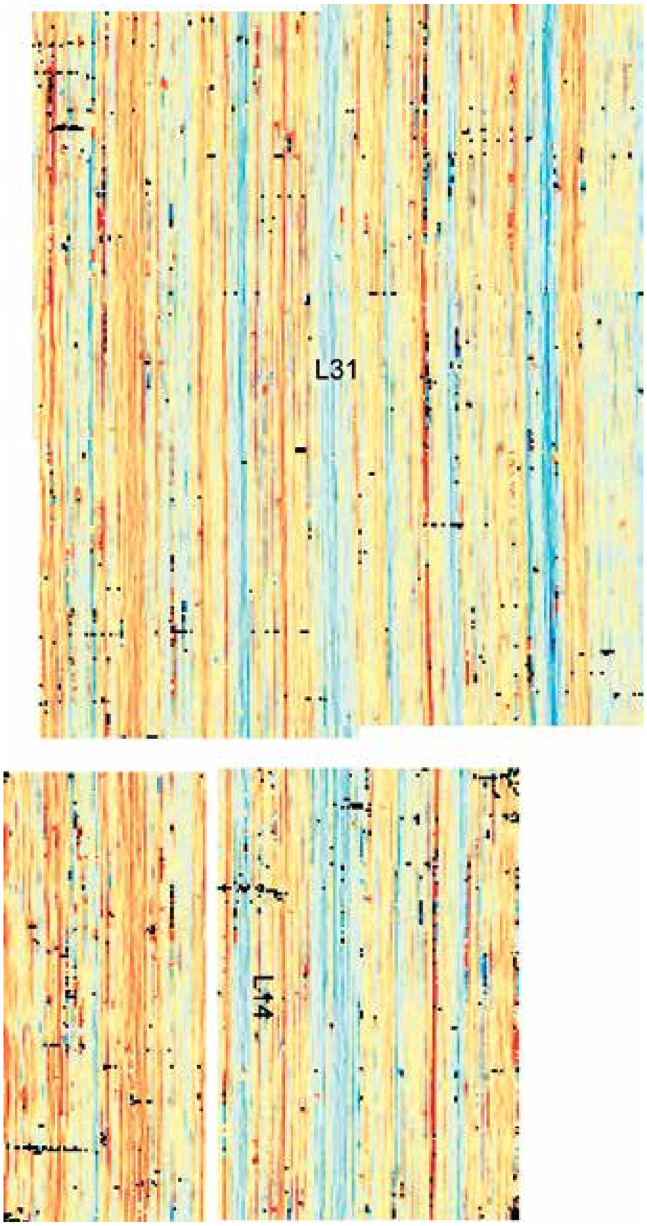
Another weave match found in Vermeer's oeuvre is between two genre paintings of identical size, *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal* (Figure 5) and *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* (Figure 6), both in the National Gallery, London. Several scholars have doubted that the pictures were conceived as a pair and have dated the works a few years apart, invariably with *Young Woman Standing* placed earlier. Christopher Brown dated both paintings to about 1670, but doubted that they were companion pieces; Arthur Wheelock amplified this argument and dated the pictures to about 1672–73 and about 1675, respectively.[23] Liedtke, by contrast, maintains that the works are complementary in subject matter (the seated woman seems conspicuously more available than her upright counterpart) and that Vermeer used the perceived stylistic differences to express different characters and moods.[24] Moreover, the same variations in the density of warp (not weft) threads is found when the canvases are aligned top to top (Figure 7). The weave match, as shown by computer analysis, strongly supports the conclusion that the paintings were planned as pendants from the moment their canvas supports were chosen.[25]

The third weave match in Vermeer's oeuvre—between *A Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*, in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (Figure 8), and *Woman with a Lute* in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 10)—is much less expected. The latter, usually dated between 1662 and 1664, was painted on a canvas stretched with the warp threads aligned horizontally. When the picture is set on its right side (as in Figure 9), the changing density of warp threads matches the great majority of the vertically aligned warp threads in the much larger (183%) Dublin canvas. The former is usually dated about 1670 because of the degree of abstraction that has been discerned in the modeling of the figures and the fabrics, and in what Lawrence Gowing called the "unarguable, unfeeling fall of light."[26] Stylistic arguments could be marshaled to date *Woman with a Lute* as late as 1665 and to place *A Lady Writing* in the late 1660s, but it is also possible that the smaller canvas (and perhaps another, still to be identified in our survey of Vermeer?) was cut from a roll that the artist held in reserve for some years.

It must be emphasized that this new means of investigation is still in its early stages and is subject to further refinement, both in terms of computer analysis and in the



7. Weave density maps of the canvases reproduced in Figures 5 and 6 (aligned top to top)



9. Weave density maps of the canvases reproduced in Figures 8 and 10. The painting in Figure 10 is turned on its right side for this map.

8. Johannes Vermeer. *A Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*, ca. 1670–71 (?). Oil on canvas, 28⅜ x 23½ in. (72.2 x 59.7 cm). The National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (L31). Photograph: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY; National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland

10. Johannes Vermeer. *Woman with a Lute*, ca. 1663. Oil on canvas, 20¼ x 18 in. (51.4 x 45.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900 (25.110.24) (L14)

application of the methodology to paintings.[27] And, of course, weave matches in canvases used by Vermeer or by another artist or by several painters at a particular time and place (for example, Rembrandt's workshop in Amsterdam) must be considered along with many other technical and historical factors. Vermeer's oeuvre, however, is something of an ideal test case because of its small size and the strong evidence that the artist worked in comparative isolation, with no known pupils or assistants. For the artist known in the nineteenth century as "the Sphinx of Delft," any new evidence must be woven into a fabric of fresh questions: for that kind of material there is no match.

NOTES

1. For instance, Charlotte Hale dated the Metropolitan Museum's *The Supper at Emmaus* by Velázquez to his formative period in Seville (1618–23) partly on the basis of the patterned weave of its canvas, called *mantelillo* or *mantel*, a type used by painters working in Naples, Toledo, and Seville, but not in Madrid, where the artist moved in 1623. Hale 2005.
2. The Cornell University website of C. Richard Johnson Jr. describes Professor Johnson's computer-assisted analysis of canvas features and includes a bibliography (with links) of articles on this subject; see http://people.ece.cornell.edu/johnson/.
3. The evidence for Bouts will be incorporated in Wolfthal and Metzger n.d. (forthcoming). On Van Gogh, see Van Tilborgh

et al. 2012. A case of particular interest is Van Gogh's *Garden of the Asylum* of 1889 (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam), which has been rejected as authentic (as recently as 1999) by some writers and defended by others. The previous thinking is summed up by Hendriks and Van Tilborgh 2001. The work was executed on a canvas cut from the same bolt of cloth as were canvases employed for unquestionable works by the artist. See D. Johnson, C. R. Johnson, and Hendriks 2013 (forthcoming).

4. The canvas on which Velázquez, in 1644, painted the "Fraga Philip" (*King Philip IV of Spain*, The Frick Collection, New York)—so-called because it was carried out on short notice in Fraga, Aragon, near the rebellious province of Catalonia—comes from the same bolt as the undated *Sebastián de Morra* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), which has been described as "the most forceful of all the dwarf portraits" because of its similarly direct presentation and bravura handling. See Brown 1986, p. 174. On the conservation of the "Fraga Philip" by Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA, see Pérez d'Ors and Gallagher 2010; on the *Sebastián de Morra*, see Pérez d'Ors, C. R. Johnson, and D. Johnson 2012, pp. 620–25.
5. For a complete catalogue, see Liedtke 2008.
6. See Van de Wetering 1986 (reprinted, with some revisions, in Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 91–130).
7. Sheldon and Costaras 2006. In the present article, the "L" numbers in the captions and graphs refer to the catalogue of Vermeer paintings published in Liedtke 2008.
8. Sheldon and Costaras 2006, p. 92. The complete phrase ("exactly the same thread count for an area of 12 by 12 cm") is misleading. What was meant is that the canvas as a whole has an average of twelve threads per centimeter in both directions.
9. The automated thread count showed an average of 12 x 12 threads per centimeter for the entire canvas of *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*. C. Richard Johnson Jr. then measured thread counts by hand in about sixty locations (thirty in each direction); they were found to average 12.1 threads per centimeter vertically and 12.4 horizontally.
10. Sheldon and Costaras 2006, p. 92.
11. Van de Wetering 1986, p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 19. See also Sheldon and Costaras 2006, p. 92, on irregularities seen in raking light.
13. As quoted in Lowenthal 1986, p. 30. Paintings by both Wtewaels are in the Museum's collection: see Liedtke 2007, pp. 975–91.
14. See note 2 above for links to the articles "Advances in Computer-Assisted Canvas Examination: Thread Counting Algorithms" and "On the Utility of Spectral-Maximum-Based Automated Thread Counting from X-Radiographs of Paintings on Canvas."
15. The X-ray must be scanned at a suitable resolution (typically 600 dpi where i = one inch on the painting's surface) for reliable digital image processing.
16. On primary and secondary cusping, see Van de Wetering 1986, pp. 31–33. The authors are grateful to conservator Elke Oberthaler for providing radiographs of Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).
17. The painting did reveal a quite unexpected formal portrait of a man, almost surely by Van Vliet himself, under the architectural view. See Liedtke 2007, pp. 922–24.
18. See Van de Wetering 1986, pp. 37–42, on "strip-widths and painting formats." A roll of canvas one *ell* wide (about 72 cm) would, for example, normally be used horizontally (with warp threads running from side to side, not top to bottom) for a painting that was about 68 cm high and 100 cm wide. Thus, a seam in the canvas support (or the purchase of a bolt of canvas of custom-made width) is avoided.
19. Because (ex-catalogue) the painting was so little known in the original, it was included without attribution in the Museum's 2001 exhibition "Vermeer and the Delft School."
20. The technical evidence is summarized, and stylistic analysis added, in Liedtke 2008, no. 36. See also Sheldon 2007, pp. 99–101.
21. Liedtke 2008, nos. 29, 33–36.
22. Montias 1989, p. 341, under doc. no. 364.
23. Brown in MacLaren and Brown 1991, pp. 466–68; Wheelock 1995, nos. 21, 22.
24. Liedtke 2008, nos. 33, 34.
25. With regard to Rembrandt portraits, Van de Wetering 1986, p. 23, observes: "In most cases where two canvases have been identified as coming from the same bolt, the paintings concerned are companion-pieces."
26. Gowing 1970, p. 153. On the dating of the Dublin canvas, see Liedtke 2008, no. 31.
27. In a future study C. Richard Johnson Jr. will attempt to replicate canvas-stretching techniques used during different periods and to judge the consequences for weave maps.

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New Findings on the Life and Work of Claude Simpol

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In 1939, Hélène Adhémar published the first study on the painter Claude Simpol (ca. 1666–ca. 1710), drawing attention to the influence of his compositions on Antoine Watteau (1684–1721).[1] Little research followed the appearance of this article, but in the past few years the artist has begun to emerge from the shadows. In 1996, four genre scenes in the Metropolitan Museum that were originally thought to be the work of Bernard Picart (1673–1733) (Figures 1–4) were reattributed to Claude Simpol,[2] and in 2008, Jamie Mulherron reinstated Simpol as the designer for a series of sixteen pastoral prints, *Les divertissemens et les occupations de la campagne*, formerly given to Jacques Stella.[3] Having identified some fifty drawings and four paintings by Simpol, and discovered a number of archival documents that concern him, I would like to take the recent acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of *July: Amusements on the Water* (Figure 5), a design for the *Divertissemens* series, as an opportunity to present a brief survey of the current state of research on the artist.

Although it is impossible to confirm the date of Simpol's birth, we know that he was born in Clamecy, a town in the present-day Department of the Nièvre, in Burgundy.[4] His marriage contract has been found and tells us that he was the "son of Nicolas Simpol, a saddle merchant in Clamecy . . . and Charlotte Vesard."[5] Simpol must have left his native Burgundy by late 1683, for he is documented in Paris in the following year, competing for the *grand prix* of the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, which sent the winners to the Académie de France in Rome for further training.[6] As a pupil of the history painter Louis de Boullogne the Younger (1654–1733),[7] Simpol must have benefited from the advice of both Louis and his older brother Bon Boullogne (1649–1717), with whom he lived between 1680 and 1687. Simpol did not win the prize in 1684,[8] but was awarded the second prize on his next attempt, in 1687 (the subject was the Deluge).[9] Although Simpol was received as a master painter at the Académie de Saint-Luc on March 23, 1695,[10] his career at the Académie Royale did not go beyond the level of a certification (*agréé*), earned on April 30, 1701, with his sketch for *Dispute Between Mars and Minerva*.[11] Unfortunately, his delay in submitting a reception piece caused his candidacy to be annulled in 1709.[12] Simpol's drawings for the *Divertissemens* were commissioned by the engraver and publisher Jean Mariette (1660–1742), probably about 1690, and must be among the artist's early productions. As we shall see, the careful and precise depiction of form in these designs offers a contrast with the more painterly, summary style of his drawings from the turn of the eighteenth century.[13]

In 1703, Simpol was commissioned to execute the *May*, a large painting emphasizing devotion to the Virgin that was donated annually by the goldsmiths' guild to the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris. Representing Christ with Martha and Mary, it was among the last of the *Mays* painted for Notre-Dame, as the tradition was abandoned in 1707 (Figure 6). Many of these works were lost after the French Revolution, but ironically, Simpol's picture, which appears to be his only major religious commission, is well documented. A preliminary drawing for it is in the Louvre, Paris,[14] and there are two *petits du May*—autograph reductions ordered by each of the two goldsmiths when the commission was signed. One of these is in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris,[15] and the other recently appeared on the Paris art market.[16]

Another known commission by Simpol involves three paintings executed for the Ménagerie at Versailles between 1702 and 1703, when he participated in the decoration of the newly built royal palace;[17] in 1703, he received a payment of 600 livres for his work there.[18] Although the decorations were dismantled, some of the painted panels have been discovered at the Château de Fontainebleau, where they were deposited about 1860. A painting preserved at Fontainebleau under the title *Le jeu du tiers*, or *Les trois tas* (Figure 7), corresponds with an early description of the work Simpol produced for the Ménagerie.[19] Although the

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Claude Simpol (French, ca. 1666–ca. 1710). *Three Women Bathing*, ca. 1700. Pen and gray ink, brush and gray wash, heightened with white over traces of graphite, contours incised, 3 x 4⅜ in. (7.5 x 11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1963 (63.167.5)

2. Claude Simpol. *Lady with a Pocket Mirror*, ca. 1700. Pen and gray ink, brush and gray wash, heightened with white over traces of graphite, contours incised, 3 x 4⅜ in. (7.5 x 11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1963 (63.167.3)

3. Claude Simpol. *A Man and a Woman Smoking Tobacco*, ca. 1700. Pen and gray ink, brush and gray wash, heightened with white over traces of graphite, contours incised, 3 x 4⅜ in. (7.5 x 11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1963 (63.167.4)

4. Claude Simpol. *A Picnic Party*, ca. 1700. Pen and gray ink, brush and gray wash, heightened with white over traces of graphite, contours incised, 3 x 4⅜ in. (7.5 x 11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund (63.167.6)

5. Claude Simpol. *July: Amusements on the Water*, ca. 1690. Black chalk, pen and black and brown ink, brush and gray wash, heightened with white gouache, 9 x 12 in. (22.7 x 30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry G. Sperling Fund, 2011 (2011.491)

picture does not closely reflect either Simpol's *May* or his drawings, this can no doubt be explained by its problematic condition.[20] Up to this point, the corpus of Simpol's paintings has been limited to his *May* and *Le jeu du tiers*. We may, however, be able to attribute an additional group of four paintings to the artist; they were sold in 1993 under the name of Michel-Ange Houasse (1680–1730) (Figures 8–11).[21] In style, iconography, and dimensions, these decorative panels relate directly to *Le jeu du tiers* commissioned for the Ménagerie, and one might reasonably wonder if they were part of the same series.[22] In each picture a children's game—the kite (in two panels), the swing, and the seesaw—is depicted in a spontaneous and playful manner. Simpol's inclination toward rounded form makes his work particularly well-suited to the representation of children.

Although Mireille Rambaud published documents in 1971 relating to the family of Simpol's wife, Hélène Denis,[23] there has been no notice given to the fact that Denis was the daughter of the harpsichord maker and organist Louis Denis (1635–1718). Louis himself was born into a well-known family of harpsichord makers, and one of his daughters married the organist Louis Marchand (1669–1732), known for attempting to rival Johann Sebastian Bach during a trip to Dresden in 1717.[24] These interesting bits of information may shed light on the importance of musical subject matter to Simpol, as well as to Picart, the draftsman with whom he later shared a number of related projects and commissions. Marriages between families of painters and musicians were rare in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, and the union of Claude Simpol and Hélène Denis may well have occasioned exchanges between the two arts. This scenario is all the more likely as the harpsichord is the musical instrument that best lends itself to painted decoration. A "harpsichord lid representing a landscape" was, in fact, among the dozen or so paintings in the possession of Louis Denis in 1706.[25] By this time Simpol and Picart had probably known each other for at least a decade. Both men were called upon by Mariette to execute the designs for several print albums and would thus have been familiar with each other's work.[26]

In 1696 Mariette commissioned from Picart the drawings for a series depicting actors from the commedia dell'arte (twelve plates entitled *Douze modes du théâtre italien*); these were distinct from the same artist's designs for

6. Claude Simpol. *Christ with Martha and Mary*, 1703–4. Oil on canvas, 14 x 10 ft. (4.3 x 3 m). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Arras (inv. D938.30 [MI323]). Photograph: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Arras

7. Claude Simpol. *Le jeu du tiers*, 1702–3. Oil on canvas, 37¾ x 22⅞ in. (96 x 58 cm). Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau (inv. 7834). Photograph: Gerard Blot, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; Château, Fontainebleau, France

Figures de modes, also of 1696, representing the minor trades, musicians, smokers, and ladies and gentlemen posed in different attitudes.[27]

In addition to the drawings for the *Divertissemens* that Mariette commissioned from Simpol in the early 1690s, the publisher turned to him again about 1700 for the *Différents sujets* series, depicting—among other things—actors, musicians, game playing, couples on horseback, and more smokers.[28] The four drawings at the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 1–4) were designed for the latter series. As a group, these print albums document the culture of the period, providing a glimpse of the manners, dress, and characteristic activities of people from different walks of life. The subjects are not only represented in costumes specific to various trades, but are shown in attitudes of work, rest, and even "gallant" conversation. Simpol's drawings have very often been confused with those of Picart. Their very painterly style, however, permits us to distinguish them from Picart's designs, which are comparatively flat; the stylistic difference is apparent if we compare drawings from the *Figures de modes* in the Louvre's "Album Bernard Picart"[29] with related works by Simpol.

Being older than Picart, Simpol may have influenced his collaborator, for example, in his decision to include two musicians in the series: *Shepherd Playing the Bagpipe* and *Viola da Gamba Player* (Figure 12). Notably, the viola da gamba player was taken up again by Picart in his famous *The Concert*, the first state of which was published in 1708 (Figure 13).[30] By then the harpsichordist had become the central motif, possibly owing to the artist's contacts with the Simpol family, and it will come as no surprise that the composition was intended to decorate a harpsichord lid.[31] The influence of Picart's *The Concert* on Watteau is often mentioned, but the idea of combining musicians with amorous couples in a park must have originated in the family environment of Simpol. As it happens, in 1706, all of Louis Denis's harpsichords and spinets were moved from his home in Paris to his country house in Cormeille, a town

8–11. Claude Simpol. *Children's Games*, ca. 1703. Oil on canvas, each $36\frac{5}{8}$ x $14\frac{5}{8}$ in. (93 x 37 cm). Private collection. Photograph: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 7, 1993, lot 280

northwest of the capital. Perhaps Denis gave concerts here in this natural setting in the presence of his brother-in-law, or even with Simpol's collaborator, Picart, in attendance.

It is clear that Watteau was especially receptive to Picart's *The Concert* and that he closely studied the albums of prints based on the drawings of Picart and Simpol, as Adhémar has demonstrated.[32] I wish to draw attention, however, to another even more ambitious album in which Simpol played a major role: the erroneously titled "Album Mathieu Elye," in the Louvre.[33] The seventy-eight sheets of this album, acquired for the Crown at the Mariette sale in 1775–76, record costumes worn by the royal family and the French aristocracy, as well as other European aristocrats. While the faces sometimes appear stereotyped, an effort was made to include some true portraits: Louis XIV[34] is recognizable, and the names of some of the models are indicated, such as *Grand Prior of Vendôme*.[35] One composition bears a particularly interesting annotation, a direct reflection of eighteenth-century customs: "the duke of Savoy has only his natural hair and no wig."[36]

On the basis of the album's single signed sheet—bearing the signature of the Franco-Flemish painter Matthieu Elye (1658–1741)—the entire collection of drawings has been attributed to Elye since its acquisition by the Louvre in the eighteenth century.[37] In fact, the album contains the work of several artists, as is evident in the variety of techniques (red chalk, pen and ink, and watercolor) and styles. It could be that some of the drawings are by Picart; this seems to be the case with *Portrait of a Lady of the Court in Front of a Grove at the Château de Versailles*.[38] In addition to such stylistic similarities, *Man Leaning on a Staff*[39] owes much to *Horseman with Muff Covering Himself with His Cloak* included in Picart's *Figures de modes*.[40] Surprisingly, François Verdier (1651–1730) also seems to have participated in this project: the very last illustration is characteristic of his style.[41] As for the fifty-five compositions in oil on paper that constitute the greater part of this album, they are the work of none other than Claude Simpol. The three examples that represent his contribution here display a painterly handling in which the figures stand out against a light background (Figures 14–16).[42] A similar technique is used in the series in the Metropolitan Museum and in the four religious compositions in the Louvre.[43] This may also be said of *St. John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos Writing the Revelation*, acquired by the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, with an attribution to Michel Corneille II (1642–1708), although it is typical of Simpol.[44] The detail of the twisted tree topped by light foliage seems to be a stylistic signature of the artist. To this group of rediscoveries, we can add a very similar *Saint Barbara* in the Musée de Grenoble that was given an incomprehensible attribution to Jean André (1662–1753) (Figure 17).[45]

12. Bernard Picart (French, 1673–1733). *Viola da Gamba Player*, ca. 1695–96. Pen and ink, gray wash, 4¾ x 3⅛ in. (12 x 8 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Arts Graphiques (inv. 32360*bis*). Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; Louvre, Paris, France

Inasmuch as the "Album Matthieu Elye" originally belonged to Mariette, it seems likely that he had plans to publish the designs. Although we cannot identify any engravings made from them, the reverses of Simpol's drawings show traces of red chalk, indicating that the images were transferred. Some (but not all) of the other drawings in the group also reveal signs of transfer. The project, which even included depictions of ancient Roman emperors, must have been a fairly ambitious one. Yet the lack of historical coherence (there are no figures from the Middle Ages), or of geographic balance (there are few Asian figures), clearly reveals the incompleteness of a project that might have served as an album of universal costume. Perhaps the extraordinary breadth of the project made it difficult to complete.

Under the circumstances, it is hard to maintain the view advanced by Mulherron according to which Simpol enjoyed "considerable success" at the turn of the century.[46] We have seen that after having failed as a painter, Simpol was forced to restrict his activity to drawing. The unfinished state of the project referred to here as an "album of universal costume" seems to be further evidence of his lack of success. Mariette's own testimony, which Mulherron quotes, supports this: "His disaffection for work, his poor conduct which continually reduced him to want, were an obstacle to it."[47] The artist's financial difficulties are confirmed by documents in the archives. Thus in 1691, upon marrying Claude Simpol, Hélène Denis received from her parents a trust of 1,000 livres that provided a yearly dividend of 50 livres.[48] However, a document dated March 1695 shows that the couple had repurchased a third of the capital (335 livres).[49] The same need for liquidity can be inferred from a document

13. Drawn and engraved by Bernard Picart. *The Concert*, 1709. Engraving, 11⅞ x 20⅛ in. (30.3 x 51.2 cm). Paris, Cité de la Musique (E.986.1.32). Photograph: Collection Musée de la Musique/cliché Jean-Marc Anglès

14. Claude Simpol. *A Marshall on Horseback*, ca. 1705. Oil and ink on paper, 10 x 7 in. (25.5 x 17.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Arts Graphiques (inv. 33800). Photograph: Suzanne Nagy, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; Louvre, Paris, France

15. Claude Simpol. *A Sultana*, ca. 1705. Oil and ink on paper, 10 x 7 in. (25.5 x 17.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Arts Graphiques (inv. 33818). Photograph: Suzanne Nagy, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; Louvre, Paris, France

16. Claude Simpol. *Portrait of Emperor Titus*, ca. 1705. Oil and ink on paper, 10 x 7 in. (25.5 x 17.7 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Arts Graphiques (inv. 33840). Photograph: Suzanne Nagy, Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; Louvre, Paris, France

17. Claude Simpol. *Saint Barbara*, ca. 1705. Oil and ink on paper, 9⅞ x 7⅛ in. (25 x 18 cm). Musée de Grenoble (MG D2133). Photograph: Musée de Grenoble

dated June 29, 1695: Simpol and his wife sold a share of the trust to their landlord—in the rue de Coq—in order to pay their overdue rent.[50]

Following more repurchases, the trust was liquidated on March 28, 1701.[51] The postmortem inventory of Simpol's belongings is an eloquent witness to the couple's difficult financial situation.[52] Since it is dated July 26, 1728, it was at first thought to provide the date of the artist's death. In fact, Rambaud's publications show that in January 1711, Hélène Denis was already described as the "widow of Claude Simpol."[53] In 1728, she lived in a single room in the rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre, amid furniture appraised at the strikingly small sum of 200 livres. A sad testimony to Simpol's later activity as an artist, the room contained six paintings, which were appraised at a total of only six livres.

Although the influence of Peter Paul Rubens, Northern art, Giulio Campagnola, and Claude Gillot on the work of Watteau is often noted by art historians, the roles played by two of Watteau's French predecessors, Simpol and Picart, are less frequently mentioned. My study of Simpol's life and work, including his collaboration with Picart in the creation of engravings with gallant subject matter, and a discovery of the association of his wife's family with music and musicians, provides further background to Watteau's development. The fact that the painter Jean-Baptiste Joseph Lebel, author of the two "fêtes galantes" in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, was actually Simpol's son-in-law serves to confirm the existence of stylistic influences between Simpol and Watteau.[54]

NOTES

1. Adhémar (1939) stressed the "similarities in conception and sentiment" between a number of Simpol's designs and the works of Watteau and noted that "the quality of lightness and gracefulness of the engravings [after Simpol] seem to define the influence of the artist on his epoque and particularly on Watteau." Years later, Adhémar (1977) presented additional information on Simpol. I thank Perrin Stein, curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, MMA, for sharing bibliographic information, as well as Ariane de La Chapelle, research engineer, Graphic Art Department, Musée du Louvre, Paris, for her helpful discussion of technical details.
2. This attribution was made by Blaise Macarez, who discovered the engravings associated with the drawings in the Albertina, Vienna, as well as the reference to Simpol as designer of the compositions among the original notes of Pierre-Jean Mariette, son of the publisher and engraver Jean Mariette. See Holmes in Stein and Holmes 1999, pp. 3–5. In 1992 the British Museum, London, acquired a religious composition by Claude Simpol: *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (1992,1003.1). Note that each of the Metropolitan Museum drawings is inscribed on the mount with *B. Picart.f.1716* in an eighteenth-century hand.
3. See Mulherron 2008, supplemented by Grasselli 2009, which identified the subject of a genre scene by Simpol.
4. Mariette 1851–60, vol. 5 (1858–59), p. 222.
5. Marriage contract of Claude Simpol and Hélène Denis, October 6, 1691, Minutier Central, IX, 511, Archives Nationales, Paris.
6. Montaiglon 1875–92, vol. 2 (1878), p. 277 (May 13, 1684), as S[t] Paul.
7. Mariette 1851–60, vol. 5 (1858–59), p. 222.
8. Simpol's submission was *Enos Invoking the Name of the Lord*. Gregor Brandmüller was awarded the first, or *grand prix*, and the second prize went to Jacques Foacier; see Montaiglon 1875–92, vol. 2 (1878), p. 283 (September 2, 1684).
9. Ibid., pp. 357, 362 (October 11, 1687).
10. Guiffrey 1915, p. 449.
11. Montaiglon 1875–92, vol. 3 (1880), p. 313. The minutes state that Simpol was received in the "community of master painters."
12. Ibid., vol. 4 (1881), p. 78 (March 2, 1709).
13. Perhaps Simpol's name is omitted on the engravings as inventor because he had not yet been received as a master painter. Including his name in this context before 1695 would have been an infringement of guild regulations. Such an explanation would confirm a precocious date for the *Divertissemens* series.
14. Louvre, inv. 23760.
15. Musée Carnavalet, inv. P.2650.
16. *Importants tableaux anciens*, sale, Piasa/Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, December 13, 2006, lot 77; the work was identified as "circle of Louis de Boullogne" in *Old Master Paintings and Frames*, sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 8, 2001, lot 199.
17. Mabille 1975, p. 99, fig. 11.
18. Engerand 1899, p. 495.
19. Adhémar 1939, p. 70; Mulherron 2008, p. 30.
20. The painted surface reveals numerous small losses as well as some flaking. I thank Vincent Droguet for kindly providing me with photographs of the picture.
21. *Old Master Paintings*, sale, Sotheby's, London, July 7, 1993, lot 280 (as Michel-Ange Houasse).
22. According to an early source (see Engerand 1899, p. 494) the two additional paintings that the Ménagerie commissioned from

Simpol represented a game of hide and seek, and *L'huître et les plaideurs*, or "two men disputing who will be the oyster, with a young man who gives them each a shell," from a fable by La Fontaine. Might the artist have benefited from a supplementary commission from the Ménagerie, or are we dealing here with an entirely different decoration?

23. Rambaud 1964–71, vol. 2, pp. 385–86.
24. On the Denis family, see Samoyault-Verlet 1966; on Louis Marchand, see the entry on him in *Nouvelle biographie générale*, vol. 33 (Paris, 1863), p. 470.
25. Inventory of Marie Bellesme, wife of Louis Denis, Paris, August 18, 1706, Minutier Central, IX, 566, Archives Nationales; reference cited in Rambaud 1964–71, vol. 2, p. 386.
26. Adhémar 1939, pp. 73–74.
27. See note 29 below. Fourteen prints from the *Figures de modes* series are in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum: 1871,1209.2056, 2685, and 2797; and 1874,0808.2224–31, 2234–35, and 2243.
28. Adhémar 1939, pp. 67–68. The series of forty-three prints was engraved by Gérard-Jean-Baptiste Scotin, probably during the first decade of the eighteenth century; a drawing belonging to the *Différents sujets* series has reappeared on the art market (see Katrin Bellinger Kunsthandel, Munich, catalogue, November 2011, where it is referred to as *Two Elegant Figures in a Landscape*; it is in fact titled *Two Duellists*).
29. Drawings from the *Figures de modes* series in the "Album Bernard Picart" in the Louvre are: *Horseman with Muff Covering Himself with His Cloak* (inv. 32359); *Woman Holding a Telescope* (inv. 32359*bis*); *Young Horseman with a Hat in His Hand* (inv. 32359*ter*); *Man Playing a Viola da Gamba* (inv. 32360*bis*); *Horseman Seen from the Back* (inv. 32360*quater*); *Musketeer* (inv. 32361*ter*); *Milkmaid* (inv. 32364*bis*); *Standing Nobleman Wearing a Tricorn* (inv. 32365*bis*); *Horseman with a Muff* (inv. 32365*ter*); *Woman with Her Hands in a Muff* (inv. 32365*quater*); *Servant Carrying a Pail of Water* (inv. 32368); *Peasant Girl Spinning Wool* (inv. 32368*bis*); *Shepherd Girl Holding a Crook* (inv. 32368*ter*); and *Shepherd Playing the Bagpipe* (inv. 32368*quater*). Each of these drawings is reproduced in the set of prints owned by the British Museum (see note 27 above).
30. Paris, Cité de la Musique (E.986.1.32). This design may be the first impulse in the creative process that launched Picart's *The Concert*. A preliminary drawing for the entire composition is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna (see Widauer 2004, p. 209, F.2013, pl. 43); and a study for the couple at the bottom left is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (see Whiteley 2000, no. 452, ill.).
31. A painted adaptation appeared in a sale at Nagel Auktionen, Stuttgart, March 26 and 27, 2001.
32. Adhémar 1939 and 1977.
33. All the drawings in this album are preserved at the Louvre under the attribution of "Anonymes français du XVIIIe siècle" [anonymous French artists of the 18th century] (inv. 33777–850). It is interesting that two of the drawings, *Portrait of the Maréchal de Tallard* (inv. 33795) and *Portrait of a Court Lady* (inv. 33819), were exhibited as the work of Simpol in 1967 (see Bacou 1967, no. 268). Although one would expect stylistically similar drawings in the album to be attributed to the same artist, this is not the case; for example, inv. 26542, a drawing that closely reflects the style of Simpol, is catalogued under the name of Matthieu Elye (see note 42 below).
34. Louvre, inv. 33790.
35. Louvre, inv. 33797.
36. Louvre, inv. 33778.
37. The fiftieth drawing in the album, inv. 26540, is signed "M. Elye Inv. et Fec." The artist's name is also written "Elyas," "Elie," and "Elias."
38. Louvre, inv. 33810.
39. Louvre, inv. 33809.
40. Louvre, inv. 32359, cited in note 29 above.
41. Louvre, inv. 33850.
42. To Simpol we can attribute with certainty inv. 33778–92, 33795–806, 33811–14, 33829–33, and 33836–49. The drawing catalogued under Matthieu Elye's name that belongs to the same album (inv. 26542) should be added to the list. The bust of the emperor in Simpol's *Portrait of Emperor Titus* (Figure 16) derives from Aegidius Sadeler's print after *Portrait of Titus* by Titian (see Department of Prints and Drawings, The British Museum, 1878, 0713.2654).
43. The religious works in the Louvre are *The Establishment of the Eucharist* (RF. 2374), *Christ on the Cross* (inv. 33730), *The Washing of the Feet* (inv. 32840), and *The Kiss of Judas* (inv. 32839), all preserved under Simpol's name. In addition, I reject the unfounded attribution of *Baptism of Christ* (inv. 33663); since this drawing was acquired from Jabach in 1671, Simpol cannot have been its author.
44. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, 1986.454.
45. Musée de Grenoble, MG D2133. See Kazerouni, Brejon de Lavergnée, and Delaplanche 2001, no. 52; the author of the entry believed he saw stylistic differences among Simpol's Louvre drawings (see note 43 above) and suggested that certain works might be ascribed to the painter Jean André. In truth, this remarkably coherent group of drawings can only be assigned to Simpol. A close examination of the only known drawing by André (Albertina, Vienna), which betrays the influence of Jean Jouvenet (1644–1717), rules out such a hypothesis.
46. Mulherron 2008, p. 25.
47. Mariette 1851–60, vol. 5 (1858–59), p. 222.
48. Mentioned in the clauses of the marriage contract, October 6, 1691, Minutier Central, IX, 511, Archives Nationales.
49. Mentioned pursuant to the marriage contract cited in the previous note.
50. Transfer of the trust: Claude Simpol and Hélène Denis to Annibal Dancé, June 29, 1695, Minutier Central, IX, 524, Archives Nationales. The contract stipulates that the artist and his wife were to leave their lodgings the following day.
51. Mentioned pursuant to the marriage contract cited in note 48 above.
52. Minutier Central, LIX, 202 (July 26, 1728), Archives Nationales. This is one of the very few notarized inventories that does not adhere to the principles of a postmortem inventory. The document may have been drawn up for the purpose of liquidating the former joint ownership of the couple.
53. The date of Simpol's death must lie between 1709, when Simpol's presentation at the Académie Royale was annulled, and December 1710, when Hélène Denis is cited as being the widow of Claude Simpol (see Rambaud 1964–71, vol. 2, p. 386).
54. In his article on Jean-Baptiste Lebel, Martin Eidelberg (2004, pp. 76–79) wonders if there may be some kinship between this painter of fêtes galantes and the family of Claude Simpol. In fact, the discovery of Simpol's postmortem inventory (see note 52 above) confirms such a connection: married to Anne-Louise de Simpol, Jean-Baptiste Lebel is cited in this document as Claude Simpol's son-in-law.

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The Bellangé Album and New Discoveries in French Nineteenth-Century Decorative Arts

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Among the various approaches to the history of decorative arts, the study of furniture sketches, drawings, and designs constitutes a rich method of expanding our understanding of workshop practices and the stylistic development of particular pieces. In the field of nineteenth-century French furniture design, this avenue of research was opened in the 1970s by Jean-Pierre Samoyault.[1] The Department of Drawing and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art is notably abundant in this type of material, especially from the Neoclassical period. Among these works, the intriguing Bellangé album of drawings for furniture designs warrants close attention.[2]

The album, a bound volume covered in green-stained calfskin and embossed paper, contains seventy-three drawings and watercolors pasted on the first thirty-one folios, which are followed by twenty-eight blank pages (Figure 1). The paper was made by hand, most likely in France. The album appears to have been ordered so that sheets could be pasted on its pages, some of which have been cut to allow for the integration of these drawings. This operation seems to have been carefully carried out by the bookbinder himself during the manufacture of the volume.

Among the seventy-three drawings and watercolors, two bear the signature "Bellangé à Paris" (Folios 5a,b). These markings constitute the primary evidence for a general attribution of the miscellaneous collection to the Parisian workshop of Pierre-Antoine Bellangé (1757–1827) and his son, Louis-Alexandre (1797–1861). Other sheets, unsigned, can also be linked to the production of this important firm of cabinetmakers from the first half of the nineteenth century.

Fortuitously, the bound volume used for the Bellangé album has a manufacture markedly similar to that of another album in the Museum's Department of Drawings and Prints. The latter contains a series of watercolors by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) dating from 1824 to 1828, indicating that the bound volume was probably purchased by the painter in 1824 (Figure 2).[3] It is likely that the Bellangé family also acquired their album about 1824, the last year of Pierre-Antoine's activity before Louis-Alexandre took over the workshop, and thus a significant point in the firm's history. Unlike the Bellangé album, the Delacroix volume bears a paper label with the name and address of the maker: "se vend à [P]aris, chez Chavant rue/de Cléry, n. 19." Information about the craftsman Chavant is scarce, but according to the catalogue of the 1834 French industrial exhibition, in which Chavant participated, the business was a "fabricant de papier réglé et de couleurs" (maker of graph and colored papers) used for textile designs.[4]

The Bellangé album is a singular work in the history of French decorative arts. Indeed, the nature and the variety of the drawings distinguish it from the traditional *recueils d'ornements*, which were publications conceived to express the taste and aesthetic sensibilities of a specific architect or *ornemaniste,* at a time when those professions also included a role in interior design. The *recueils* are helpful in identifying the influence of architects on craftsmen, and they were disseminated throughout the Parisian furniture community. The most famous and successful were undoubtedly the *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (1801 and 1812), by Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853),[5] the *Choix des costumes civils et militaires des peuples de l'Antiquité, leurs instrumens de musique, leurs meubles, et les décorations intérieures de leurs maisons, d'après les monumens antiques, avec un texte tiré des anciens auteurs* (1798–1801), by Nicolas-Xavier Willemin, and the *Fragmens d'architecture, sculpture et peinture dans le style antique* (1804), by Charles-Pierre-Joseph Normand and Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet. The documents demonstrate the impact of outside influences on a workshop's production. Unlike the *recueils*, however, the

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Attributed to the maker Chavant (French, first half of the 19th century). Bound album, later called the "Bellangé album," ca. 1825. Paper and calfskin, 11 1/8 x 12 1/4 in. (28.3 x 31.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (51.624.2). Inscribed in pencil: *79 dessins / dont 66 en coul.*; *Bellangé Design for furniture / Paris, n.d. (Empire)*; *Ornamental [barré] Drawings / French/ Bellangé*; *72 drawings 2 on leaf 5 signed* Bellangé à Paris

2. Chavant. Bound album, Tours sketchbook of Eugène Delacroix, 1824–28. Paper and calfskin, 4 7/8 x 7 5/8 in. (12.5 x 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alexander and Grégoire Tarnopol, 1969 (69.165.2)

drawings in the Bellangé album were carefully assembled over three or four decades of the workshop's history. Instead of revealing the nature of Empire taste, they record the way that pieces of furniture were conceived and produced during thirty years of business spanning the Empire (1804–1814/15), the Bourbon Restoration (1814–30), and the beginning of the July Monarchy (1830–48) of Louis-Philippe.

The album offers many perspectives on furniture design of the time. First, it yields information about the succession of generations as heads of the workshop by distinguishing drawings by Pierre-Antoine from those by Louis-Alexandre. The development of some of the designs also constitutes an interesting area of study, revealing the process whereby decorative schemes achieved definition and evolved, with some questioning and hesitation preceding the actual production. The album also shows the potential influence of outside cabinetmakers, as some of the sheets included in the volume most likely do not refer to the Bellangé workshop's own production. Among these, certain drawings shed light on the relations between a workshop and the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. Finally, the album helps to corroborate some new attributions to the Bellangé family.

THE BELLANGÉ WORKSHOP

Pierre-Antoine Bellangé was born in Paris on September 17, 1757.[6] His first known works, dating from 1787, are listed in an account book belonging to the brothers Jean-Charles and Louis-Marcel Presle, Parisian mirror and furniture dealers, only a few months before the foreclosure of their shop. Bellangé is cited there as being a *menuisier en meubles* (furniture maker), established in the rue Saint-Denis. He was appointed master on October 21, 1788, before marrying Marie-Anne-Agnès Quenet, the daughter of another furniture maker, Alexandre-Nicolas Quenet, on December 2 of the following year. Little is known about Bellangé's career during the revolutionary decade except that he was counted among the creditors of the banker Antoine-Omer Tallon when the latter emigrated from France during the Reign of Terror in 1794.

Bellangé began to receive orders from the French state shortly after the establishment of the imperial regime, including orders in 1806 to furnish several rooms of the palace of Laeken in Brussels, as well as the salon of the *petits appartements de l'Empereur* at Saint-Cloud. He produced several sets of chairs for the Mobilier Impérial, as well as furniture for other residences such as the châteaux of Meudon and Compiègne. In 1812 he received a prestigious commission to furnish the drawing room, or *salon d'exercice*, of the apartment of the King of Rome, Napoleon's son, at the Palais des Tuileries. Despite the number of orders Bellangé received from the imperial household, he did not hold the title of official supplier as did François-Honoré-Georges Jacob-Desmalter. He eventually obtained the designation in 1817, under the Bourbon Restoration, in a general listing of *fournisseurs brevetés*, Parisian craftsmen whom the royal household would commission.

Also in 1817, Bellangé received an unexpected commission that attests to the workshop's international reputation. This was an order from the president of the United States, James Monroe (through Russell and LaFarge, a firm based in Le Havre), for a complete suite of furniture for the Oval Room (later the Blue Room) of the White House, which had recently been rebuilt. Under Louis XVIII (r. 1814–24), Bellangé also delivered furniture for the French state and its princes, and especially for the duchesse de Berry and Princesse Adélaïde d'Orléans. Financial difficulties resulting from the slowdown of the economy between 1823 and

1825, as well as the reform of the royal Garde-Meuble begun by Charles X (r. 1824–30), darkened the last years of Bellangé's life and career, until his death on March 25, 1827.

Pierre-Antoine's eldest son, Louis-Alexandre, was born on August 12, 1797.[7] He began working with his father in 1820, with a 3½ percent share of the profits. Taking over the direction of the workshop in January 1825, Louis-Alexandre faced the same financial difficulties his father had battled. These problems continued throughout his career; the workshop even went bankrupt in September 1831 but managed to reopen the following year. The younger Bellangé was able to retain the position of *fournisseur breveté* awarded to his father (the title was changed to *ébéniste du roi* under Louis-Philippe in 1832). He delivered several sets of furniture for the palaces and châteaux of the Tuileries, Trianon, Saint-Cloud, Fontainebleau, and Pau, and he was also in charge of supplying the museums that were administered by the royal household at the time. He produced a series of benches for the Musée des Antiques at the Louvre, as well as many benches, stools, and pieces of furniture in a neo–Louis XIV style for the newly opened museum of Versailles, inaugurated in 1837. His participation in the French industrial exhibitions in 1827, 1834, and 1839 attests to the firm's reputation. In each exhibition he earned a silver medal in the *ébénisterie* category.

Despite these public successes, financial difficulties lingered, worsening at the beginning of 1840 and forcing Bellangé to retire on the eve of 1844. He chose to leave France with his son to seek better fortune in Mexico, where one of his younger brothers, Pierre-Alexandre, a chemist, enjoyed a successful career in the silver-mining business. The Mexican adventure lasted only a few years; father and son returned to France before 1851. They lived in Maisons-sur-Seine for a short period before moving back to Paris, where Louis-Alexandre died a modest yeoman on June 7, 1861.

3. Pierre-Antoine Bellangé (French, 1757–1827). Armchair, ca. 1820. Gilt wood, 39⅜ x 26⅜ x 21¼ in. (100 x 67 x 54 cm). Photograph: Private collection

TWO GENERATIONS OF CRAFTSMEN

The drawings in the Bellangé album cover a period from 1800 to 1834 or perhaps as late as 1840. Although their sequence does not appear to be strictly chronological, it is possible to distinguish sheets that are Pierre-Antoine's from obviously later ones made in Louis-Alexandre's workshop.

The attributions to the elder Bellangé's workshop are based on stylistic links to pieces of furniture known to bear his stamp. Of particular note is a design for a daybed, in light wood and ebony inlay, with a swan's-neck armrest, which clearly calls to mind some pieces made about 1821–22 for the bedroom and bathroom of Comtesse Zoé du Cayla's château in Saint-Ouen (Folio 28b).[8] A project for a large gilt-wood sofa with lion's-head armrests (Folio 29b) evokes the sofas supplied by Bellangé for the same château's billiard room. Folios 5a,b are more problematic with regard to attribution: both are signed by Louis-Alexandre, but whereas the first armchair follows a pattern used by the father between 1815 and 1820, then by both father and son between 1820 and 1825, the second one has undeniable stylistic links to certain chairs Pierre-Antoine made between 1815 and 1820, including those for the 1817 delivery to the White House and those belonging to a set for Princesse Adélaïde d'Orléans (Figure 3). Perhaps the signature was added later, or it is possible that the designs were drawn and painted by Louis-Alexandre after works by his father.

Three watercolors (Folios 23a–c) are probably of earlier date, and it is feasible that they correspond to furnishings that Pierre-Antoine designed in 1807–8 for the Parisian mansion of Marshal Louis Alexandre Berthier, prince de Neuchâtel and Napoleon's minister of war. In contrast to the previously discussed watercolors, these designs cannot be linked to known works by Bellangé, but they evoke some of the descriptions found in Berthier's household accounts.[9] Folio 23a is a design for a billiard bench; the accounts indicate that Bellangé delivered a "mahogany bench with backrest, 10 feet long, curved arms sliding footrest"[10] for the

4. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé (French, 1797–1861). *Bureau plat* (flat desk), ca. 1825–30. Location unknown. Photograph: Faniel 1957, p. 53

marshal’s billiard room in 1808. The pier table on Folio 23c might be Bellangé’s console “in mahogany 3 feet 9 inches long, a shelf between the legs, granite marble slab”[11] for the same room. This design follows a pattern also used outside the Bellangé workshop: a similarly shaped gilt-wood pier table was delivered by the cabinetmaker Pierre-Benoit Marcion (1769–1840) for Empress Josephine’s state apartments at the Palazzo di Monte Cavallo, the Roman residence of the imperial couple, in 1813.[12] The similarity of the tables suggests a stylistic consistency unifying the official rooms for imperial dignitaries and the imperial apartments themselves. Folio 23b shows a sketch for an octagonal pedestal of unusual shape. It might correspond, but in a light-wood version, to the two “mahogany pier tables of circular pedestal form ornamented with ormolu, Italian *griotte* marble”[13] delivered by Bellangé for the Orange Room of Madame Berthier’s apartment.

The drawings related to Louis-Alexandre’s designs are more numerous than those associated with his father. Indeed, if the purchase of the album was most likely contemporaneous with that of the Delacroix volume mentioned above (1824), the sheets would have begun to be gathered together about the time when the son took charge of the Bellangé workshop.

The album contains several late Neoclassical designs, especially colored sheets indicative of the Parisian taste about 1820–30. The more representative drawings from Louis-Alexandre’s workshop are those for a light-wood *bureau plat* (writing desk with a flat top; Folio 14a), an armchair (Folio 19a), and a bookcase (Folio 19b). The desk (Folio 14a) was in fact produced in two versions by Bellangé: the whereabouts of the first one, closely approximating the watercolor, are no longer known, but the piece was published in the 1950s (Figure 4).[14] The second was made in reverse of the watercolor, using palisander and light-wood inlay (Figure 5). It is preserved today in a private collection and bears a metal label marked “rue Richer Passage Saunier n. 8/BELLANGE/Breveté du Garde-Meuble de la couronne/Paris.” In that version Bellangé added an upper section, including three drawers and three shelves. The design for an armchair (Folio 19a) shows inlaid decoration on a shape that Bellangé used for many different chairs, including a drawing-room set delivered in 1830 for the grand salon of the Hôtel de Préfecture de Loir-et-Cher, Blois (Figure 6). Folio 19b outlines a plan for a large cabinet with glass doors and an upper drawer that corresponds to a side cabinet signed *Bellange. Ebeniste du Roi* and manufactured about 1834 that is illustrated in a 1998 auction catalogue.[15]

Two pencil-and-ink drawings (Folios 13b,c) are puzzling. It is tempting to relate them to pieces that Louis-Alexandre presented at the industrial exhibition in 1834. We know that for the occasion the craftsman made a set composed of a chest of drawers, a fall-front secretary, a bed, and a table. Only the chest of drawers, auctioned in Paris in 1975 (Figure 7),[16] and the table, in the collection of the king of Belgium,[17] can be identified today. In 1834 their grotesque-inspired “Renaissance” decoration was meant to evoke the style of the sixteenth century. The richness of the veneer was considered excessive by the exhibition jury.

Certain watercolors in the album are related and seem to show different stages of a project. Three such pairs, all concerning the furnishings of bedrooms, reveal the transformation or evolution of the designs. The alcove on Folio 2d, for instance, corresponds to the bed on Folio 15, which bears an inscription including measurements (“5 pieds 6°”). The alcove on Folio 11a showing an ornate bed with a large Greek frieze can only be associated with the design for a bed on Folio 8a, which is more accomplished and

5. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé. Desk, ca. 1825–30. Palisander and light wood, 38⅝ x 53½ x 32¼ in. (98 x 136 x 82 cm). Photograph: Private collection

6. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé. Armchair, 1830. Gilt and painted wood, 37 x 23¼ x 20⅞ in. (94 x 59 x 53 cm). Hôtel de Préfecture de Loir-et-Cher, Blois. Photograph: Sylvain Cordier

abundantly annotated, most likely in Louis-Alexandre's hand. Similarly, the alcove on Folio 20b and the bed on Folio 22b are clearly related.

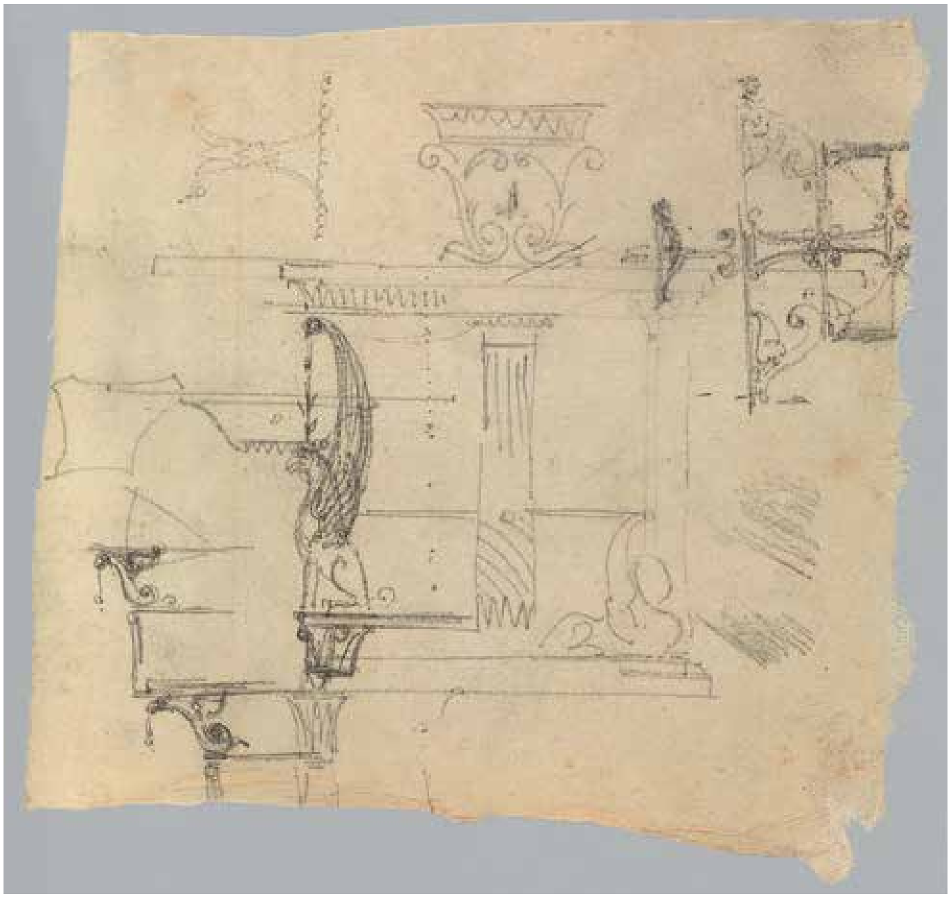
Several sheets most likely constituted suggestions for pieces of furniture that would have been shown to the workshop's clients to orient the orders stylistically and aesthetically or merely to display what the Bellangés could do. This use of elegant design drawings as a display catalogue was already in favor in the eighteenth century, as indicated by two drawings at the Metropolitan Museum from the period of Louis XVI (r. 1774–92) that were formerly in the collections of the duke and duchess of Sachsen-Teschen, governors of the Austrian Netherlands.[18] "Catalogue" drawings by both Pierre-Antoine and Louis-Alexandre can be identified in the album by the quality of their presentation and execution, especially in the careful rendering of the different woods in watercolor. The two armchair designs on Folios 5a,b, for instance, which are signed "Bellangé à Paris," can be understood in the context of commercial advertising for the workshop's capabilities and expertise. Among the most handsome examples are the cabinet on Folio 8b, the *bureaux plats* on Folios 13a and 14a; the secretaries, psyché (cheval glass), and chest of drawers on Folios 25a,c; the two beds on Folios 26a,b; the bookcase and chest of drawers on Folio 27; the *bureau plat* on Folio 29a; and the two beds on Folios 30a,b. The two somnos (bed tables) on Folios 19c,d reveal a specific commercial purpose of these drawings: to offer the client a choice of chromatic tonalities, either dark wood ornamented with ormolu or light wood enlivened by inlay in darker wood.

7. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé. Chest of drawers, 1834. Palisander and light wood, H. 50¾ in. (129 cm). Location unknown. Photograph: Sale, Ader-Picard-Tajan, Paris, April 17–18, 1975, lot 234

THE ARCHITECTS AND *ORNEMANISTES* AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE JACOB FIRM

Apart from the sheets corresponding to pieces produced by the Bellangés, the album contains several drawings obviously made outside their workshop. Of particular interest are the designs by important architects and ornamentalists of the time. The presence of such drawings in the workshop's collection illustrates the ties between the most eminent names within the community of Parisian cabinetmakers and the major formulators of the so-called Empire style, which had been in favor in France until the time of the July Monarchy. Anne Dion-Tenenbaum has emphasized the difficulty of securely evaluating the influence of the *recueils d'ornements* on cabinetmaking workshops, owing to the scarcity of sources.[19] Parallel illustrations to the Bellangé album do provide evidence of a direct dialogue between the Bellangé firm and such important figures as Percier, Fontaine, Jean-Démosthène Dugourc (1749–1825), and Jacques-Louis de La Hamayde de Saint-Ange (1780–1860).

Furthermore, the name "Bellanger [*sic*], ébéniste," which refers to Pierre-Antoine, is found in the list of subscribers to the first edition of Willemin's *Choix des costumes civils et militaires des peuples de l'Antiquité*. This edition played a major role in expanding the vocabulary of antique ornamental motifs in Empire style. Presenting a variety of designs taken from ancient reliefs and paintings, the author sought

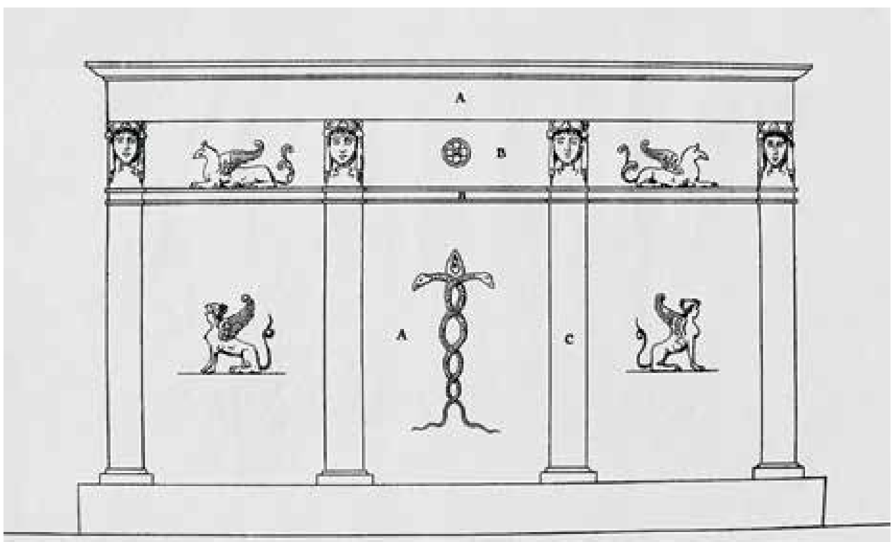


8. Workshop of Charles Percier (French, 1764–1838) and Workshop of Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (French, 1762–1853). Scrapbook of sketches, folio 43. Including design for a center table, ca. 1800. Folio: Pen and black and gray ink, graphite, black chalk, 15⅝ x 10 in. (39.8 x 25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1963 (63.535). Photograph: Mark Morosse, Photograph Studio, MMA

to facilitate "the art itself by sparing the artists from long research that could only distract them from what should principally occupy them."[20] The fact that Bellangé, along with other artists and craftsmen, participated in sponsoring the album demonstrates how much interest such a publication could arouse within the furniture industry and how important it could be for a workshop to support it. Bellangé's name also appears in *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs* (1801), by Jean-Charles Krafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, not as a subscriber in this case, but in conjunction with engraved representations of two of his works, a bed and a cabinet.[21]

The Bellangé album reveals the influence of Charles Percier, in particular. Several sheets can be attributed to him on the basis of style, starting with the designs for a gueridon and a bed on Folios 1a,b, offering a choice between griffins or chimeras for the table's carved feet. This design in turn is reminiscent in shape and style of a round center table made by Jacob-Desmalter, sometime between 1805 and 1808, after a design drawn by Percier for Prince Joachim Murat at the Palais de l'Elysée.[22] The model of the griffin must also be closely related to a sketch conserved in a rather celebrated album of his work in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8). Folio 1b calls to mind the two beds after Percier made by Jacob-Desmalter for the emperor and empress at Compiègne. Furthermore, the Victory that caps the canopy seems to take inspiration from the same source as the one crowning the cradle of the King of Rome, made in 1811 by Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1752–1843) and Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot (1763–1850) after designs by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758–1823).[23]

The psyché on Folio 2a recalls, in spirit, a piece published on sheet 28 of Percier and Fontaine's *Recueil de décorations intérieures*, yet the decoration is very different.



9. Jean-Charles Krafft (Franco-Austrian, 1764–1833). "Meuble servant de commode en bois d'acajou, exécuté par BELLANGER, Ébeniste." From Krafft and Ransonnette 1801, pl. XC, no. 2

10. Pierre-Antoine Bellangé. Chest of drawers, 1807. Mahogany and ormolu, 38⅝ x 43¼ x 21¼ in. (98 x 110 x 54 cm). Photograph: Private collection

The cabinet on Folio 3a clearly resembles Percier's manner and taste. It is notable that the cabinet's doorframe is completely lacking in detail and there are no representations of either drawers or doors: the drawing is in essence a proposal that shows the general look of a design, the precise decoration of which would be subsequently determined. This cabinet displays similarities to certain pieces actually made by Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, especially a chest of drawers appearing in Krafft and Ransonnette's 1801 publication *Plans, coupes, élévations des plus belles maisons* (Figure 9) and another delivered in 1807 for the bedroom of Marshal Berthier (Figure 10). The pier table on Folio 7a is rendered in the same watercolor technique seen in the previous sheets, again including decorative options: here, a choice between the combined motifs of owls, torches, and swans or a trio of laurel-and-star crowns. The central scene on the backboard represents the seduction of Leda by Jupiter in the guise of a swan. Finally, on Folios 10a–c, the three designs for a boudoir (or the interior of a secluded pavilion) in Pompeian taste may bring to mind the decor of the *salon de musique* of the Hôtel de Beauharnais in Paris or even other sketches by Percier for the bedroom of a certain Madame G.[24] or the drawing room of General Jean Victor Moreau.[25]

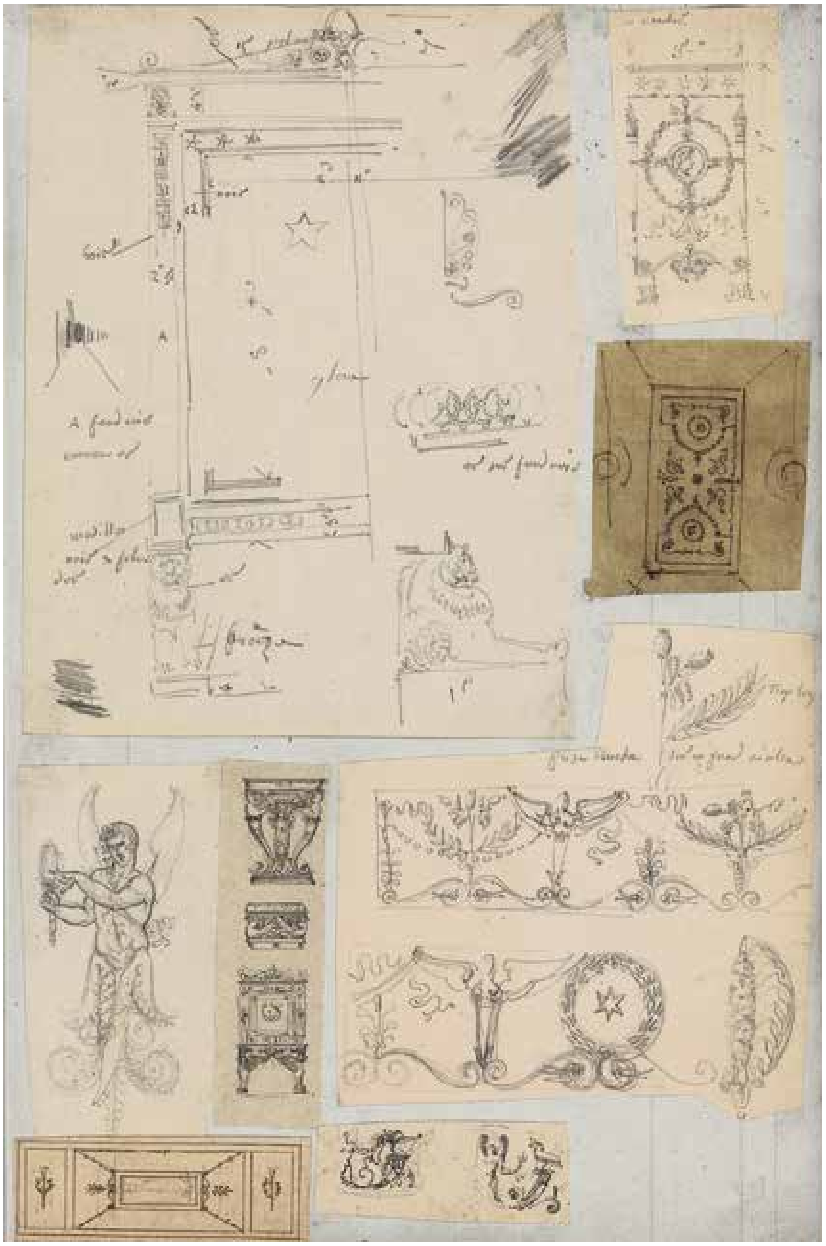
If these watercolors can be attributed to Percier, only one sheet, a perspective of a bedroom pasted on Folio 9, can be associated with Fontaine. Some elements of the decor are comparable to the design for the *petit salon* of the Hôtel de Chauvelin in the rue Chantereine in Paris, published in the *Recueil de décorations intérieures* (1812, sheet 14).

Percier and Fontaine's presence among the pages in the album should not eclipse references to specific pieces from the Jacob-Desmalter workshop, the leading cabinetmaking firm in Empire Paris. These can be difficult to identify, because the patterns produced by the Jacob brothers were often derived from designs by Percier and Fontaine themselves. Nevertheless, two sheets from the album seem to reveal the intention of the Bellangé workshop to own representations of furniture made by their rival. Indeed, the somno (bed table) on Folio 18e represents a well-known piece made by the Jacob brothers under the Consulate (1799–1804) for Josephine Bonaparte's bedroom at Saint-Cloud.[26] Although this piece is now unlocated, a very similar one, dating from 1804, is at Fontainebleau.[27] The somno drawing is less accomplished than the other designs attributed to Percier pasted in the album: it seems, therefore, to be by another hand, most likely Bellangé's or that of someone working for him, and done after the piece was already produced. The Metropolitan Museum owns another drawing of the same piece, a quick sketch by the hand of Percier himself, in the Percier album mentioned earlier (Figure 11).

The chest of drawers on Folio 25c demonstrates the persistence of various forms and ornamentation through the first decades of the nineteenth century. This watercolor very likely corresponds to a design created by Louis-Alexandre sometime between 1820 and 1830 but is clearly fashioned after an actual chest of drawers in mahogany delivered in 1810 by François-Honoré-Georges Jacob-Desmalter for the bedroom of the first *appartement de prince souverain* at the Château de Fontainebleau.[28] Bellangé's innovation is the scheme of dark-wood inlay on a light-wood base rather than the traditional ormolu inlay on mahogany.

RELATIONS WITH THE ROYAL GARDE-MEUBLE

The Bellangé album contains several sheets that illuminate the collaboration between the Bellangé workshop and the successive administrations in charge of furnishing the royal palaces throughout the first third of the century. In 1804 the newly instated Empire regime created an Administration du Mobilier des Palais Impériaux. This institution was replaced, during the Restoration, by an Intendance du Garde-Meuble de la Couronne; its appellation was inspired by the ancien régime, but it retained, in effect, the same responsibilities its predecessor had held during the Empire. The Garde-Meuble, chaired by Vicomte Thierry de Ville d'Avray, decided in 1817 to draw up a comprehensive list of official suppliers from different types of industries that could be solicited for the decoration and furbishment of the palaces. Pierre-Antoine Bellangé was among the first names awarded, and Louis-Alexandre inherited the title upon succeeding him in 1825. From 1832 the administration of the Garde-Meuble was integrated into the Civil List of the newly instated



11. Workshop of Charles Percier and Workshop of Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine. Scrapbook of sketches, folio 20. Including design for a somno (bed table) in upper right. Folio: Pen and black and gray ink, graphite, black chalk, 15¾ x 10 in. (39.8 x 25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1963 (63.535). Photograph: Mark Morosse, Photograph Studio, MMA

Louis-Philippe, King of the French. The designation of *fournisseur breveté* was then restyled as *ébéniste du roi*, a title Louis-Alexandre held until his retirement in 1843.

On Folio 28a, the design for a princely bed with martial decor seems at first glance to date from the end of the Empire. It can be stylistically associated with the bed that Jacob-Desmalter completed for the bedroom of the King of Rome's apartment in Compiègne, but it may also be linked to an order that Pierre-Antoine Bellangé received in 1814 for the furnishing of a princely apartment at the Louvre.[29] It is impossible to know if the piece was actually delivered, since the order was given only a few months before the collapse of the imperial regime. A very similar piece of furniture, used as a settee, appears in an 1820 portrait by François Kinson (1771–1839) of the widowed duchesse de Berry with her daughter in the Tuileries (Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles).

Folios 16a–d, 17, and 18a,b,d present a series of designs and sketches, from about 1818, of major interest with regard to the history of regal furnishing during the Restoration.[30] They illustrate the labor-intensive processes involved in the design and fabrication of the most important piece of furniture made for the Crown: Louis XVIII's throne at the Tuileries. Delivered in 1820, the throne was used by Louis XVIII until his death in 1824; by his brother and successor, Charles X, until his exile in 1830; and finally by Louis-Philippe until the Revolution of 1848. In 1848 it was removed by the crowd from the Tuileries and burned on the place de la Bastille as a symbol of the collapsed monarchy. Until the identification of the sketches in the Bellangé album, there was no known accurate representation of it.

Among the sketches for rival throne designs proposed to the Garde-Meuble, two are most likely by its two official *ornemanistes*, Jacques-Louis de La Hamayde de Saint-Ange, and Jean-Démosthène Dugourc. Saint-Ange was a Neoclassical architect, trained first in the workshop of Percier and Fontaine, and later in that of Alexandre Brongniardt (1770–1847) during the Empire period.[31] Dugourc was by then very old, an eminent figure who had begun his career under Louis XVI in the 1770s.[32] These two designs for the royal throne of the restored Bourbon king Louis XVIII represent the rivalry between present and past in defining the aesthetics and political discourse of the regime. Saint-Ange most likely designed the throne on Folio 16a. The shape is in a late Empire style, completely representative of Percier and Fontaine's reading of Roman-inspired Neoclassicism. The piece can be compared to thrones delivered by Jacob-Desmalter after Percier's designs for Napoleon sometime between 1804 and 1810. It is noteworthy that, despite the Restoration regime's absolute rejection of the Empire, Saint-Ange conceived of a contemporary Neoclassical vision of French monarchy that maintained a continuity of taste and style.

Dugourc, for his part, proposed a completely different idea of the throne and, thereby, an altogether different sense of appropriate monarchical style. Three small sketches show three rich, diverse, and, at first glance, mysterious armchairs. They are in fact quick draft copies of the three thrones represented in the official portraits of the Bourbon forebears Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Carle van Loo (1705–1765; Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon), and Antoine-François Callet (1741–1823; Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot, Clermont-Ferrand, France), respectively (see Folios 18b, and 16b,c). It should be recalled that the original throne of Louis XVI at Versailles was no longer extant in 1818. At that time no other examples of traditional thrones remained except for those designed for Napoleon and those represented in the French eighteenth-century royal portraits that had, fortunately, entered national collections. Dugourc's approach was the first to reconsider the way thrones had been designed during the ancien régime. In total opposition to Saint-Ange's formulation, Dugourc's conception of Restoration style was not contemporary, but clearly conservative and methodical, offering a direct return to the prerevolutionary tradition rather than a continuation of the fashion of the nineteenth-century regime. Dugourc's final project (Folio 17) indeed recalls the full glory of Louis XVI style, with a palm-tree decoration and a classical trophy displaying Louis XIV's Rhodian sun on a shield.

It is striking that these drawings appear in the Bellangé album, since it is known from the archives that the final throne order was not given to Bellangé but to Jacob-Desmalter and that Dugourc's conservative monarchical design won out over the more modern one proposed by Saint-Ange. The presence of these drawings in the volume strongly suggests a rivalry between Jacob and Bellangé to win the commission, a battle that Bellangé ultimately lost.

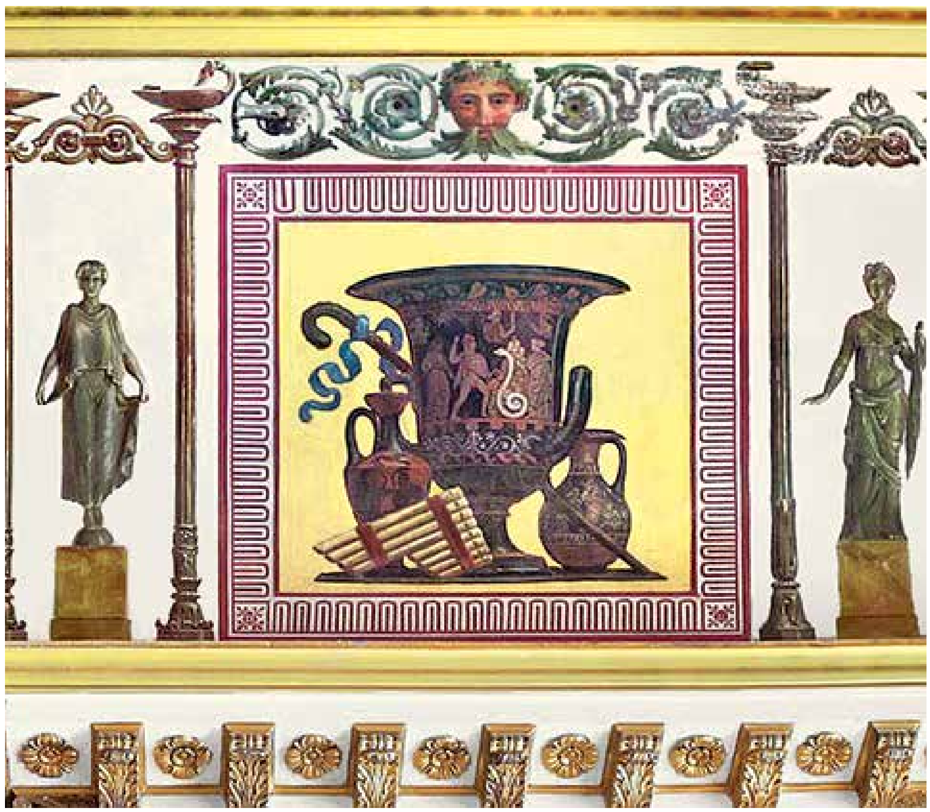
The watercolor on Folio 3b represents a design for a canopy intended for an ecclesiastical celebration. It possibly refers to an order for the royal household during the Restoration. The double scrolls at the top of the drapery recall the ornaments on the bed after Saint-Ange's designs that was delivered by Pierre-Gaston Brion (1767–1855) in 1824 for Charles X at the Tuileries (Musée du Louvre, Paris). The central medallion represents the Mystic Lamb resting on the Book of the Seven Seals within the Crown of Thorns. The frieze includes motifs of oak leaves and the palm of martyrdom.

The archives contain no mention of an order for a canopy given to the Bellangé workshop. Nonetheless, numerous official ceremonies might have occasioned such a commission under Louis XVIII or Charles X. The martyrdom theme would have been appropriate for a celebration held on January 21, 1816, in honor of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, for which Dugourc was assigned the decoration of Notre-Dame in Paris. Dugourc was also in charge of designing the decor of the cathedral for both the wedding celebration of the duc and duchesse de Berry on June 16, 1816, and the duc de Berry's burial ceremony on March 14, 1820.[33] Alternatively, the canopy might have been made for Charles X's coronation in Reims on May 27, 1825. The archives of the royal household list those who submitted proposals for the commission, but Bellangé's name does not appear there. Indeed, it was Jacob-Desmalter, Brion, and Madame Morillon (Justine-Victoire Roche-Morillon) who presented designs, and the order was finally awarded to Madame Morillon.[34]

Folio 10d shows a design for a vitrine intended to display antique ceramics. Given the rarity of important Parisian collections of ancient Greek and Roman artifacts under the Restoration, it is quite possible that the design related to the antiquities at the Musée Charles X, which opened on the first floor of the Louvre in 1827.[35]

The construction and ornamentation of this piece of furniture were obviously a matter of debate; the pencil inscription *pas de statue/en couronms* at the top indicates the reconsideration of the upper molding and sculptures at the top, probably modern reductions. This drawing should be considered in relation to the plans for furnishing the Greek and Roman ceramics rooms of the museum that were submitted to the royal household. The curator, Comte Frédéric de Clarac, had first specified his preferences on the subject in 1824:

> Regarding the final display cabinet or the decoration of the rooms, we must hope that Messieurs the architects of the museum will be more easygoing on this point than on others and that we will be able to get along with them. It seems to me that these cabinets must be simple and convenient, that they should have sliding glass doors. That fine Dutch oak or, better, maple enhanced by a few black bronzes would be the best to go with the colors of the vases and bronzes. I also believe that these cabinets with several shelves should not be too high and not more than eight feet, so that one can properly see the



12. Workshop of François-Édouard Picot (French, 1786–1868). Detail of *Cybele Protecting the Towns of Stabiae, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Resina from Vesuvius*. Ceiling decoration for Room 3 of the Musée Charles X, 1831. Signed and dated: *Picot. 1832*. Oil on canvas mounted on wall, 7½ x 9½ ft. (2.3 x 2.9 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. 7211). Photograph: Sylvain Cordier

vases that will crown them. In the center of the rooms, there will also be horseshoe-shaped tables if possible, the same as the ones I had made in the museum of the queen in Naples, to display the vases that deserve to be seen from every side.[36]

The chromatic tonalities he mentions—pale wood and dark bronzes—are found in the watercolor. Its decoration is also similar to that of the painted ceilings of the museum rooms, executed under the direction of Charles Meynier (1768–1832) and François-Édouard Picot (1786–1868), which show the same trompe-l'oeil bronze statuettes and Grecian-style still lifes including antique vases (Figure 12). Nevertheless, it is evident that the curator's wish regarding the furniture was ultimately disregarded, as in 1827 the museum finally received mahogany-and-glass display cabinets that better reflected the preferences of the architect Fontaine, who was often in conflict with the curatorial staff regarding the room's decor.[37] In the end, the Bellangé workshop managed to participate in the furnishing of the museum's rooms six years later, when Louis-Alexandre obtained the order for thirty mahogany benches intended for public use. Had his father, Pierre-Antoine, already offered his services in 1824 for the vitrines? The drawing, in the elder Bellangé's style, might suggest so.

Pasted on the last page of the album is an impressive design for a pier table or console, in a distinctly classical style (Folio 31). It corresponds to another order given to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé in 1834 for the apartment of King Louis-Philippe in the Château de Versailles (Figure 13).[38] The actual piece exhibits slight differences from the original design—notably, its omission of a frieze representing the signs of the zodiac.

13. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé. Pier table, 1834. Gilt wood, 48 x 46⅞ x 40½ in. (122 x 119 x 103 cm). Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles (V 1659). Photograph: Sylvain Cordier

NEW ATTRIBUTIONS OR ASSOCIATED PIECES

Some of the sheets in the album can be tentatively linked with known pieces of furniture not previously attributed to the Bellangé workshop. Although it is difficult to ascertain if the presence of these drawings in the album constitutes secure identification with the extant pieces, some speculations may be offered.

Two designs for beds, Folio 26, may relate to the two beds that, about 1825, furnished the bedroom of the actress Anne-Françoise-Hippolyte Boutet, known as Mademoiselle Mars (1779–1847), and that of the wife of the great tragedian François-Joseph Talma (1763–1826). The mansions of the two actresses were close to each other in the fashionable Parisian neighborhood of the Nouvelle Athènes, near the Chaussée d'Antin. Mademoiselle Mars lived at 1, rue de la Tour-des-Dames, in a house with an interior that had been splendidly

14. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé. Bed, ca. 1825–26. Elm, satinwood, mahogany and purplewood veneer, porcelain and ormolu, 43¼ x 78 x 52⅜ in. (110 x 198 x 133 cm). Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (inv. 617A). Photograph: © Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, Carlos Azevedo

15. Unknown maker. Bed, ca. 1805–10. Mahogany and ormolu, 48 x 93¾ x 63¾ in. (122 x 238 x 162 cm). Location unknown. Photograph: Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 18, 1906, lot 80, pl. 13

designed in Greek taste by the architect Louis-Tullio Visconti (1791–1853).[39] The Talmas lived at number 9 on the same street.[40] The two beds, almost identical in shape, are differentiated only by the materials used in their construction: Mademoiselle Mars's bed, last seen on the art market in 2006, was made of mahogany, whereas Madame Talma's, now in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon (Figure 14), was crafted in elm and satinwood. Both are ornate with ormolu elements and porcelain plaques displaying antique-style female busts. The reason for such a closeness in style is not known; the proximity of the addresses may indicate a common taste, or perhaps these two renowned figures of the Paris theater wished to display comparable lifestyles.

Several features in the two drawings can be observed in the finished pieces of furniture: the shape of, and foliage ornaments on, the headboard, the shape of the feet, the poppy-seed motifs, the female profiles, and the Greek friezes. These similarities suggest that the two drawings, sketched on the same piece of paper, may have been used as first drafts for the Talma bed. It remains, however, that Mademoiselle Mars's bed is attributed to the rather secondary *ébéniste* Joseph-Marie Bénard, owing to the presence of his stamp on a chest of drawers, obviously made to match the bed from the actress's room.[41] The drawings in the album suggest that, as far as Talma's bed is concerned, an attribution to Bellangé is a possible option.

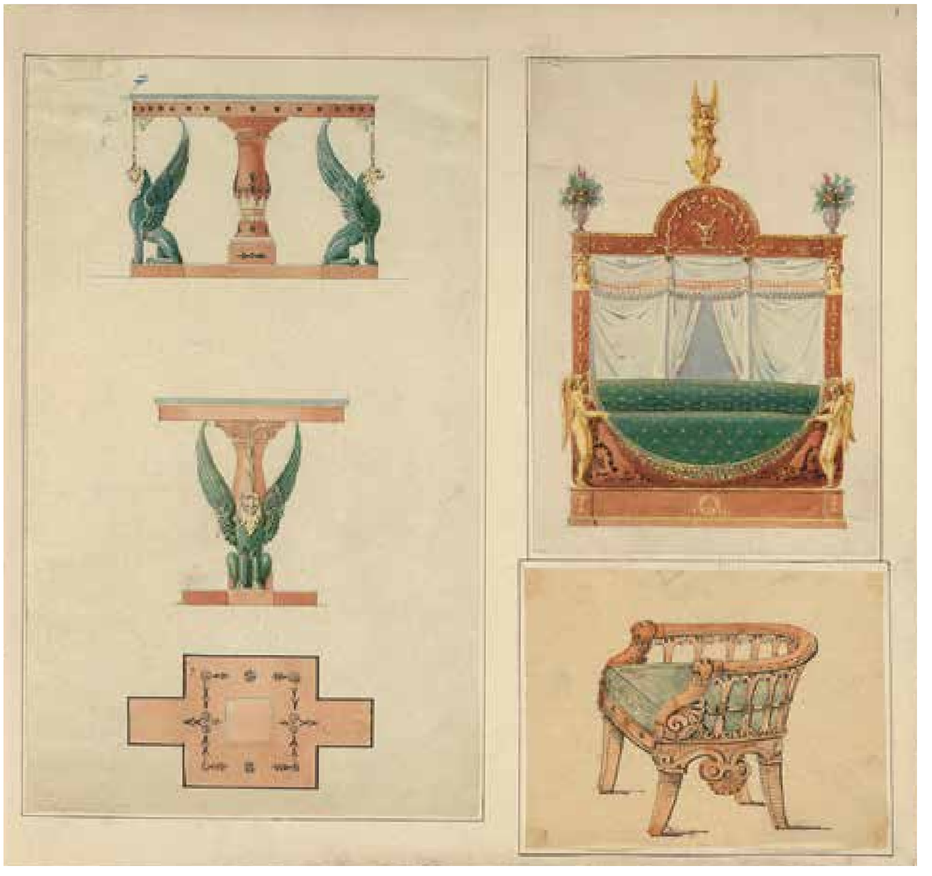
The pier table on Folio 20a is another design that exhibits similarities to an extant piece, produced about 1800. A comparable table, now in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts, was in the Ledoux-Lebard collection in Paris and sold in 2006 with an attribution to Martin-Eloi Lignereux, Adam Weisweiler, and, for the central figure of a siren, the sculptor Antoine-Léonard Dupâquier.[42] The presence of the drawing in the Bellangé album suggests a different attribution for the cabinetmaker, to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé.

Finally, a scheme for a bed on Folio 4a may be related to a bed formerly in the Antokolsky collection, sold at auction in Paris in 1906 (Figure 15).[43] It should be noted, however, that the design is for an alcove bed, since the two large reliefs representing Cupid and Psyche are displayed on the same side, whereas the Antokolsky bed, which bears them on both sides at the head end, was intended to be displayed *à la duchesse*, with its headboard against the wall. The identity of the craftsman who made these large and very refined low-relief ornaments of ormolu remains unknown.

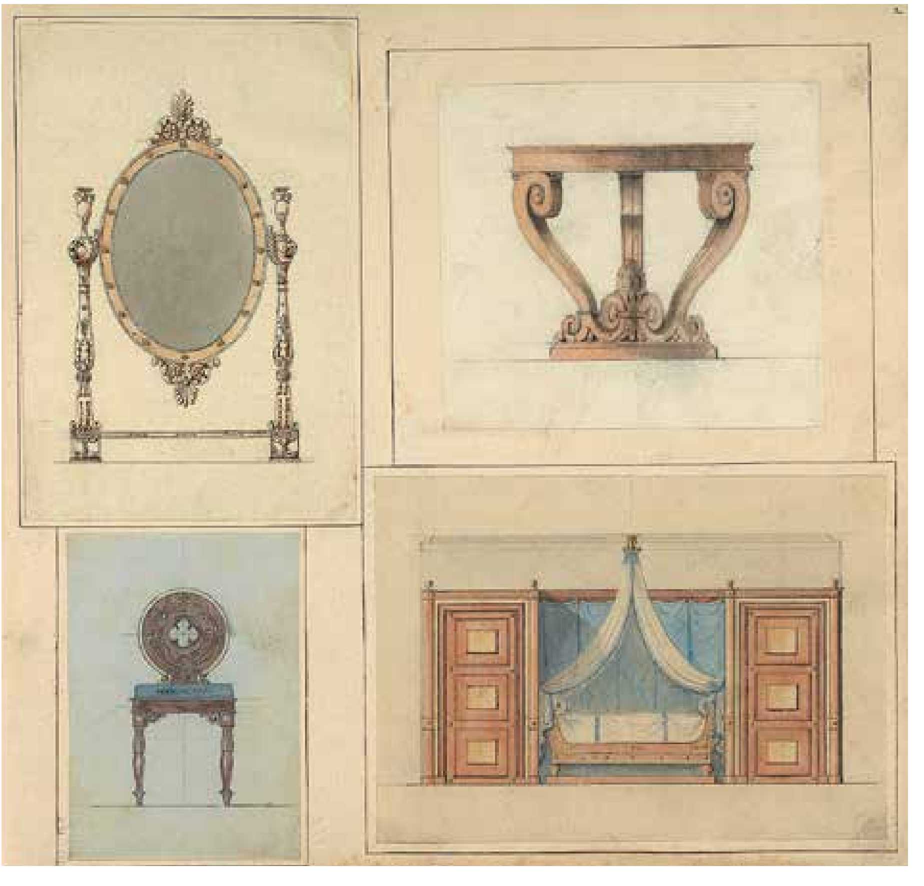
* * *

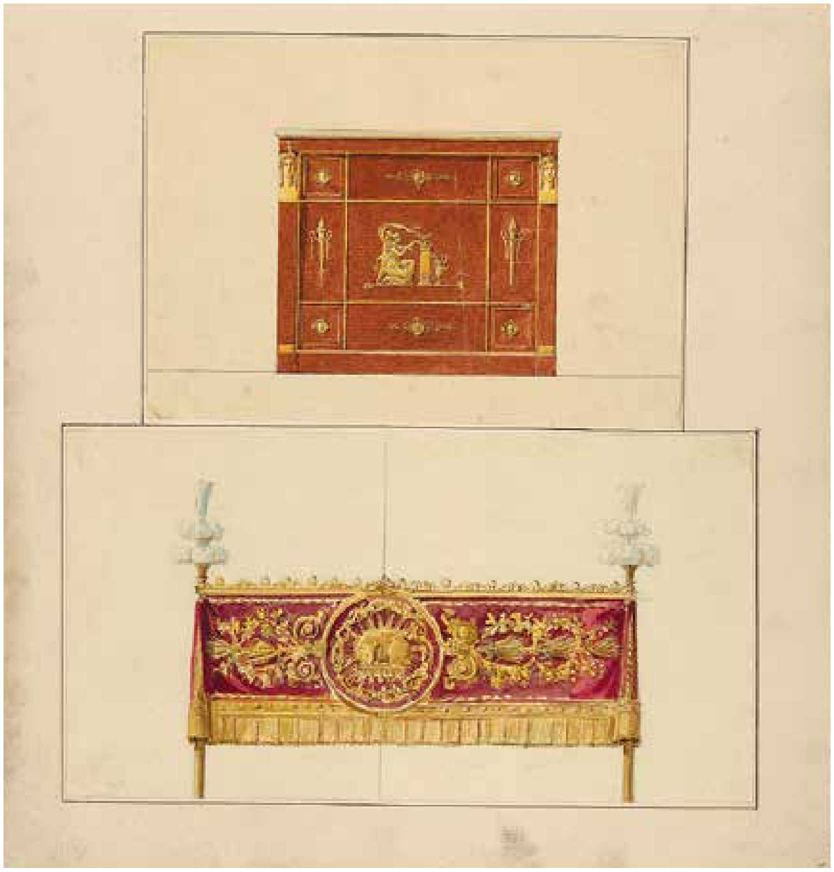
A fascinating combination of pencil drawings and watercolors, the Metropolitan Museum's Bellangé album must be considered a major source for understanding French nineteenth-century design and decorative arts. Including designs from the Bellangé workshop under both Pierre-Antoine and Louis-Alexandre, it provides insights into the elaboration of private and official taste in Paris during the Empire, the Restoration, and the July Monarchy. In a time when sets of drawings are often dispersed or even cut from their original bindings before appearing on the art market, the preservation of such an album is welcome news for researchers of furniture design and enthusiasts of the decorative arts alike.

Folio 1a (left). Design for a gueridon. Attributed to Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1805. Watercolor, paper, 9⅜ x 5⅝ in. (23.8 x 14.2 cm). Folio 1b (upper right). Design for an alcove bed. Attributed to Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, paper, 6⅛ x 4¼ in. (15.5 x 10.8 cm). Folio 1c (lower right). Design for a desk chair. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1820. Watercolor, ink, paper, 3⅜ x 4½ in. (8.7 x 11.3 cm)

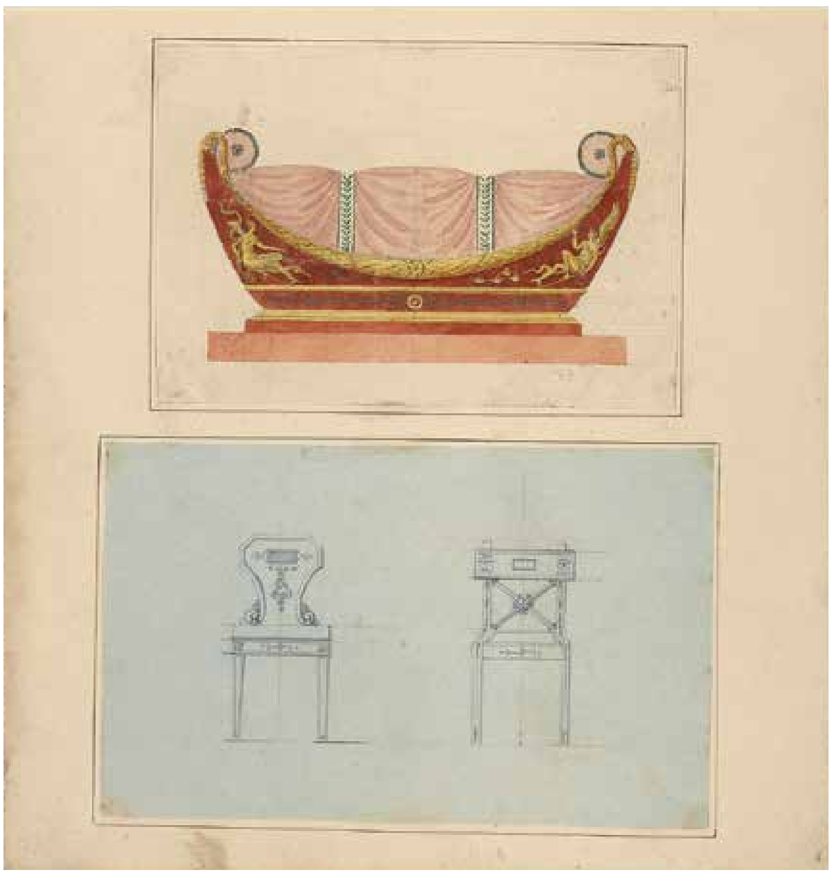


Folio 2a (upper left). Design for a psyché. Attributed to Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolors, pencil, paper, 6⅛ x 4 in. (15.5 x 10.3 cm). Folio 2b (lower left). Design for a chair. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine or Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–30. Watercolor, ink, paper, 4 x 2⅞ in. (10.2 x 7.2 cm). Folio 2c (upper right). Design for a gueridon. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825. Watercolors, pencil, paper, 4¼ x 4¾ in. (10.9 x 11.9 cm). Folio 2d (lower right). Design for an alcove furnished with a bed. Circle of Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 4⅜ x 6¼ in. (11.2 x 16 cm)



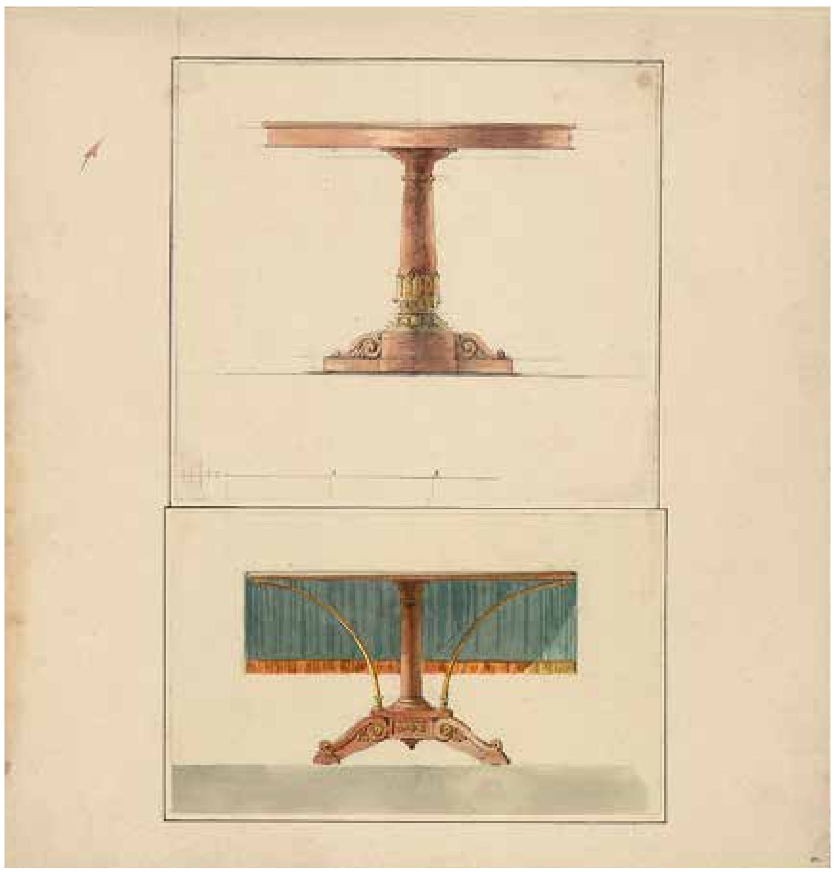


Folio 3a. Design for a cabinet. Attributed to Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 5 x 6⅞ in. (12.6 x 17.4 cm).
Folio 3b. Design for a ceremonial canopy. Attributed to Jacques-Louis de La Hamayde de Saint-Ange (French, 1780–1860), ca. 1815–25. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 4¾ x 9⅛ in. (12 x 23.3 cm). Page rotated

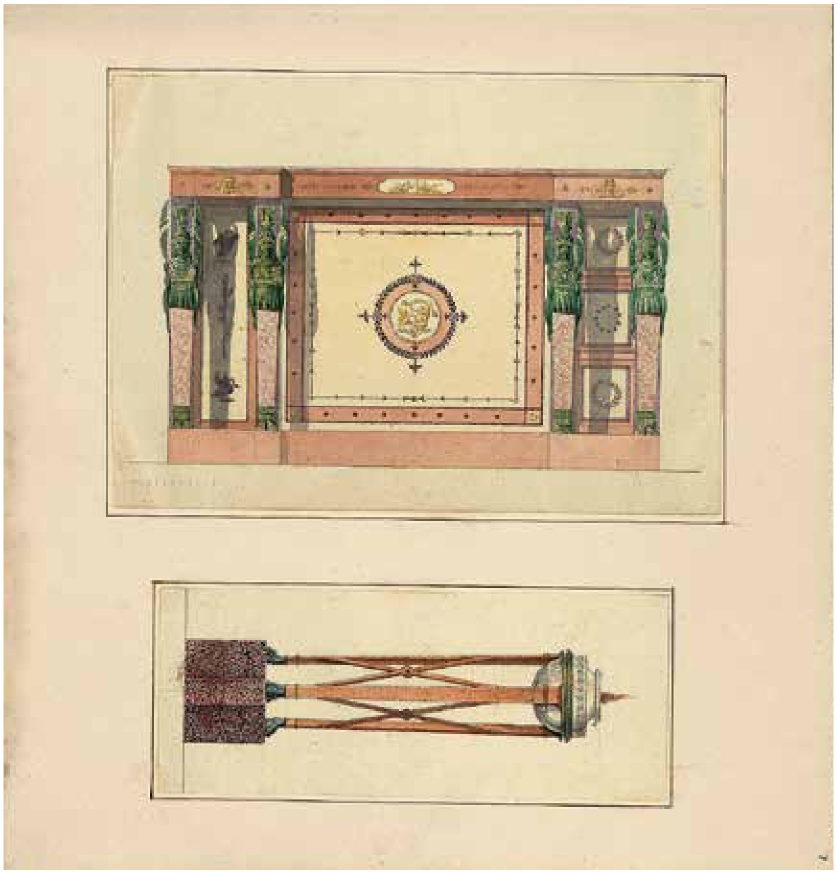


Folio 4a. Design for a bed. Circle of Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 4⅝ x 6⅝ in. (11.8 x 16.9 cm).
Folio 4b. Designs for two chairs. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820. Pencil, paper, 4⅞ x 7⅞ in. (12.4 x 20 cm). Page rotated

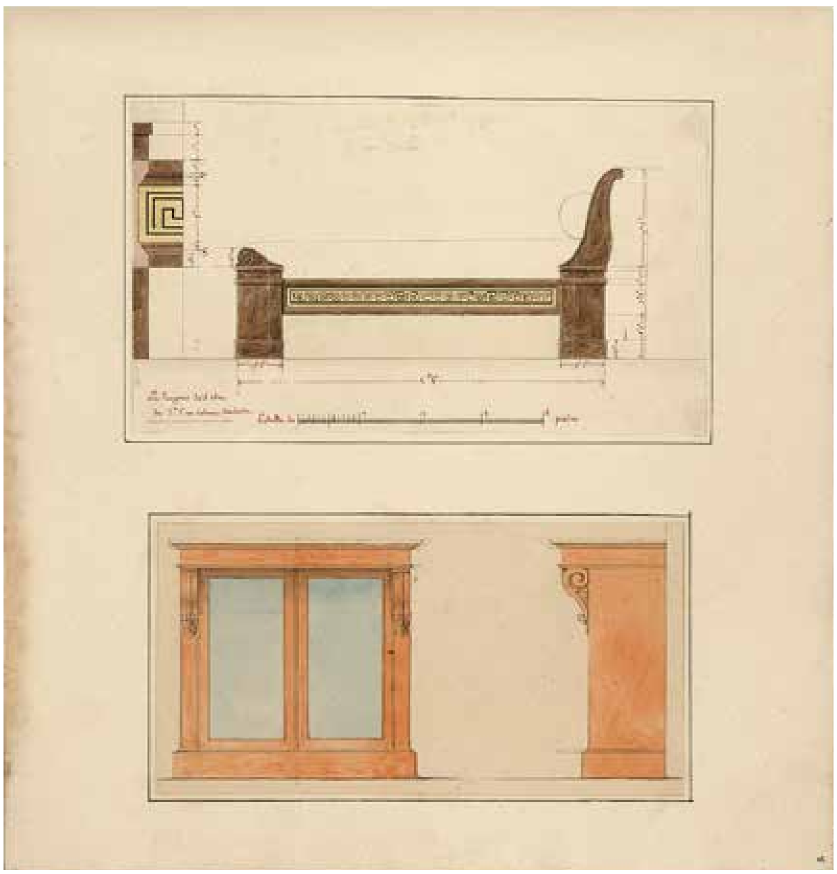
Folio 5a (left). Design for an armchair. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1815–25. Watercolor, ink, paper, 6½ x 4⅝ in. (16.6 x 11.6 cm). Handwritten signature: *Bellangé / à Paris*; handwritten inscription: *n°1*. Folio 5b (right). Design for an armchair. Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1815–20. Watercolor, ink, paper, 6½ x 4⅝ in. (16.4 x 11.6 cm). Handwritten signature: *Bellangé / à Paris*; handwritten inscription: *n°2*



Folio 6a. Design for a gueridon. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé or Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–35. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 5⅝ x 6⅛ in. (14.3 x 15.5 cm). Folio 6b. Design for a table. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé or Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1815–25. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 3⅞ x 6¼ in. (9.9 x 16 cm). Page rotated

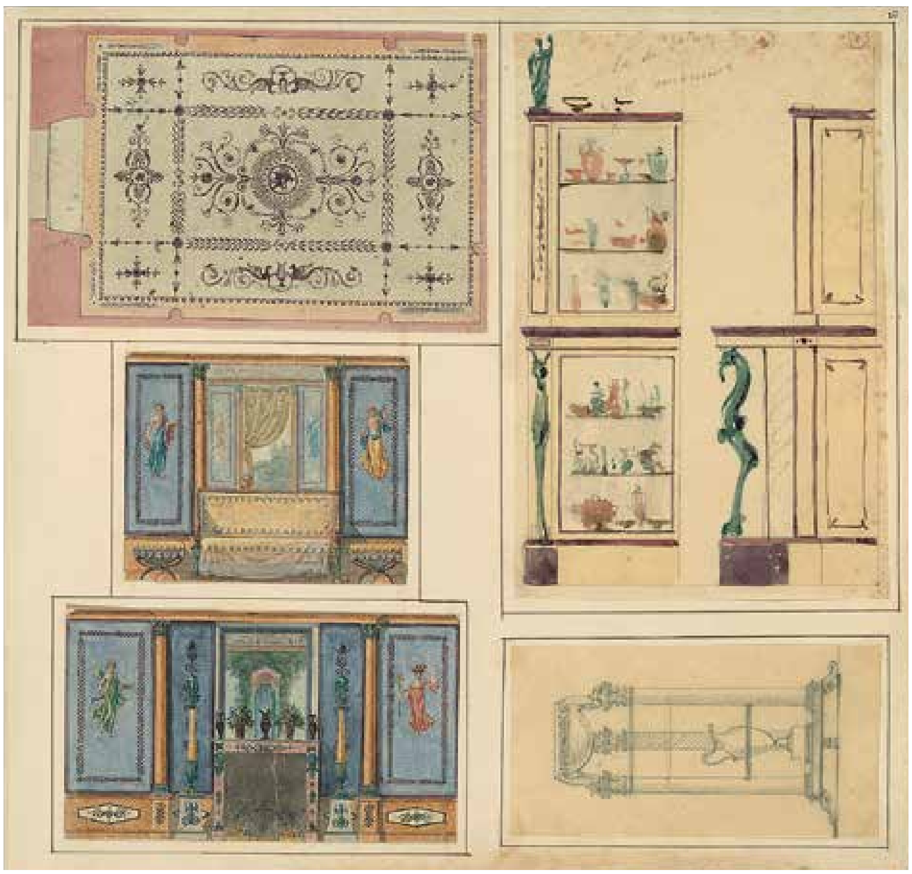


Folio 7a. Design for a pier table. Attributed to Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 5⅝ x 7¾ in. (14.2 x 19.8 cm). Folio 7b. Design for a tripod burner. Circle of Pierre-Antoine Bellangé in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1805. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 6½ x 2⅝ in. (16.5 x 6.8 cm). Page rotated



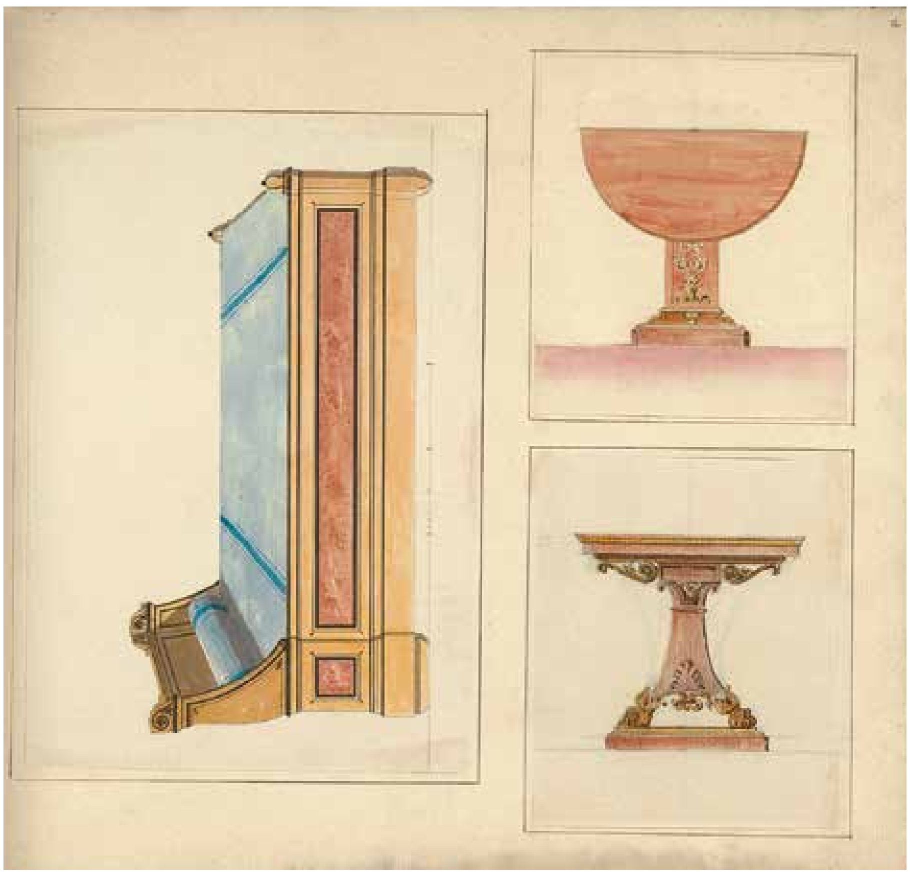
Folio 8a. Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–35. Watercolor, ink, paper, 4¼ x 7⅜ in. (10.8 x 18.8 cm). Handwritten inscriptions including measurements: *la longueur doit être / de 3″3° en dedans des bois*; *échelle de […] 1[…] 2[…] 3[…] 4 pieds*. Folio 8b. Design for a bookcase. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1830–35. Watercolor, ink, paper, 3½ x 6⅞ in. (8.9 x 17.3 cm). Page rotated

Folio 9. Design for a bedroom. Attributed to Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (French, 1762–1853), first quarter of the 19th century. Watercolor, paper, 9 x 9⅞ in. (23 x 25.2 cm)



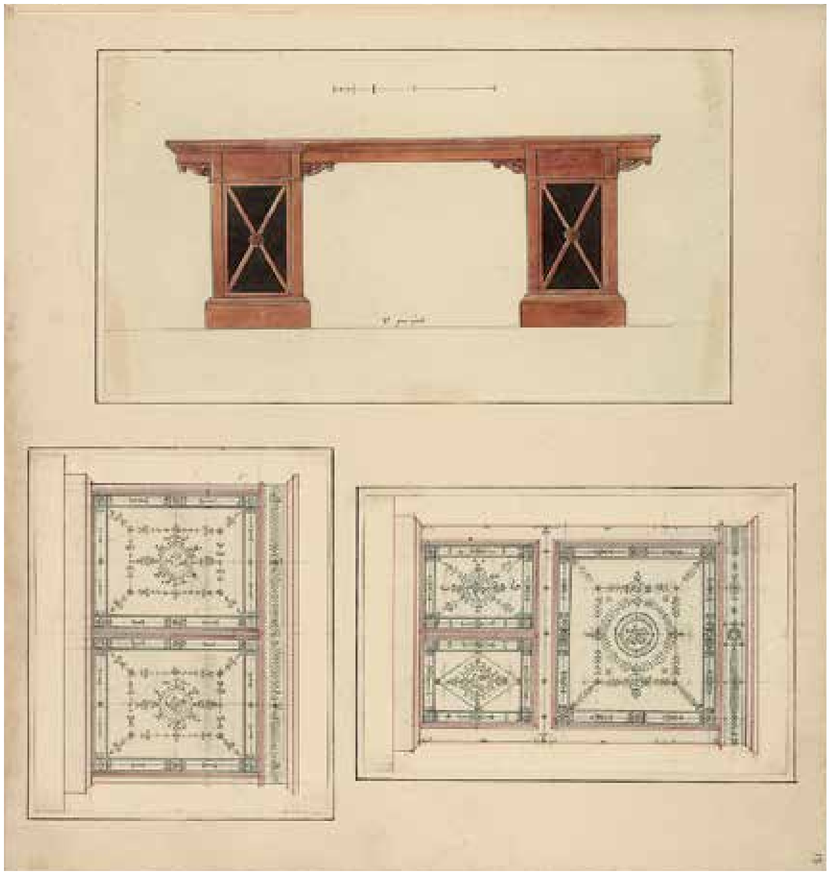
Folio 10a (upper left). Design for the floor or the ceiling of a boudoir. Anonymous, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, paper, 3¾ x 5⅝ in. (9.4 x 14.3 cm). Folio 10b (middle left). Design for a boudoir showing a sofa and two stools. Anonymous, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, paper, 2¾ x 3½ in. (7.1 x 8.8 cm). Folio 10c (lower left). Design for a boudoir showing a chimneypiece and two torchères. Anonymous, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, paper, 2⅞ x 4⅞ in. (7.2 x 12.3 cm). Folio 10d (upper right). Design for a two-part vitrine. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine or Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825. Watercolor, paper, 7 x 4⅝ in. (17.8 x 11.8 cm). Handwritten inscriptions: *pas de statue/en couronms*. Folio 10e (lower right). Design for an *athénienne* (washstand). Anonymous, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1810. Pencil, paper, 4⅝ x 2⅜ in. (11.6 x 6 cm)

Folio 11a. Design for a bedroom with a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825. Watercolor, paper, 5⅝ x 7⅛ in. (14.4 x 18 cm). Folio 11b (lower left). Design for a medallion: putto holding a bow and an arrow. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1815–30. Watercolor, paper, Diam. 3⅝ in. (9.1 cm). Folio 11c (lower right). Design for a medallion: putto burning the legs of a butterfly with a torch. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1815–30. Watercolor, paper, Diam. 3½ in. (9 cm). Page rotated

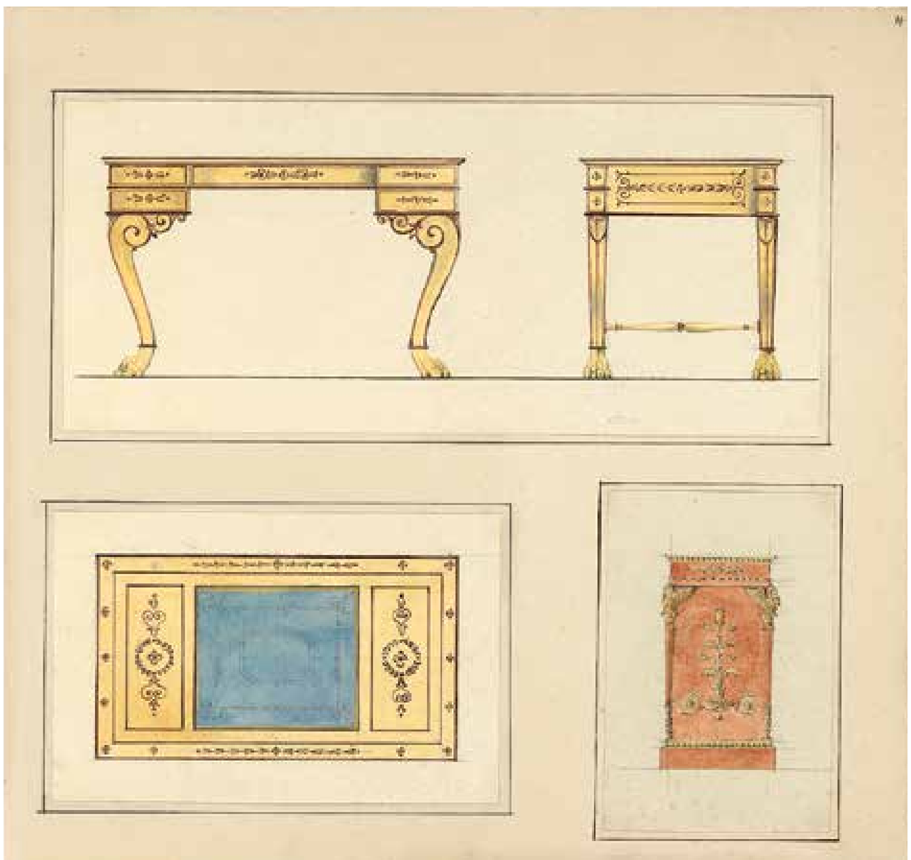


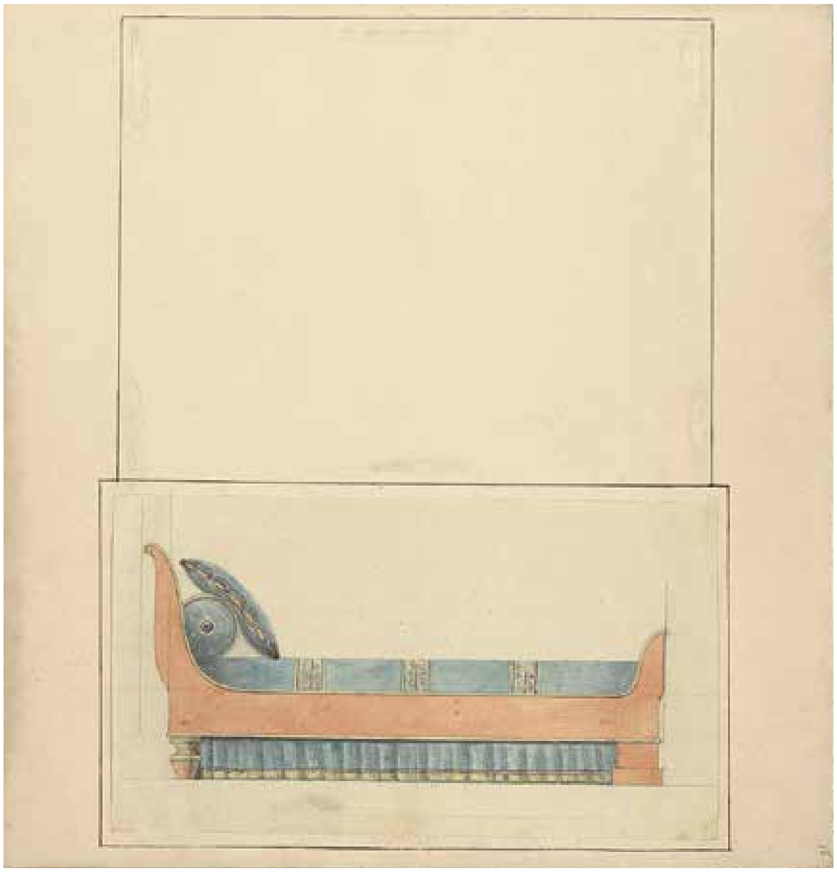
Folio 12a (left). Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825. Watercolor, paper, 5⅜ x 8 in. (13.7 x 20.2 cm). Folio 12b (upper right). Design for a gueridon. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1810. Watercolor, paper, 4⅜ x 3⅞ in. (11 x 9.7 cm). Folio 12c (lower right). Design for a table. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1810. Watercolor, paper, 4½ x 3¾ in. (11.5 x 9.5 cm)

Folio 13a. Design for a *bureau plat*. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, ink, paper, 5⅜ x 8 in. (13.7 x 20.2 cm). Handwritten inscription: *1° pour pied*. Folio 13b (lower left). Design for a chest of drawers. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1834. Pencil, ink, paper, 5½ x 3⅝ in. (13.9 x 9.1 cm). Folio 13c (lower right). Design for a secretary. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1834. Pencil, ink, paper, 3¾ x 4⅝ in. (9.6 x 11.8 cm). Page rotated

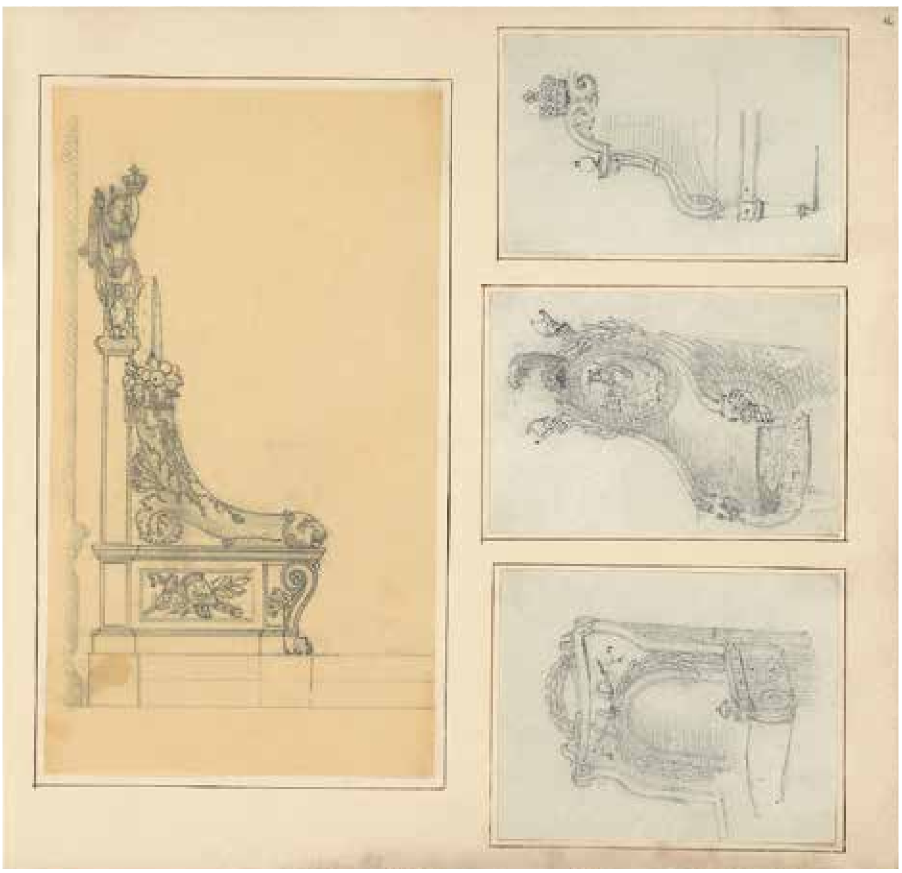


Folio 14a. Design for a *bureau plat*. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, 4 x 9⅜ in. (10.2 x 23.7 cm). Folio 14b (lower left). Design for a table for the same study. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1826–30. Watercolor, paper, 5½ x 3⅝ in. (13.9 x 9.1 cm). Folio 14c (lower right). Design for a somno (bed table) or pedestal. Circle of Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1800–1810. Watercolor, paper, 4⅛ x 2⅞ in. (10.5 x 7.2 cm)



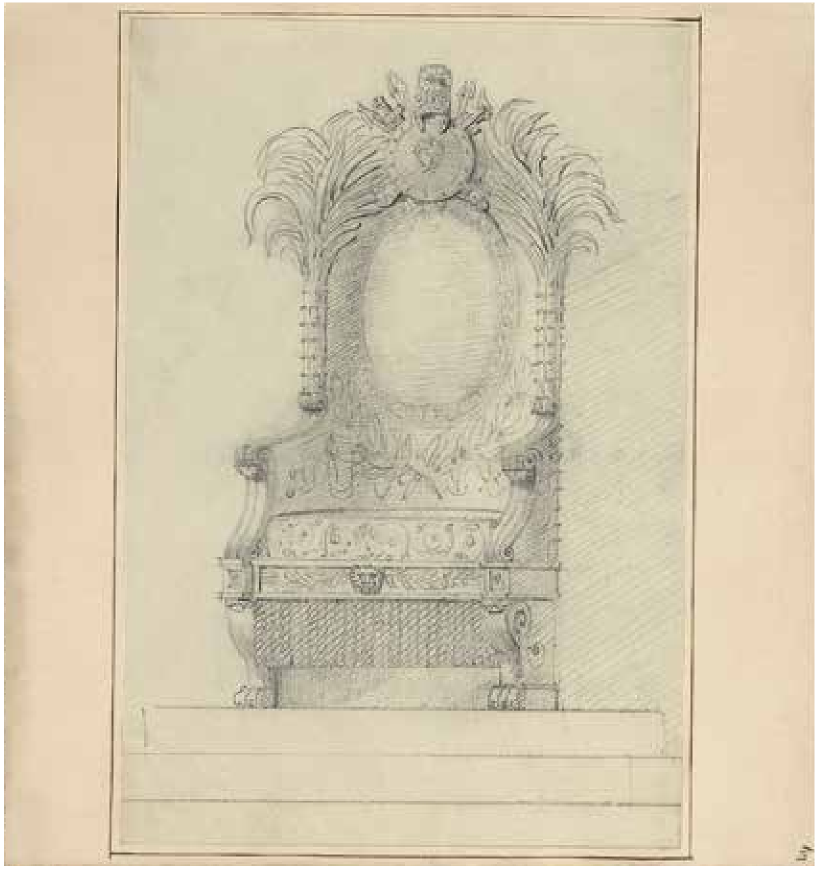


Folio 15. Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–35. Watercolor, paper, 4⅜ x 7¾ in. (11 x 19.7 cm). Page rotated

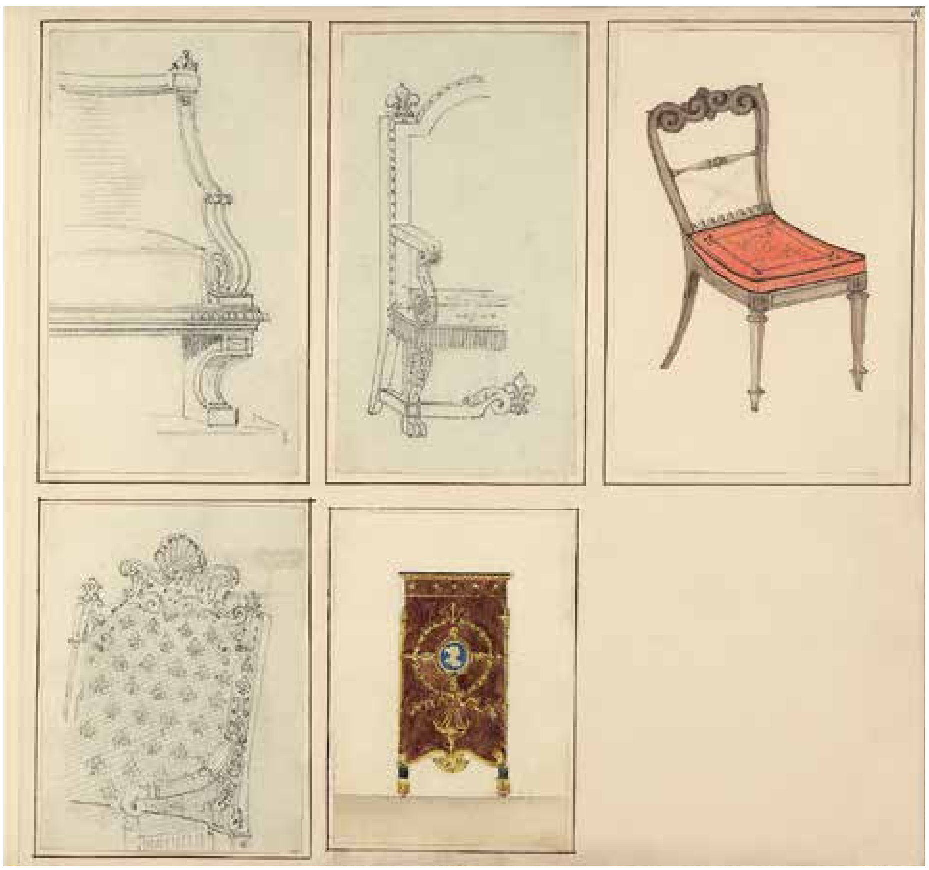


Folio 16a (left). Design for a throne. Attributed to Jacques-Louis de La Hamayde de Saint-Ange, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 8½ x 4⅞ in. (21.6 x 12.3 cm). Folio 16b (upper right). Sketch of a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc (French, 1749–1825), ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 4⅛ x 2⅝ in. (10.5 x 6.8 cm). Folio 16c (middle right). Sketch of a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 4⅜ x 3⅛ in. (11 x 7.8 cm). Folio 16d (lower right). Design for a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 4⅛ x 3¼ in. (10.6 x 8.4 cm)

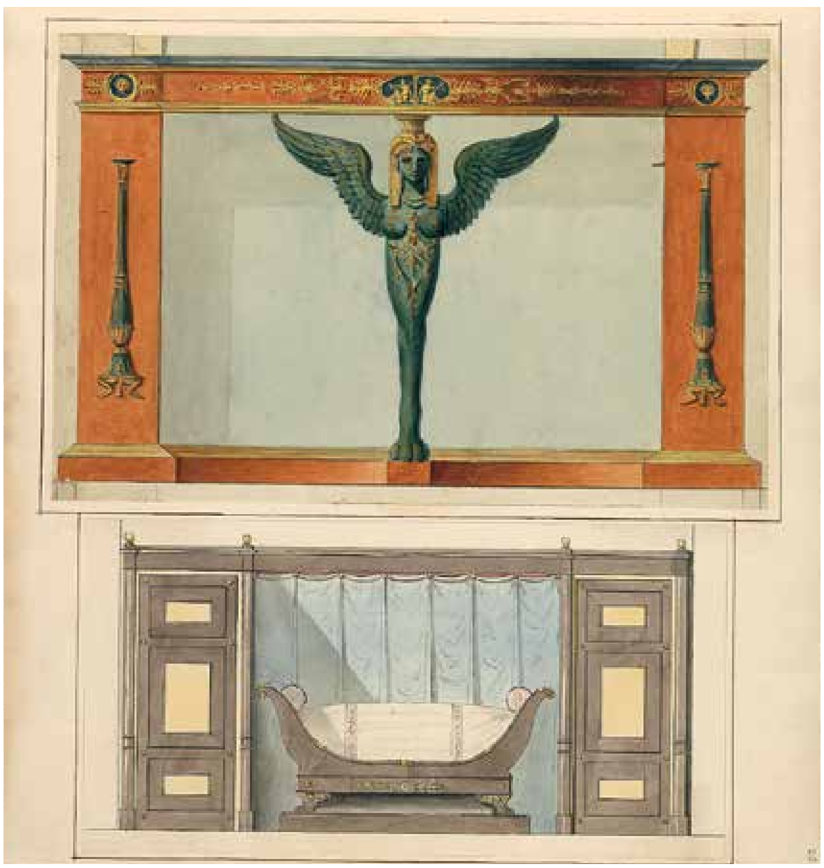
Folio 17. Design for a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 10⅞ x 7¾ in. (27.7 x 19.6 cm). Page rotated



Folio 18a (upper left). Sketch of a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 5½ x 3⅛ in. (14 x 7.9 cm). Folio 18b (upper middle). Sketch of a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Crayon, paper, 5½ x 3 in. (13.9 x 7.6 cm). Folio 18c (upper right). Design or sketch for a chair. Anonymous, ca. 1830. Watercolor, ink, paper, 4⅛ x 2⅞ in. (10.4 x 7.3 cm). Folio 18d (lower left). Design for a throne. Attributed to Jean-Démosthène Dugourc, ca. 1818. Pencil, paper, 4⅜ x 2⅞ in. (11 x 7.3 cm). Folio 18e (lower middle). Sketch of a somno (bed table). Anonymous, in the manner of Charles Percier, ca. 1800–1805. Watercolor, paper, 4¼ x 3¼ in. (10.8 x 8.2 cm)

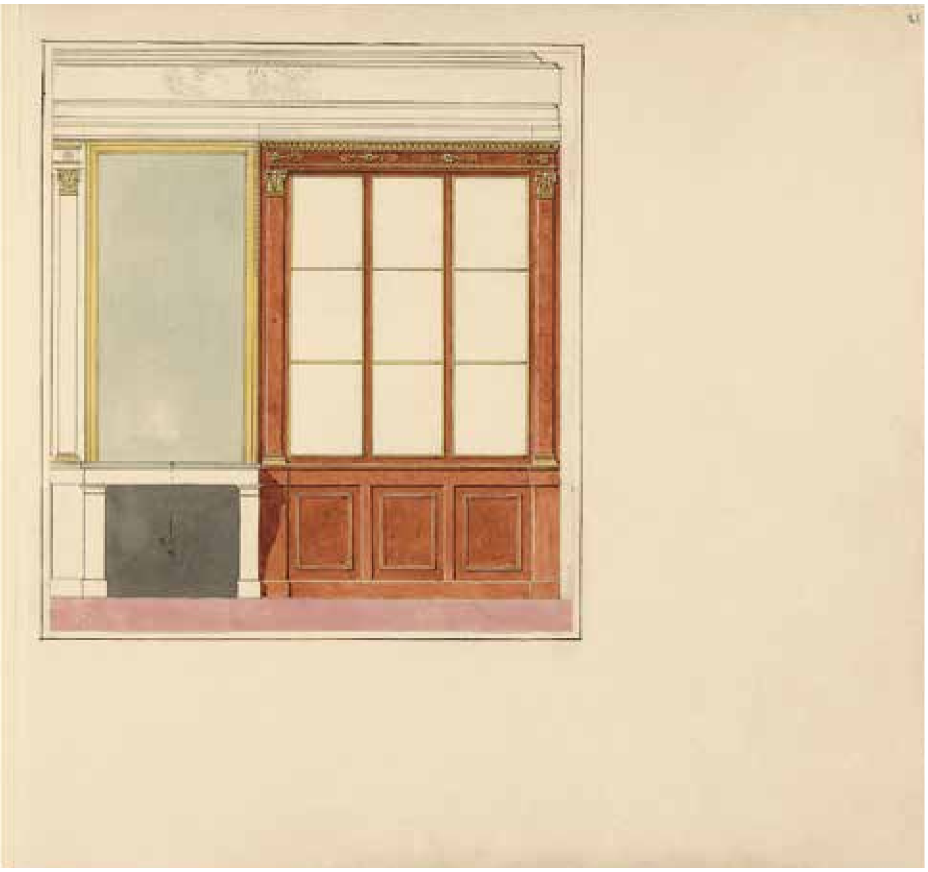


Folio 19a (upper left). Design for an armchair. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–25. Watercolor, paper, $6\frac{1}{4}$ x $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16 x 12 cm). Folio 19b (upper right). Design for a low bookcase. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1830–35. Watercolor, paper, $5\frac{5}{8}$ x $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. (14.2 x 13.4 cm). Folio 19c (lower left). Design for a somno (bed table). Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–25. Watercolor, paper, $3\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. (9.7 x 6.8 cm). Folio 19d (lower right). Design for a somno (bed table). Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–25. Watercolor, paper, $3\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.7 x 7 cm)

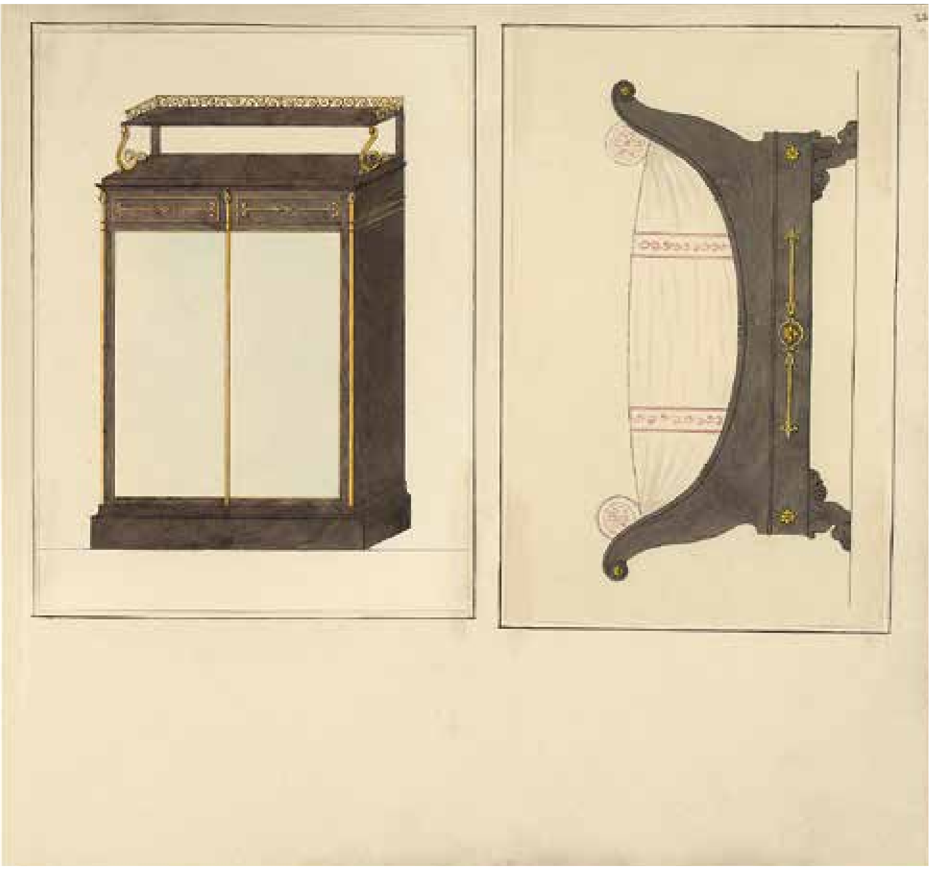


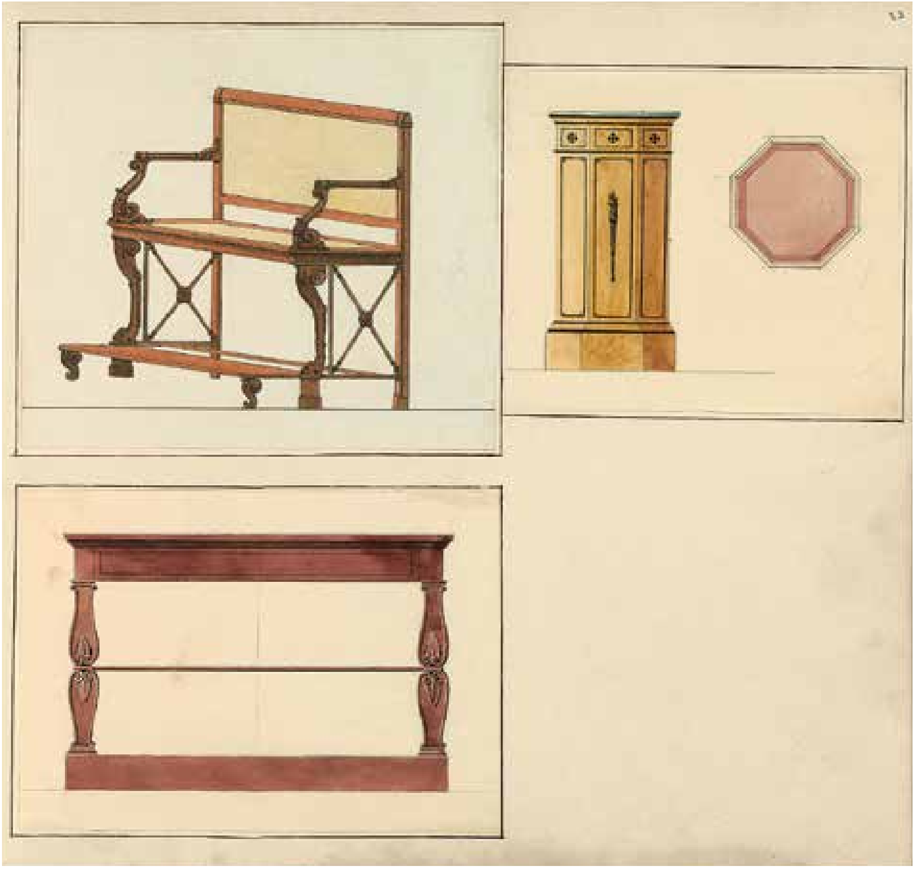
Folio 20a. Design for a pier table. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1800–1805. Watercolor, paper, $6\frac{1}{8}$ x $9\frac{3}{8}$ in. (15.5 x 23.7 cm). Folio 20b. Design for an alcove furnished with a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–1830. Watercolor, paper, $4\frac{3}{8}$ x $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 x 21.2 cm). Page rotated

Folio 21. Design for a paneled decor. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–30. Watercolor, paper, 7⅛ x 6⅜ in. (18 x 16.2 cm)

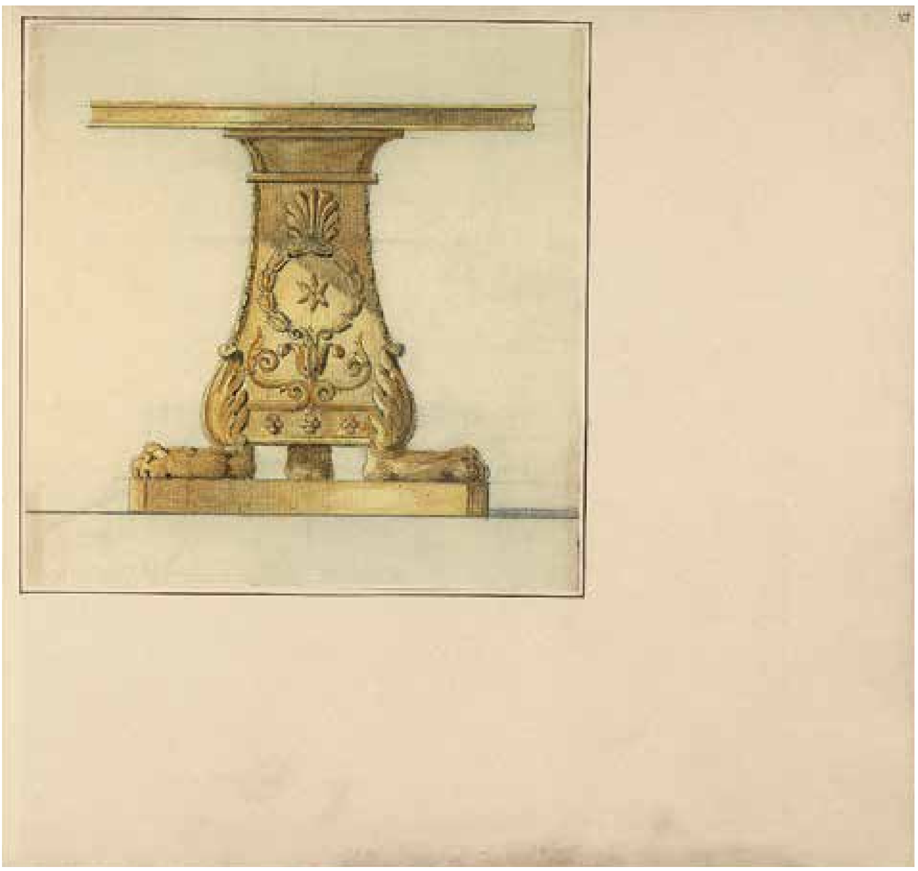


Folio 22a (left). Design for a bookcase with a shelf. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, 7⅛ x 5¼ in. (18 x 13.4 cm). Folio 22b (right). Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, 4⅝ x 7¼ in. (11.8 x 18.5 cm)



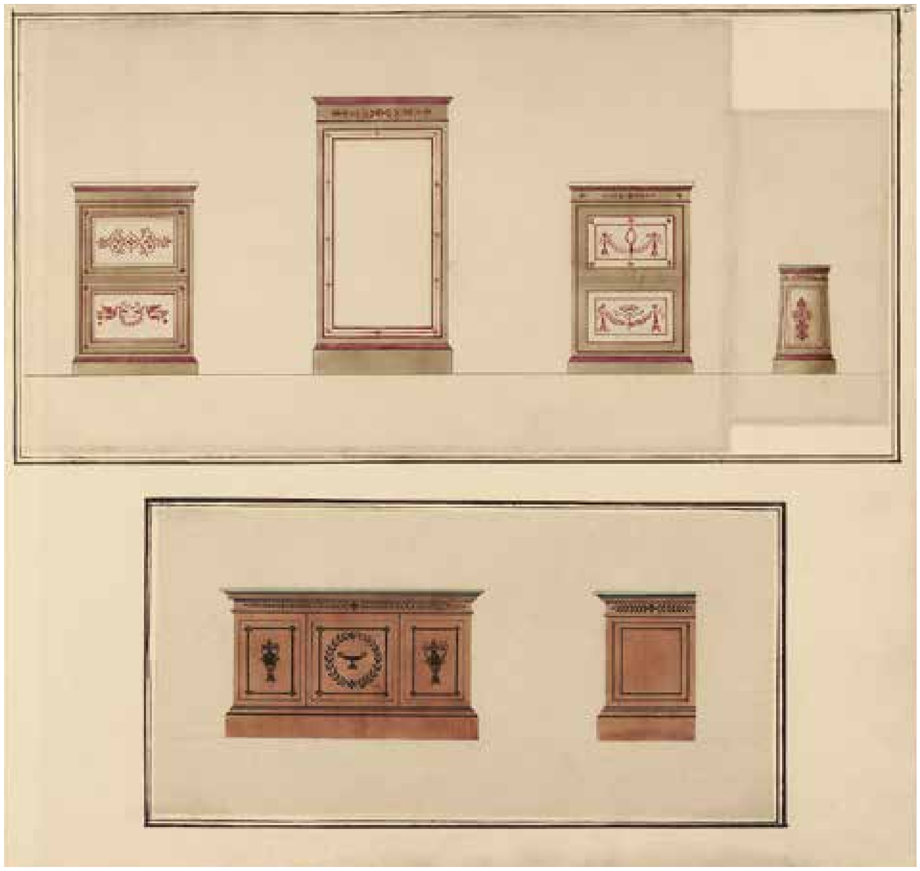


Folio 23a (upper left). Design for a billiard bench. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1805–10. Watercolor, paper, 5⅛ x 5¾ in. (13 x 14.7 cm). Folio 23b (upper right). Design for a pedestal or a bedside table. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1805–10. Watercolor, paper, 3⅞ x 4¾ in. (10 x 12.2 cm). Folio 23c (lower left). Design for a pier table. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1805–10. Watercolor, paper, 4⅛ x 5⅞ in. (10.6 x 14.9 cm)

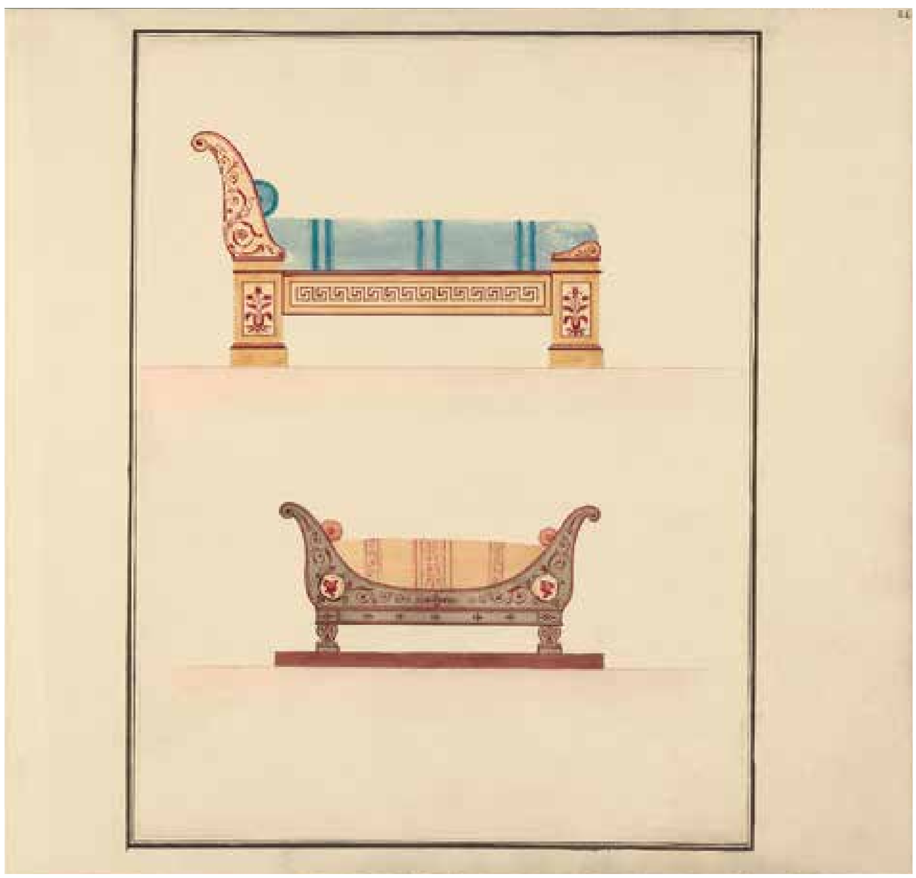


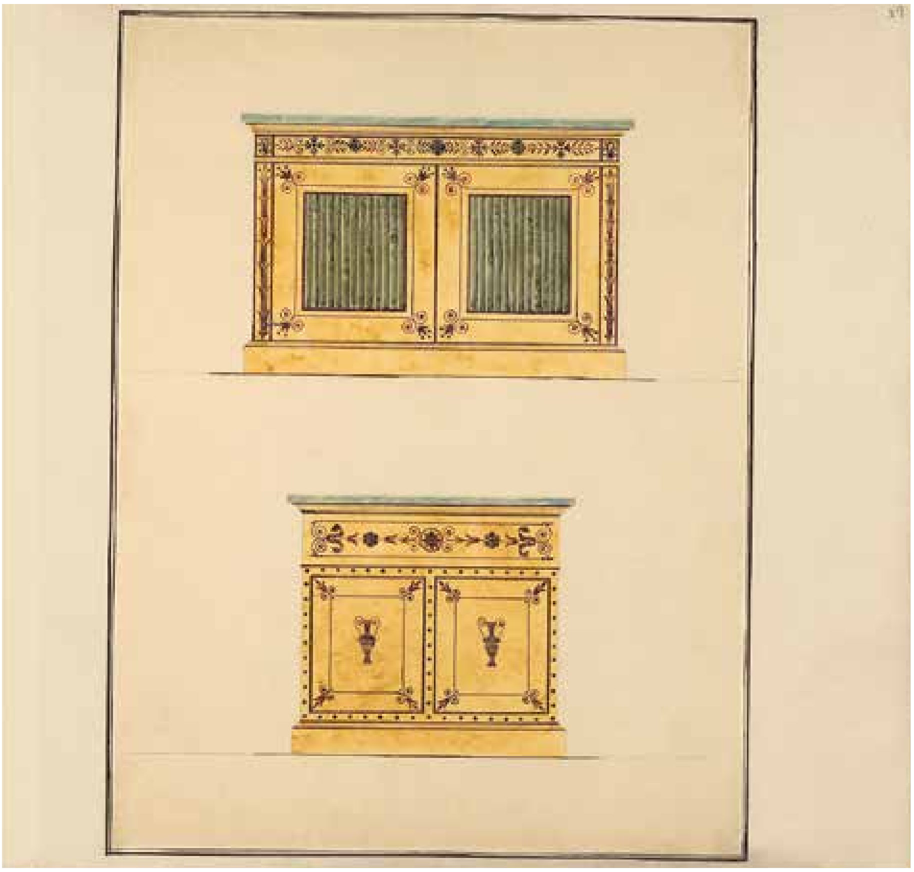
Folio 24. Design for a gueridon. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–35. Watercolor, pencil, paper, 6⅞ x 6¾ in. (17.5 x 17.2 cm)

Folio 25a. Designs for two secretaries and a psyché. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–30. Watercolor, paper, 5⅜ x 8⅝ in. (13.5 x 22 cm). Folio 25b. Design for a somno (bed table) or pedestal. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–30. Watercolor, paper, 3⅞ x 1⅞ in. (9.7 x 4.9 cm). Folio 25c. Design for a large chest of drawers. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1820–30. Watercolor, paper, 3¾ x 7½ in. (9.4 x 19.2 cm)

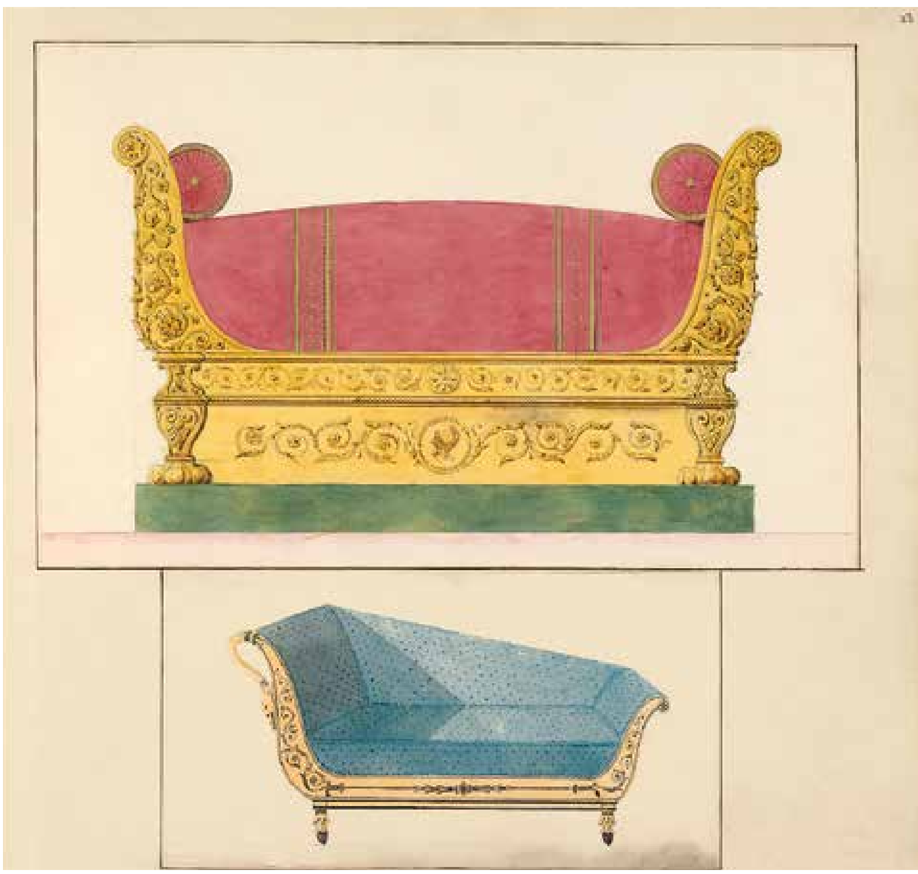


Folio 26. Designs for two beds. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé or workshop, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, 9⅞ x 7¾ in. (25 x 19.8 cm)



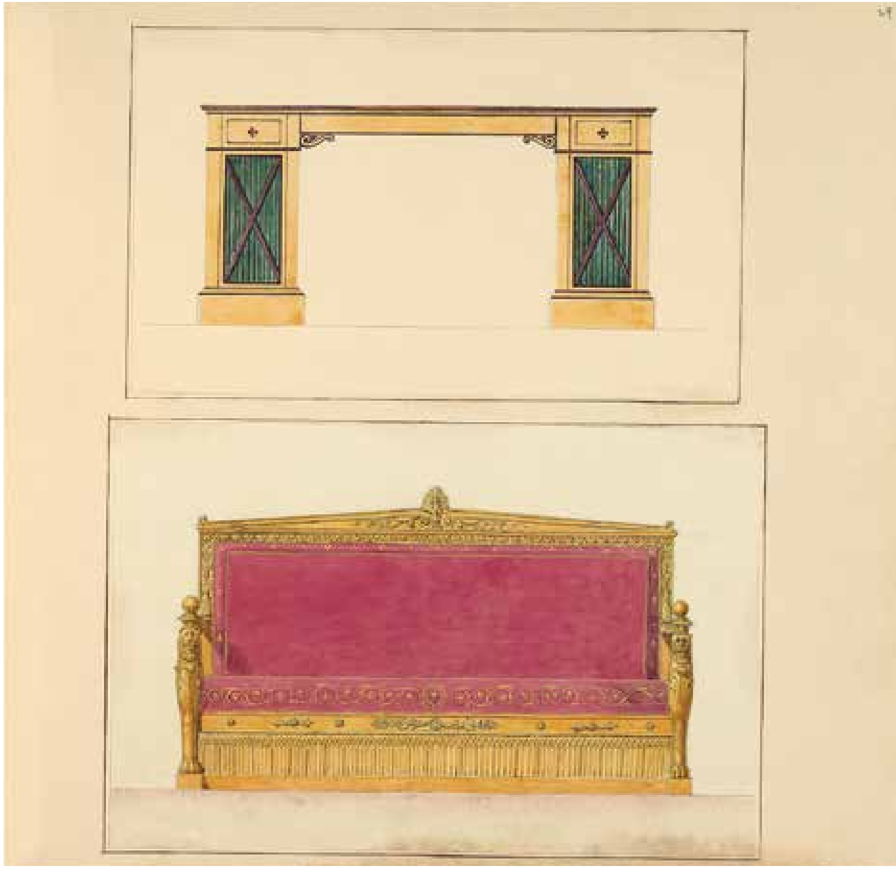


Folio 27. Designs for a bookcase and a chest of drawers. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, $10\frac{1}{8}$ x $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. (25.7 x 19.5 cm)

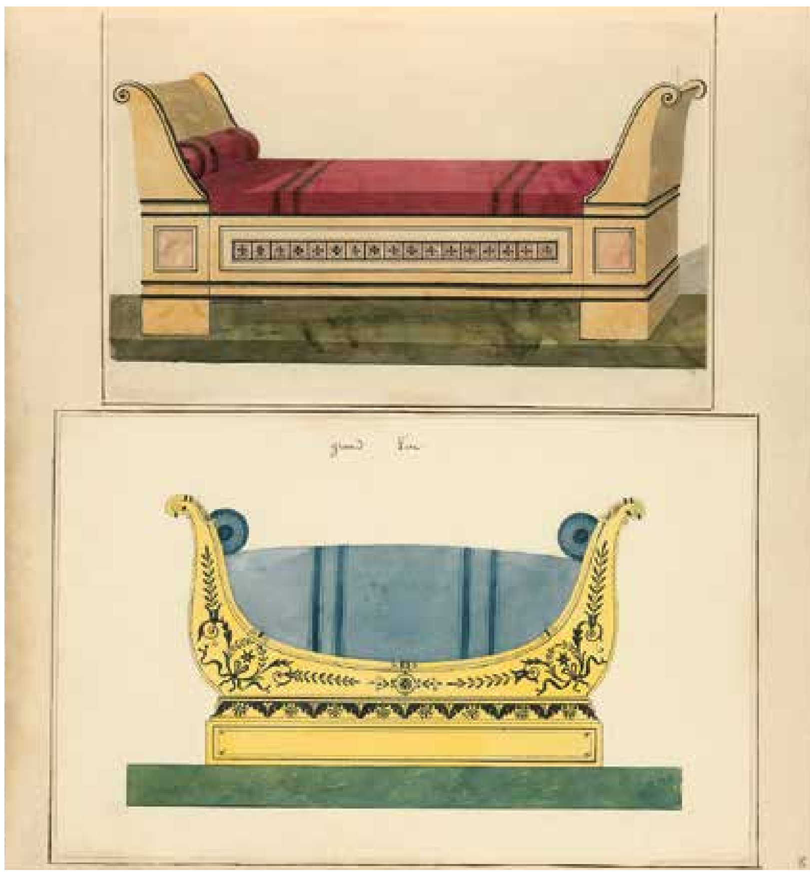


Folio 28a. Design for a bed. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1810–15. Watercolor, paper, $6\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 in. (16.1 x 25.3 cm). Folio 28b. Design for a daybed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, $3\frac{5}{8}$ x $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.1 x 17.1 cm)

Folio 29a. Design for a *bureau plat.* Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11.4 x 18.8 cm). Folio 29b. Design for a sofa. Attributed to Pierre-Antoine Bellangé, ca. 1810–15. Watercolor, paper, $5\frac{1}{4}$ x $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. (13.3 x 22 cm)



Folio 30a. Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, paper, 5 x $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (12.7 x 20 cm). Folio 30b. Design for a bed. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1825–30. Watercolor, ink, paper, $5\frac{7}{8}$ x $9\frac{1}{8}$ in. (14.8 x 23.1 cm). Handwritten inscription: *grand lit*. Page rotated



Folio 31. Design for a pier table or console. Attributed to Louis-Alexandre Bellangé, ca. 1833–34. Watercolor, paper, 7 ½ x 7 ½ in. (19 x 19 cm)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author thanks the following colleagues who supported his research on the Bellangé album: Marcie J. Karp, managing museum educator, and Hannah Kinney, education programs associate, Fellowship Program, Education; Perrin V. Stein, curator, Drawings and Prints; and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, at the MMA. He is also grateful to Elizabeth Rudy, Theodore Rousseau Assistant Curator of European Paintings, European and American Art, Harvard Art Museums; Felicity Bodenstein; and Sean Moreau.

NOTES

1. See especially Samoyault 1975.
2. MMA 51.624.2. The album was in the collection of F. and G. Staack, Camden, Maine, from sometime in the early twentieth century to 1951, when it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum.
3. Bouffier 1994.
4. *Notice des produits de l'industrie française* 1834, p. 216, no. 1247.
5. Published in Paris in 1801, completed and reedited in 1812 and 1827. See Dion-Tenenbaum 2007.
6. On the Bellangés, see Cordier 2009.
7. Pierre-Antoine Bellangé and Marie-Anne-Agnès Quenet had five children. One of them, Joseph-Louis-Hippolyte, made a career as a history painter and was a curator in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, under the July Monarchy.
8. Private collection, France.
9. Fonds Berthier de Wagram, 173 AP bis 90, fonds des archives privées, Archives Nationales, Paris.
10. "Banquette en acajou à dos, de 10 pieds de long, bras ceintrés marche pieds à coulisse." Ibid.
11. "En bois acajou de 3 pds 9° de long, tablette à l'entre jambe, marbre petit granit." Ibid.
12. D. Ledoux-Lebard 1975, p. 82.
13. "Consoles en bois acajou en piédestal forme circulaire ornée de bronzes dorés au mat, marbre grillotte d'Italie." Fonds Berthier de Wagram, 173 AP bis 90.
14. A photograph of this desk was published in Faniel 1957, p. 53. It was then in the Imbert collection in Paris.
15. Sale, Christie's, London, February 4, 1998, lot 612.
16. Sale, Ader-Picard-Tajan, Paris, April 17–18, 1975, lot 234.
17. Published in *Âge d'or des arts décoratifs* 1991, pp. 293–94.
18. Meyers 1991, pp. 195–98.
19. Dion-Tenenbaum 2007, pp. 67–68.
20. "L'art même, en leur épargnant [aux artistes] de longues recherches qui ne [pouvaient] que les distraire de ce qui doit principalement les occuper." Willemin 1798–1801, vol. 1, p. 6.
21. Krafft and Ransonnette 1801, plate XC.
22. D. Ledoux-Lebard 1975, p. 148.
23. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Weltliche Schatzkammer.
24. Private collection; see *Au temps des merveilleuses* 2005, p. 159.
25. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau; see ibid., p. 176.
26. Samoyault 1975, pp. 460 (fig. 43), 461.
27. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau; see Samoyault 2004, pp. 304–5.
28. Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau; see ibid., p. 168.
29. O^2 533, mobilier extraordinaire, 1814, Archives Nationales.
30. For Folios 16a–c, 17, and 18b, see Cordier 2008.
31. *Âge d'or des arts décoratifs* 1991, p. 531.
32. Ibid., p. 521; see also Foray-Carlier 1990.
33. A collection of drawings by Dugourc representing these two ceremonies is in the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Musée National du Château de Versailles (Inv. Dessins 285 and 398).
34. O^3 1918, sacre de Charles X (1824–1825), Archives Nationales.
35. On the designs of the interiors of the Musée Charles X, see *Âge d'or des arts décoratifs* 1991, pp. 95–98.
36. "Quant aux armoires définitives ou la décoration des salles, il faut espérer que Messieurs les architectes du musée seront plus faciles sur ce point que sur d'autres et qu'on pourra s'entendre avec eux. Il me semble que ces armoires demandent à être simples et commodes, quelles [sic] doivent être vitrées, à portes à coulisses. Que le beau chêne de hollande ou encore mieux l'érable rehaussé de quelques bronzes noirs serait ce qui conviendrait le plus pour les couleurs des vases et des bronzes. Je croirais aussi que ces armoires à plusieurs gradins ne doivent pas être trop hautes et ne pas avoir plus de huit pieds, pour qu'on put bien voir les vases qui les couronneraient. Il faudrait aussi dans le milieu des salles établir des tables en fer à cheval s'il était possible, comme je l'avais fait dans le musée de la reine à naples, pour y placer les vases qui méritent d'être vus de tous les cotés." Clarac to the comte de Forbin, director of the Museum, December 21, 1824, collection Durand, Z6, Archives des Musées Nationaux, Paris.
37. *Âge d'or des arts décoratifs* 1991, p. 98.
38. The order given to Bellangé is preserved in the archives of the Maison du Roi, O^4 1520 and 1607, Archives Nationales. The piece was intended for the gallery of horology, to support the so-called clock of the Creation of the World that had been made for Louis XV in 1754.
39. Jarry 1928, p. 7; G. Ledoux-Lebard 1947–48. The Mademoiselle Mars set of furniture was recently auctioned in Paris (sale, Artcurial, Paris, June 20, 2006, lot 201).
40. Thiollet 1838.
41. D. Ledoux-Lebard 2000, pp. 65–67; Pereira Coutinho 1999, pp. 5–7.
42. Detroit Institute of Arts (2007.117). Sale, Artcurial, Paris, June 20, 2006, lot 144.
43. Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 18, 1906, lot 80.

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Willemin, Nicolas-Xavier
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Thomas Eakins's *The Chess Players* Replayed

WILLIAM HAUPTMAN
Independent Scholar

In Philadelphia, they play chess in all houses.
—Ralph Waldo Emerson

In the past few decades students of Thomas Eakins's paintings have produced at least two books offering reassessments: *Thomas Eakins Rediscovered* and *Eakins Revealed*.[1] Both offer new perceptions, some controversial, of the artist's paintings, studies, methods, and personality. One painting that is owed further consideration is *The Chess Players* of 1876 (Figure 1), an early work regularly reproduced and cited in the abundant Eakins monographs but the object of only two art historical examinations. The first, published by Robert Wilson Torchia in 1991, emphasized the dramatic content of the painting and placed its iconographic schema within the context of the Philadelphia chess world in Eakins's time.[2] The author raised many fine points but erred in his assertion that the chess position Eakins depicted was too indistinct to be transcribed. As a result, he made assumptions about the actual game and the players' reactions to it that are somewhat dubious. Michael Clapper, in the latest exploration of the iconographic intricacies of *The Chess Players*, corrected this point, providing a more extensive interpretation that adds considerably to our understanding of the work.[3] Clapper's article includes several elements that are particularly relevant to seeing the painting freshly, especially in reconstructing for the first time the position on the chessboard and also in establishing that the site of the match, thought logically to have been the Eakins house, could not coincide with the known floor plans. Further, Clapper discussed the significance of the objects that surround the players, including the table on the left and the cat on the right.

Both articles brought needed attention to Eakins's small panel, realigning it as a more substantial work of the artist's early years than was formerly considered. Despite these thought-provoking studies, other aspects of the painting, including the chief protagonists who are the focus of Eakins's attention, could be scrutinized further. The players, in fact, are often treated casually or in passing in the literature, with only brief mention of their closeness to the Eakins family. Even more vital to our understanding of *The Chess Players* is a thorough explanation of the dynamics of the chess game being played, which Eakins recorded at a specific moment of the match and painted so accurately that he must have intended it to be read. As can be discerned in Clapper's reconstruction of the game, the position is key to the struggle being enacted on the board and has a direct bearing on the iconographic meaning of the scene. The present article seeks to further broaden the interpretation of the painting by providing additional information about the players; their place in Eakins's circle and their interest in chess; and an analysis of the position of the board, which from the perspective of a chess player adds a critically important perception to our understanding of the internal dynamics of the painting.

THE CHESS PLAYERS

Eakins called his painting *The Chess Players* and not *The Chess Game*, hence the intention to portray specific participants whose portraits he rendered with meticulous attention. The names of the three protagonists have been known for decades, but the biography of only one of the men, Thomas Eakins's father, Benjamin, has been carefully researched. The other two are generally described as personal friends of the Eakins family group who regularly met to play chess. The figure on the left of the chessboard, playing the white pieces, is Bertrand Gardel; the figure on the right, playing the black ones, is George W. Holmes. Benjamin Eakins, who serves as a pyramidal cornerstone connecting the two, silently observes the game as he ponders the position on the board. While it has always been assumed that the game was played in the parlor of the Eakins family house at 1729 Mount Vernon Street in Philadelphia, Clapper

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

1. Thomas Eakins (American, 1844–1916). *The Chess Players*, 1876. Oil on wood, 11¾ x 16¾ in. (29.8 x 42.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the artist, 1881 (81.14)

has convincingly shown that this cannot be the case, correctly proposing Gardel's house in suburban Germantown as the venue, further evidence for which is introduced below.[4] Since Thomas Eakins centered on Gardel and Holmes as the focal point of the scene, it is fundamental to examine their lives and their relationship to the Eakins household in greater depth, as well as their mutual interest in the game they play.

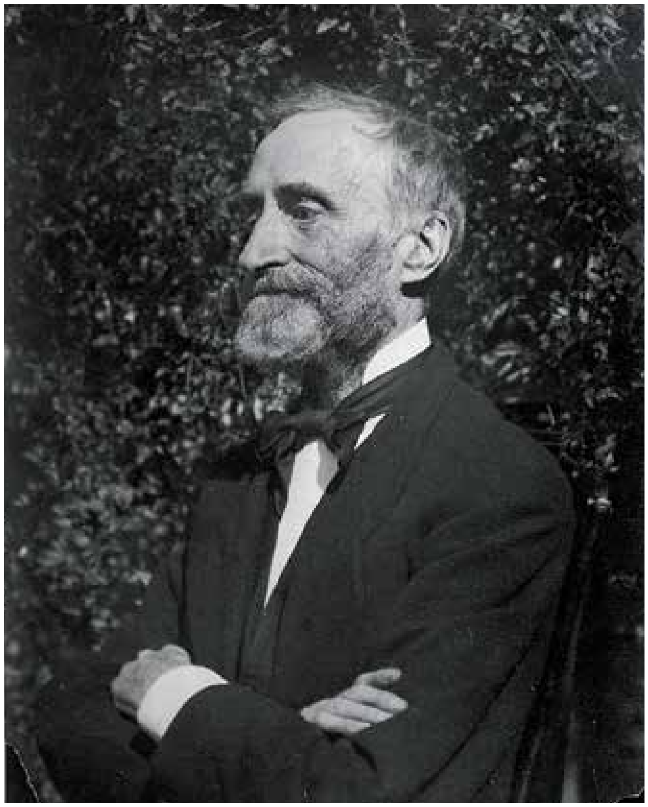
Holmes, born in Ireland in 1812, was a landscape painter, drawing teacher, and special friend of Benjamin Eakins, whose own father was Irish. A prominent Philadelphian, he earned much of his income by providing private drawing lessons from his house, presumably to the young Thomas Eakins, among others. From the late 1850s, Holmes resided and taught at 1711 Filbert Street, about a mile to the south of the Eakinses' house; from about 1876, he lived only two blocks away, at 1926 Mount Vernon Street.[5]

While hardly discussed in the literature on Eakins, new information on Holmes is revealed in the census data. In 1860 Holmes listed his profession as "artist," not "teacher," and, notably, had sixteen people residing under his roof.[6] These included, besides his wife Mary, thirty-two years old, other family members, all with the surname Holmes: Marshall, twenty-six; George W., twenty-three; Mary, thirteen; Annie, eleven; Gerald, nine; Herman, seven; Helen, five; and Lizabeth, three. Since Holmes's wife was only thirty-two, it is likely that some of the inhabitants were relatives or children from a previous marriage. Added to this brood was a woman named Emma, twenty, with no last name listed, and two women indicated as domestics:

Elizabeth Sowers, twenty-two, and Marg Percy, twenty, born in Ireland. One may assume that the remaining residents were boarders: Joseph B. and Elizabeth Smith, both sixty; and Clarence Bird, twenty-one, who noted his profession as attorney. The same census report indicated that Holmes enjoyed a comfortable income from investments: his real estate holdings were listed as $9,000 and his personal estate value at $29,000, a substantial sum, given that the average annual earnings in 1860 in the building trades, for example, amounted to about $400.[7]

With the 1870 census, the Holmes family circle had been reduced to ten members, including Holmes, his wife, six children, "Geo. Knorr," twenty-eight, and Eliza Rodgers, fifty, probably a boarder or housekeeper.[8] The 1880 census added that Holmes was now blind and living at 1926 Mount Vernon Street, closer to the Eakins family house. Holmes's blindness, in fact, was already recorded two years earlier: when a collection of paintings by Philadelphia artists was auctioned to benefit Holmes and his family, it was noted that he had recently lost his sight.[9] This census also revealed that the "Geo. Knorr" listed a decade before was George T. R. Knorr, a Civil War veteran who married Holmes's daughter Mary H. Holmes in 1870. Mary Loney, twenty-one, a black servant from Virginia, completed the household.[10]

Holmes's pedagogical skills must have been highly regarded, and amply rewarded, as in addition to teaching from his home, he served on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, located at Ninth and Market Streets, from 1840. Holmes, "to whom so many a Philadelphia boy owe[d] primary lessons in the limner's art," also taught drawing from 1850 at Haverford College.[11] In addition to his teaching duties, Holmes pursued private projects, such as the series of lithographs that he offered for sale directly from his home in 1863 as teaching aids for landscape painters.[12] An associate member of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Holmes frequently exhibited his own landscapes there and developed a modest reputation.[13] He was also involved in the Philadelphia Art Union, established in 1844; after a fire in 1852 destroyed some of the Union's stock of prints, Holmes donated a painting to help rebuild the collection.[14] As a favored friend of the family, Holmes often accompanied Benjamin and Thomas Eakins on weekend hikes along the Schuylkill River where they would picnic and draw together, sometimes in the company of Gardel. After 1880, when Eakins began using a camera, he made several photographs of Holmes (Figure 2).



2. Thomas Eakins. *George W. Holmes*, 1880s. Platinum print, 10¼ x 8⅛ in. (25.9 x 20.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, David Hunter McAlpin Fund, 1943 (43.87.13)

Although much has been written about Benjamin Eakins, census reports provide supplementary information. In 1870, Benjamin, then fifty, maintained a residence with nine inhabitants. Benjamin, listed as "teacher," and Thomas, twenty-five, as "artist," were the only male members of the house.[15] The other inhabitants included Caroline, forty-eight, Benjamin Eakins's wife, noted as "housekeeper"; "Eliza C.," fifty-six, presumably Eliza Cowperthwaite, Benjamin's sister-in-law; "Couperwaith. E.," also aged fifty-six, who was surely Emmor Cowperthwaite, Caroline's brother; Clementine Cowperthwaite, fifty-four, about whom we know almost nothing; and Benjamin's daughters "Fanny" (Frances), twenty; "Maggie" (Margaret), sixteen; and Caroline, five. Benjamin Eakins's real estate holdings were valued at $12,000 and his personal estate as $30,000, roughly the equivalent of Holmes's assets. Benjamin's income from his real estate investments had declined since the 1860 census, when he listed it as $17,000 (but his personal estate value was only $10,000, while his wife indicated her real estate value as $5,000).[16] In 1860 the Cowperthwaite family members living with the Eakins family included Margaret Cowperthwaite, then seventy-eight, who listed her real estate as valued at $10,000; Eliza, whose fortune was noted as $5,000; and Clementine, whose value was the same. The family fortune, including that of the Cowperthwaites, was therefore substantial.

Much more is known about Bertrand Gardel, the third member of the group. Born in Paris in 1808,[17] he emigrated to the United States in 1841 and became a naturalized citizen only three years later.[18] Gardel and his wife, Julia Hawks,[19] ran a school in Philadelphia where young ladies were taught French studies, art, and music.[20] Among the texts he used was Mary Longstreth's *The Young Student's Companion*, a series of lessons for translating English into French, which included Gardel's own endorsement of the text in its opening pages.[21] In the 1850s, Gardel lived at various addresses on Chestnut Street, about half a mile away from the Eakins home.[22] That Gardel resided on this street, where the houses were often large and expensive, points to his financial success. In the 1860s Gardel moved to Germantown, to the northwest of the city, as Clapper has shown. The census report of 1870 listed the house only as situated on the "South Side of Mill Street," no. 8 by "order of visitation"—meaning the order by which the census was taken, not an address—with only one occupant, here spelled "Gardell."[23] The circumstances of Gardel's move to Germantown can now be established. About a decade earlier Gardel had met a fellow Frenchman, Louis René Jacques Joseph Binel, a journalist and lawyer, who became the secretary to the ill-fated Maximilian when he was appointed emperor of Mexico by Napoleon III. Binel had retired afterward to Germantown, at the corner of Bowman's Lane and Knox Street, and apparently suggested that Gardel purchase a house nearby.[24]

Although officially retired in the 1860s, Gardel continued to teach French occasionally in Philadelphia and became associated with the Lyman sisters' private school at 226 South Broad Street, a school so exclusive that it was not listed in the directories. Fourteen-year-old Cecilia Beaux, who later became a professional painter, attended the school in 1866 and received instruction from Gardel. Beaux described the school as neither an institution nor an academy, but a progressive establishment where classes were conducted according to age and ability, relying not on an established grading system to evaluate progress but on monthly reports before teachers and parents.[25] Beaux greatly admired the Lyman sisters, Catherine (known as the "Queen") and Charlotte,[26] both imposing figures in the school. As for Gardel, Beaux described him as "remote," somewhat impersonal but always "soigné," a severe teacher who often remarked, "You must not 'think.' You must *know*." To Beaux, Gardel was "the delicate, strained old man" who, seated in his classroom, became "a feature" of the school. Beaux could not help noticing that Gardel always arrived and departed from the premises accompanied by a young girl, whom she assumed was his granddaughter. Despite Gardel's austerity and grave nature, the students thought well of him, and Beaux remarked, "I am glad to say no one would have dared or wished to irritate him."[27]

Gardel, like Eakins and Holmes, possessed substantial wealth, of which the most conspicuous evidence was his financing of his wife's tomb in Mount Vernon Cemetery, a massive Canova-like pyramid twenty-five feet high that became a showpiece of the area and was even featured in tours during the 1860s.[28] This remarkable structure, where Gardel himself would eventually be interred, was said to have cost about $30,000, almost six times more than Benjamin Eakins paid for his house in 1857 and the equivalent of Holmes's entire fortune at that time.[29]

Gardel also used his riches to furnish his Germantown residence, where the chess game is played, with impeccable taste. The parlor that Eakins painted attests to the extent of Gardel's success and indicates more than a middle-class level of comfort. Unlike a sitting room, where families spent their time, the parlor was a supplementary room for meeting and entertaining guests.[30] Its trappings of Victorian refinement include the richly red-patterned carpet at a time when most bourgeois Philadelphia households had only scatter rugs on the floors. Carpets covering the entire floor surface—and therefore made to order—were considered the height of elegance and prosperity.[31] The other fittings of the room, particularly the stylish side table that supports fine crystal glasses and a decanter, which from the color of the liquid no doubt contains sherry, the drink of social luxury, further reflects his elevated status. The bottle of wine also indicates Gardel's taste, as its distinctive shape, with sloping shoulders, identifies it as Burgundian. With this detail Eakins suggests that Gardel imported his wines from his native country and laid out such treasured delicacies for his guests, no doubt a welcome change from the homemade wines that Benjamin Eakins served at Mount Vernon Street.[32] The background objects—the Second Empire shelf clock that records the precise time of the chess game, 1:12, and the globe on a brass stand at the right, a Holbrook model[33]—also attest to Gardel's discriminating taste in material objects.

The only article of furnishing that appears out of place in this characteristic Philadelphia interior is the hookah at the left of the clock. Its presence, often mentioned in the literature on the painting but never discussed in detail, further confirms that Gardel's Germantown house is the venue for *The Chess Players*. Gardel purchased the hookah during one of his trips abroad—two trips to chaperone some of his young students are recorded. In July 1851, Gardel applied for a passport, noting that he was traveling "accompanied by his wife and 4 young ladies," and then again in August 1858, this time with his wife and two students.[34] One of the students on the latter trip, Anna Rebecca Johnson, traveled to Europe, Egypt, and Palestine "under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Gardel."[35] During this trip, in 1859, Gardel's wife died in Syria of apparently undocumented causes. They had visited Constantinople, where they met Binel for the first time when he reported on the Crimean War for the *Journal des débats*.[36] Binel remained in Constantinople, where he settled civil and criminal cases among Turks and foreigners and earned as much as £200 a month, before returning to the United States and settling in Germantown.[37] There is more than a likelihood that

Gardel bought the hookah as a keepsake of his voyage to Constantinople, displaying it among his personal treasures in his Germantown house.

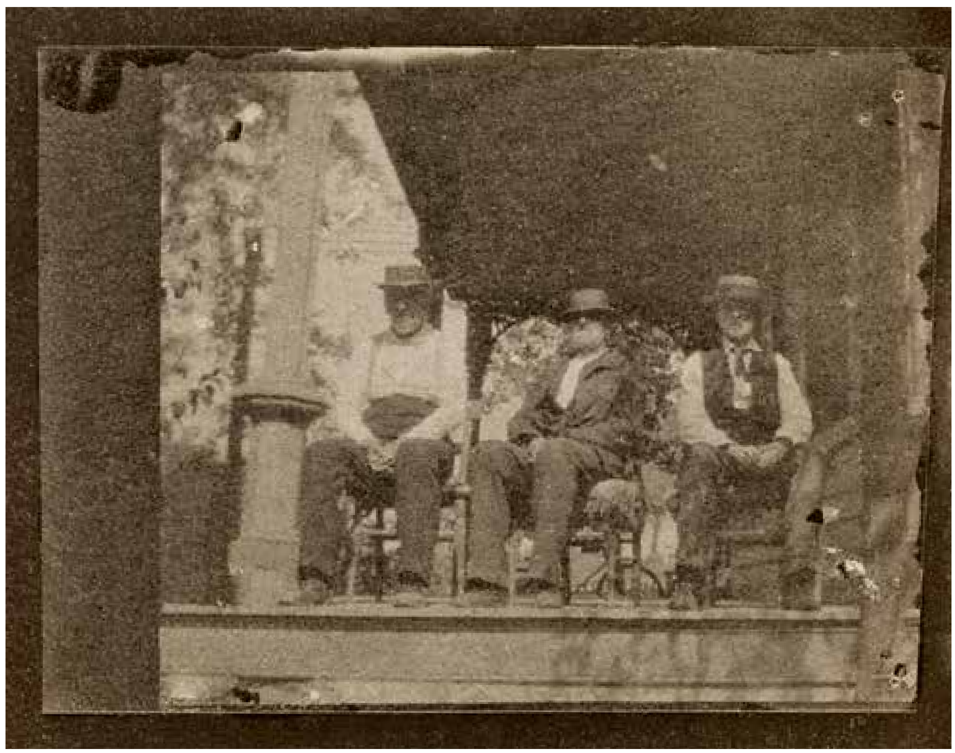
The habitual meeting of these friends, at the Eakinses' house, and at Gardel's home, to which Benjamin Eakins and Holmes sometimes walked on Sunday mornings, would also include Thomas Eakins—with whom his father's friends must have felt a strong kinship. When Eakins decided to continue his painting studies in Paris in 1866, he naturally turned to Gardel and Holmes for guidance. Gardel accordingly provided letters of recommendation, and probably rudimentary French lessons, while Holmes suggested the essentials of the Louvre and other cultural attractions. Eakins referred to them as intimates several times in his Paris correspondence, as when he noted, "I think better of myself in remembering that such people as . . . Mr Gardel[,] Mr. Holmes and other true & big men have admitted me to their friendship."[38] That friendship indeed continued well after his return to Philadelphia, often in association with his father. During the 1880s, Eakins even used Holmes as a model for the elder figure with a cane in his plaster relief *Pastoral* (Figure 3).[39] In a further testament to the constant company they kept, Eakins captured the members of his circle on film several times, frequently Gardel and Holmes together, and occasionally all three of the figures in *The Chess Players* (Figure 4).[40] The painting of 1876 remained one of Eakins's favorites because the two men it depicted were such eminent partners of the Eakins family environment. He exhibited it only once while it was in his possession, in the Centennial Exhibition of that year (as no. 49), where another painting of chess players by the Charleston painter J. Beaufain Irving, *The End of the Game* (no. 187), was also included.[41] When Thomas Eakins subsequently exhibited the painting before 1881, when he gave it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, he listed it as in the possession of Benjamin Eakins.[42]

CHESS IN VICTORIAN PHILADELPHIA

In 1876 chess was considered a tasteful pastime, more cerebral and complex than checkers or cards, a game enjoyed by moneyed gentlemen in comfortable surroundings as they sipped wine or sherry. In Philadelphia households, playing chess was deemed a commendable and rewarding amusement that stimulated mental powers. Just as a piano in the front parlor suggested cultural civility, so the display of a chessboard and pieces, often in a rich material such as ivory, signaled genteel tastes, respectability, material comfort, and intellectual proclivities. American children were encouraged to play chess in order to develop skills of logic, planning, and strategy; cards, on the other hand, were considered a boorish diversion that could lead to gambling.

3. Thomas Eakins. *Pastoral*, 1883–84. Plaster with transparent brown patina, 11 5/8 x 24 x 2 1/4 in. (29.6 x 61 x 5.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with the J. Stogdell Stokes Fund, 1975 (1975-84-1) Photograph: Philadelphia Museum of Art

Although ladies were cautioned that chess was too strenuous a mental activity, images of chess players sometimes depict female participants, and in Germantown they even had their own chess club.[43] Benjamin Eakins was known to keep a carved alabaster set, a luxurious item, in his private study, for those times when Gardel and Holmes played at Mount Vernon Street.[44]



4. Thomas Eakins. *Benjamin Eakins, Bertrand Gardel, and George W. Holmes*, ca. 1882. Platinum print, 2 x 2 3/8 in. (5.2 x 6.2 cm). Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Charles Bregler's Thomas Eakins Collection, purchase with the partial support of the Pew Memorial Trust (1985.68.2.162). Photograph: Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

That all the participants in Eakins's painting were indeed prominent Philadelphians underscores the importance of the game in the city, as Ralph Waldo Emerson had rightly noted, and Henry James even observed that the city itself was organized in a squared chessboard arrangement.[45] By the 1870s the tradition of chess as a fashionable intellectual activity had long been established, owing in large part to the legacy of Benjamin Franklin.[46] An avid lifelong chess player, Franklin published in 1786 what was believed to be the first American text on the subject, a "bagatelle," as he called it, entitled "The Morals of Chess," in which he extolled the virtues of the game.[47] The first chess club in America was in fact founded in Franklin and Eakins's native city in 1827, after the display of Johann Nepomuk Maelzel's celebrated Automaton, a sham mechanized chess player, known as "The Turk," which augmented interest in the game, and incidentally was defeated in a Philadelphia exhibition by a woman referred to as "Mrs. F."[48] More importantly, in 1847 Philadelphians established a chess club at the new Athenaeum, which contained on the second floor, four tables for games and in-house competition.[49] By 1859, at least six clubs, named after famous masters of the day, prospered in Philadelphia; some of the games were annotated and thought significant enough to appear in international chess journals.[50] When the Mercantile Library planned its new facilities about 1869 at Tenth and Chestnut Streets, it incorporated a large chess room—37 x 65 feet—on the second floor.[51] Recognizing the popular interest in chess, Philadelphia newspapers began publishing columns on the game, usually once a week, so that by 1860 seven such columns appeared. The sport of chess continued to reign in Philadelphia clubs and in intercity tournament games (in 1860 and 1875), in correspondence, and in telegram matches with New York and Boston clubs. Known lists of participants do not include the names of Eakins, Gardel, or Holmes, underscoring their purely recreational status as occasional amateurs.

But in 1876, at the moment when Eakins painted this scene, Philadelphia had become energized by the game as the result of hosting the fourth American Chess Congress, then called the American Centennial Championship, the first in the United States to attract international participation. In August 1876, sixty games were played in fourteen days, and all were open to the public, even during the evening hours.[52] Without a doubt, the ardent participants in the chess match in Eakins's painting would have gone to some of these games during their tour of the Centennial Exhibition in Fairmount Park. To add inducements for such visits, Eakins showed five paintings in the exhibition at Memorial Hall, including *The Chess Players*. The participants, who always encouraged Eakins's painting, would certainly have visited the exhibition, no doubt to see their own portraits displayed.

THE PAINTING

The theme of Eakins's painting is not only a triple-portrait keepsake of intimates playing chess, but also of their studious deliberation of a particular game. Paintings of chess players are plentiful throughout much of the history of art, common to various cultures East and West, ancient and modern. They often illustrate imaginary encounters and rarely record games actually observed by the painter, who frequently depicted the contest in an indiscriminate manner. Most painters focused on the setting of the match, placing it in an exotic or a historical context, but rarely did they offer legible details so that one might read the progress of the pieces on the board or distinguish a winning or losing position. The iconography of chess in art was often treated ideologically and thematically rather than practically: the game itself was less important than the players and the context, with many representations conceived in allegorical terms and thus not necessarily observing the precise rules of the game.

Eakins's painting, however, has all the earmarks of factual authenticity in its fastidious representation of the players, the room in which the game is played, the accoutrements of the interior, and the chess pieces on the board. The uniqueness of Eakins's depiction of chess players within the iconography of American art can be gauged from the few examples of the genre before Eakins's time. Most are sentimental scenes often laced with anecdotal overtones. *The Chess-Players—Check Mate*, of about 1836 (Figure 5) by George Whiting Flagg, is representative with its homey manner, showing a polite encounter between male and female opponents as a black maid offers refreshment. Flagg's bland painting does not appear to have any allegorical content other than depicting a game, but in a style that makes it

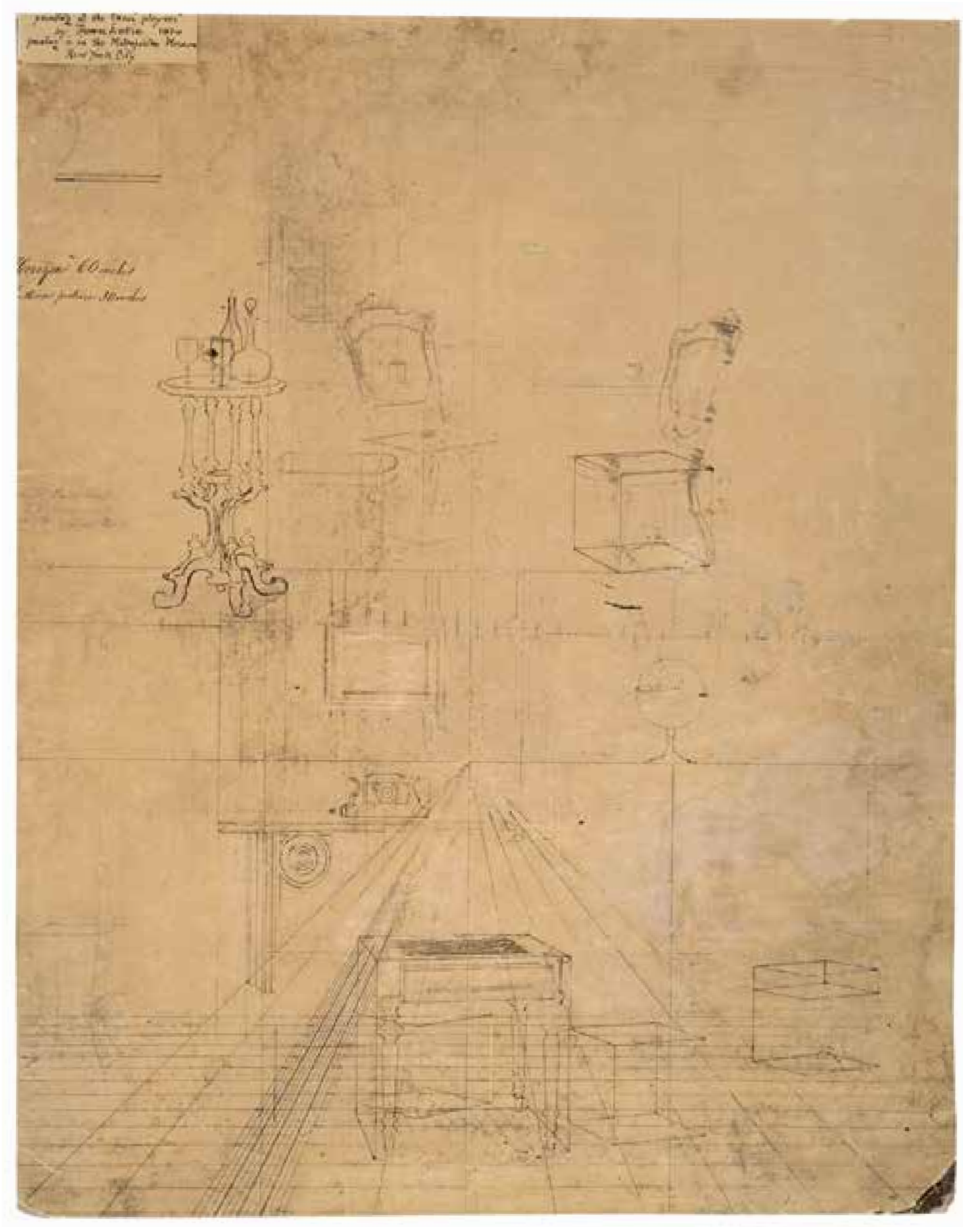
5. George Whiting Flagg (American, 1816–1897). *The Chess-Players—Check Mate*, ca. 1836. Oil on canvas, 43¼ x 56¼ in. (109.9 x 142.9 cm). New-York Historical Society (1858.12). Photograph: New-York Historical Society

difficult to read. One previous interpretation, that the female player "has thwarted the advances of a suitor by defeating him at a traditionally masculine activity," seems highly suspect.[53] Even the actual checkmate of the title is difficult to establish, since the perspective Flagg chose does not readily make the mate distinguishable, even though Flagg's painting is more than three times larger than Eakins's.

The scene that Eakins laid out is characteristic of descriptive genre painting common to American art of the post–Civil War period, but duly void of the sentimentalism inherent in Flagg's canvas. In painting this familial scene on a small wood panel, Eakins transposed the practice of Dutch interior views of common everyday activities into an American vernacular. Eakins also absorbed the small genre scenes of his master Jean-Léon Gérôme, the French Academic painter whose works influenced Eakins's paintings after his return to Philadelphia from Paris on July 4, 1870. In many of his letters from Paris, Eakins wrote admiringly about his meetings with Gérôme, clearly indicating his great respect for his master's talent, intellect, and teaching. In November 1866, Eakins even bought a photograph of Gérôme as a souvenir—the carte de visite by Charles Reutlinger—which he sent to his family, and wondered whether they saw a resemblance to their friend Gardel.[54]

6. Thomas Eakins. *Home Scene*, ca. 1871. Oil on canvas, 21⅜ x 18 in. (54.4 x 45.7 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, Gift of George A. Hearn and Charles Schieren, by exchange, Frederick Loeser Art Fund and the Dick S. Ramsey Fund (50.115). Photograph: Brooklyn Museum, New York, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library

7. Thomas Eakins. *The Champion Single Sculls (Max Schmitt in a Single Scull)*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 32¼ x 46¼ in. (81.9 x 117.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund and George D. Pratt Gift, 1934 (34.92)



8. Thomas Eakins. *Perspective Drawing for "The Chess Players,"* 1875–76. Graphite and ink on cardboard, 24 x 19 in. (61 x 48.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1942 (42.35)

In 1869 Eakins acknowledged his esteem for Gérôme by purchasing a reproduction of one of his celebrated Roman works, *Ave César*, of 1859.[55] It is this print, elaborately framed, that hangs in the background of *The Chess Players*—presumably a gift from Eakins to Gardel to thank him for his earlier recommendation. In the same letter, Eakins wondered whether the image was too brutal and whether the meeker scene of "a Roman playing chess" would have been more appropriate.

After Eakins returned to Philadelphia he painted several portraits of family and friends in a genrelike manner similar to that of *The Chess Players*. Most of these are modest scenes with little perceptible space or background, such as *Home Scene* (Figure 6) of about 1871, modeled by his two sisters, Margaret at the family piano and Caroline on the floor. The painting is a personal portrait with no immediate purpose other than to portray his typical home environment. In its effects of hazy, muted light, the painting contrasts starkly with the formal clarity and sharp brilliance of the first major work in Eakins's celebrated rowing series, *The Champion Single Sculls*, also painted in 1871 (Figure 7). The latter is a model of Eakins's determination to construct a painting by applying pictorial rigor and scientific method, as careful and markedly defined as the calligrapher's art that his father practiced and taught. The series of rowers conveys Eakins's earliest expressions of the marriage of science and art, paintings intricately planned and executed, which reflect his study of placement, proportion, and highly refined mathematical perspective.

The Chess Players is therefore representative of two aspects of Eakins's works at this time: his continuing interest in domestic activities, and in the intense naturalism, planning, and meticulousness of his sporting scenes. Like the rowing picture, the deliberately lucid arrangement of planes and strictly premeditated perspective of *The Chess Players* suggest Italian Renaissance prototypes. Eakins's preliminary drawing of the scene (Figure 8), the only one extant although others must have existed, attests to his interest in absolute fidelity to the observed contents of the picture as well as the scientific method for realizing it. The inscription in ink at the top—the pencil notations under it are illegible—indicates "Horizon 60 inches/Distance picture 30 inches";[56] that is, Eakins calculated precisely how and where the painting should be viewed so as to perceive the image correctly. This diligence toward describing visual truth, applied to the players, the setting, and the game itself, is at the heart of Eakins's image.

9. Chess table, 1847. Mahogany, 28 x 34 x 34 in. (71.1 x 86.4 x 86.4 cm). The Athenaeum of Philadelphia (AP.18.01). Photograph: Jim Caroll

GARDEL'S CHESS FURNITURE

Just as the hookah provides strong evidence that the venue of the chess game is Gardel's parlor, so the table designed expressly for the purpose of playing chess testifies to Gardel and Holmes's interest in the game. Benjamin Franklin introduced chess tables into the United States in 1785, after he imported a French model on which he had played in Paris. Franklin's table, which he might have had a hand in designing,[57] was inlaid with the dark and light squares and, like the one in Eakins's painting, equipped with a side trough that permitted players to depose captured pieces without cluttering the game surface. In Philadelphia at the time, only one manufacturer was listed as selling chessboards—and presumably tables as well: F. H. Smith, located at 716 Arch Street, from whom, presumably, Gardel bought the table, as a central focus of his parlor.[58] Such tables were far more expensive than portable boards: a chess table with oak pieces included, shown at the Centennial Exhibition, was valued at $300, slightly less than the average yearly wage for an entire working-class family.[59] The square table depicted in Gardel's parlor was the type generally used in chess clubs, as most tables for private use were smaller and usually round in design, befitting smaller rooms. It was this type of large, square mahogany table, with a side trough, that was used at the Athenaeum Chess Club during the later nineteenth century (Figure 9).

As with the chess table, the pieces used by Gardel and Holmes are the latest models, known as the Staunton set (Figure 10). The pieces were named after Harold Staunton, the most vaunted English player of the 1840s, who also wrote a chess column for the *Illustrated London News* from 1845 until his death in 1874. In 1849, the editor, Nathaniel Cook, recognized the need to redesign the chess pieces to ensure clarity and uniformity. Consequently, he commissioned John Jaques, head of a sports and game equipment firm in London, to manufacture them. Staunton endorsed

10. Staunton chess set. Designed by Nathaniel Cook, made by John Jaques, London, 1849–50. Ivory, H. of king 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm). The British Museum, London (reg. no. 10). Photograph: © Trustees of The British Museum

the new pieces in a column later that year, promoted the design in his own match games, and for a time personally signed each of the labels on the chess sets sold.[60] The early Staunton sets were costly: £2 5s for mahogany, whereas ivory pieces were more than double that sum for the set.

Before the production of the Staunton sets, chess pieces were not always standardized. Many highly ornate sets, like the one depicted in Flagg's painting, were confusing to decipher in the heat of the game. These elaborate models were commonly used in the United States as showpieces: an Indian set in lacquered wood and ivory that belonged to

11. Chess set, ca. 1800. India. Lacquered wood and ivory (board), 1¾ x 16⅝ x 16⅝ in. (4.4 x 42.2 x 42.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Members of the Committee of the Bertha King Benkard Memorial Fund, 1946 (46.67.74a–gg)

12. Chess pieces owned by Benjamin Franklin, ca. 1750–80. Turned fruitwood (possibly pearwood), H. of tallest piece 3½ in. (8.9 cm). American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Gift of Morris Duane, 1976 (1976.7). Photograph: American Philosophical Society

Daniel Webster is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 11). While remarkable artifacts in their own right, chess pieces of this type, and their many variants—the Calvert, St. George, Northern Upright, Barleycorn, and other models—were impractical in actual play.[61] Difficult to identify on the board—Franklin's own chess pieces (Figure 12) typically do not adequately differentiate among the queen, bishop, and pawn[62]—most of these pieces were top-heavy, on too-small bases, and did not move smoothly across the board.

The Staunton pieces, on the other hand, had an airy design and were graced with classical references, such as the motif of the knight inspired by the Parthenon horse from the Elgin Marbles. The pedestals had solid bases for facile maneuvering on the chessboard, and perhaps most important, the pieces could easily be recognized from above by the players from the superior parts of the piece: the cross for the king, the crown for the queen, the miter for the bishop, and the crenellation for the rook. The ease in distinguishing the pieces was also aided by a perceptible hierarchy of size—the standard king was 3½ inches tall—so that a quick overview of the board and of the position was more feasible, precisely what Benjamin Eakins enjoys in the painting. When the Staunton pieces first appeared in the United States in the 1850s, they were considered esteemed objects and sometimes were offered as prizes in tournaments. By the end of the nineteenth century, they were being mass-produced and sold cheaply (except those made in special woods or alabaster) and were widely available by mail order.[63] Although it is difficult to say with certainty, the high gloss on Gardel's pieces suggests that they may have been carved from ivory and ebony, or perhaps from ivory both neutral and stained, as would befit the valuable chess table.

GARDEL, HOLMES, AND CHESS

More so than Eakins's scenes of his family in shared daily pursuits, the painting of the chess players invites deep iconographic consideration. An abundance of allegorical allusions associates chess as metaphor for war fought over a board of sixty-four squares with thirty-two pieces battling for position and victory. Thus, Eakins's subject has been the source of much speculation. Did he intend a larger purpose for the painting beyond the depiction of a chess encounter among friends? Some art historians have proposed a Freudian interpretation, seeing in the game an instinctive manifestation of belligerence, a conflict between the pieces and their manipulators in which the object is to capture, and thus kill, the king—the father figure. Consequently, Eakins's seemingly personal painting of a chess game has received attention that, in some instances, takes it remarkably far from the framework of an accustomed scene of leisure and propels it into the realm of psychoanalytical analysis. Many scholars have seen layers of meaning within Eakins's choice of subject matter, particularly as played or observed by two elderly men in the sanctuary of a typically male space. Did Eakins and his friends have anything more in mind than a few hours of enjoyment, a "bond of brotherhood"[64] across a board in what was still considered a sophisticated diversion, and a regular routine among the three? One writer in 1859 noted that chess was purely a game of thought, wits, and strategy that "possesses no meaning"[65] other than a manifestation of the cultivated mind, a notion that should be kept in mind when analyzing Eakins's painting.

Some of the Freudian readings of Eakins's panel have extended to interpretations of aspects of the painter's life and particularly his relationships with the participants. One historian understood Eakins's contestants to be symbolically plotting the course of their lives through the schema of a chessboard, an interpretation hardly recognizable in the painting itself.[66] Another historian noted that chess in the painting is a "metaphor of human life and achievement," an analysis that coincides with the common belief that chess is a miniaturized "Game of Life" or a meditation on human existence.[67] This notion was popularized through paintings such as Moritz Retzsch's *Die Schachspieler* (*The Chess Players*) of 1831, which depicts a game played by the devil for the soul of his opponent, significantly enacted on a board resting on a coffin, with the chess pieces designed as virtues and vices.[68] Discussed in chess circles and by art critics for its blatant allegorical implications, the painting became well known through widely available line engravings (Figure 13).[69] The idea extended to modern times, as in Ingmar Bergman's film *The Seventh Seal* (1957), in which the returning disillusioned knight, Antonius Block, challenges Death to a match in order to prolong his own life and therefore beat the devil, as it were, at his own game. In the case of Eakins's painting, however casual the notion of chess and life as parallel struggles, the painter provides no visual indications that he saw the scene in metaphorical terms, or even considered chess as anything more than a parlor amusement.

One critic understood *The Chess Players* as an allusion to the passing of time, as Gardel and Holmes deliberate on the future—each player "is depicted at a distinct stage of life" as suggested by the clock and the globe, despite the fact that these were habitual fixtures of a Victorian household and need not be interpreted as symbols.[70] Time in Eakins's painting is relative to chess time, move by move, not allegorical time; that the players are elderly is only a record of these men already in their sixties. The same author further suggested that since the younger Holmes is, metaphorically, trying to kill the older man's king (even though only four years separate Gardel from Holmes)—"it seems inevitable to read the work as one that grapples with Oedipal issues."[71] The origin of this curious interpretation was no doubt a celebrated essay by Freud's biographer and protégé, Ernest Jones, on the player Paul Morphy's plunge into paranoia during the 1860s.[72] Jones tried to correlate chess, at least in Morphy's case, as an unconscious substitute for the father-son rivalry that culminated in the murder of the father-king. Later psychoanalytical interpretations questioned this point of view, however, as too exaggerated.[73]

Yet another Oedipal interpretation is forcefully endorsed in a curious examination of the painting in which the panel is considered to be symbolic of "another game . . . taking place across the opposite sides of the board, pitting Eakins against his father."[74] This equally odd assertion is founded

13. Moritz Retzsch (German, 1779–1857). *Die Schachspieler* (*The Chess Players*), 1831. Etching, 11 x 14¼ in. (28 x 36.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.65.7). Photograph: Mark Morosse, Photograph Studio, MMA

on the idea that Benjamin Eakins disapproved and demeaned his son's aspirations to become a painter and, therefore, was the object of Thomas Eakins's animosity. There is nothing in the painting to suggest such a reading: the facts that Benjamin Eakins is but an inactive observer of his two friends' game and that he serves as a secondary element in the composition counter the argument entirely.

Other authors propose less radical interpretations, reading Gardel's and Holmes's gestures and demeanors as indicators of the progress of the game. Since Gardel appears in the painting to be a reserved, guarded figure, hunching over the board, his legs crossed under the table, and his left arm crossed over his chest, some believe he is depicted not only in a poorer position on the board but also as being wholly aware of his plight and ready to abandon the game.[75] In contrast, because Holmes is shown more erect in his chair, he appears more poised, and leans somewhat assertively forward so that his left leg projects outward and his right heel is raised, thus conveying conviction and confidence, as would be only natural for someone in a winning position about to force his rival's resignation.

Even though much has been assumed regarding these attitudes, should they be read, in fact, as suggesting victory or defeat? That Gardel's and Holmes's gestures were common among chess players can be illustrated from an 1860 correspondence game played between Boston and New York clubs. The players, recorded only as Thompson and Perrin, were described in dispositions similar to the ones in Eakins's painting: Thompson's "forehead resting on his hand, his gaze fixed on the chess-board, his lips firmly closed." Perrin "inclines his body forward . . . his hands clasped" near his knees.[76] Chess players, even amateurs, sometimes instinctively employ personalized body language and react to the rigors of the game in individual ways that can change depending on diverse factors, particularly

14. Detail of Figure 1 showing poses of Bertrand Gardel and George W. Holmes with chessboard

mental and physical fatigue. The postures displayed in the painting are familiar ones of individual concentration around the chessboard, which are equally visible in variation in other paintings of chess players in a more generalized context. Gardel's and Holmes's facial expressions reveal neither dejection nor self-assurance over the position; both indicate intense concentration without covert signs of betrayal on the part of a weaker position or of confidence on that of a stronger one. The evident preoccupation of both players is the next move to be played, which, as will be seen, is the crucial element of the game they play as Eakins painted it.

How erroneous it is to judge the temperament of each player at this moment in the game by construing their poses as signs of a winning or losing position is illustrated in Gardel's odd posture at the table with his left arm placed across his chest (Figure 14). The explanation of this decidedly peculiar pose is on the whole more banal and is owed to Gardel's physical ailments. When Beaux described him seven years before Eakins painted him, she already noted his frailty and stoop, which in 1876 were surely more pronounced. One of the aspects of Gardel she described was that the "poor old man" was ill much of the time, although she did not elaborate, except in one instance. Gardel, she said, "suffered from some malady which caused him to keep his left arm constantly pressed against his breast."[77] What this malady might have been is not explained, and no other reference to it has been found, but it would suggest a muscular or circulatory weakness or a form of paralysis, consequently the need to be accompanied when he arrived and departed from his teaching duties at 226 South Broad Street. Eakins portrayed his friend in *The Chess Players* as he was accustomed to seeing him, with the characteristic position of the left arm regularly folded against his chest. In depicting Gardel's infirmity rather than hiding it, Eakins provided yet another reminder that the painting was, in essence, a visual accumulation of naturally observed facets of a witnessed scene.

Common art historical sense in regard to Eakins's work in the 1870s should dictate that interpretations such as those outlined above digress considerably from what is known of Eakins's typical practice. Many of the features of the painting can be ascribed to direct observation from the accoutrements of the room, to the chess furniture, to the poses, and as will be seen, to the makeup of the game itself. Does anything in the painting truly indicate that Eakins wished to imply more, even unconsciously, than two friends engaged in their habitual and satisfying pastime? Using chess as the basis for exploring psychological problems, Oedipal and otherwise, is always hazardous, as most analysts agree, since chess is not a particularly good model on which to study the core of human relations.[78] Chess revolves around an artificial structure, and even who will play white, and therefore who should have the theoretical advantage of the first move, is no more than a question of chance. Skills and intentions in chess are difficult to measure even within a Freudian framework. It might be surprising to learn that Freud, who stopped playing chess after 1901 because he thought it more of a strain than a pleasure,[79] said little of the game in his writing, although he compared his analytic treatment of patients in different stages to the complexities of chess.[80] He knew that psychological correlations to chess were difficult to sustain and probably fruitless. This was vividly exemplified at a meeting of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society on March 15, 1922, when Freud heard a paper, "Über das Schachspiel (About Chess)," the first on the subject in any psychoanalytic congress, read by a dentist, Dr. Fokschaner, but never published. After having listened to Fokschaner's argument in which he saw the Oedipal struggle as intrinsic to the game, Freud, who was a co-respondent at the session, reportedly remarked: "This is the kind of paper that will bring psychoanalysis into disrepute. You cannot reduce everything to the Oedipus complex. Stop!"[81]

THE CHESS POSITION

Particularly remarkable in Eakins's painting is the attention with which Eakins rendered the chessboard and the placement of the pieces. As his preparatory drawing clearly indicates, Eakins carefully mapped out the composition and the chess table with its inlaid squares with the same mathematical diligence used in the rowing series and other paintings (see Figure 8). The drawing reveals a deliberate rationale of picture-making in which details are infinitely studied in a perspective grid with all of the angles and spaces predicated on a vanishing point exactly above the board and to the right of the clock. The result of this discipline is that the details are so remarkably distinct as to make it possible to reconstruct the exact position of the pieces on the board, as Clapper has shown. Before examining that position, it is worthwhile to note for those less familiar with the game that all chessboards include an equal number of dark and light squares with horizontal and vertical sequences of letters and numbers reminiscent of longitude and latitude markings, so as to designate and annotate the position of any piece during the game. Horizontal squares begin with the letter "a" at the left corner of the player of the white pieces, which is always a black square, and proceed to "h" at the right, always a white square. Vertical numbering follows in the same manner from "1" at the left corner to "8" on the opponent's side, a system that is commonly called algebraic notation in chess circles.[82]

In both the drawing and the painting, Eakins delineated the board in the proper position for the white and black pieces, that is, with Gardel's corner square closest to the picture plane, h1, a white one, and Holmes's corner square, h8, a black one. Similarly, looking across the board toward the interior, Eakins painted eight vertical and horizontal squares, still decipherable despite the acutely receding perspective of the chessboard. By calculating the position of the pieces as Eakins placed them, as well as from the distinct forms of the Staunton pieces, the topography of the game at this point in the contest can be determined with exactitude (Figure 15). This is made possible as well by the point of view Eakins selected, high enough to include precise indications of the squares. Had Eakins lowered the vanishing point (as in Flagg's painting), the board would not have been as legible. Thus, Eakins intended from the outset to record an unambiguous moment of the game as a fundamental part of the painting, corresponding to the physical rendering of the portraits and the details of the interior setting. The position Eakins painted is consequently indicated, as Clapper showed, in the diagram in Figure 16; Eakins's viewing position is to the right of the board.

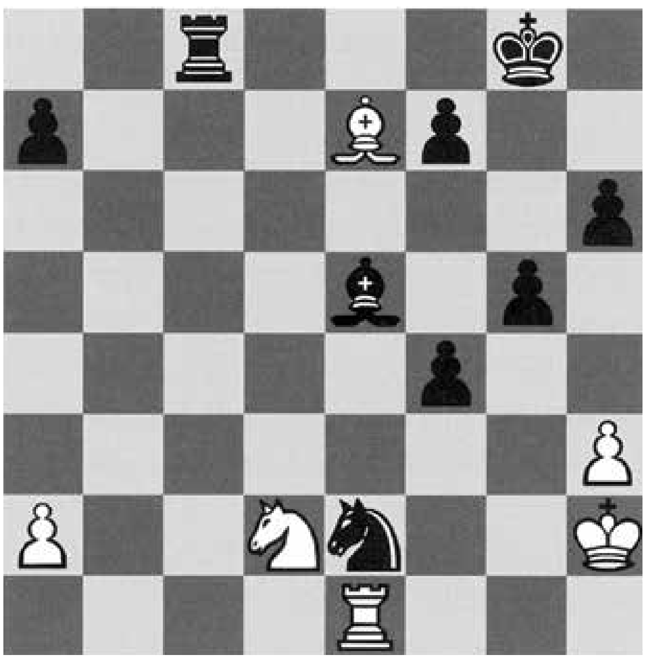
Previous readings of the game have not been entirely accurate. The black piece on e5, a bishop with the distinguishing miter barely visible but still distinct enough in the detail, has often been understood in the literature on the painting as a black queen,[83] an unbeatable advantage for black. Also crucial is the obscure presence of a white piece at d2, partially hidden from view by the black knight at e2 in the shadow caused by the light entering from the right. The piece cannot be readily identified but can be adduced by elimination: it is not the white queen, as she has been already captured; her crown protrudes from the trough of captured pieces at Gardel's right. Nor can the piece be the white bishop since the square d2 is a black one, and white already has a bishop on a black square at e7; white's second bishop had to have been placed on the white square. From its rounded form and height—thus eliminating it as a pawn or a rook—the piece must be understood as a knight. The identification of this piece is noteworthy for the role it will play in the outcome of the game.

With the position clearly described by Eakins, the question is, which player has the advantage at this point and what kind is it? With about half the pieces exchanged—fifteen of the thirty-two are visible—the match is now evidently in the end-game phase. At such a decisive moment many matches are won or lost, the result of specialized end-game play and of tactics players apply when fewer pieces are on the board. An overview of the board confirms that Holmes indeed has a material advantage because of three pawns to the good,

15. Detail of Figure 1, showing chessboard

formidable weapons in any end-game position. He also appears to enjoy greater possibilities in positional play and momentum, as his pawn structure is solid and can menace Gardel's king side. Moreover, Holmes's king is reasonably secure at g8, protected by his pawn formation, while his rook dominates the open c8-c1 file, which permits him to descend unobstructed and to menace white's territory.

On the other hand, Gardel's pieces appear passively placed and do not easily interact with each other, breaking one of the maxims of chess tactics, namely, that the coordination of the pieces is essential particularly in the end game. None of his pieces appears set for either attack or defense purposes. His king is placed perilously on h2 with no protection or maneuverability, just as Gardel's bishop at e7 has neither support for an attack nor enough operational freedom to maintain a defense against black's approaching pieces; indeed, few squares are available to him either to intimidate or to protect. Gardel is surely aware of his evident predicament as he studies the board with his eyes fixed on the critical zone around the rook and knight on e1 and e2, respectively, the area of the board where the end game will culminate. Benjamin Eakins, who has risen from his chair to better examine the board, focuses also on the same area, sensing that the decisive moment of the battle will be fought there.



16. Diagram of chess pieces in *The Chess Players*. Position of George W. Holmes in black; position of Bertrand Gardel in white. From Clapper 2010, p. 81, fig. 2

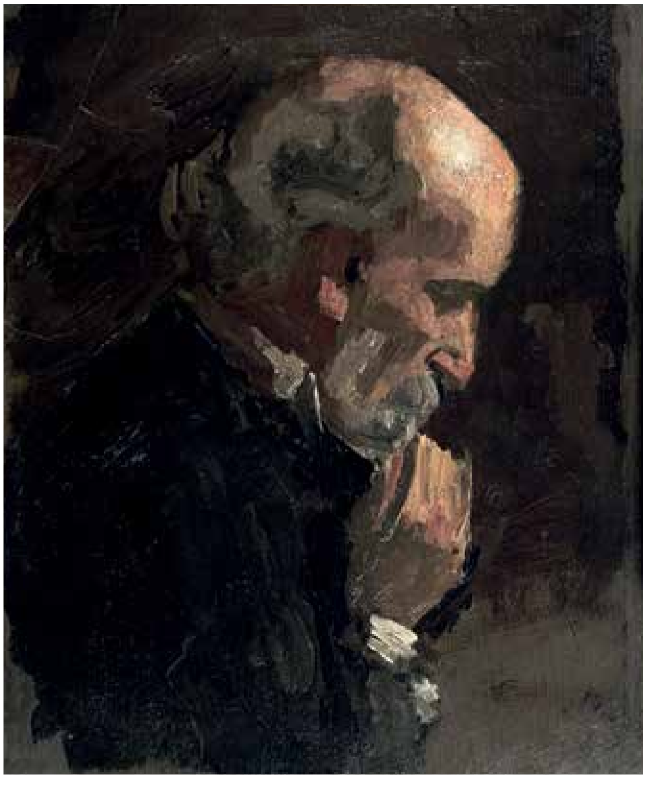
What Eakins has not indicated, and what cannot be judged from the gestures depicted in the painting, is whether it is black's or white's turn to move. This is critical, since it will decide the probable outcome of the game. Clapper noted that the position is roughly equal despite Holmes's material advantage and has surmised that it is white's turn to play, probably owing to the direction of Benjamin Eakins's gaze, toward Gardel's pieces, as though pondering how he will move.[84] Previous commentators have seen, or sensed, that Gardel's position is rather futile because of his discordant pieces with three pawns behind, even to the point of stating that he appears to be considering resigning faced with black's superior forces. Yet this conjecture is not altogether convincing because the weakness of his position is not as fatal as it appears, depending on who is set to move and the strategy behind the move. If it is now Gardel's play, it is clear that he must contend with several threats as black's king side pieces begin to weave a mating net. But at the same time, white's rook at e1 attacks black's unguarded knight at e2, a tempting target as capturing a piece could offset his disadvantage. This is precisely what holds Gardel's attention at this instant: should he take the knight, which Clapper thought he could capture "feasibly and soundly"?[85] Gardel should have seen that, in fact, he may not capture the piece with impunity, as 1. e1 x h2 is answered by 1 . . . , f3+, a discovered check, forcing black to move his king to the only square available to him, at h1, followed by capturing his rook at e2. This exchange would considerately favor black and make white's position an impossible one to defend.

We have no indication how strong a chess player Gardel was, but if his talents were formidable, white would have seen two possibilities to avoid the discovered check, his Achilles' heel in this position. It is surprising that both moves actually solidify his position and in turn offer counterthreats that black cannot easily meet. White can play 1. Kg2, which has several positional advantages: it removes the king from the immediate danger of the discovered check; it prevents black from playing f3, as now the pawn can be captured by the king or the knight; and at the same time the rook's attack on the knight at e2 is maintained. Further, in that position the threat of the rook is doubled, since the knight may not be moved because it hides another hidden attack on the black's unguarded bishop at e5. The second possibility available to Gardel is even more effective and is undeniably his winning move. If Gardel plays 1. Nf3, the move likewise serves a similar purpose in blocking the advance of the pawn at f4, but it also has the advantage of attacking the bishop at e5. If Gardel makes this move, the assault on Holmes's pieces cannot be easily parried, since now two of black's pieces are under attack simultaneously—the knight at e2 and the bishop at e5—while only one can be defended. Black in effect will not be able to avoid the loss of a piece, which would provide white with a notable development of his position in the later end-game struggle despite black's better pawn structure. Gardel's move, 1. Nf3, leaves black's response so limited that he would have little counterplay.[86]

As promising as Gardel's position is—if it is, indeed, his move—the drama of the game in this position is heightened in that a comparable situation exists for black. Should it be Holmes's turn to move, he must contend immediately with the attack on the knight at e2, which he may not move because of the masked attack on the bishop at e5. Therefore, playing 1 . . . , f3 is the obvious answer to the threat, as it reveals the discovered check noted above, compelling black to his forced retreat at h1, the only square available, while simultaneously defending his knight against the rook's attack. In this case, it is white who has no practical reply to the impending threats that would further devastate Gardel's forces. With white's king bottled up at h1, black has various possibilities at his disposal and could take full advantage of his position to forge a decisive victory.[87]

Suffice it to say that the position in Eakins's painting is not a straightforward one in which Holmes is assured a victory or Gardel a resounding defeat, as has been generally supposed. The uncertainty is in itself an absorbing aspect of the painting that adds considerably to the tension with which Eakins infused the depiction of the players' concentrated deliberation and the observing participant. It is likely that Eakins had intended to convey uncertainty, because he selected the moment exactly before a move. The spellbound immersion of the three figures is a stimulating prelude to the next phase of the game in which winner and loser will be determined, barring blunders. Had Eakins indicated whose move it was by having one of the players raising his hand, about to move a piece, for example, the dramatic content of the picture would have been altered considerably.

It is reasonable to suppose that Eakins derived his rendering of the board from a particular game played between Gardel and Holmes that he witnessed in Gardel's parlor. Although Eakins's knowledge of chess is undocumented, he no doubt understood that at this moment of the game—



17. Thomas Eakins. *Bertrand Gardel (Sketch for "The Chess Players")*, 1876. Oil on paper and cardboard, 12⅛ x 9¾ in. (30.8 x 24.8 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Thomas Eakins and Miss Mary Adeline Williams (1930-32-6). Photograph: Philadelphia Museum of Art

one intrinsic to the notion of a real contest, where winner and loser are not yet apparent—the gripping possibilities of the scene were at their maximum. In perceiving this position as the climactic one, we presume Eakins's intimate knowledge of the game, no doubt gleaned from the many matches he observed. But to ensure that the position was correct when he painted it, Eakins must have memorized it, or perhaps made notes—although neither Gardel nor Holmes has pencil and paper on the chess table to annotate the game—or even sketched it separately as an aide-mémoire. At this time he did not yet own a camera. Eakins could have followed the game closely and sketched or annotated the position as the players were reflecting, as is suggested by a painted sketch of Gardel that no doubt shows him contemplating a move during another phase of the game (Figure 17).

The absolute commitment to an observed scene, selected for its riveting pictorial content, fits Eakins's artistic psyche at this time: compare his studies for the rowing series, where unconditional fidelity and control of the composition are fundamental. Since the painting is a record not only of three people close to Eakins but also of a specific game at a particular moment, little is gained by speculating on his intentions beyond a desire to depict a genre scene accurately. That he offered the painting to his father indicates further that he intended it as a souvenir, a token of a common activity among Eakins's long-standing friends, not unlike his pictures of his sisters playing the piano, but in this case laden with greater emotional intensity and suspense.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The epigraph was written by Emerson in a journal entry dated January 16, 1843 (Emerson 1911, p. 339).

NOTES

1. Foster 1997 and Adams 2005, respectively.
2. Torchia 1991.
3. Clapper 2010.
4. Ibid., pp. 84–86.
5. Holmes's address is noted in *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory for 1867*, 30th ed. (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 432. Holmes is usually listed in these directories as a "teacher of drawing"; Boyd's *Philadelphia Blue Book* (Philadelphia, 1890–91), p. 432. Holmes's address is given in the *Blue Book* as at 1926 Mount Vernon Street. See also Foster 1997, p. 234n26.
6. National Archives, Washington, D.C., Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Microfilm 653, roll 1159, Philadelphia, 9th Ward, June 28, 1860, p. 321, no. 858 (hereafter NA, with the census date).
7. Long 1960, p. 15. See also Bank 1997, p. 80, where it is estimated that the yearly wage in Philadelphia in 1850 as less than $300, but almost twice that was needed to maintain a modest family.
8. NA, Ninth Census, 1870, Microfilm 593, roll 1422, Philadelphia, 9th Ward, p. 378.
9. *Art Journal* 1878, pp. 30–31.
10. NA, Tenth Census, 1880, Pennsylvania, no. 67, part 7, p. 245. The occupations of the children were also noted: Gerald, spelled "Jerrold," was a druggist; Herman a house carpenter; Helen, spelled "Ellen," a housekeeper; Lizabeth, here as "Lizzie," a school teacher; Knorr was a "vocalist" and his wife, Mary, an "artist."
11. The quotation is from Garrett 1892, p. 211; see Goodrich 1982, vol. 1, p. 8, for a similar quotation. Holmes is listed as a teacher at the University of Pennsylvania first in *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, & Students of the University of Pennsylvania 1840* (Philadelphia, 1840), p. 6, and remained in his post for several years; he is no longer listed in the catalogue for 1859–60. His appointment at Haverford took place before the close of the 1850–51 session.
12. *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette* 1 (June 1, 1863), p. 145. Called *The Sketch-Book*, the work consists of twelve sheets of sketches "drawn from Nature and on Stone," some of them scenes of Philadelphia. The notice said that these sketches "are well worthy [of] the attention of those having drawing-classes under their care."
13. Philadelphia 1865, p. 3. Holmes is listed as an associate since 1862.
14. *Graham's Magazine* 1852, p. 325. See also Thistlethwaite 2000, p. 42.
15. NA, Ninth Census, 1870, Microfilm 593, roll 1399, Philadelphia, 15th Ward, p. 482.
16. NA, Eighth Census, 1860, Microfilm 653, roll 1165, Philadelphia, 15th Ward, p. 110.
17. Montgomery 1987, p. 333, lists Gardel's birthplace as Paris and his age as forty at the time of the 1850 census. The actual dates of his birth and death, however, are inscribed on his tomb in Mount Vernon Cemetery as January 6, 1808–December 18, 1895.
18. *Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations of Intentions and/or Oaths of Allegiance, 1789–1880* ([Harrisburg], 1940), part 4, Letter G, p. 36.
19. Julia Hawks, also a teacher, came from a well-known family in Goshen, Massachusetts; see Barrus 1881, pp. 211–12.
20. Little information has come down about the school, but see Buckley 2000, p. 387, no. 46. See also Engstrom 2007, p. 75, referring to Lavinia Ellis Cole, who after 1849 attended "Mme. Gardel's school in Philadelphia."
21. Gardel's recommendation was dated May 20, 1858, and was included in the opening unnumbered pages of Longstreth 1867.
22. See *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1858*, 21st ed. (Philadelphia, 1858), p. 235, where his address was listed as 1418 Chestnut Street. Previously, he resided at 419 Chestnut Street—the old street numbers were in effect until 1857—and 275 Chestnut Street. This was the last year that Gardel appeared in the directory. His occupation was always noted as teacher. Gardel's residence at 1418 Chestnut Street was destroyed when Charles F. Haseltine erected his gallery there in 1887.

23. NA, Ninth Census, 1870, Microfilm 593, roll 1437, Philadelphia, 22nd Ward, p. 439B.
24. Ward 1882, p. 130.
25. Beaux 1930, pp. 44–45. My thanks to Linda Seckelson, Museum librarian, Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA, for providing me with this information.
26. Beaux identified the former only as "Miss Lyman," but in *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1864*, 27th ed. (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 447, Catherine Lyman is listed as living at 226 South Broad Street, her occupation "gentlewoman." She is not listed in the directories before that date.
27. Beaux 1930, pp. 52–53.
28. Scharf and Westcott 1884, vol. 3, p. 1882; Archambault 1924, p. 75; Keels 2003, p. 55. The monument is also discussed in Foster 1997, pp. 14–15.
29. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 18, 1871. Benjamin Eakins bought the Mount Vernon house for $4,800; see Kirkpatrick 2006, p. 26.
30. Bushman 1992, p. 273.
31. Cole and Williamson 1941, pp. 12–16.
32. Kirkpatrick 2006, pp. 28, 281, 330.
33. The Holbrook family was the premier producer of globes and scientific instruments at the time. See Brownell 1861, pp. 13–14, for a brief history of the company, and p. 19 for a current price list, noting no. 18a, an eight-inch globe, "brass mounted, with Horizon and Quadrant" selling for $10. A larger model, which seems to be the case here, could be ordered.
34. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., "Passport Applications, 1795–1905," Microfilm M 1372, rolls 37 and 73, respectively. These passport applications likewise provide a physical description of Gardel.
35. Davis 1905, vol. 3, p. 99.
36. Hotchkin 1889, p. 61. It must be the same Gardel, since he is referred to as "Mons. Gardel, the Philadelphia teacher."
37. Senior 1859, p. 9.
38. Homer 2009, p. 138.
39. Rosenzweig 1977, p. 111.
40. Danly and Leibold 1994, nos. 153–63.
41. Strahan 1876, pp. 288–90, with an engraving of the painting opposite p. 288. Irving's painting attracted much notice in Memorial Hall; however, it depicted the bloody aftermath of a match, when one of the players called for a duel after accusations of cheating—rather than the game itself. The second exhibition is noted in Philadelphia 1877, p. 10. See also Clement and Hutton 1879, vol. 1, p. 384.
42. At the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1877 (no. 225); at the National Academy of Design, New York, in 1878 (no. 612); and then at the Brooklyn Art Association the same year (no. 222). See Spassky et al. 1985, pp. 600–605.
43. Gelber 1999, p. 26, citing *Godey's Lady's Book*. The *Chess Player's Magazine* 2 (1864), p. 113, announced the organization of a "Ladies' Chess Club" that had formed in Germantown, the first in the United States. Men were not admitted "until the hour when their services as escorts [were] required."
44. Kirkpatrick 2006, p. 28.
45. See epigraph to the present article. James (1907) 1993, p. 586: " . . . vast, firm chess-board, the immeasurable spread of little squares, covered *all* over by perfect Philadelphians."
46. See "The Chess Life of Benjamin Franklin," in Fiske 1859, pp. 331–39. There is also a chapter titled "Chess in Philadelphia," pp. 348–62.
47. Franklin 1786; see Hagedorn 1958. Franklin also wrote a manual on how to play the game, *Chess Made Easy*, published posthumously first in 1792 with other editions afterward.
48. The Automaton was devised first by Johann Wolfgang Von Kempelen (1734–1804) and then improved by Johann Nepomuk Maelzel (1772–1838), a friend of Beethoven's. The device was an illusion in which a human chess player hidden in the mechanism actually operated the moves. In 1826, Maelzel brought the machine to the United States, where it had an immense success. See Rice 1994. A description of the spectacle in Philadelphia is in *Franklin Journal* 1827, pp. 125–29. A decade later, in Richmond, Edgar Allan Poe exposed the fraud in the *Southern Literary Messenger* ([Poe] 1836). See Wimsatt 1993, p. 78. The defeat of the Automaton by a woman of Philadelphia is recorded with the annotated game in *American Chess Magazine* 1847.
49. See Reichhelm 1898, p. 6, from which information given here is gleaned.
50. For example, in the *Chess Player's Magazine* 2 (1864), published in London, three games from Philadelphia clubs were published.
51. The Library Company of Philadelphia, Print Department, P 8922. The architect was John McArthur.
52. Sayen 1876. James Mason, an English-born player then residing in New York, won the match.
53. Torchia 1991, p. 270.
54. Homer 2009, p. 75. See also Danly and Leibold 1994, p. 25. Eakins also sent a portrait of his second teacher, Léon Bonnat; he also owned photographs of Thomas Couture and Rosa Bonheur.
55. Homer 2009, p. 244, and Foster 1997, pp. 32–33. See des Cars et al. 2010, no. 70. Eakins also purchased a print of Gérôme's *Deux augures* of 1861 and other works by the French artist; see Foster 1997, pp. 32, 237.
56. I thank Catherine Mackay, administrative assistant, Department of American Paintings, MMA, who inspected the drawing and confirmed the inscription.
57. In a letter of about 1769 from John Foxcroft to Franklin, he asked Franklin to visit him for a game of chess "on his New Invented Table." It is not certain to whom "his" refers. See Franklin 1972, p. 275.
58. Freedley 1858, p. 464.
59. *Souvenir of the Centennial Exhibition* 1877, p. 213. For the wages of a worker at about the turn of the twentieth century, see Volo and Volo 2007, pp. 55–56, who noted that in 1874 the minimum of $520 to $624 annually was necessary; for a family of five, in which neither the wife nor the children earned wages, the minimum was $850. The average expenditure for food was $422. In 1883, the average annual miner's wage in Pennsylvania was only $350; see Klein and Hoogenboom 1980, p. 319.
60. An advertisement in the *Illustrated London News* of September 29, 1849, noted that Staunton signed the sets to avoid "fraudulent imitations." The Jaques firm, which is still in business, invented croquet in 1851; they also produced tiddlywinks in the late 1880s; and developed ping-pong in 1901.
61. In 1783 Wedgwood hired John Flaxman (1755–1826) to design a set based on *Macbeth*, the king and queen modeled by Sarah Siddons and Charles Kemble; see Meteyard 1865–66, vol. 2, p. 494, and pp. 485–86, for Flaxman's bills for his pieces. There is an early nineteenth-century Flaxman set in the Metropolitan Museum (48.174.130 a–p, aa–pp).
62. Richardson 1979.
63. *Montgomery Ward & Co. Catalogue & Buyers' Guide*, 1895, p. 121, was selling Staunton-designed pieces, the size not indicated, for $1, box included. Checker pieces, on the other hand, could be had for $.35 a dozen.
64. [Edge] 1859, p. 12.
65. *Chess Monthly* 1859, p. 299.
66. Wilmerding 1993, p. 25.

67. Clapper 2010, p. 79.
68. The painting was even discussed in *Columbia Chess Chronicle*, where the position of the "Game of Life" was transcribed from the painting, but inaccurately; see Gilberg 1888. One of the legends about the painting is that Paul Morphy, the greatest of the early American chess champions, supposedly saw an engraving of it in a home of a friend in Richmond and announced that he could win the game and thus beat the devil.
69. See Miltitz [1837]; and *Saturday Review* 1837, p. 170, with an engraving published on p. 169. A copy of the painting was exhibited at the Apollo Association in New York; see the *Knickerbocker* 17 (April 1841), p. 344; presumably it was this copy that was in Luman Reed's collection, for which see Foshay 1990, pp. 164–65.
70. Berger 2000, p. 71. The clock could equally represent the timing device for regulating the game. Since the 1850s, chess authorities sought to standardize how long each player had to contemplate his or her moves. After the World Tournament in London in 1851, sandglasses were proposed to prevent unusual slowness; Staunton's twenty-first match with Pierre St. Amant took more than fourteen hours for sixty-six moves. Chess clocks were not introduced into play until 1867.
71. Ibid., p. 76.
72. Jones 1931.
73. See Menninger 2007, p. 201.
74. Adams 2005, p. 190.
75. Torchia 1991, p. 269. Chess etiquette of the day advised: "When you find your game hopeless, do not prolong it, but retire gracefully." See Pardon 1860, p. 21.
76. *Chess Monthly* 1860, p. 126.
77. Beaux 1930, p. 52.
78. Szasz (1965) 1988, p. 70.
79. Jones 1955, p. 384.
80. Freud 1958, p. 83. In a letter of February 12, 1911, to Carl Jung, Freud related a dream a patient recounted, which he referred to as an "ingenious chess problem"; see McGuire 1977, p. 391.
81. *Sigmund Freud House Bulletin* (Sigmund Freud Gesellschaft) 1 (1975), p. 5. See also *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago* 8 (1922), p. 117, and Reider 1959.
82. In Eakins's time, the system used was called positional notation, descriptive notation, or sometimes English notation. The older version provides the actual movement of the piece and its destination, such as P-K4, meaning the pawn on the king side—the player's right—moves vertically to the fourth square. Algebraic notation is more compact with each square on the board identified by letter and number so that the position is more specific. Pieces are indicated by the first letter of the chessman, with K for king but N for knight. The player notes the movement of the pieces by the letter of the piece and the square coordinate where it will be placed. Thus, Ba2 means the bishop moves to the coordinate a2. When no piece is indicated, it designates a pawn move; thus, g6 means the pawn moves to that square. Captures are noted by an x after the piece and before the coordinate: b x f4 designates that the bishop captures the piece at f4. Check of the king is indicated by the sign + at the end of the notation. White's move is always seen first in a sequence followed by black's move; thus the notation 1.e4 e5 means that white has moved his pawn to coordinate e5 and black has answered by moving his pawn to e5.
83. Berger 2000, p. 72, thought the piece to be a queen, as did others. My thanks to Joseph Loh, managing museum educator, MMA, who inspected the painting anew under optimal lighting conditions and verified the identification of the piece and the position.
84. Clapper 2010, p. 81.
85. Ibid., p. 98n4.
86. A possible outcome follows: Should black counter 1. Nf3 with 1 . . . , Nd4, white counters with 2. N x B; should black play 1 . . . , Rc2 to protect the knight, white still captures the bishop with the following probable sequence: 1 . . . , Re2, 2. N x B Ng3+, 3. Kg1 and black has few possibilities to win.
87. The logical sequence would be 2 . . . , f2, which presents white with the predicament of having to move his attacked rook. He may not block the pawn by 3. Rf1 as black replies 3 . . . , Ng3+ forking king and rook, from which 4. Kg2 N x R, 5. N x N, Bd4 and his material advantage should be sufficient to win. Should black play 3 . . . , N x R, then 4. Rc1+ is devastating and white could not easily avoid a mate several moves further. The probable sequence would be: 1 . . . f3, 2. Kh1 f2, 3. R x N Rc1+, 4. Kg2 (forced) Bd4, and white has few options after 5 . . . , Re1, forcing an exchange of rooks allowing the pawn to queen; if the rook captures the pawn, the white bishop at e7 falls, with enough material gain to win.

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"Mon cher ami et frère d'armes": Letters from Costantino Ressman to William Riggs, Collectors of Arms and Armor in Nineteenth-Century Paris

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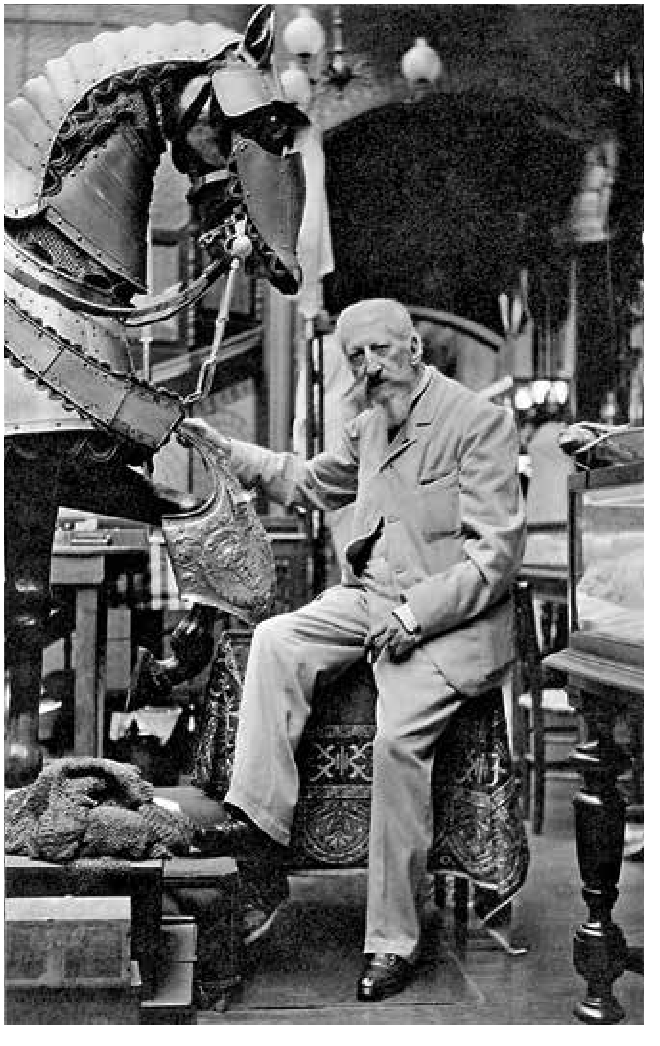
> "Can you arrange to help Mr. Riggs transfer his armor to the Museum *at once*?" said the elder Mr. Pierpont Morgan one day. "Not necessary to consider the problem," I replied, "because so long as he lives, Mr. Riggs will never part with his collection." "Not answering my question," retorted Mr. Morgan, whose genius divined things which were happening in people's minds, "he *is* going to send over his collection and very soon." And he did![1]

With these words Bashford Dean recalled a conversation with J. P. Morgan, then president of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, concerning a momentous acquisition. As the Museum's curator of arms and armor, Dean (1867–1928) was arranging the donation of the collection of William Henry Riggs (1837–1924), lauded in the press as "the most valuable collection of armor in the world."[2] It was, in fact, through the influence of his lifelong acquaintance Morgan that Riggs, an American who spent most of his life in Europe, was persuaded to bring his armory back to New York, his native city. Dean, who had courted Riggs for years, was sent to Paris to supervise the shipping. In 1912 he returned to New York accompanied by Riggs. It was the collector's first visit to the United States since 1868.

The gift was accepted on May 19, 1913, by the trustees, who then invited Riggs "to act as a Trustee of the Collection during his lifetime, and to supervise its proper installation."[3] On February 2, 1914, Edward Robinson, then the Museum's director, announced the donation as "one of the largest and most important the Museum has ever received."[4] Comprising nearly two thousand objects and a library of almost three thousand books, it was the second grand collection of arms and armor to come to the Museum, following that of Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Dino in 1904.[5] The sheer number of pieces was astonishing but so too was their range, from coveted medieval and Renaissance types to specimens from the sixteenth and seventeenth



1. William H. Riggs. Undated photograph. MMA Department of Arms and Armor

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47

2. Hector-Martin Lefuel (French, 1810–1880). Architectural Drawing of the Interior of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke's House, ca. 1870. Pen and watercolor on paper, 23⅜ x 18¼ in. (59.3 x 46.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (25.135.175)

centuries. The new acquisitions were on view when the new Arms and Armor Galleries opened on January 25, 1915.[6]

Considerable insight into the formation of the collection is provided by 130 letters written by Costantino Ressman (1832–1899), an Italian diplomat and leading collector of arms and armor, to his friend and "brother in arms" Riggs.[7] The letters, written in French and dated between 1878 and 1899, are in the correspondence files of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum. This article relies upon them to re-create Riggs's activities as a collector and to retrace the genesis of his holdings.

WILLIAM RIGGS: COLLECTING ARMS AND ARMOR IN PARIS

During the nineteenth century, first with the Gothic Revival, and later with the Romantic movement, collectors showed an unprecedented curiosity for antique arms and armor. In the 1830s a vogue for such objects, awakening dreams of the age of chivalry, developed in Paris and was imitated in the provinces. Arms and armor suddenly became accessible owing to recently made fortunes and the opportunity to find pieces at good prices.[8] Napoleon III (r. 1852–70) himself took a great interest in such objects, requiring a special gallery, the Salle des neuf Preuses at the Château de Pierrefonds, to exhibit his *cabinet d'armes*.[9] About midcentury, the main collectors of arms and armor, apart from the emperor, were the superintendent of fine arts, Alfred-Émilien, comte de Nieuwerkerke (1811–1892),[10] the dealer Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890), and the painter Édouard de Beaumont (1821–1888). The ascent of the bourgeoisie, whose ranks sought to emulate the noble and military classes, especially the emperor—fueled the quest for these newly fashionable curiosities, which they acquired as a way of advancing status. As new private collections were rapidly assembled and sold, there was soon a dearth of pieces on the market.[11] This reduced supply did not prevent a number of wealthy foreign amateurs from going to Paris to form their own private armories.[12] William Riggs was one of them (Figure 1).

"Mr. Riggs, a wealthy American who is said to collect only to send his museum back to the country of petrol, and who came to Paris around 1868, if I am not wrong. He is living proof that originality is not the monopoly of the English."[13] René, marquis de Belleval (1837–1900) provided this lively sketch of his fellow arms collector in his 1895 memoir. The marquis's observations amplify the biographical information provided by Dean, who knew Riggs for years and recorded his impressions and memories in two detailed articles published in the Museum's *Bulletin* (cited at the beginning of this article).

In 1853, after the death of his banker father, young Riggs moved to Europe and studied at Vevey in Switzerland, where he was a classmate of J. P. Morgan's. He later went to Germany with the intent of pursuing engineering studies.[14] There he began to buy arms and armor while establishing important connections with other amateurs. Riggs devoted his entire life to his passion. He bought the bulk of his holdings, mainly European arms from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, in the 1860s and in the following decades added to them selectively. He regularly trimmed his collection of duplicates and lesser items—through sales *à nettoyage*, or weeding-out sales, as he would call them.[15] In order to widen his knowledge and assemble his own armory, he traveled across Europe to visit museums, private collections, and dealers. In 1857 he settled in Paris in the rue d'Aumale, becoming one of many Americans "acclimated to Paris as to a new home country."[16]

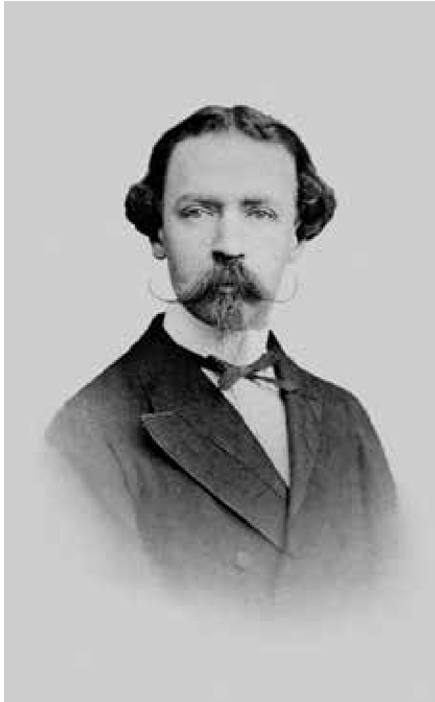
From 1871 his new house at 13, rue Murillo, near the Parc Monceau, became the perfect stage for his collection—

"a small building full of men of iron and instruments of distinction."[17] This mansion had once belonged to another arms collector, the comte de Nieuwerkerke.[18] Designed by the architect Hector-Martin Lefuel (1810–1880), famous for his additions to the Louvre, it was simple from the outside—"a house which does not attract attention," according to Edmond de Goncourt[19]—but its interior was richly decorated. The armory occupied the top floor (Figure 2). In a rare contemporary description of the display, the marquis de Belleval recalled: "He decorated Nieuwerkerke's gallery with a great number of mail shirts and shafted weapons, the entire range of the family of halberds . . . and some rare armors. Above a shelf all around the gallery there were helmets of every time and style." He added: "Eclectic in his taste, M. Riggs did not have any specialty in collecting. He owned some mysterious cases which contained, or at least were thought to contain, some treasures kept secret from the uninitiated."[20]

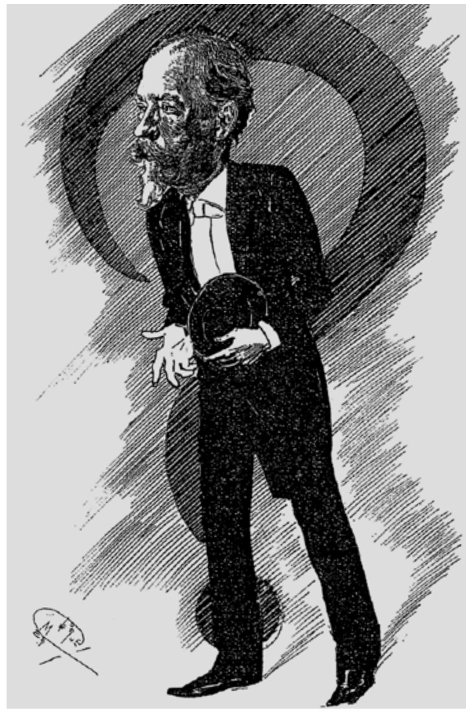
Dean remembered that Riggs "hesitated to show his possessions when they were not mounted properly, or to let a visitor enter his gallery when his harnesses were shrouded in *housses* [covers] or even when they had not been carefully dusted. . . . Most of his time he would be busied in his gallery, . . . intent on removing deep-seated rust, replacing straps, or making necessary restorations."[21] His early acquaintance with Jean-Baptiste Carrand (1792–1871), one of the greatest collectors of nineteenth-century France, whose restorations were a matter of debate among his peers, may have influenced Riggs's tendency to clean objects excessively.[22] Ressman sarcastically coined the (French) verb *riggser* after this penchant, and Ressman warned their mutual friend Charles Alexander de Cosson (1846–1929), known as Baron de Cosson, "In my opinion, the first rule is to avoid Riggs's system and never touch, not little nor much, the interior of antique arms."[23]

Always occupied with the care of his pieces and spending an increasing amount of time in Luchon, a town in the Pyrenees, Riggs found little time for company. Although his own guests only numbered a few experts who regarded the austere mansion in the rue Murillo as a place of the liveliest interest, he had been acquainted since his early years in Paris with a select company of amateurs who opened their doors to disclose "hidden treasures of enchanting grace and perfect taste" to their fellow collectors, or *bibelotiers*, as they were sometimes called.[24]

Chief among them was Ressman, one of Riggs's closest friends (Figures 3, 4). The occasion on which they met is not known, but it was certainly the passion for arms and armor that united them. His German family name notwithstanding, Ressman was an Italian diplomat who moved to Paris in 1867 and spent the rest of his life there, in his apartment at 9, rue Richepanse.[25] He called himself "an obstinate and absolutely incorrigible old Parisian"[26] and was, in fact, a



3. Charles Reutlinger (German, 1816–1881). Costantino Ressman (1832–1899). Photograph, ca. 1870. C. A. de Cosson Papers, Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds. Photograph: © The Board of Trustees of the Armouries



4. Caricature of Costantino Ressman, ca. 1892. Newspaper clipping (Paris?). Department of Arms and Armor

well-known fixture of Paris society. In his time he was described as a gentleman of distinction who, according to a newspaper account, enjoyed "walking along the boulevards at around five in the evening. Thrifty, he did not receive company. Not much of a gourmand, he would have a prix-fixe lunch at the Grand-Hôtel."[27] He once admitted that his one constant pleasure over the years was that of "pursuing or even seeing unknown antique arms."[28] He started collecting in 1867 and never stopped until his death. The evolution of his collection can easily be traced through his receipts for purchases and restorations and three inventories that he compiled assiduously with invaluable annotations about provenance of objects. His reputation as an expert preceded him among collectors who shared his "passion for iron," with whom he regularly exchanged letters on the subject.[29]

THE LETTERS THAT MADE THE COLLECTION

To judge from the letters that have survived, Ressman was Riggs's most dedicated correspondent. These documents offer a long monologue—all Riggs's replies are missing—that is affectionate and rich in information about the establishment of Riggs's collection, his character, and contemporary society and the art market in late nineteenth-century Paris. They ended only when Ressman died in 1899.

The first preserved letter to Riggs is dated July 1878; its friendly tone already suggests a certain familiarity between the two men, who had both lived in Paris for years. At that moment, Paris was agog with excitement over the Exposition Historique that had opened in May 1878 at the Palais du Trocadéro.[30] After the mid-nineteenth century, universal exhibitions played a key role in bringing together collectors from two spheres of society—the elite and the masses of amateurs, whose number had increased considerably—and encouraged private collectors to share their treasures openly instead of hoarding them for themselves.[31] Even Riggs, normally reluctant to admit visitors to his house, took such events as opportunities to exhibit his pieces.[32] At the Trocadéro, his collection occupied gallery 13, where Riggs had supervised the careful arrangement of his arms in showcases.[33] Beaumont, in his detailed review for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, awarded "all the merits of taste to this display of outstanding pieces of the highest interest," second in importance only to the selection of four hundred pieces from the Spitzer collection shown in gallery 9.[34] Considering the caliber of the Spitzer collection's arms and armor (not to mention its medieval and Renaissance works of art),[35] Riggs had certainly scored a coup. Ressman reported that Spitzer, the Viennese-born Parisian "king of dealers," "felt uncomfortable with his proximity to Riggs and undertook great efforts to improve his gallery. He had a new vitrine of timepieces installed and four high vitrines to display his guns and his choice swords. For the rest, there are some armors, daggers, powderhorns." The Spitzer pieces in the exposition, though only a fraction of his collection, were highly praised in Beaumont's review. Ressman was far less enthusiastic—though he conceded that "all this does not prevent the amateurs from putting on their glasses when they arrive at the bazaar"—and his report to Riggs concluded: "Everybody agreed that <u>you</u> had the lucky hand of the beginner, of the first inspiration, and today everybody awards you the palm for the arms. I do not flatter. It is a matter of fact."[36]

Ressman's letters disclose exciting peregrinations through auction rooms and dealers' quarters in the last decades of the nineteenth century that would hardly have been accessible to nonexperts at the time and about which little else is known today. By then, as the marquis de Belleval noted, "There were not as many dealers in Paris who seized upon that branch of curiosity as there used to be, and this made the prices of arms rise beyond any not only reasonable but sensible proportion."[37] Since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, Germany and Austria had been the principal sources for the arms and armor market.[38] Ressman, despite his complaints about a dwindling supply of good antique arms, regularly haunted the shops of the Bachereau firm and August Henry "le chapelier" in Paris as well as visiting Pratt, Wareham, Wilson, and Harding, the principal dealers in London.[39] In Paris the main alternative to dealers was the Hôtel Drouot auction house.

Over the years, as Riggs retreated from society, Ressman updated his friend on his latest discoveries on the market in Paris or elsewhere in Europe as he hunted avidly for any "sensational find."[40] He generously advised Riggs on pieces to buy, including ones that he himself could not afford. For his part, Riggs eagerly relied on Ressman, who occasionally acted as his agent in the salesroom, to execute his commissions. In the end, not every object in Riggs's collection turned out to be a masterpiece, but Ressman's advice surely must have helped to upgrade Riggs's holdings. In June 1880, after attending a sale at Drouot,[41] Ressman notified Riggs of purchases he had made with his friend in mind:

> I bought for you, only by reason of the minimum prices at which they sold, two among the pieces you had pointed out to me, the little bevor with some mail on the side (no. 15) and the war spear (no. 31). I paid for the first 39 fr. 90 c. and for the second 25 fr. 20 c., fees included, and it makes a total of 65 francs 10 c. If you like, these two pieces will be available to you at that price when we see each other; otherwise I will greedily keep them for myself. . . . I also bought, <u>together</u> with Mr. Gay, to prevent its price from rising, the pavise no. 10, a little smaller than yours which is reproduced in Viollet-Le-Duc's work.[42]

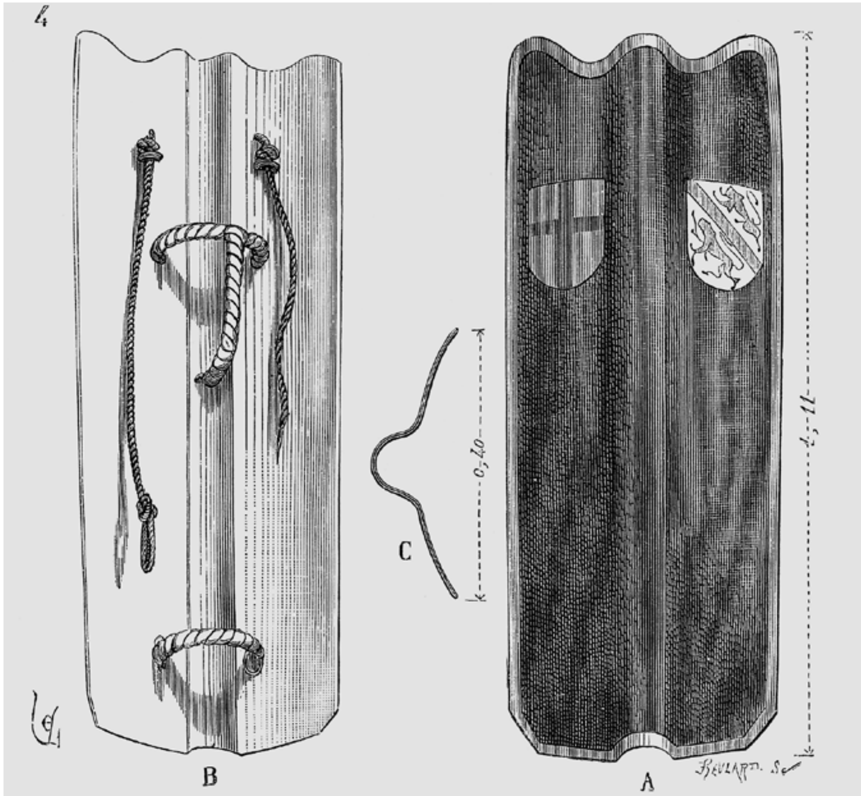
A few days later, he wrote further of the pavise (Figures 5, 6):

> Yesterday I went to the rue Murillo and asked your concierge to let me into the gallery. I could make sure that Mr. Gay's pavise would not be a bad acquisition for you, because it is not much smaller than yours; and also because it is complete and well preserved. The enarmes [supporting straps for the arms] are still there and they only need some restoration at the attachments and, with a light coat of polish, the pavise will look excellent. . . . And also these pieces have become so rare, or better, impossible to find, and are so precious for a collection that I did not hesitate to conclude the deal.[43]

Victor Gay (1820–1887), an architect and writer whose collection would be acquired by the Louvre in 1908, was asking 400 francs. Ressman then arranged for the delivery of the pieces to the rue Murillo, ready to take them back in case Riggs was not satisfied. Eventually, Riggs heeded his friend's advice and bought the second pavise.[44]

5. Pavise. Switzerland, 15th century. Painted wood, 41 ⅛ x 15⅞ in. (104.5 x 40.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.776)

6. Illustration of the pavise in Figure 5. In Viollet-le-Duc 1875, p. 219



In 1882 at the beginning of one of the worst economic depressions of the nineteenth century, Ressman decided to dispose of some of his collection because of financial pressures. The dynamics of such a sale could be difficult, as the critic and collector Philippe Burty (1830–1890) observed: "When we need to sell, our embarrassment is redoubled. Self-esteem becomes terribly susceptible."[45] On May 9, 1882, Ressman informed Riggs: "The day of the sale is not far away, but not decided yet. I will send you a catalogue as soon as I have one. . . . At least 35 pieces are mine, and I'm very sorry you will not be here because many pieces are excellent. . . . Every sword I gave Mannheim (around 10), could enter the best collection. . . ." He went on to list every single object and concluded with regret, "Eventually, I would rather be the buyer than the seller, but in this cruel world, we are not always allowed to do as we like."[46] A few days later Ressman singled out eleven of the thirty-five pieces as the best in the sale, recommending: "I think you should place your orders by telegraph if you decide to buy any of them. I don't know what we will have in the sale, but I don't think there will be any arms other than mine."[47] Shortly thereafter, he wrote:

> Except for nos. 3 and 17, which is fake for sure, all the other pieces are absolutely good and authentic. I have marked with two red lines the pieces that you should not let go and with a single line those which, while excellent, are of second quality according to my taste. I very much regret your absence because I would love to see in your collection some of my arms from which I part unwillingly and which I will never find again at the same prices. In the meantime you can safely give your orders to anyone you like, because I did not place any reserves on them.[48]

Before the auction, Ressman had sold a German infantry armor to Riggs privately (Figure 7).[49] At the Hôtel Drouot sale Riggs acquired only four of the eleven lots Ressman had recommended;[50] the others went for more than he was prepared to pay. He spent, in total, a little over 500 francs.[51]

In June 1883 Ressman told Riggs of a collection about to be dispersed that had been "formed by a man in the plumbing business, M. Bécoulet, who bought almost all his pieces from Bachereau. . . . Everything seems to be good, and many pieces are excellent, even if there is none of the first

7. Infantry armor. Germany (Nuremberg), late 16th century. Steel, leather, H. 49¼ in. (125 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.720). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

8. Burgonet and shield. French (probably Paris), ca. 1760. Gilt bronze, silver, and textile. Helmet, H. 17⅛ in. (43.5 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 6 oz. (6.1 kg); Shield, H. 23⅛ in. (58.8 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 11 oz. (6.2 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.259, 260), as reproduced in de Cosson 1901, pl. 23

quality. You could easily spend here and with pleasure <u>at least</u> twenty thousand francs. There are more than 100 court swords, some really beautiful. It can be easily predicted that the majority will be sold at low prices."[52] Riggs showed fervent interest in this sale, confirmed by his densely annotated copy of the catalogue, and in the end he bought several lots, many at Ressman's suggestion.

A few years later, in 1888, the two men turned their attention to the Londesborough sale at Christie, Manson & Woods in London.[53] Ressman raised the subject with Riggs: "Did you receive the catalogue of the Londesborough collection? . . . During the three days that I spent [in London], I was able to have a quick glance in Christie's basement. I was astonished by the large number of pieces and also by the high quality of some, but high bids and a considerable crowd of amateurs and dealers from all over Europe are expected. It will be a battle fought with thousand-franc notes. Will you be there?"[54] In London, Ressman discovered to his regret that "all the dealers of the universe will be meeting up."[55] Alarmed by the news, Riggs fired off a telegram: "Just back and hope to join you tomorrow in London—I would wish to buy today several pieces. Will you bid for me? What do you estimate for numbers 11-32-48-80-81-82-85-124-145-146-147. Will reply immediately fixing my choice after learning your estimation."[56] Unfortunately it was too late[57]—the sale had already begun—but Riggs was still able to pick up a few items.

Riggs often let significant pieces pass, despite Ressman's recommendations, because he was out of town or reluctant to invest too much money at once. It is difficult to guess the size of his fortune. Riggs had a reputation for drawing out his deals, relishing the art of negotiating, and seeking the best pieces at the lowest prices possible.[58] In January 1887, for example, Ressman told Riggs, who was again in Luchon, about a "Louis XIV" helmet and shield with a Medusa head in the middle (Figure 8), both of which were described in the catalogue for the sale of an anonymous collection.[59] Impressed by the catalogue description, Ressman encouraged Riggs not to let them go. Riggs responded with a telegram asking his friend to bid for him and specifying what he would pay: "excellent helmet of great effect: 3,500 at least and 1,500 for the shield." Unfortunately, they were bought by Bachereau for slightly more: the helmet fetched 3,600 and the shield 1,800. From Ressman's subsequent letter, long and almost apologetic, it is not difficult to imagine Riggs's chagrin at losing them. Ressman urged that the helmet was absolutely exceptional and that the shield appeared to have been complementary to it, but since he was advising Riggs by telegraph, he did not want to push him to spend too much. He considered the two pieces together worth at least 10,000 francs. Ressman thought that it still might be possible to secure them from Bachereau, but he advised Riggs to hurry up this time, since the two pieces were so attractive that they could easily have found a buyer.[60]

From a letter dated February 25, 1887, however, it is clear that Riggs was not only a tardy correspondent but also slow to purchase. Bachereau subsequently sold the two pieces to another client, the duc de Dino, and they eventually entered the Metropolitan Museum's collection.[61] A similar fate awaited the curly-haired burgonet by Filippo Negroli (Figure 9), offered at the Piot sale in May 1890.[62] Riggs let it go, but it, too, came to the Museum with the Dino collection.[63]

On a visit to the dealer August Henry's in October 1892, Ressman was impressed by a striking armor—one of a few securely identified as made for Henry II of France (r. 1547–59)—decorated with magnificent ornaments connected to Giovanni Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569).[64] Ressman wrote immediately to Riggs, urging him to buy the armor, which he said would otherwise go to Dino. Riggs again failed to take prompt action, and the armor was ultimately sold to the banker Sigismund Bardac, for a sum that Ressman did not know but turned out to be too high for Riggs, who apparently offered less.[65]

On March 22, 1892, Ressman wrote to Riggs about eight Borghese fauchards (glaives) he had seen in Rome the previous December, which he described as "splendid, magnificent, as fresh as if they had been finished yesterday, so beautiful that even I, and I do not particularly love polearms, would love to have one." He encouraged Riggs not to let pass "such an exceptional piece that since its birth had never left the Borghese palace," adding that in view of the wonderful quality, he would not have been surprised to see such fine objects in the Rothschild collection in Vienna or that of Dino.[66] Unfortunately, Riggs had nobody in Rome to buy for him, but the chance arose again the following year. In the spring of 1893, Bachereau told Ressman that he had just bought two Borghese fauchards in Rome and had sold Riggs one of "these marvelous pieces with works of damascening and the Borghese arms repeated all over." This is one of the two fauchards now in the Museum (Figure 10).[67]

9. Filippo Negroli (Italian, ca. 1510–1579). Burgonet *all'antica*. Italian (Milan), ca. 1530–35. Steel, copper alloy, and leather, H. 12¾ in. (32.5 cm), Wt. 2 lb. 2 oz. (967 g). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.202)

In the early nineties, the sale of the Spitzer collection—"the greatest sale of the century"[68]—became a recurring subject in Ressman's letters to Riggs. These documents offer exceptional insight into the taste of the time and the dynamics of an event that made newspaper headlines for years. Spitzer's armory would not be sold until 1895, separately from the rest of the collection, after nearly three years of negotiations.[69] In January 1893, before the start of the sale, Ressman reported: "I have not yet seen the catalogue of the Spitzer sale which costs 50 francs. In the meantime they announced that the sale will begin on April 15 and will last until June 17." A week later he wrote that the sale would begin April 17 and subsequently reported that "15,000

10. Fauchard of the Bodyguard of Cardinal Scipione Borghese-Caffarelli (1576–1633). Italy, ca. 1600–1610. Steel, copper, gold, silver, wood, textile, overall L. 108 in. (274 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.450). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

francs will be spent to fit out the mansion and cover the courtyard where the sale will take place."[70]

The event occurred at 33, rue Villejust (now rue Paul Valéry), where Spitzer had lived since 1878, and drew collectors, dealers, and the curious. After a tour through seven rooms on the first floor, guests entered the armory, where the auction was held under the hammer of Paul Chevallier.[71] In his preface to the sale catalogue, Émile Molinier observed that "not merely another collection of works of art was dispersed, but a museum, a true museum, among the most beautiful one could ever dream of."[72] Ressman, who followed the auction from day to day, was clearly enchanted by its splendors: "What is going on over the Spitzer sale is fantastic. They are taking in from 300 to 400 thousand francs a day and some of the objects have fetched crazy amounts. It can be foreseen that the total will be up to 8 or 9 million. The sections are very interesting but I have no time to attend."[73] To his regret, the public showed little interest in antique arms: "I am surprised that in spite of the immense traffic of amateurs and dealers coming to the Spitzer sale from all over the world, only a few of them seem to be interested in the arms."[74]

The ample proceeds of the auction's earlier sessions lessened the urgency for selling the armory.[75] In January 1895 Ressman indicated that he assumed that the sale of the arms would be held the following spring.[76] In April 1895, anticipating the sale on June 10–14, he reported: "I was told that rings of dealers have been forming to try to snatch the arms at low prices and afterwards be divided among them. Nevertheless I predict a very big total."[77] The expert for both the Spitzer sales (1893 and 1895) was Charles Mannheim.[78]

The sale of Spitzer's armory did not fetch record prices. The most expensive lots, bought by the duc de Dino, now form part of the Metropolitan Museum's collection.[79] As Edmond Bonnaffé pointed out in *La chronique des arts* of 1895, Spitzer had no sense of the "archéologie des armes," and in fact many of his pieces turned out to be, if not fakes, at least clear pastiches, giving rise to amusing anecdotes and concern to ingenuous collectors.[80] The most famous is probably the Gothic-style armor that Spitzer had bought years earlier from Louis Carrand (1821–1889), a pastiche constructed from disparate and partly modern pieces decorated in late fifteenth-century style that was already suspected by his contemporaries as a work "too good to be true."[81]

The last big event mentioned in the collectors' correspondence was the sale of the collection of the German businessman Richard Zschille at Christie's in January 1897, which included 862 pieces and was one of the last great arms sales in England before World War I.[82] Paris was covered in snow at the time, and Ressman, discouraged by the weather, decided not to travel to London.[83] As it turned out, only dealers, many from Germany, attended the sale.[84] Riggs's interest was focused on the Bentivoglio halberd, and he was advised by Ressman to rely on Bachereau to execute his bid.[85] At Riggs's request Ressman contacted Bachereau and confirmed the arrangements: "Bachereau will leave for London tomorrow. I told him about your desiderata. He knows the Bentivoglio halberd and says that it is a very beautiful piece, coming from the Richards collection, where more than 2,000 fr. was paid. He took note of your numbers, but he will not commit himself until you give him a firm commission."[86] Bachereau himself was in London for one day only, January 23, for the arms exhibition before the auction. He left his bids with a correspondent and departed. The entire Zschille sale fetched only £16,254. In the end Bachereau bought fourteen pieces, including the halberd, which Ressman urged him to acquire. Bachereau paid £62 for it and offered it to Riggs for 2,000 francs, which would have covered the commission and transportation fees.[87] For whatever reason, Riggs never followed up on it.

It is clear from his friend's letters that over the years Riggs missed important events and seemed gradually to lose enthusiasm, whereas Ressman never abandoned his passion in spite of advancing age and declining health.[88] The letters became increasingly intimate in tone but always included some lines referring to antique arms. During the twenty years covered by the correspondence, Bachereau remained the most illustrious dealer, few new pieces came on the market, and Ressman continually complained of the "stagnation" in interest.[89] In 1897 he lamented that "amateurs were becoming rarer and rarer," "nobody spoke about arms anymore, nobody was selling," and proclaimed, "A total eclipse!"[90] "All the amateurs are gone," he wrote in 1898.[91]

Until the end of his life, Ressman kept after his friend, "mon cher Willy," the "beau retardataire" (a reference to Riggs's tardy responses), whom Ressman would recall to his duties as a collector, prodding, "Riggs? ….. Rigggs ?? ………/ William Riggggs ???"[92] He frequently admonished Riggs for "Your long infidelity to the *armeria de la rue Murillo*," scolding him for having abandoned a "charming mansion and a splendid collection to the care of [his] old concierge."[93]

Ressman did not live to see his hopes fulfilled that Riggs would end his "purgative cure in Luchon," sell his house there, and return to Paris.[94] Only the omnipotent Morgan succeeded where Ressman had failed. In 1912 the Metropolitan Museum bought the house in Luchon for 400,000 francs in order to free Riggs to oversee the transfer of his armory to New York.[95] In 1920 the Museum sold the Grand Hôtel et Casino de Luchon for a mere 150,000 francs.[96] Riggs's armory, meanwhile, had become a cornerstone of the Metropolitan's arms and armor collection.

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NOTES

1. Dean 1924, p. 302n1.
2. "Metropolitan Buys Armor," *New York Times*, November 24, 1912, p. C4.
3. Dean 1914a, p. 66.
4. "Museum Gets Deed for Riggs Armor," *New York Times*, February 3, 1914, p. 10.
5. See the article by Stuart W. Pyhrr in the present volume.
6. "Riggs Armor Collection at the Metropolitan," *New York Times*, January 24, 1915, p. SM11; "Arms and Armor: The Opening of the Riggs Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Art and Progress* 6 (March 1915), pp. 146–50.
7. Ressman left his collection of arms and armor and his library to the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, following the example of his friend Louis Carrand (1821–1889), whose bequest had entered that museum in 1888. The only article on Ressman's collection is Supino 1902. The present article arose from my dissertation research devoted to Ressman and his collection at the Bargello and the taste for arms and armor collecting in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century; see Carrara 2008.
8. See "Un déjeuner d'amateurs," in Bonnaffé 1890, p. 29, and Beaumont 1878.
9. Important collections such as those of the Russian prince Alexei Soltykoff (1806–1859) and René de Belleval (see below) were added to the emperor's collection at the Château de Pierrefonds, the entire armory of which, apart from a helmet bought by Nieuwerkerke and now in the Wallace Collection in London (inv. 480), was transferred to the Musée de l'Armée at the Hôtel des Invalides, Paris; see Penguilly L'Haridon 1865. For the Soltykoff collection, see Soltykoff sale 1854 (517 pieces); Darcel 1861; Piot 1863, especially pp. 157–64; and Beaumont 1878, p. 518.
10. For the Nieuwerkerke collection, see Gautier 1858, pp. 69–70; Gaynor 1985; and Compiègne 2000–2001.
11. "Le commerce de la curiosité," in Bonnaffé 1878, pp. 59–123. See also Pyhrr 2007.

    Already in the 1870s, according to Édouard de Beaumont (1878, p. 516), "Il n'y a plus maintenant en France . . . de vrais collectionneurs d'armes, et il ne pourra plus y en avoir, par cette simple raison qu'il n'y a plus et qu'il n'y aura plus dans l'avenir d'armes à acheter" (There are not real arms and armor collectors in France anymore and there will not be any in the future, for the simple reason that there are not, and there will not be in the future, any arms and armor to buy). All translations from the French are by the author.
12. Belleval 1895, p. 275.
13. "M. Riggs, un riche américain qui, dit on, ne collectionne que pour envoyer après lui son musée s'enfouir au pays du pétrole, dont il vint à Paris vers 1868, si je ne me trompe. Il est la preuve vivante que l'originalité n'est pas le monopole des Anglais." Belleval 1895, p. 280.
14. He attended the Technische Hochschule in Dresden.
15. In a letter dated February 5, 1889, Ressman exclaimed to Baron de Cosson that, at the forthcoming Exposition Universelle, Riggs "parle d'exposer environ 2500 pièces, ce qui ne serait, dit-il, que la moitié du nombre qu'il possède" (speaks of exhibiting about 2,500 pieces, which would be, he says, only half of the number in his possession).
16. "Acclimatés à Paris comme dans une nouvelle patrie." Léo 1867, p. 1066.
17. "Un petit hotel de la rue Murillo, tout rempli d'hommes de fer et d'instruments de distinction." Ressman to Riggs, July 4, 1896.
18. Riggs bought the house on April 16, 1871, for 188,500 francs. See Françoise Maison in Compiègne 2000–2001, pp. 124–25.
19. "Une maison qui ne tire pas l'oeil." Quoted by Maison in Compiègne 2000–2001, p. 124.
20. "Il avait garni le hall de l'hôtel Nieuwerkerke d'une grande quantité de cottes de mailles et d'armes d'hast, c'est-à-dire de toutes les variétés de la famille des hallebardes. Quelques rares armures surmontaient ces trophées, le long desquels, sur une console faisant le tour de la galerie, étaient rangés des casques de toutes les époques et de tous les styles." "Éclectique dans ses goûts, M. Riggs ne s'attachait à aucune spécialité; il achetait de tout en fait d'armes, et lui aussi avait des caisses mystérieuses qui recélaient, ou du moins étaient censées recéler des richesses dont les profanes n'étaient pas autorisés à faire la connaissance." Belleval 1895, p. 281.
21. Dean 1914b, p. 71.
22. Jean-Baptiste Carrand came to exert a strong influence on Riggs's taste. An archivist from Lyons with a passion for medieval art objects, Carrand had settled in Paris after a trip to Italy in 1834–35. There he made a living from restorations and became acquainted with the wealthiest collectors. He moved back to Lyons, where he died in 1871. Apparently without compensation, Carrand helped Soltykoff assemble his *cabinet d'armes*, especially advising him on the acquisition of the Debruge-Duménil Collection (sold in 1850). In the meantime he was able to buy several pieces for himself. Little is known about his arms and armor collection, part of which was displayed in 1827 at the Hôtel de Ville in Lyons, while some of his swords appeared at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867. After Jean-Baptiste's death, his son Louis Carrand sold the bulk of the arms and armor collection to Spitzer (see below).

    See Piot 1863, p. 158; Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà 1989; and de Cosson 1901. For Carrand's controversial restorations, see Garmier 1980, especially p. 62n57. For Carrand as an arms and armor restorer, see Eudel 1907, pp. 68–69. For Riggs's overcleaning, see Beaumont 1878, p. 518.
23. "Selon moi, la première règle est celle d'éviter le système de Riggs et de ne jamais toucher, ni peu ni beaucoup, à l'intérieur des pièces d'armure anciennes." Ressman to de Cosson, November 23, 1890. Ressman uses the term "riggser" in his letter to de Cosson, February 5, 1889.

    On Riggs, restorations, and forgeries, see also Blair and Campbell 2008, especially pp. 26–30.
24. "Trésors cachés de grâce enchanteresse et de goût parfait." Jacquemart 1867, p. 551. Riggs's circle of friends included the architects Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) and Victor Gay (1820–1887; see below and note 44); the director of the imperial collection of arms and armor Octave Penguilly L'Haridon; the English collector Sir Richard Wallace; the aforementioned superintendent of fine arts the comte de Nieuwerkerke; Prince A. P. Basilewsky; the aforementioned marquis de Belleval; and

the painters Édouard de Beaumont, Gustave Doré, Henri Pille, Mariano Fortuny, and Jean-Léon Gérôme.

25. Ressman was born in Trieste (Italy) in 1832. After attending the University of Vienna and the University of Paris, he graduated in law studies and pursued a diplomatic career. His work took him to London and Istanbul. Ressman was forced to retire when he came under suspicion of involvement in the Dreyfus affair as a Dreyfusard.
26. "Un vieux Parisien endurci et tout à fait incorrigible." Ressman to Riggs, August 17, 1878.
27. "Aime se promener sur les boulevards vers cinq heures de l'après-midi. Sagement économe, ne recevra pas beaucoup. Très peu gourmand, déjeune au Grand-Hôtel, à prix fixe." From an unidentified newspaper clipping in Riggs's correspondence in the Department of Arms and Armor.
28. "Le plaisir de chasser ou meme de voir des armes anciennes inconnues." Ressman to Riggs, March 1, 1896.
29. "Dans la passion du fer." Ressman to Riggs, May 18, 1884. In addition to the two extensive blocks of correspondence (approximately one hundred letters each) with Riggs and de Cosson, the documents in the correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor, include scattered letters to dealers and collectors all over Europe but mostly those based in France.
30. Beaumont 1878, p. 706; Breban 1878. The exposition was installed in the two wings of the Palais du Trocadéro. The "Exposition historique de l'art ancien," in the left wing, was divided into ten sections with a president for each. Colonel Leclerc, curator of the Musée d'Artillerie, was the president of section 6, Armes et Armures. Detailed information is in *La chronique des arts* for that year.
31. Blanc 1859; Bonnaffé 1890, p. 5.
32. Riggs exhibited his collection again at the Exposition Universelle in 1889 and 1900. Ressman to de Cosson, February 5, 1889; Ressman to Riggs, June 15, 1889; Ressman to de Cosson, January 27, 1890.
33. Ressman to Riggs, July 26, 1878. Ressman reassured him: "Tout était en parfait état dans votre belle salle. Pas un grain de poussière, ni un point de rouille." (Everything was perfect in your beautiful gallery. Neither a grain of dust nor a spot of rust.) Ressman to Riggs, August 17, 1878.
34. "La collection de M. Riggs . . . offre dans son arrangement tous les mérites du gout. Elle occupe, elle aussi, une salle entière, et lá brillent certaines pièces du plus grand intérêt par leurs dates et leur pureté de forme." Beaumont 1878, pp. 518–19.
35. After traveling Europe and dealing in art objects, Spitzer moved in 1852 to Paris. He had a preference for medieval and Renaissance art. After the Exposition Universelle of 1878, where he exhibited four hundred of his works, he was made a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. See also Hackenbroch 1984–85, especially pp. 171–72.
36. "Roi des marchands"; "incommodé par votre redoutable voisinage, a faite des efforts de géant pour donner plus de relief à sa salle. Il y placé une nouvelle vitrine d'horlogerie, et a fait construire quatre vitrines hautes et carrées pour y mettre debout ses carabines et ses épées choisies. Du reste, remaniement des armures, des dagues, des poudrières, etc. mais tout cela n'empêche pas les amateurs de mettre des lunettes quand ils arrivent au bazar." "A fait dire à tout le monde que <u>vous</u> aviez eu la main heureuse de le début, de la première inspiration, et aujourd'hui tous vous accordent la palme pour les armes. Je ne flatte pas: je constate un fait." Ressman to Riggs, July 26, 1878. Ressman revisited the exposition several times (Ressman to Riggs, August 17, 1878; Ressman to Riggs, September 1, 1878).
37. "Il n'y avait pas non plus à Paris de marchands spéciaux, accapareurs de cette branche de la curiosité, comme on l'a vu depuis, et qui sont arrivés à faire monter le prix des armes au-dessus de toute proportion, je ne dirai pas raisonnable, mais seulement sensée." Belleval 1895, p. 273.
38. Cripps-Day 1925, p. lxii.
39. The usual collectors' complaints occur in several of Ressman's letters to Riggs. See December 14, 1878; September 1880; May 22, 1881; August 9, 1881; August 31, 1881. Ressman's visits in London are either mentioned in the correspondence or documented by the receipts for purchases made.

    From Riggs's correspondence and receipts we know that from 1821 Bachereau was a dealer in antique arms and armor, furniture, and art obiects, at 18, boulevard des Batignolles. He later moved to 35, rue Laffitte. In 1888, after Bachereau died, his widow and his brother inherited the business. The new shop opened in rue de Provence in 1890 and later moved to rue Le Peletier. See Ressman to Riggs, October 30, 1888.

    Henry had been the official wig furnisher to the Orléans family, hence the name "le chapelier." Famous for his refined taste, he began by selling court swords. See the "Extrait du Journal des Arts," in Henry sale 1886, preface.
40. "Trouvaille étourdissante." Ressman to Riggs, December 14, 1878.
41. Ressman to Riggs, May 24, 1880. *Collection de M. de L***, Objets d'art et de haute curiosité*, commissaire-priseur Ch. Pillet, expert Ch. Mannheim (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 1, 1880). Lots 10, 15, and 31 are checked in blue pencil in Riggs's copy of the catalogue (now in the Department of Arms and Armor) with Ressman's notes: "10: très bon; 15: Bavière intéressante à cause de la maille qui est restée attachée d'un côté; 31: très rare." (10: very good; 15: interesting bevor by reason of some mail still attached on the side; 31: very rare).
42. "Je n'ai pas acheté, a votre intention, et seulement à cause de prix minime auquel elles ont été adjugées, que deux pièces dans le numéro que vous m'avez indiqués, c'est-à-dire la petite bavière avec attache de maille sur un coté (n. 15) et l'épieu de guerre (n. 31). J'ai payé la première pièce 39 fr. 90 c. et la seconde 25 fr. 20c., les frais compris, ce qui fait une dépense totale de 65 francs 10c. Si elles vous conviennent, ces deux pièces seront à votre disposition à ce prix, quand nous nous reverront, sinon je le garderai volontiers pour moi. . . . J'ai ensuite acheté <u>en commun</u> avec Mr. Gay, pour l'empêcher de surenchérir, le pavois no. 10, un peu moins haut que le vôtre qui est dessiné dans l'ouvrage de Viollet Le Duc." Ressman to Riggs, June 10, 1880.

    The pavise was listed in the sale catalogue (see note 41 above): "Grand pavois d'arbalétrier, du XV^{e} siècle, à longue cannelure verticale, muni de ses énarmes; il est couvert de toile et double en peau de truie. L'extérieur, entièrement peint, est décoré de deux blasons sur les parties latérales. Reproduit par Viollet-le-Duc dans son *Dictionnaire du mobilier*. Haut., 1 m, 05." See Viollet-le-Duc 1875, p. 219. The pavise reproduced by Viollet-le-Duc was already in Riggs's collection. Riggs had bought it at the Spengel sale at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 4–6, 1869, lot 101, formerly MMA 14.25.775. It was subsequently found to have been extensively repainted and as a consequence was deaccessioned at Sotheby's, New York, January 12, 1993, lot 409.
43. "Je me suis empressé d'aller hier Rue Murillo et me suis fait ouvrir la galerie par votre concierge. J'ai pu m'assurer que le pavois de Mr. Gay ne sera pas une mauvaise acquisition pour vous, soit parce qu'il n'est pas beaucoup plus petit que les vôtres, soit parce qu'il est bien complet et entre bon état de conservation. Les énarmes y sont et n'ont besoin que d'un peu de restauration aux

attaches, et avec une très légère conche de vernis le pavois fera excellent figure, ce sont actuellement la poussière et la saleté l'empêchent. . . . En outre, ces pièces sont devenues tellement rares ou plutôt introuvables, elles sont si précieuses dans une grande collection, que je n'ai plus hésité à conclure le marché pour vous." Ressman to Riggs, June 19, 1880.

44. MMA 14.25.776. After studying in one of the latest courses given by Alexandre Lenoir, Gay steeped himself in the antiquarian culture of the midcentury, became an architect, and worked with Viollet-le-Duc. He soon abandoned that career to pursue his aim of writing a glossary of the arts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The *Glossaire archéologique* was originally conceived as an alphabetic repertoire of brief texts and images. For this purpose, he started collecting all sorts of art objects for reproduction in the book. Gay was only able to finish the first volume of the *Glossaire*, the first two issues of which were published in 1883. As revealed in the correspondence between Ressman and Riggs, Gay (himself a collector) turned out to be a very close friend of both. The letters show high expectations for the publication of the *Glossaire*, unfortunately delayed by Gay's poor health. Both Ressman and Riggs were much involved in the book's genesis: they not only allowed Gay to reproduce objects in their own collections but also were asked for their advice on the text. The second volume of the *Glossaire* was published in 1928.

45. "Si l'on a besoin de vendre, notre embarras redouble. Les amours-propres sont terriblement chatouilleux." Burty 1867, p. 956.

46. "Le jour de la vente ou paraîtront mes objets n'est pas éloigné, mais n'est pas encore fixé. Des que j'aurai le catalogue, je vous l'enverrai. Environ 35 numéros sont a moi, et je regrette vivement que vous ne soyez pas ici, car plusieurs de mes pièces sont <u>excellentes</u>. . . . Toutes les dagues que j'ai confiées à Mannheim (une dizaine) seraient absolument dignes de figurer dans la meilleure collection. . . . Enfin, je voudrais être plutôt acquéreur que vendeur. Mais en ce bas monde on ne fait pas toujours ce que l'on veut." Ressman to Riggs, May 9, 1882.

47. "Je pense que vous devez donner vos ordres par le télégraphe si vous voulez acquérir l'une ou l'autre. Je ne sais pas de tout ce qu'il y aura, en dehors de mes pièces, à la vente, mais je pense qu'il n'y aura d'autres <u>armes</u> que les miennes." Ressman to Riggs, May 11, 1882.

48. "A l'exception du pistolet no. 3, dont le canon et la batteria sont superbes, mais dont le bois, sauf le pommeau, est neuf, et à l'exception du pulvérin no. 17, qui est décidément faux, <u>toutes</u> les autres pièces sont absolument bonnes et authentiques. J'ai marqué avec deux traits rouges les pièces que vous ne laisseriez sûrement pas échapper, si vous étiez ici, et avec un trait celles également excellents, mais qui viennent en seconde ligne, à mon goût. Je regrette vivement votre absence, je le répète, pour vous autant que pour moi-même, car j'aimerais voir entrer dans votre splendide collection quelques-unes des pièces dont je me sépare le plus à contrecœur que je ne retrouverai certes plus au prix ou elles se vendront. Cependant, vous pouvez donner vos ordres à qui vous voudrez en toute sécurité, car je n'ai pas mis des prix de réserve." Ressman to Riggs, May 14, 1882.

49. MMA 14.25.720. The transaction is confirmed by a note among his papers in the correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor: "Acheté de mon ami Monsieur Charles [*sic*] Ressman, le 16 avril 82, une demie armure à bandes blanches sur fond noir, composé de: 1) Bourguignotte avec sa coiffe du temps; 2) Collier en velours noir; 3) Hausse col à épaulières; 4) Plastron et Dossière; 5) Tassettes jambières; 6) Gantelets avec gants du temps. Le tout poinçonné de l'estampille de Nuremberg. Cette demi armure de la fin du XVI siècle est d'une remarquable conservation et provient du château de la famille patricienne Pfinzing. Payé par chèque No. D. 18310 on 31 mai, 1882, à l'ordre de M. Ressman. Riggs. Frs. 1000." The Library of the Royal Armouries in Leeds owns the original bill proving that Ressman had bought it from the dealer in Nuremberg on July 1, 1880.

50. "L'arbalète, le brise-lame, la brayette, le centurion gothique." Ressman to Riggs, May 20, 1882. The sale was *Objets d'art et de curiosité* (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 17, 1882).

51. Unfortunately, on the day of the sale Ressman, hindered by his health, was unable to go to Drouot but related that things had gone better for the buyers than for the seller. On June 18, from Vichy, Ressman wrote again to Riggs, recalling that he had asked Mannheim to buy the objects in which Riggs was interested as if they were for Ressman himself, in order to help him save money.

52. "La collection . . . a été formée par un entrepreneur de plomberie, M. Bécoulet, a qui toutes les pièces presque ont été vendue par Bacherau. On pourrait donc l'appeler la collection Bachereau. . . . A peu près tout y est bon, et plusieurs pièces sont excellentes bien qu'il n'y ait aucun grand premier numéro. Vous pourriez y dépenser facilement et avec plaisir <u>au moins</u> une vingtaine de mille francs. Il y a plus de 100 épées de cour, quelques-unes fort belles. Il est à prévoir que la majorité de celles-ci se donneront à vil prix." Ressman to Riggs, June 2, 1883. See *Collection Bécoulet: Armes européennes*, sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 6–9, 1883. Riggs's annotated copy of the catalogue is in the Department of Arms and Armor.

53. *Collection of Armour and Arms, Carvings in Ivory*, sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, July 4–6, 9–11, 1888.

54. "Avez-vous eu le catalogue de la collection Londesborough? . . . Le jour même de grand prix de Paris, c'est-à-dire le 10 juin, je suis parti pour Londres et pendant les trois jours que j'y ai passés j'ai pu jeter sur cette collection un coup d'œil dans les caves de Christie. J'ai été étonné du grand nombre des pièces et aussi la qualité de quelques-unes; mais ou prévoyait des enchères fort élevées et un concours considérable d'amateurs et de marchands de tous les coins de l'Europe. Ce sera une lutte non pas à coups de lires sterling, mais à coups de billets de mille. Comptez-vous vous y rendre?" Ressman to Riggs, June 24, 1888.

55. "Car tous les marchands de l'Univers se sont donné rendez-vous." Ressman to Riggs, July 2, 1888.

56. Riggs to Ressman, July 4, 1888 (in English). The following day Riggs responded to Ressman, telling him to go ahead and buy some pieces for him.

57. A basinet that Ressman had recommended as "unique" later came to the Museum with the Dino collection. Number 441 of the catalogue, described as "a pig-faced bascinet, very rare. From the castle of Herr von Hulshoff, Bavaria," for which Riggs paid 405 francs, is MMA 04.3.238. Ressman marked with a blue pencil some objects in Riggs's copy of the catalogue and in his own copy (today in the library of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, inv. 325).

58. Belleval 1895, p. 278.

59. Ressman to Riggs, January 24, 1887.

60. Ressman to Riggs, January 28, 1887.

61. De Cosson 1901, p. 109, nos. 7, 8 (MMA 04.3.259, 260). See also the article by Stuart W. Pyhrr in the present volume.

62. Ressman to Riggs, May 22, 1890. Piot sale 1890, lot 282. This burgonet has often been confused with the helmet bought by Basilewsky at *Collection Mariano Fortuny Marsal* (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 30, 1875), lot 20, and now in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

63. De Cosson 1901, no. B26 (MMA 04.3.202). See the catalogue entry in Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, pp. 132–34.
64. See the article by Stuart W. Pyhrr in the present volume. See also Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, pp. 240–47.
65. The armor had belonged to the collector Charles Stein (1840–1899). Ressman to Riggs, August 10, 1894; Ressman to Riggs, March 6, 1895.
66. "Splendides, magnifiques, frais comme s'ils venaient d'être terminées d'hier, si beaux que moi-même qui n'aime pas les armes d'hast voudrais bien en avoir un." "Laisser échapper cette occasion d'enrichir votre collection d'une arme exceptionnelle, superbe et qui depuis sa naissance n'a jamais quitté le palais Borghese. Tout le travail de damasquiner est admirables et les armes répétées des Borghese charmantes." Ressman to Riggs, March 22, 1892.
67. Ressman to Riggs, April 11, 1893. The second work, MMA 54.46.16, is from the Stuyvesant collection.
68. "La plus grande vente du siècle" (Molinier 1893).
69. In the meantime Ressman tried to obtain a catalogue for his friends. Ressman to de Cosson, May 29, 1892; Ressman to Riggs, August 4, 1892. Thanks to Madame Spitzer's intervention, he obtained a copy for Riggs. Ressman to Riggs, September 19, 1892.
70. "Je n'ai pas encore vu le catalogue de la vente Spitzer qui coûtez 50 francs. Cependant, on annonce que la vente va commencer le 15 avril et durera jusqu'au 17 juin." Ressman to Riggs, January 30, 1893. "La vente Spitzer va commencer le 17 avril. On dépense 15000 francs pour aménager l'hôtel et couvrir la cour ou la vente se fera. Le catalogue n'a pas encore paru." Ressman to Riggs, February 8, 1893.
71. The walls were covered with tapestries and paintings while the objects were displayed in vitrines. The visitor would then reach the arms and armor gallery—"le sancta sanctorum" or "le bouquet du feu d'artifice, le dernier triomphe de la collection," as Edmond Bonnaffé defined it. On the walls the tapestries surmounted a boiserie with panoplies framed by helmets on the top. More than six hundred pieces (acquired from the Fontaine, Londesborough, and Hamilton sales) were at the center of this "masculine and severe decoration." The catalogue was a major concern for Spitzer, who had personally chosen the best experts, photographers, designers, and editors to work on it. Spitzer lived to see published only the first of the six magnificent volumes that illustrated his collection. Bonnaffé 1890, pp. 25–26.
72. "Ce n'est point une réunion plus ou moins heureusement composée qui va se disperser. C'est un musée, un vrai musée, l'un des plus beaux que l'on puisse rêver." Molinier 1893, p. XXIV.
73. "Ce qui se passe à la vente Spitzer est fantastique. On y fait de 300 à 400 mille francs par jour et quelques objets se paient des prix fous. On prévoit que le total montera à 8 ou 9 millions. Les séances sont fort intéressantes, mais le temps de le suivre me manque." Ressman to Riggs, April 27, 1893.

    Gerard Reitlinger (1965, p. 191) observed that the Spitzer auction, comparable in terms of richness only to the Bernal sale of 1855, produced the highest proceeds with the exception of the *Collection Jacques Doucet* (sale, Galerie George Petit, Paris, June 5–8, 1912). Its 3,369 lots earned more than nine million francs in thirty-eight days.
74. "Je suis étonné de voir que malgré l'immense affluence d'amateurs et de marchands de toutes les parties du monde à la vente Spitzer, si peu d'entre eux paraissent d'intéresser aux armes." Ressman to de Cosson (Leeds), April 24, 1893.
75. At some point the Spitzer armory was to be sold en bloc. De Cosson, who intended to sell his own collection, considered waiting until the Spitzer sale was over, but Christie's representatives recommended he take advantage of the weeklong break in the Spitzer sale. The de Cosson sale was at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, on May 3–5, 1893. Ressman to de Cosson, July 26, 1893. At the time Ressman asked the baron's advice about the advisability of selling some of his own collection while the Spitzer sale was in progress. Ressman to de Cosson, October 25, 1893.
76. Ressman to Riggs, January 20, 1895.
77. "On me dit qu'il s'est déjà formé des groupes des marchands qui tacheront d'avoir les objets à vil prix et feront la révision entre eux. Néanmoins je prévois un très gros total." Ressman to Riggs, April 17, 1895.
78. See Eudel 1885, chap. 11, pp. 123–25. See also Spitzer sale 1895.
79. De Cosson 1901.
80. Bonnaffé 1890, p. 29. See Appendix 1 in the article by Stuart W. Pyhrr in the present volume.
81. Eudel 1907, pp. 68–69; Beard 1932. See Figure 53 in Appendix 1 in the article by Stuart W. Pyhrr in the present volume.
82. Cripps-Day 1925, p. lxv. Richard Zschille's huge collection, well illustrated in a folio publication in 1892, was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago and at the Imperial Institute in London in 1896. See Grossenhain 2006.
83. Ressman to Riggs, January 12, 1897. Ressman would have preferred Riggs to be present and do his own bidding.
84. Ressman to Riggs, February 9, 1897.
85. Ressman to Riggs, January 20, 1897.
86. "Bachereau partira demain pour Londres. Je lui ai fait part de vos desiderata. Il connaît la hallebarde Bentivoglio et dit que c'est une fort belle pièce provenant de la vente Richards ou elle a été payée plus de 2000 fr. Il a pris note de vos numéros; mais naturellement il ne reste engagé à rien puisque vous ne lui avez point donné de commissions fermes." Ressman to Riggs, January 20, 1897.
87. Ressman to Riggs, February 3, 1897.
88. During the last years of his life Ressman remained close to de Cosson and Dino and would write about them to Riggs. Even in his last letter, when he was very ill, he reported that de Cosson was still searching for arms to acquire.
89. Ressman to Riggs, September 6, 1898.
90. "Les amateurs deviennent de plus en plus rares." Ressman to Riggs, November 4, 1897; "On n'en parle plus, personne n'en a, personne n'en vente. C'est l'éclipse totale." Ressman to Riggs, December 20, 1897.
91. Ressman to Riggs, February 11, 1898.
92. Ressman to Riggs, July 4, 1896.
93. "Votre longue infidélité à l'armeria de la rue Murillo." Ressman to Riggs, January 23, 1897; "charmant hôtel et une splendide collection." Ressman to Riggs, December 12, 1895; Ressman to Riggs, February 9, 1897.
94. Ressman to Riggs, August 25, 1897.
95. Two weeks after signing the deed of gift, Riggs sailed back to France. He died August 31, 1924, at Parc de la Pique, Bagnères-de-Luchon.
96. Strouse 1999, p. 496.

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Armor for America: The Duc de Dino Collection

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Dedicated to the Department of Arms and Armor on its centennial, 1912–2012

In April 1904 The Metropolitan Museum of Art made its first important acquisition of arms and armor, purchasing en bloc the collection of Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Dino (1843–1917). Assembled in France during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Dino collection comprised almost five hundred pieces that included armors, weapons, equestrian equipment, and related items, the majority of them richly embellished European works dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the *haute epoque* favored by nineteenth-century collectors. At the time it was considered the finest private collection of arms and armor in Europe and, in light of the rapidly diminishing supply of high-quality antique arms on the art market, perhaps the last of its kind. Not surprisingly, the local press greeted this acquisition with considerable fanfare (Figure 1). What was not public knowledge at the time, however, was that the Museum had purchased the collection sight unseen, based solely on the enthusiastic recommendation of one of its trustees, and without reference to Dino's privately published catalogue.[1] Nevertheless, the Museum committed the largest sum paid to date for a single acquisition, just over $250,000.

With that bold move the Metropolitan Museum acquired an arms and armor collection of international repute and one of its most romantically appealing and perennially popular exhibits. The Dino collection provided the foundation upon which the Museum's holdings would ultimately become one of the largest and most encyclopedic collections of arms and armor. The purchase also prompted the Museum in 1904 to appoint as guest curator a respected scientist and arms and armor enthusiast, Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928). Dean was named honorary curator in 1906, and the position became permanent (and paid) when the trustees established the Department of Arms and Armor on October 28, 1912. Dean set about expanding the Museum's holdings, and his numerous publications and public lectures on the subject established a widespread recognition of the field as a branch of art history. As a result, the Metropolitan came to be acknowledged as the major center for the collecting and study of arms and armor in the United States and the model that many other American museums would seek to emulate.

Despite the seminal importance of the Dino collection, its acquisition does not figure prominently in published histories of the Metropolitan.[2] The notable exception is Calvin Tomkin's *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, published in 1970, in which an anecdotal and somewhat romanticized account of the Dino purchase is related.[3] There are several reasons for this oversight. The Dino collection came to the Museum before the arrival of Bashford Dean and long before the establishment of the curatorial department. The purchase was made quickly and with the authorization of only a small number of administrators and trustees, with the result that the documentation, preserved in the Museum's Archives, consists solely of telegrams, memoranda, and the handwritten minutes of the purchasing and executive committees. The collector himself, the duc de Dino, was a minor historical figure who has attracted little scholarly attention. The Dino collection has also been overshadowed by the rapid growth of the Museum's arms and armor holdings under the dynamic curatorships of Dean and his successor, Stephen V. Grancsay (1897–1980), in the years leading up to World War II. Much greater emphasis has been placed on subsequent acquisitions of larger size, notably the collections of William H. Riggs (1913), Bashford Dean (1928–29), and George Cameron Stone (1935). Finally, modern scholarship has revealed that some of the better-known and most frequently published Dino objects are composites or outright fakes, thus tarnishing the glowing reputation the collection once enjoyed (see Appendix 1 to this article).

Metropolitan Museum Journal 47


The Duc de Dino Collection of Armor
Recently Purchased for $400,000 by the Metropolitan Museum, New York City

1. Announcement of the Metropolitan Museum's acquisition of the duc de Dino collection. *New York Times*, May 15, 1904, p. 11

THE DUC DE DINO

The duc de Dino is principally remembered today for the collection of arms and armor that he assembled and sold to the Metropolitan Museum. Even before the sale the collection was known internationally owing to the privately printed catalogue authored by the respected English authority Baron de Cosson and published in 1901.[4] In his day Dino was better known in academic and literary circles as an author; in politics as an aristocrat turned Republican; in the art world as a collector of paintings, decorative arts, and occasional antiquities as well as antique arms; and in the society pages as the husband of two American heiresses. Calvin Tomkins aptly summed him up as "a dedicated bon vivant, a womanizer, and a collector of armor—three rather costly hobbies whose demands often exceeded his means."[5]

Charles Maurice Camille, 2nd marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, 4th duc de Dino, was born on January 25, 1843, the second son of Edmond André, marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, 3rd duc de Dino (1813–1894).[6] The Talleyrands traced their lineage to the sovereign counts of Périgord in the twelfth century. The most illustrious member of the house—Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838)—held a number of grand titles, among them bishop of Autun, prince of Benevento, and grand chamberlain and minister of foreign affairs to Napoleon I and subsequently to the restored French monarchy. In 1815 King Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies awarded him the title duc de Dino in recognition of his services at the Congress of Vienna, and in 1817 Talleyrand passed on the title to his nephew Alexandre-Edmond (1787–1872), from whom it descended through the latter's direct heirs.

The earlier part of Dino's life was spent in military service, which may account to some degree for his subsequent interest in antique arms. He was part of the French expeditionary force sent by Napoleon III to Mexico in 1862 and took part in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. He traveled widely in the United States, and in 1876 he served as one of the commissioners for the French delegation to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Despite his ancient lineage, he converted to the Republican cause, calling himself Citizen Périgord for a time, and flirted with socialism. He subsequently became something of an amateur artist, archaeologist, and writer; he published a number of political essays, volumes of poetry, and, late in life, a children's book.[7]

Dino's familiarity with the United States extended to the highest social circles, and he was married to two American heiresses. In 1867 he wed Elizabeth Curtis of Boston, by whom he had his only child, Palma (1871–1952), who in 1890 married Prince Mario Ruspoli, prince of Poggio Suasa. Dino's wife divorced him in 1886, retaining her title of marquise de Tallyrand-Périgord. Several years earlier, however, Dino had become enamored with Adele Stevens (née Livingston Sampson), reputedly one of the richest women in America, who abandoned her husband and traveled openly with the duke in Europe. She divorced her husband in 1886 and married Dino on January 25, 1887.

Stevens was said to have brought her new husband a dowry of three million dollars.[8] She in turn insisted on an augmented title to distinguish her from his first wife, so the groom's father transferred his title of duc de Dino to his son on his wedding day. The union ostracized the couple from American society; in a *New York Times* article of January 27, 1887, the writer expressed shock at Stevens's having abandoned her husband for "a Frenchman of no particular personal attractions, . . . being short and rather stout and decidedly ordinary-looking, and being moreover supposed to be deeply in debt."[9] Dino's second marriage followed the pattern of his first: Stevens divorced him in 1903.

Outside the field of arms and armor the duc de Dino was a modest collector of paintings and decorative arts.[10] The Dino collection at the Metropolitan also includes a small number of medieval objects that do not strictly qualify as arms and armor but were appreciated by the duke as artifacts belonging to the same chivalric culture and, hence, were included in both the 1901 catalogue and the Museum's 1904 purchase. The most important of these are two carved ivory signal horns, or oliphants, as well as more than 150 fourteenth- and fifteenth-century enameled copper-alloy plaques and pendants, the majority of which were originally intended as decorative fittings for horse harnesses (Figure 2).[11] The finer of the two oliphants is thought to have

2. Enameled badges and horse-harness pendants, a bit, and an oliphant, from the duc de Dino collection. From de Cosson 1901, pl. 22

3. Oliphant and storage case. Oliphant, southern Italy, ca. 1100–1150. Ivory, with later silver mounts, L. 22 in. (55.9 cm). Storage case, probably French, 15th century. Leather, L. 21 in. (53.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.177a, b). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

been made by Muslim craftsmen working for the Normans in southern Italy in the first half of the twelfth century. It appears to have been kept in a Benedictine monastery in or near Dijon, and it is accompanied by a fitted storage case of tooled leather, which was probably made for it in France in the fifteenth century (Figure 3).[12] This beautifully carved horn is, in fact, one of the rarest and most valuable objects in the collection.

Dino also demonstrated an interest in archaeology and antiquities. He was reported to be in Egypt in the winter of 1892–93 to assist in the excavation of the Greek city of Heliopolis, located on the outskirts of Cairo.[13] He made at least two trips to the Greek island of Cyprus, then under Turkish control, the first in March 1897 and the second in the following spring. On the first trip he acquired what has since become known as the first Lambousa treasure (or the first Cyprus treasure), an important hoard of Byzantine silver vessels and table implements (Figure 4). He sold most of the treasure, composed of twenty-eight pieces, through his agent, Baron de Cosson, to the British Museum for £500 in 1899. The first Lambousa treasure was an acquisition of major importance for the British Museum.[14]

Dino's visits to Cyprus also yielded two apparently unrelated archaeological finds. One is a belt buckle of gilt copper set with garnets, a pre-Byzantine work of the sixth or seventh century A.D., which he gave to his fellow arms collector Costantino Ressman (1832–1899) on April 28, 1898, indicating Cyprus as its source.[15] The buckle was retained by Ressman and now forms part of the collection he bequeathed in 1899 to the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence (inv. R256). The other piece, disparagingly referred to by Dino as a "rusty morion," is in fact the upper half of a deep, two-piece "great sallet" of the fifteenth cen-

4. The first Lambousa treasure of Byzantine silver vessels and table implements, sold to the British Museum by the duc de Dino in 1899. Photograph: Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

5. Upper half of a two-piece sallet found on Cypress by the duc de Dino. Probably Italian, 15th century. Steel, H. 8⅜ in. (21.3 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. R2. Photograph: Museo Nazionale del Bargello

tury (Figure 5). This is an exceedingly rare type of helmet of which the principal surviving examples are from the armor hoard discovered about 1840 at Chalcis, on the Greek island of Euboea, the former Venetian colony of Negroponte.[16] The Chalcis armor is now principally divided between the National Historical Museum in Athens and the Metropolitan Museum. The Dino work confirms the likelihood that this helmet type, apparently unknown on the Italian peninsula, was fabricated and used principally in the eastern Mediterranean region. Despite the rarity and the importance that specialists assign to it today, the helmet evidently disappointed Dino, who presented it to Ressman in Paris on April 17, 1898; like the buckle, the helmet forms part of Ressman's bequest to the Bargello (inv. R. 2).[17]

6. Wolfgang Grosschedel (active ca. 1517–62). Composite armor incorporating pieces from the "Cloud Bands" garniture of Philip II of Spain. German (Landshut), 1554, with other German (Augsburg) elements, ca. 1550, and later restorations. Steel, gold, and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.278)

FORMATION AND SOURCES OF THE DINO COLLECTION

The duc de Dino appears to have left no written account of his activity as a collector, nor were any dealers' invoices or receipts preserved with the collection. The printed catalogue is only marginally helpful in this regard: of the three hundred entries, fewer than half cite provenance. Some insight as to the formation of the collection can, however, be gleaned from references to Dino in the surviving correspondence of several friends or contemporary collectors, notably de Cosson, Ressman, William Henry Riggs,[18] and the Parisian amateur Jean-Jacques Reubell.

It is not known exactly when Dino became interested in antique arms or what attracted him to the subject, but by 1884 he had seriously entered the field, and by 1900 he seems to have considered his collection complete. In just sixteen years he collected almost five hundred items, among them some of the most important and costly arms to come on to the art market. There can be little doubt that his goal was to buy only the most important and representative pieces available and that he was attracted to simple, powerful, and usually unadorned armor of the fifteenth century as well as to the elaborately embellished Renaissance arms so much in vogue at the time. To what extent he depended on his second wife's fortune in this pursuit cannot be judged.

The earliest evidence of Dino's interest in armor dates from 1884, when the famous Fountaine collection was sold at Christie's, London (June 16–19). Although the collection is remembered principally for its important holdings of Italian majolica assembled by the connoisseur Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753), it also contained a small but choice group of arms put together by Sir Andrew's descendant and namesake (d. 1873) in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Many of the Fountaine arms came from Spain and were among the elements of armor stolen from the Real Armería in Madrid that had been brought to London for sale at Christie's in 1839 and 1840.[19] From the Fountaine collection Dino acquired his most important armor, a composite harness that incorporates pieces belonging to the "Cloud Bands" garniture, which was made in 1554 by the distinguished armorer Wolfgang Grosschedel of Landshut (Figure 6) for the future Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98) on the occasion of that prince's travel to England to wed Mary Tudor.[20] The majority of Philip's garniture, composed of five armors with numerous exchange and reinforcing pieces for field and tournament use, remains in the Real Armería (inv. nos. A.243–.262).[21] The elements of Philip II's harness incorporated into the Fountaine armor include an open-faced helmet (burgonet), shoulder and arm defenses, gauntlets, complete leg defenses, and portions of a manifer (gauntlet for the tilt)—a mix of disparate elements intended for field, infantry, and tournament use that would never have been

7. Saddle. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1570–80. Wood, textile, iron, leather, steel, silver, and gold, 21½ x 25¼ x 24½ in. (54.6 x 64.1 x 62.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.252)

8. Composite armor for field and tournament. German (Augsburg), ca. 1550–55, with later restorations. Steel, gold, copper alloy, leather, and textile. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.280, 282, 284, 285, 288, 479)

worn together. The ensemble is completed by an associated breastplate and backplate, each of different design but both of Augsburg workmanship about 1550–55. The Philip II elements are readily distinguished for their exquisitely etched and gilt ornament of undulating "Cloud Bands" design.

Though the royal provenance of the Fountaine armor was not acknowledged in the sale catalogue, armor aficionados no doubt recognized its historical importance, which accounts for its substantial price of £472 (about 11,800 francs), the highest sum paid for any of the armor lots. According to the annotations by William Riggs in his copy of the sale catalogue in the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Arms and Armor, the armor was purchased by the Parisian dealer Bachereau, who resold it immediately afterward to Dino for a reputed 25,000 francs. The price was significant at the time and demonstrates Dino's ambition as a fledgling collector.

Dino was buying on his own account at the next important sale of antique arms, that of the Vaïsse collection from Marseilles, held at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 5–8, 1885. The duke's agent, the dealer Pujol, bought six lots for a total of more than 20,000 francs.[22] Among these were the two most expensive items, an etched and gilt Italian saddle of about 1570–80, which preserves its original velvet-covered seat (Figure 7), and a mid-sixteenth-century French combination mace and wheellock pistol comparable to one formerly in the French royal collection.[23]

A few years later, in 1888, Dino made even more important purchases at the auction of Lord Londesborough's collection, a large and eclectic assemblage of works of art that included more than six hundred lots of arms, dispersed at Christie's, London, over six days, July 4–6 and July 9–11. Dino's purchases, made through Bachereau, consisted of seven lots that cost about £1,750, more than 40,000 francs.[24] The most expensive was a composite armor garniture for field and tournament use, an Augsburg work of about 1550–55, which cost Dino 1,050 guineas, about 25,000 francs (Figure 8). Like the one he obtained in the Fountaine sale, this armor came from Spain and appears to be composed of pieces from several similarly decorated harnesses etched and gilt with bands of a repeating addorsed-crescent design; some of the more prominent elements are also etched with lions' faces. The ornament apparently is the work of the armor-etcher Jörg Sorg the Younger (ca. 1522–1603) of Augsburg, who in the 1550s decorated for Spanish clients a number of field and tilt armors with variants of this pattern. The Dino armor, however, is a jumble of mismatched elements, among which several variant patterns of the addorsed-crescent design can be recognized. Sorting out the armor is further complicated by the facts that some new plates have been added, etched to match, and most of the ornament has been regilt.[25] A shield associated with the Dino armor, etched and gilt and embossed with three rampant lions, is, on the other hand, one of the finest pieces in his collection (Figure 9).

The Londesborough purchases also included two royal pieces, although their august provenances were not

10. Pair of gauntlets for Philip III of Spain as a boy. Italian (Milan), ca. 1585. Steel, gold, copper alloy, leather, and textile, L. 9¼ in. (23.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.34–35). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

9. Shield. German, ca. 1550–60. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, Diam. 22 in. (56 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.283). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

11. Wheellock gun of Louis XIII of France. French, ca. 1610. Steel, wood, brass, silver, and gold, L. 43⅜ in. (110.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.164). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

recognized at the time. The first is a pair of gauntlets made for Philip III (r. 1598–1621) of Spain when he was still a boy (Figure 10). These belong to his armor, a Milanese work of about 1585, still in the Real Armería, Madrid.[26] The other is an early seventeenth-century French wheellock gun the stock of which is exquisitely inlaid with silver wire and brass studs to form trophy, strapwork, and foliate ornament; the butt plate is engraved with the royal orders of Saint-Michel and Saint-Esprit with a closed crown above and the initial *L* below (Figure 11). The royal insignia, together with the inventory number *60* incised on the underside of the stock, indicates that this gun was formerly in the French royal *cabinet d'armes*.[27] It was undoubtedly made for the young King Louis XIII (r. 1610–43), whose early interest in firearms earned him the nickname "Louis l'arquebusier." The arrival of Dino—a new, wealthy collector—on the market was evidently being noticed. Jean-Jacques Reubell (1851–1933) informed Baron de Cosson on August 2, 1888, in reference to the Londesborough sale, that "Talleyrand bought all the best things."[28]

THE BACHEREAU FIRM

Like many collectors of wealth and prominent social position, Dino relied on the assistance, advice, and judgment of prominent dealers. The most important among them was the Bachereau firm, the name of which is indelibly associated

12. Bachereau shop at 46, rue de Provence, Paris, ca. 1910. MMA Department of Arms and Armor

with arms and armor dealing in Paris (Figure 12). The firm claimed to have been established in 1821, beginning as a gunmaking and firearms retailing concern, when Philibert Bachereau (1795–1862) was appointed royal gunmaker, and by the 1860s the family seems to have turned to selling antique weapons, probably a more lucrative trade in light of the intense competition and increasingly high prices paid for arms and armor during the Second Empire. By the 1880s, when Dino started collecting, the firm was headed by Philibert (II) Bachereau (d. 1888); he was succeeded by his nephew, Victor, who was followed by his son Louis. Bachereau dominated the Parisian arms and armor trade until at least the late 1920s or early 1930s, when the firm apparently closed its doors.[29]

Bachereau acted as Dino's principal buying agent and supplier for more than a decade, with the duke becoming the firm's most lucrative client. No doubt many of the objects in the Dino collection without a recorded provenance came through Bachereau. For example, in 1887 Dino acquired from the dealer two of the signature pieces of the collection, a spectacular helmet and shield *à l'antique* (Figure 13) that were believed to have been made for Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715).[30] The body of the helmet and shield are fashioned from hammered bronze sheet, silvered and oxidized blue; each is fitted with cast and finely chased gilt-bronze mounts that include a dramatic winged dragon atop the helmet and the head of Medusa in the center of the shield. Too cumbersome and heavy to wear, these pieces appear to have been created solely for display, perhaps in a carousel or theatrical presentation. Their design and workmanship are superb, justifying their undocumented royal association, although current opinion inclines toward a date of manufacture of about 1760, rather than the traditional one of 1700, because of the style and facture of the gilt bronze.[31] These pieces are much later than most of the Dino arms, few of which date past the mid-seventeenth century, and they are obviously more decorative than functional. For these reasons they were catalogued by de Cosson among the "miscellaneous pieces," which included the heraldic horse pendants, oliphants, and even a tent. Dino seems to have considered disposing of the helmet and shield just before the catalogue was published, but fortu-

13. Burgonet and shield. French (probably Paris), ca. 1760. Gilt bronze, silver, and textile. Helmet, H. 17⅛ in. (43.5 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 6 oz. (6.1 kg); Shield, H. 23⅛ in. (58.8 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 11 oz. (6.2 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.259, 260)

14. Shield belonging to the armor of Sir John Smythe. German (Augsburg), ca. 1575–85. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, Diam. 21¾ in. (55.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.277). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

nately he had second thoughts and retained them.[32] They are judged today among the finest works in the Metropolitan's armor collection.

In 1888 Bachereau supplied Dino with a work of unexpected historical interest: a richly etched and gilt shield belonging to the armor made for the Elizabethan soldier and diplomat Sir John Smythe (1553/54–1607; Figure 14).[33] Smythe's armor, most of which is in the Royal Armouries in Leeds, is illustrated in the so-called Almain Armourer's Album, a folio volume that records the decorated armors made in the royal armor workshops at Greenwich between about 1555 and 1588.[34] Some of Smythe's armor is identified in the album as "made beyond the see," suggesting foreign workmanship. It would appear that Smythe, while in service on the Continent, had an Augsburg armor made for his personal use and that he had it supplemented, upon his return to England, with additional elements of Greenwich manufacture decorated to match. The Smythe shield is the only element of the armor to bear the punched pinecone mark of Augsburg, leaving no doubt as to its place of manufacture. The piece was painted green sometime in the eighteenth century, apparently for decorative display in one of the royal palaces. Its importance thus obscured, the shield seems to have been sold or exchanged by the authorities at the Tower of London in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was still painted when in the collection of J. M. Hodgkins, from whom it was acquired by the London dealers Willson & Son, who had the paint cleaned off. It was then acquired by Bachereau for Dino.[35] Surprisingly, de Cosson was unaware at the time of the shield's English association or Augsburg origin, comparing it instead to the work of Wolfgang Grosschedel of Landshut.

It was also from Bachereau that Dino acquired some of his most spectacular helmets, of which he had more than forty European examples. At the sale of Eugène Piot's collection at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 21–24, 1890, Bachereau bought for his client an important if somewhat damaged curly-haired burgonet of classical inspiration by the distinguished armorer Filippo Negroli of Milan (Figure 15).[36] The following year Bachereau sold him the so-called Colbert helmet, arguably the most beautiful and important object in the Dino collection (Figure 16).[37] This magnificent embossed and gilt burgonet, a masterpiece of French Renaissance metalwork dating to about 1550, is thought to have been made for Henry II of France (r. 1547–59). The helmet's design and subtle low-relief embossed ornament are undoubtedly French and are very closely related to the armor of Henry II in the Louvre.[38] Although its French provenance is undocumented, the helmet's later history is well known. For two hundred years it was in the Medici collections in Florence, presumably having been acquired as a gift from the French court. About 1775 the Medici armory, then displayed in the Uffizi, was dramatically downsized, with the result that thousands of armors and weapons were sold or destroyed. The helmet turned up in the London art market by 1817 and was sold at auction in 1833.[39] Soon afterward it came into the possession of the Paris collector Count Auguste de Colbert. The helmet was subsequently featured in several publications and appeared in at least one exhibition and, hence, became well known and much prized by French collectors of the era.[40]

The helmet cost Dino the astronomical sum of 80,000 francs, probably the highest price paid for any of his arms.[41] News of its sale to Dino spread quickly among French amateurs: Ressman commented on it in his letter to de Cosson on June 3, 1891, noting that "Dino is buying with a passion. He has just acquired an embossed and heavily gilt burgonet that belonged to M. Colbert."[42] Dino is reported to have given a dinner party for fellow collectors during which, at the end of the meal, he dramatically revealed his new purchase hidden beneath the floral centerpiece on the table.[43] (In 1922 the Metropolitan acquired the matching face defense, or buffe, that had become separated from the helmet in Florence in the late eighteenth century, thus reuniting the two pieces.)[44]

In 1897 Bachereau also supplied Dino with two helmets, described as "magnificent" by Ressman.[45] These were presumably part of a group of important items that the dealer had found in Spain the previous year. Among the Spanish

15. Filippo Negroli (Italian, ca. 1510–1579). Burgonet *all'antica*. Italian (Milan), ca. 1530–35. Steel, copper alloy, and leather, H. 12¾ in. (32.5 cm), Wt. 2 lb. 2 oz. (967 g). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.202)

16. Burgonet. French (probably Paris), ca. 1550. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, H. 14 in. (35.5 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 6 oz. (2.4 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.217)

17. Burgonet. Italian (Milan), ca. 1550–55. Steel, gold, copper alloy, and leather, H. 15½ in. (39.3 cm), Wt. 4 lb. 11 oz. (2.1 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.223)

18. Burgonet. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1560. Steel, gold, and silver, H. 13⅝ in. (34.5 cm), Wt. 4 lb. (1.8 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.205). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

19. Rapier with the Albani arms (detail). Italian, ca. 1610–20. Steel, iron, gold, and silver, L. 49¼ in. (125 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.23a, b)

pieces were twenty enameled horse-harness pendants and a modest but rare infantryman's helmet of late fifteenth-century Spanish type.[46] One of the "magnificent" helmets is a superbly embossed and gold-damascened Milanese burgonet of classical (*all'antica*) type, now lacking its nape plate and pivoted visor, that dates to about 1550–55 (Figure 17).[47] Its closest equivalent in design, construction, and workmanship is the complete and well-preserved burgonet made for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595), now in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna.[48] The second helmet, also a burgonet, is exceptional for its allover gold-and-silver damascened decoration that includes classical landscapes and harbor scenes; the latter vignettes show Venetian-style architecture and oared galleys (Figure 18).[49] Though catalogued by de Cosson as Venetian, the helmet is probably Milanese, dating to about 1560; its damascened decoration is comparable to that found on the iron caskets and furniture usually attributed to Milan. Both helmets are said to have formerly been in the possession of the conde de Casa Rojas, marqués de Bosch, in Valencia.

Dino also acquired from Bachereau what the dealer described as "the queen of swords," an elegant early seventeenth-century Italian rapier encrusted with gold and silver, the decoration of which includes the arms of the Albani family (Figure 19). In 1904 Louis Bachereau recounted for a newspaper reporter the story of the sword's dramatic rise in value over the previous century: it was sold in 1834 to a French collector, the vicomte de Courval, for 700 francs; at Courval's death it was bought for 3,750 francs by the Parisian dealer Beurdeley, who sold it for 4,500 francs to the comte de Saint-Seine; on the latter's death in 1875 it was sold at auction for 34,500 francs to the Parisian collector Sommier. Bachereau must have acquired it from Sommier and in turn charged Dino a reputed 52,000 francs.[50]

Bachereau secured a second work from the Sommier collection, a wheellock hunting rifle of about 1640–50. Signed by the Munich iron chiseler Caspar Spät (ca. 1611–1691; active 1635–65) and the Augsburg gunstocker Elias Becker (active 1633–74), it is one of the finest firearms in the Dino collection (Figure 20).[51] The gun's iron parts are chiseled in low relief with foliate ornament and with imagery alluding to the hunt—notably the figures of Diana and Actaeon on the barrel and a dog pursuing a stag on the lock. The style of iron chiseling, particularly the contrast of the blued-iron relief on a recessed gilt ground, and such motifs as the cock of the lock formed as a dragon's head, are characteristic features of the "Munich school" of gunmaking that was sponsored by the dukes of Bavaria between about 1600 and 1670. Finely decorated arms such as this piece were prized at the Munich court and regularly given as diplomatic gifts to princes throughout Europe. Both the Albani rapier and the Spät rifle were exhibited by Sommier at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878, no doubt adding to their luster.[52]

Bachereau supplied Dino with most of his equestrian material, some of which is quite exceptional. The dealer is principally responsible for assembling the group of 153 enameled plaques and horse-harness pendants, many of which he found in Spain; he may also have acquired there a closely related piece, a rare fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century horse bit of gilt bronze bearing the enameled arms of two allied Catalan families (Figure 21).[53] In Vienna, Bachereau purchased for Dino two mid-fifteenth-century bone saddles: one carved with courtly figures, Adam and Eve, and Saint George and the Dragon, and the other with scrolling banderoles inscribed with German verses (Figure 22).[54] Both bear traces of polychromy. These works belong to a series of about twenty saddles covered with carved bone plaques of which the purpose, place of origin,

20. Caspar Spät (ca. 1611–1691), iron chiseler, and Elias Becker (recorded 1633–74), gunstocker. Wheellock rifle (detail). German (Munich), ca. 1640–50. Iron, gold, wood, and bone, L. 41¾ in. (106 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.180). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

21. Curb bit. Spanish (Catalan), 14th or early 15th century. Iron, gilt bronze, champlevé enamel, L. 12⅜ in. (31.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.478a, b)

22. Saddle. Possibly Tyrolean, ca. 1440–60. Bone, polychromy, wood, and birch bark, 18½ x 18 x 14¼ in. (47 x 45.7 x 36.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.249)

and date of origin are still unresolved.[55] Given that they are neither practical nor comfortable, and the fact that the rider's body would have covered the decoration, the saddles may have been intended primarily for display. The German inscriptions indicate that they come from a German cultural region in central or eastern Europe, or perhaps in the Tyrol, whereas the figures' hairstyles, costume, and armor suggest a date of 1440–60.

Most memorable of all Dino's equestrian material is the shaffron (armor for a horse's head) forged in the shape of a dragon's head, complete with rippled snout and bared teeth. The decoration, gold-damascened on a blued ground, includes the monogram of Henry II of France when he was dauphin (hereditary prince), his emblems (the dolphin and fleur-de-lis), and the date 1539 (Figure 23).[56] The shaffron appears to have had a long life. The armorer's marks ("ROM ROM"

23. Shaffron of Henry II of France, when dauphin. Italian, ca. 1490–1500, redecorated in France in 1539. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, 27½ x 15 in. (69.8 x 38.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.253). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA

beneath a cross and orb), struck on the left cheek plate, are usually identified with Romain des Ursins, a Milanese armorer documented as working in Lyons in the 1490s. The shaffron thus appears to be an early and rare example of embossed parade armor, a style that became widespread north and south of the Alps three decades later. This old but novel piece of armor seems to have been put back into service and redecorated for the dauphin in 1539, perhaps for use in a tournament or other ceremonial occasion connected with Emperor Charles V's (r. 1519–56) tour of France that year.

The Dino collection includes a small group of Turkman and Ottoman armor—only fourteen pieces—the quality and rarity of which rival his European holdings.[57] This material was probably also supplied by Bachereau. The group includes ten "turban helmets," so named for their bulbous form, often forged with spiral fluting that suggests the turns of a wrapped cloth turban (see Figure 50).[58] The distinctive helmets typically have semicircular cutouts around the eyes, a sliding nasal bar, and pierced lugs around the base by which a curtain of mail was attached to cover the face and sides of the head. The Dino works differ in form and decoration: some have spiral flutes, others are vertically channeled, and two are forged with a checkered pattern of raised diamond-shaped panels. The decoration, usually damascened in silver, typically consists of foliate and geometric ornament and Arabic inscriptions. Most of the inscriptions are honorific or royal titles; a smaller number of them are Qur'anic. One work, however, includes the name of Yaʿqub (Figure 24), suggesting that this helmet either belonged to, or was made in the time of, Sultan Yaʿqub

24. Turban helmet. Iran or Anatolia, ca. 1478–90. Iron, silver, and copper alloy, H. 11 in. (28.3 cm), Wt. 3 lb. (1.4 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.211). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA

25. Helmet. Turkey (probably Istanbul), ca. 1550–75. Steel, gold, silver, and copper alloy, H. 10¾ in. (27.8 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 10 oz. (2.6 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.456a)

(r. 1478–90), ruler of the Ak-Koyunlu (White Sheep Turkmen), the tribal federation that dominated much of Anatolia and Iran in the second half of the fifteenth century.[59] All of the Dino turban helmets are incised with the distinctive mark applied in the Ottoman arsenals, most notably that in the former Byzantine church of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople (present-day Istanbul), where the Turks stored and displayed as military trophies the booty captured in their conquest of Persian, Mamluk, and European territories. The group of turban helmets assembled by Dino is perhaps the largest outside Istanbul.

The Islamic armor also includes a splendid sixteenth-century Ottoman helmet that was probably made in an imperial workshop in Constantinople (Figure 25).[60] The gracefully tapered and faceted conical bowl is forged from crucible ("watered") steel, with a variegated pattern in the metal that was highly prized. The bowl and its fittings, a brim, cheekpieces, and nape plate, are damascened in gold with Qur'anic inscriptions and were formerly fitted with applied copper-alloy (or possibly silver) borders, of which only the rivets for attachment remain. The sliding nasal bar has a large terminal with a pierced Qur'anic inscription and is silver-damascened with ornament and inscriptions. Helmets of very similar workmanship are preserved in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul and in the Kremlin Armory in Moscow, where several are thought to have been gifts from the Ottoman court. Complete and well preserved, the helmet is one of the rarest and most beautiful in the collection.

The Bachereau firm supplied Dino with some of his finest pieces, but the relationship between dealer and client ended in 1899 in a dispute over a fake weapon that Bachereau sold to Dino as genuine.[61] By that time, however, the duke had all but ceased collecting.

THE DEALERS CARRAND, SPITZER, AND BARDINI

In addition to his business with Bachereau, who specialized in antique arms, Dino sought out rare pieces among the leading dealers of medieval and Renaissance works of art, notably Louis Carrand, Frédéric Spitzer, and Stefano Bardini. At least seventeen items in the Dino collection once belonged to Carrand (1821–1888).[62] Louis was the son of Jean-Baptiste Carrand (1792–1871), originally of Lyons, one of the pioneer collectors and dealers of medieval art, who, after relocating in Paris in 1848, regularly catalogued auction sales at the Hôtel Drouot. He helped form several of the major collections of the period, especially that of Prince Peter Soltykoff (1804–1889). Both Carrands, father and son, were passionately interested in antique arms, and Louis inherited his father's collection in 1871. In 1888, just before his death, Louis sold to Dino, through the Paris dealer Michel Boy, two helmets and a dagger (Figure 26) for the handsome price of 35,000 francs.[63] The other Carrand pieces in Dino's collection were acquired indirectly, either at the Spitzer sale in 1895 or from Ressman in 1899.

26. Dagger with boxwood hilt depicting David with the head of Goliath (detail). European, ca. 1550–1600. Steel, gold, and wood, L. 12 3/8 in. (31.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.141)

A dozen of the best-known and, at the time, costliest items in the Dino collection were acquired at the historic auction of the Spitzer collection of arms and armor in Paris on June 10–14, 1895, when Dino was the most important individual buyer, spending more than 150,000 francs (about $30,000). One of the best-known and most infamous dealers of the century, Spitzer (1815–1890) had come to Paris from Vienna in 1852 and quickly established himself as a major player in the art trade (Figure 27).[64] He became extremely wealthy in a short time, and his home on the rue Villejust (now rue Paul Valéry), which came to be known as the Musée Spitzer (Figure 28), was filled with rare works of art as well as some notoriously sophisticated fakes, many of which can be credited to the dealer's cunning. Spitzer's interest in arms and armor was in keeping with the tastes of his customers, and he lent frequently and generously from his "private" collection to public exhibitions beginning in the 1860s. In 1871 he purchased a significant portion of the Samuel Rush Meyrick collection, one of the earliest, largest, and best arms and armor collections in England, following its display in the South Kensington Museum in 1868–71, and within a month had sold it at a substantial profit to Sir Richard Wallace; it is now in the Wallace Collection, London.[65] Spitzer also bought a number of armors and weapons from Louis Carrand in 1871, at a time when the latter, vociferously critical of the newly declared Second Republic, left France and took up residence in Pisa; Spitzer acquired two additional armors from Carrand in 1874, and a third group of arms in 1883–84.[66] All had earlier belonged to Carrand père, and many of them represented early, sophisticated examples of restoration, if not outright faking. In this case it was Spitzer who was duped by the fakes. As a result, many of the pieces acquired by Dino at the Spitzer sale, including his four best armors, proved to be disappointments (see Appendix 1 to this article).

In June 1897 Dino began negotiations with Stefano Bardini (1836–1922) of Florence, "the king of Italian dealers,"[67] to purchase six of Bardini's painted shields and a fourteenth-century helmet crest, the rarest items among the dealer's small collection of arms (Figure 29). Dino eventually offered to buy four of the shields, but his offer was rejected and negotiations broke off. Had he been successful, the

27. Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890) in fancy dress, ca. 1880. Department of Arms and Armor

28. Display of arms and armor in the Musée Spitzer, rue Villejust, Paris, ca. 1890. From Bonnaffé 1890, facing p. 22

acquisition of the Bardini shields would have dramatically increased the importance of Dino's armory, since Italian shields of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are exceedingly rare. These beautifully preserved works were later included in the famous Bardini sale at Christie's in London in 1899, but like so many lots, they failed to meet the reserve price and were returned to their owner.[68] The shields were eventually included in the dealer's bequest to the City of Florence and are now in the Museo Stefano Bardini.

DINO'S FRIEND COSTANTINO RESSMAN

Dino acquired his largest single group of items (some forty-three pieces) in 1899 from his friend and fellow collector Costantino Ressman (Figure 30) only a month before the latter's death.[69] Ressman spent most of his adult life in diplomatic service as an attaché at the Italian embassy in Paris, with brief postings in Great Britain (1878–82) and Turkey (1892). A bachelor, he devoted much of his income and leisure time to collecting arms and armor, mostly European. His first documented purchases, two Japanese daggers (*tanto*), were acquired at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867. Over the next thirty years he bought hundreds of objects, regularly selling off lesser items to finance the purchase of better ones. Ressman kept careful records of his holdings, including receipts for purchases and restoration work, and he maintained up-to-date inventories of his collection, complete with the date, source, and cost of each item, so that the formation and evolution of the collection are well documented.[70] He also advised a fellow collector, Count Giulio Franchetti (1840–1909) of Florence, to whom he sold almost a hundred pieces from his personal collec-

29. Painted shields of the 14th and 15th centuries in the collection of Stefano Bardini, Florence. From Bardini sale 1899, pl. 46

30. Charles Reutlinger (German, 1816–1881). Costantino Ressman (1832–1899). Photograph, ca. 1870. C. A. de Cosson Papers, Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds. Photograph: © Royal Armouries

31. Foot-combat helm of Sir Giles Capel. Possibly Flemish, ca. 1510. Steel and copper alloy, H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 8 oz. (6.1 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.274). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

tion between 1883 and 1888.[71] Ressman's acquisitions came from many sources, including public auctions, dealers, and fellow collectors. He bought regularly from the established Paris dealers (Henry, Boutet, Bachereau, and Spitzer), as well as Bardini in Florence, Pickert in Nuremberg, and Louis Carrand in Pisa. He was a friend and client of Carrand's and appears to have been well informed about the latter's business; in 1883–84 he helped negotiate the sale of some of Carrand's remaining arms to Spitzer.[72]

Ressman was also a good friend of Baron de Cosson's, and their correspondence between 1888 and 1899 reveals much about their personal collecting, events in the art market, and the activities of the duc de Dino. It was from de Cosson that Ressman acquired one of his most important pieces, a rare and handsome early sixteenth-century foot-combat helm of Sir Giles Capel (Figure 31). Ressman persuaded his reluctant friend to sell it on April 17, 1893, on the eve of the sale of the de Cosson collection at Christie's, London, on May 2–3.[73] The Capel helm was one of ten helmets bought by Dino from Ressman in 1899 and is one of the highlights of the Dino collection.

The duke's friendship with Ressman, which dates from the early 1890s, proved instrumental in the formation of his collection. Ressman was a frequent visitor to the duke's country estate at Montmorency and was particularly fond of the duchess. Dino's affection for Ressman is reflected in the

32. Horse-harness pendant decorated with a dog and the motto "Leal." Spanish, 15th century. Enameled bronze, H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.429). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

gifts he presented him, which included the two items from Cyprus, already mentioned, two daggers, and an etched and gilt brayette (codpiece) belonging to the armor made for Don Carlos (1545–1568), the son of Philip II of Spain.[74] Ressman, in turn, gave the duke a fifteenth-century enameled-bronze pendant for a horse harness; embellished with a dog and the accompanying Spanish motto *Leal* (loyal) (Figure 32), the piece complemented the duke's holdings of similar equestrian material.[75] Dino was a regular visitor to Ressman's Paris apartment at 9, rue Richepanse during the latter's final illness, and their close relationship persuaded Ressman to sell a portion of his collection to Dino. (The remainder of Ressman's collection, comprising 280 pieces, mostly arms and armor, was bequeathed to the Bargello in Florence.)[76]

Dino's purchases from Ressman included the latter's only armor, a composite late fifteenth-century *Stechzeug*, a specialized tournament armor for the German joust with blunt lances (Figure 33), as well as ten helmets and thirty-four daggers, for a total of 117,000 francs. The *Stechzeug* had been painstakingly composed by Ressman from a number of different sources over several years.[77] He acquired the left jousting gauntlet (manifer) from fellow collector Count Basilewsky in 1881 and the breastplate in 1887 from Bachereau, who had new tassets, a lance-rest, and counter-rest (queue) made to match; the dealer also supplied a "blind" shaffron (one that covered the horse's eyes to keep it from shying during the encounter), having it polished and its roundel restored. At the Londesborough sale at Christie's, London, in July 1888 (lot 276), Ressman bought the right arm (vambrace), and in December of that year he bought privately from de Cosson the two pauldrons and besagews. In November 1889 he had a restorer named Nègre in Paris fabricate a jousting targe (shield), formed of a thick wood core plated on the exterior with horn scales. That month Ressman also bought a late fifteenth-century backplate from Maurice Chabrières-Arlès of Lyons. Finally, in October of 1891, he commissioned the Paris armorer Alexandre Lebon to complete the missing parts and mount the armor, a task that included the fabrication of a helm of appropriate type. For this last and most challenging job, Lebon employed the talented armorer Daniel Tachaux.[78] The handsomely restored and completed armor cost Ressman a total of 7,950 francs; his price to Dino was 30,000 francs.

Dino was especially fortunate to acquire ten of Ressman's earliest and most important helmets for 50,000 francs. Among the rarest were two war hats—one possibly of fourteenth-century date that was said to have been found in Lake Morat, Switzerland,[79] and the other a fifteenth-century French or Burgundian work with an elegant spiral bowl (Figure 34) of the type seen on Burgundian tapestries of the 1470s and 1480s[80]—and two early sixteenth-century helms

33. Armor for the joust of peace (*Stechzeug*). German, ca. 1500, composite with extensive 19th-century restorations. Steel, copper alloy, and leather, 21 ¼ x 10⅞ in. (54.1 x 27.6 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 13 oz. (2.6 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.291a–q, 292)

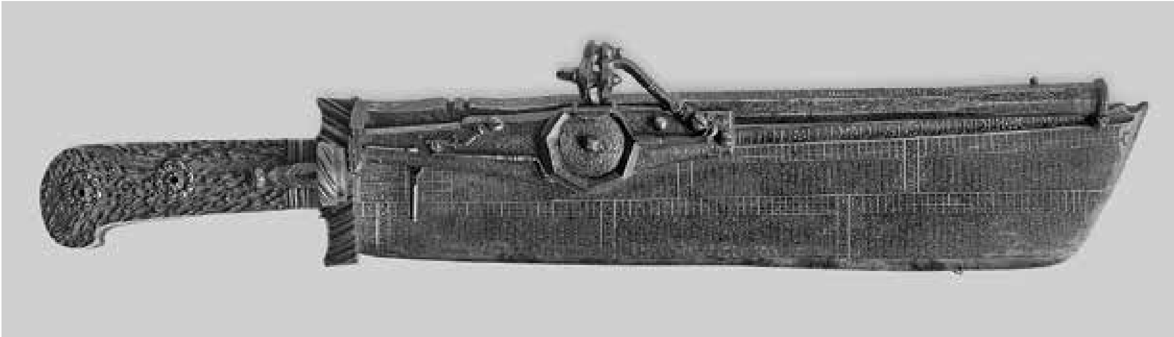
34. War hat. Possibly Franco-Burgundian, ca. 1470–80. Steel, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm), Wt. 6 lb. 7 oz. (2.9 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.228). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA

35. Foot-combat helm. Possibly Flemish, ca. 1510–20. Steel and copper alloy, H. 16½ in. (42 cm), Wt. 11 lb. 12 oz. (5.3 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.248). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

for foot-combat use, both with English associations—the aforementioned Capel helm (Figure 31) and one from the collection of Lord Stafford (Figure 35).[81] Dino also purchased from his friend thirty-four daggers—an area in which Ressman's collection was especially strong and Dino's notably weak—which cost him 37,000 francs. To judge from the daggers bequeathed to the Bargello and those sold to Dino, Ressman clearly disposed of the lesser examples, which nevertheless included several interesting ones. The best-known and most frequently published specimen is a combination hunting knife and wheellock pistol (Figure 36). Unfortunately, the work is composite: the blade was etched in 1528 or 1529 on each side with a calendar for the years 1529 to 1534 and signed by the famous Munich etcher Ambrosius Gemlich (active about 1527–42); the wheellock mechanism is etched with the date 1540 (or 1546); the last numeral is indistinct); and the hilt is of seventeenth-century type.[82] Other notable daggers included a table knife probably made for the Habsburg court during the reign of Emperor Maximilian I (1508–19) by Hans Sumersperger of Hall, in Tyrol, the mother-of-pearl grip plaques of which, here carved with the arms of Austria, appear to be a hallmark of his work (Figure 37),[83] and a so-called Swiss dagger dated 1561, the distinctive cast, pierced, and gilt scabbard of which bears a scene from the legend of William Tell (Figure 38).[84]

DINO'S AGENT BARON DE COSSON

Whereas Dino and Ressman were close personal friends of Dino's, the relationship between the duke and Baron de Cosson was more businesslike. The two were acquainted by 1891,[85] and beginning about 1896, de Cosson acted as Dino's paid adviser in matters concerning his armor collection. Dino's choice of this knowledgeable, experienced, and respected specialist was well founded.



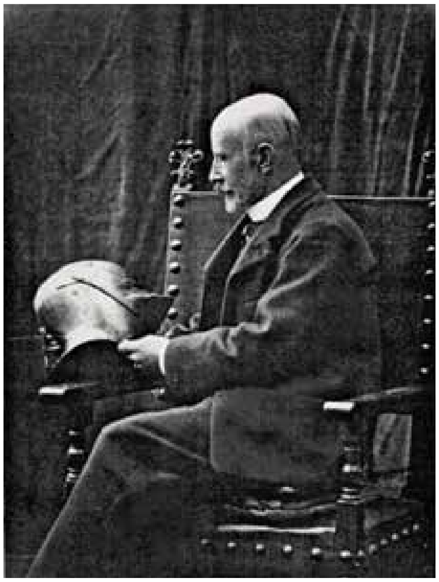
36. Ambrosius Gemlich (active ca. 1527–42), etcher. Combination hunting knife and wheellock pistol. German, blade, Munich, ca. 1528–29, wheellock dated 1540 or 1546, hilt probably 17th century. Steel, copper alloy, gold, and staghorn, L. 18¼ in. (46.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.158)

38. Swiss dagger, the scabbard with a scene of William Tell. Swiss, dated 1561. Steel, gilt copper alloy, and wood, L. 15¾ in. (40 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.130–132)

37. Hans Sumersperger (recorded 1492–98). Table knife, probably made for Maximilian I (r. 1508–19). Austrian (Hall in Tyrol), late 15th century. Steel, copper alloy, and mother-of-pearl, L. 18⅝ in. (47.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.152). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

Charles Alexander de Cosson (1846–1929), known as Baron de Cosson, was the descendant of a French aristocrat who had immigrated to England at the time of the Revolution (Figure 39).[86] He was perhaps the best-known and most respected English arms specialist at the end of the nineteenth century—a collector, scholar, and gentleman dealer. His published works, few in number, were invariably well researched and closely reasoned studies. His reputation was established in 1880 with the exhibition of helmets and mail that he organized with another collector, the renowned Gothic Revival architect William Burges (1827–1881), at the British Archaeological Institute in London.[87]

De Cosson's methodology—his careful selection of exhibits, detailed descriptions, and thoughtful attributions and dating of the pieces—set high standards for armor studies for years to come. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, knew all the major public and private collections, and played an active role in the art market. A devoted *amateur d'armes* since childhood, he formed several large and important collections during his lifetime, two of which he sold at auction at Christie's, London, in 1890 and 1893, respectively; his final holdings were dispersed at Sotheby's following his death in 1929. Though he seems to have had sufficient resources to allow him to travel and collect



39. Charles Alexander, Baron de Cosson (1846–1929), ca. 1920. Department of Arms and Armor

40. Château du duc de Dino, Montmorency, France. Postcard, ca. 1900. Department of Arms and Armor

without the necessity of regular employment, de Cosson helped support his family, and certainly his collecting, by the regular buying, selling, and restoring of antique arms and through commissions he earned as agent for wealthy clients like Dino. From 1891 to 1901 he lived in Dinan, in Brittany, apparently for financial reasons, and one suspects that his residence in France and fluency in the French language, as well as his prominence in the arms and armor field, recommended him to the duc de Dino.

In the summer of 1896, de Cosson was employed for several weeks at Montmorency, where he set about arranging the armor. The château, located in the town of Montmorency, north of Paris, occupied the site of the country residence of Charles Le Brun, court painter to Louis XIV. The original building was torn down in 1878 and replaced in 1881–82 by a French Renaissance–style structure, which was bought by the duke's future wife, Adele, in 1886 and immediately extended, refurbished, and modernized (Figure 40). De Cosson designed new mannequins for the armors, which he arranged around the tapestry-lined walls of the armory, and had special vitrines constructed for the display of swords, firearms, and smaller items (Figures 41, 42).[88]

The duke's spectacular purchases at the Spitzer sale in 1895, which substantially increased the size, importance, and international reputation of his collection, undoubtedly inspired him to take steps to exhibit it properly and to record it in some sort of publication. By February 1897 Dino proposed that de Cosson prepare a catalogue of the collection, indicating his intention to exhibit it at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris.[89] Although the various international fairs held alternately in London and Paris since the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 traditionally focused on the modern culture and commerce of each exhibitor nation, they often occasioned associated "retrospective" exhibitions featuring the art of earlier centuries drawn from both public and private collections. Both the Exposition Historique du Trocadéro, organized in conjunction with the Exposition Universelle of 1878, and the Exposition Rétrospective Militaire du Ministère de Guerre, organized at the time of the Exposition Universelle of 1889, were notable for their displays of arms and armor from private collections, especially those of William Riggs and Frédéric Spitzer.[90] Those displays were surely the models Dino had in mind for the exhibition of his collection. None of the earlier exhibited collections had been properly catalogued, however, and Dino clearly wanted to leave a permanent record.

In the process of cataloging Dino's collection, de Cosson recommended that the duke weed out fakes and lesser works. These, along with items from de Cosson's own collection, were dispatched for sale to Christie's in London. The auction, billed as the "Property of a Nobleman," was held on July 14, 1897.[91] At about the same time de Cosson also sold the duke three items from his personal collection. The most important was the superb ivory-inlaid crossbow dated 1460 that was made for Count Ulrich of Württemberg, which de Cosson had acquired in the 1870s and had published in a scholarly article in 1893 (Figure 43).[92] Although Ressman warned de Cosson that the duke had shown no previous interest in crossbows,[93] Dino was persuaded to acquire this unique specimen. The Württemberg crossbow, one of Dino's most notable pieces, is particularly significant as the earliest dated crossbow and one of the very few fifteenth-century examples for which the original owner is known. Dino also purchased from de Cosson a late sixteenth-century two-hand sword[94] and a fine early seventeenth-century shaffron with chiseled and gilt decoration that de Cosson astutely recognized as relating to several royal armors, now thought to be Dutch, in the Tower of London (Figure 44).[95]

41. Duc de Dino's armory as displayed in his château at Montmorency, ca. 1898. Photograph: Courtesy Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence

42. Detail of the duc de Dino's armory as displayed in his château at Montmorency, ca. 1898. Royal Armouries, Leeds. Photograph: © Royal Armouries

43. Crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg (1413–1480). German (possibly Stuttgart), dated 1460. Horn, tendon, birch bark, wood, ivory, iron, copper alloy, and pigments, 28¼ x 25¾ in. (71.8 x 65.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.36). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

As mentioned, it was also with de Cosson's advice and influence that Dino was able to acquire the large group of arms from Ressman. De Cosson appears to have established the price for each of the items, a delicate business, since he was trying to get the best prices possible for his gravely ill friend without taking unfair advantage of his employer, who was paying him a commission on the sale.

The Ressman purchase of 1899 was the duke's last major arms and armor acquisition, though de Cosson made several last-minute attempts to acquire additional objects for his employer. Most important among them was the embossed parade armor of Henry II of France, a work of about 1540–45 attributed to the Negroli workshop in Milan (Figure 45).[96] Formerly in the collection of Count Colbert (as was Dino's "Medici" helmet), the armor came on the Paris art market in 1892 and caused considerable excitement among the arms amateurs. It was purchased in 1894 by the banker and art speculator Sigismund Bardac. In March 1899 he and de Cosson corresponded but failed to agree on a price, and this historic armor escaped Dino's hands.[97]

In the summer of 1899, the armory at Montmorency was dismantled and packed for transfer to the duke's new residence at Monte Carlo. For many years Dino had wintered in Monte Carlo, renting the Villa Léontine, which he now purchased and renamed the Villa Périgord. From the autumn of 1899 until his death in 1917, this would be his principal

44. Shaffron. Dutch, ca. 1620. Steel, gold, and leather, 21¼ x 10¼ in. (54 x 26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.109). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA

45. Giovanni Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569). Armor of Henry II of France, when dauphin. Italian (Milan), ca. 1540–45. Steel, gold, leather, and textile, Wt. 38 lb. 10 oz. (17.5 kg). Private collection

residence.[98] The duke's move appears to have been precipitated by the gradual dissolution of his marriage, although his wife did not petition for a divorce until April 1903.[99] The duke closed up his house at 21, place Vendôme and put the Château Montmorency up for sale (it sold in 1901), while the duchess, who had no intention of moving to Monte Carlo, rented a house in the Paris district of Passy.[100] Throughout the spring and summer of that year Dino personally attended to the packing of his works of art at Montmorency.[101] By January 1900 de Cosson was invited to come to Monte Carlo to set up the armory again.[102] The move to Monte Carlo was particularly regretted by Ressman, who worried that the collection would rust in the sea air.[103] No further mention was made of exhibiting the collection at the Exposition Universelle that spring.

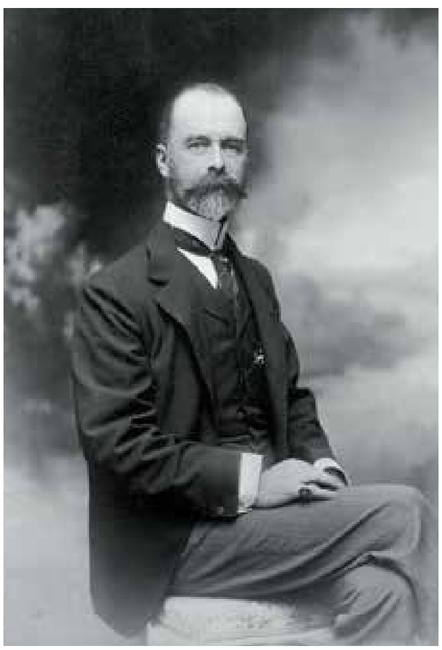
Dino's changing circumstances did not alter his interest in seeing de Cosson's catalogue completed. Instead of an exhibition catalogue, however, it became a deluxe sale catalogue, produced with wealthy American buyers in mind. The folio-sized volume was handsomely bound in parchment and blue marbled paper, the text printed on heavy stock with wide margins, and the twenty-three illustrations rendered in photogravure. De Cosson's descriptions of the objects are brief, generally with minimal discussion or commentary. Provenance information is sparse, no marks or details are reproduced, and no mention is made of the restorations or other condition issues. In all these aspects, the volume is reminiscent of, and indeed was probably modeled after, the six folio-sized, privately printed catalogues of the Spitzer collection, which were published between 1890 and 1893, just prior to the collection's dispersal at auction.[104]

De Cosson's work on the Dino catalogue, interrupted by the move to Monte Carlo, was resumed by the summer of 1901. On August 10 the photographic printer Paul Dujardin presented the duke with a bill for 2,278 francs for printing the illustrations.[105] On October 16 de Cosson forwarded to Dino a draft of his introduction, dedicated to the duchess; a few days later Dino replied that she preferred not to be mentioned.[106] On November 1 the publisher, Édouard Rouveyre, delivered to the duchess a unique copy of the completed catalogue printed on Japanese paper.[107] This attention to the duchess suggests that she may have been financing the publication. Later that month a fire at the binder's destroyed the entire catalogue print run.[108] The duke, anxious to sell his collection, was becoming impatient with the delays in producing the catalogue. Fortunately, the binder was insured and the original photogravure plates were preserved, so that in the end the publisher was able to produce two hundred copies.[109] Despite the 1901 publication date on the title page, the first bound copies were not ready until early spring the next year. De Cosson was charged with the task of distributing them to select museums, collectors, and dealers.

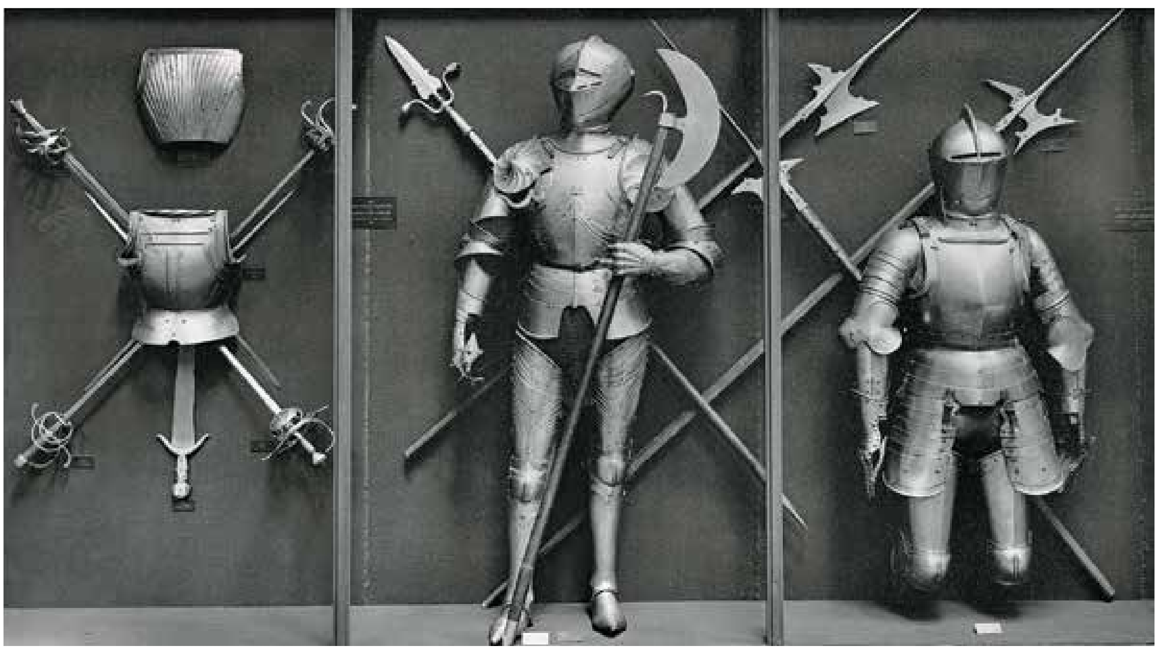
The collection, intended to be sold en bloc, was valued by the duke at three million francs (about $600,000), although he privately acknowledged that he was prepared to accept two million ($400,000), with a 10 percent commission going to de Cosson as the catalogue author and selling agent.[110] Dino told de Cosson his reason for selling: he had bequeathed the collection to his daughter, Palma, now Princess Ruspoli, but because she wished to buy a palace in Rome, he would instead provide her the necessary funds from the proceeds of the sale.[111] On the other hand, there were also rumors that the duke was selling his collection owing to financial difficulties.[112]

De Cosson had in mind his client Rutherfurd Stuyvesant (1843–1909) as a potential buyer (Figure 46). Born Alan Stuyvesant Rutherfurd, Stuyvesant had changed his name at the request of his great-uncle Peter G. Stuyvesant, a wealthy merchant who had no direct heirs, and had thereby come into a large inheritance.[113] An entrepreneur, world traveler, sportsman, and, by the 1880s if not before, a devoted collector of arms and armor, Stuyvesant was the Museum's youngest trustee when appointed in 1870 and one of the longest-lived members of the board when he died in 1909. His greatest contribution to the Museum was his championing of arms and armor as a subject worthy of museum display. Most notably, in 1896 he recommended acceptance of the gift of 150 antique arms from John Stoneacre Ellis (1828–1896) of Westchester, New York. Although the Ellis collection was of very modest quality and lacked richly embellished or historically important works, it was significant for introducing arms and armor into the Museum's permanent collection. The Ellis pieces were installed in vitrines arranged in panoplies in no particular order and for more than a decade occupied a gallery of their own on the Museum's second floor (Figure 47). Stuyvesant's own arms collection, which numbered about six hundred items at his death, was probably the largest in the country.[114]

Stuyvesant and de Cosson had struck up a friendship in 1893, at the time of the second de Cosson sale at Christie's, London, where the American had bought many of the best pieces.[115] Stuyvesant came to rely on de Cosson for advice. It was de Cosson who guided him at the Spitzer sale in 1895 and who introduced him to the duc de Dino. The two



46. Rutherfurd Stuyvesant (1843–1909), ca. 1890. Department of Arms and Armor



47. Portions of the John S. Ellis collection of arms and armor as exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum from ca. 1896 to 1907 (photographed 1907)

visited Montmorency together in September 1897,[116] and Stuyvesant subsequently entertained the duke and duchess in Paris and on his yacht, the *Octurus*, on the French Riviera. Stuyvesant showed no desire to purchase the Dino collection himself, but he was concerned that it find a home in the United States. In a letter of June 30, 1901, he informed de Cosson, "I have had the collection proposed to Mr. Pierpont Morgan but he does not take any interest in armor and I expect to submit it to Carnegie."[117] On September 1 he wrote, "I am the more anxious to get it [the catalogue], as the Metropolitan Museum of New York has recently received a bequest of several millions of dollars and might be induced to use some of their income for the purchase of this collection.[118] A few years would pass, however, before the Metropolitan would act on Stuyvesant's enthusiasm.

A number of dealers in London and Paris—including Fernand Robert, Charles Sedelmeyer, Jacques Seligmann, and Charles Wertheimer—voiced interest in the Dino collection for their unnamed clients, though most tried to negotiate piecemeal sales of the more attractive pieces rather than buy the collection en bloc.[119] One suspects that their interest and offers were largely speculative, with most hoping to sell any acquisitions to their mutual client, J. P. Morgan.

Dino's hopes were raised in the spring of 1903 when Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918) of Germany expressed interest in the collection and sent the director of the Zeughaus (Arsenal Museum) in Berlin—something of a temple to Prussian military glory—to Monte Carlo to examine the collection. The director, Edgar von Ubisch, spent an unprecedented four days examining the Dino pieces in detail, including dismounting the armors from their mannequins, an exercise that even de Cosson had not undertaken in the preparation of his catalogue. De Cosson patiently attended the German and reported to Dino that he was polite, very experienced, but terribly slow and methodical. The director concluded that he particularly liked the Ressman material, the Fountaine and Londesborough armors, and the pieces from Spain but was not impressed by those from the Spitzer collection, which included his most important armors. His offer to purchase individual pieces was rejected, and he returned to Berlin to make his report. On May 27 Dino was informed that the kaiser was not interested. On June 27 Dino, who was getting desperate, asked de Cosson if he could find two or three London dealers to buy the collection for 1,500,000 francs.[120]

Having received no concrete offers after eighteen months, the duke resolved to sell the collection at auction. Although Dino had initially intended to sell it at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, he was instead persuaded by de Cosson to send it to Christie's in London. In a letter of March 19, 1903, Guy Laking, the armor expert at Christie's and a longtime friend of de Cosson's, argued for a London sale: "There is so much money here now, and so few things [to buy that] I believe it would be a great success. Paris buyers will always come to London for a sale and London buyers . . . will not go to Paris."[121] Persuaded by the argument, the duke sent to Christie's, London, in the spring of 1904 a large consignment of pictures, furniture, silver, porcelain, jades, enamels, and his entire collection of arms and armor.[122] The arms were scheduled to be sold on June 3, 1904. The sale, in Bachereau's words, would be "a wonderful spectacle."[123]

THE METROPOLITAN BUYS AN ARMOR COLLECTION

The Metropolitan's acquisition of the Dino collection can be credited to the determination and passion of Rutherfurd Stuyvesant. An ardent Francophile, Stuyvesant spent several months each year in France, where he maintained a residence in Paris. His presence in Paris in March 1904 proved to be fortuitous, as J. P. Morgan is said to have cabled him from London soon after his arrival to alert him of the imminent sale of the Dino collection at Christie's, London.[124] Stuyvesant wasted no time in contacting Dino, with whom he negotiated a firm offer of sale. On March 24 he cabled Frederick Rhinelander, the Museum's president: "Dino collection armor to be sold at Christie's June 3. Can be bought by Museum for three hundred thousand dollars if taken at once before advertised. Opportunity unique, not occur again in lifetime. Urge acceptance most earnestly."[125]

The Dino collection was not, in fact, wholly unknown to the Metropolitan's administration and trustees: Stuyvesant had left a copy of de Cosson's catalogue in the Board Room for consultation in 1902–3.[126] It is not clear from Museum records why the purchase of the Dino collection was not addressed earlier. The asking price of three million francs was probably too high and the available purchase funds too low. (The Rogers Fund, the principal endowment for acquisitions, which derived from the bequest of Jacob S. Rogers in 1901, had only begun to earn interest after the settlement of the estate in 1903.) It may also be significant that the Museum's purchasing committee, formed of a select group of trustees and given the authority for all acquisitions of art, was only established on November 30, 1903.

Reaction to Stuyvesant's cable was immediate. On March 26 Rhinelander cabled Luigi Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum, to inform him of the telegram, and Cesnola in turn cabled Stuyvesant to assure him that the executive committee would consider the proposal on the following Monday. In his reply to Rhinelander later that day, Cesnola reminded him that the copy of the Dino catalogue that had been shown earlier to the executive committee had since been returned to Stuyvesant and therefore was unavailable for consultation. On March 28 Stuyvesant cabled Cesnola to say that Dino had given the Museum an option until April 23. He reiterated his endorsement of the purchase: "I sincerely hope that the committee will act favorably as I am more than ever convinced of the propriety and importance of securing this collection."[127]

The executive committee met on March 28 to discuss Dino's offer and recommended favorable action by the purchasing committee, which was convened by Rhinelander on April 1, with the attending members William L. Andrews, Daniel Chester French, and Samuel Avery. The committee was persuaded by Stuyvesant's recommendation, with the exception of Avery. Cesnola reported to Stuyvesant the next day: "[Avery] as usual [crossed out] found many objections saying that he did not know anything about the value of the Collection, he had not seen any Catalogue of it, and did not even know how many objects there were in the collection, etc. etc, he was not willing to vote for the expenditure of so large an amount, without obtaining more information concerning the collection, etc, etc, etc. Had it not been for Avery's objection, other members would have been in favor to authorize you to conclude the purchase at once." After considerable and, one suspects, heated discussions, the committee resolved to authorize Stuyvesant to offer Dino $250,000 for the collection, with the proviso that, should the duke refuse the offer, Stuyvesant was to keep the Museum's option open until the April 23 deadline. The proviso was added by Rhinelander and Cesnola without consultation with Avery, but a copy of the Dino catalogue was to be messengered to the Museum from Stuyvesant's country home in New Jersey for Avery's benefit.[128] On April 6 Stuyvesant cabled Rhinelander that Dino had accepted the offer.[129] The date of April 11 was set for the signing of the contract of sale in Paris.[130]

News of the sale leaked out to the press in Paris by April 8, and the next day notices appeared in New York newspapers announcing the Museum's acquisition of "the celebrated Dino collection."[131] The purchase did not proceed quite so promptly or smoothly as expected, however. On April 11 Stuyvesant cabled Rhinelander that Christie's, London, claimed a 5 percent commission plus expenses for handling the Dino collection, fees that the duke was himself unwilling to pay. The cost of the purchase suddenly escalated, possibly as high as $270,000 including Christie's fees, and Stuyvesant warned that, without a contract of sale, the duke had no obligation to follow through with the deal. He pointed out that the purchase was a great bargain even at the new price. Rhinelander responded immediately, advising Cesnola to authorize the purchase and to gain the consent of the other members of the purchase committee. On April 12 the members were polled: Avery and Andrews objected, while French agreed if the rest of the committee was in favor.

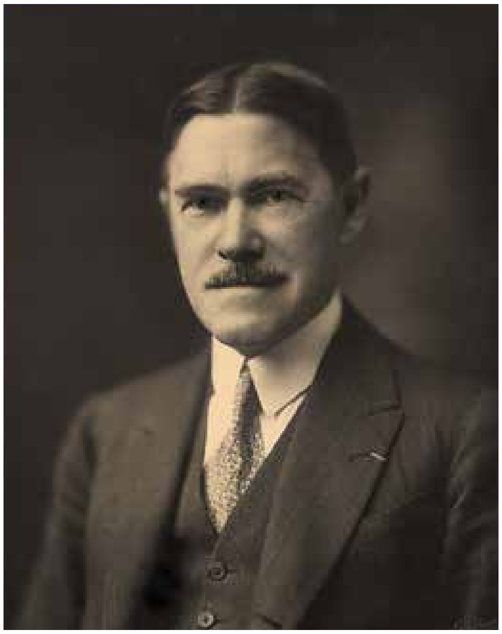
In view of the members' dissent, a special meeting of the purchasing committee was convened at 5:00 p.m. on April 13 at Rhinelander's home. Over Avery's objection, the committee authorized the purchase at $270,000 on the conditions that there would be an expert verification of the contents of the collection against the published catalogue and that proper shipping documents would be delivered to Morgan in advance of payment. Stuyvesant was cabled the committee's conditions that day and was told the offer was final. The duke accepted the offer, and Christie's relented on its demands, accepting a reduced commission of £1,000 (about $5,000). On April 15 Dino informed Christie's of the transfer of title, instructing them to deliver the collection to Morgan on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum. On the same day the contents of the collection were verified at Christie's by Guy Laking, who no doubt lamented the lost opportunity to catalogue it for sale. The next day the *Daily Telegraph* in London announced the sale of the Dino collection to the Metropolitan Museum, incorrectly citing the purchase price as £80,000 (about $400,000).[132]

On April 18 Stuyvesant informed Cesnola that the duke was giving the Museum the cases and mannequins for the armor collection that had been designed by de Cosson and would help the pieces "look their best." Stuyvesant also related that the duke was very concerned that his name be attached to the collection and that this was one of the inducements for him to sell at the "low" price of $250,000. He observed that many collectors, including the monarchs of England and Germany, were upset at learning of the sale to the Museum and of the lost opportunity to add to their collections: "They complain that those wretched Americans are getting everything worth having. I confess that this is rather a source of satisfaction to me." In Paris the collector Jean-Jacques Reubell, later a benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum, sympathized with de Cosson, who had missed a large commission on the sale: "Dino made a great mistake, but I think his creditors were after him."[133]

On the same day Morgan cabled Rhinelander from London to verify that Laking had inspected and certified the collection against the published catalogue and that Dino had been paid. He congratulated Rhinelander, "Wonderful collection, great acquisition for Museum, price exceedingly moderate."

The total cost of the purchase came to $257,027.08, approximately 1,250,000 francs, less than half the duke's original asking price.[134] The most expensive purchase made by the Museum to date was made possible by the Rogers Fund, the accrued interest of which by late April amounted to a little over $265,000—just enough to pay for the Dino collection.[135]

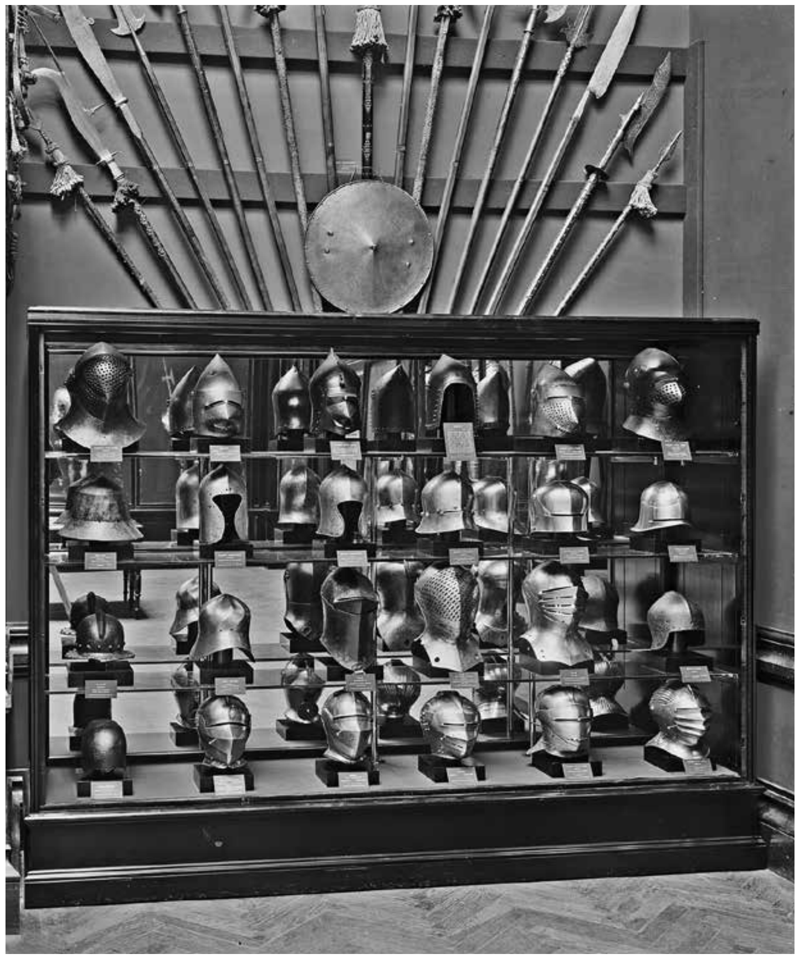
The Dino collection was packed immediately and shipped on the *SS Minnehaha*. The contents of the forty-three crates



48. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), ca. 1920. Department of Arms and Armor

49. View of portions of the Dino collection as installed at the Metropolitan Museum (photographed 1907)

50. Detail of Figure 49 (left)



51. Detail of Figure 49 (right)

52. View of the Dino armors in the Metropolitan Museum as installed by Bashford Dean in 1909

were listed in the documents as "merchandise" or "hardware." The arrival of the collection in New York on May 10 generated a new wave of publicity for the collection.

BASHFORD DEAN OFFERS HIS SERVICES

The purchase had barely been announced when Bashford Dean (Figure 48) wrote Cesnola to congratulate him and offer his services in getting the Dino collection unpacked and displayed.[136] Dean was no stranger to the Metropolitan Museum. Despite his teaching commitments as Professor of Vertebrate Zoology at Columbia University and concurrent responsibilities as Curator of Fishes at the American Museum of Natural History, he had found time in 1903 to organize a loan exhibition of Japanese arms and armor at the Museum and to author its illustrated catalogue, the Metropolitan's first publication in the field of arms and armor.[137] Cesnola, an admirer, immediately accepted his offer, replying that "doubtless there is no man in this country more able and fit to do this work than yourself."[138]

On May 31 the Metropolitan's director was authorized by the executive committee to incur such expenses as were necessary for the installation of the Dino collection, the sum not to exceed three hundred dollars.[139] A ready-made gallery with existing vitrines on the Museum's second floor, in the original 1880 wing, was appropriated for the purpose. The installation appears to have been largely completed by June 21, when Dean wrote to William Riggs, "I need not tell you what a delightful time I had arranging it for exhibition."[140] The official opening followed two months later, with the first private viewing on August 27. In the following days local newspapers carried enthusiastic and often copiously illustrated articles about the Metropolitan's important new acquisition now at last on view. Some sense of the original display is provided by a gallery photograph taken in 1907, which shows the cluttered, decorative arrangement of the Dino collection, with more than fifty helmets displayed in two mirrored vitrines along one wall of the gallery and panoplies of arms placed above (Figures 49–51).

A few years later Dean improved on his original installation. He had been particularly dissatisfied with the presentation of the armors, which he felt stood too high in the vitrines, placed flat against the wall like those of the Ellis collection (see Figure 47). He had new vitrines made that had lower bases and were freestanding so that the armors stood at a more natural height in relation to the viewer and could be seen in the round (Figure 52). He also had tapestries hung on the walls to give the display color and ambience. In the coming years Dean's ideas for gallery installations would develop from these early experiences.

No sooner had the collection been installed than Dean began to contemplate a catalogue to publicize it. At the time no American author had published a book on European arms and armor. Dean envisioned it as a popular work that would "give an outline of the evolution of the armor of western Europe, using as illustrations some of the best examples, with many figures of the Dino objects."[141] Published by the autumn of 1905, Dean's *Catalogue of European Arms and Armor* offers a very readable general history of arms and armor from antiquity to the seventeenth century, including a summary catalogue of the Dino and Ellis collections. The first section was illustrated mostly with line drawings from contemporary sources, whereas the catalogue section was illustrated with new photographs of the objects (which Dean considered one of the book's principal virtues) and even renderings of the armorers' marks, a novel feature at that date.[142] The publication concluded with a list of other collections in Europe and North America in which arms and armor could be studied. Dean was fully aware of the book's shortcomings and the haste with which it had been written, but despite its faults he expressed his hope to Riggs that "the little book may do some good in spreading an interest in the branch of art/archaeology in which we are all so concerned—even if it does no more than put in the hands of a visitor a series of pictures of the more important objects."[143]

Dean relished the time he devoted to the Dino collection and characterized his efforts to introduce the collection, and the subject of arms and armor in general, to the public as "missionary work."[144] Indeed, he confessed to William Riggs, "I am almost ashamed of myself that I have allowed zoology to have kept me all these years away from my favorite study."[145]

On February 19, 1906, Dean wrote to Sir Caspar Purdon-Clarke, who had succeeded General Cesnola as director in 1904, to suggest that, in light of his services to the Museum, he be appointed honorary (unsalaried) curator of arms and armor.[146] Dean's proposal was warmly supported by Stuyvesant and was enthusiastically accepted by the executive committee at their meeting on April 28.[147] From that point on, Dean dedicated his time, energy, and personal financial resources toward the building and promoting of the Metropolitan's arms and armor collection. It was a measure of his achievements to date, and those anticipated in the coming years, that on October 28, 1912, the Museum established a separate Department of Arms and Armor with Dean as its full-time salaried curator. The subsequent history of arms and armor at the Metropolitan Museum, including the growth of the holdings from about twelve hundred objects in 1904 to fourteen thousand today, is unimaginable without the transformative purchase of the Dino collection.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. De Cosson 1901.
2. In the first official history of the Museum, Howe 1913, pp. 269–70, the purchase is mentioned in a single sentence, and in the most recent history, Hibbard 1980, it is not mentioned at all. Even in Stephen V. Grancsay's manuscript article, "The Department of Arms and Armor during Twenty-Five Years," which was prepared for the 1937 issue of the Museum's *Bulletin* but never published, the Dino purchase receives only passing mention.
3. Tomkins 1970, p. 152. The essence of this story is repeated in Strouse 1999, pp. 494–95.
4. De Cosson 1901.
5. Tomkins 1970, p. 152.
6. The duc de Dino rarely figures in the standard French biographical references. I am therefore very grateful to have been able to draw upon the biographical research in Merrillees 2009, pp. 397–401.

7. See "Citizen Périgord," *New York Tribune*, April 15, 1904, and other newspaper clippings in the Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA. The duke's literary endeavors included *Étude sur la république des États-Unis d'Amérique* (1876), *Les alliances* (1877), *Un de plus* (1877), *Salut à vous*! (1894), *Au pays du silence* (1895), *L'Oncle Tapsec: Aventure de jeunesse* (1909), and *Tante Raison: Dialogues* (1910).
8. "Have Found Husbands Abroad: American Women Who Have Given Their Hearts and Money to Foreigners," *New York Times*, April 19, 1893, p. 2.
9. "Married to Her Marquis," *New York Times*, January 27, 1887, p. 1; quoted in Strouse 1999, p. 295n.
10. In Paris on May 8, 1894, he disposed of sixty-three examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century faience. See *Une précieuse collection de faïences italiennes hispano moresques d'Alcora et de Nimes* (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 8, 1894). Further disposals followed at Christie's, London, in 1904, perhaps as the result of his divorce, the furniture being sold on May 6, pictures on May 14, and various silver, enamels, and jade on July 19. Dino also had private dealings with the Duveen firm, from which he acquired objects and to which he occasionally sold miscellaneous items. Fowles 1976, p. 168. (I have found no references as to Dino's ever having owned the Gericault series of paintings discussed in Tinterow 1990–91, pp. 20–21.)
11. De Cosson 1901, nos. M.1, M.2 (oliphants), M.3 (five large enamels), and M.4 (153 enameled pendants), respectively. Appendix 2 to this article provides a concordance between the Dino catalogue numbers and Metropolitan Museum accession numbers.
12. De Cosson 1901, no. M.1, which was acquired for the duke by the Paris dealer Victor Bachereau at the auction of the collection of Henri Baudot at Dijon, November 14–24, 1894, lot 310. The second oliphant, M.2, illustrated in Figure 2, was apparently picked up inexpensively by Bachereau in a minor provincial sale (as related in Bachereau 1904).
13. William Riggs to Baron de Cosson, January 21, 1893, correspondence files, MMA Department of Arms and Armor.
14. Its distinguished Keeper of Medieval Antiquities, O. M. Dalton, wasted no time in publishing it the following year. Curiously, he made no reference to the duc de Dino as vendor, to de Cosson as selling agent, or to the circumstances of its find. See Dalton 1900. The hoard acquired by the British Museum was not complete, however, as it lacked four silver spoons that Dino presented to his friend and fellow arms collector Costantino Ressman on July 30, 1898, just before concluding the sale. Sometime prior to his death on July 8, 1899, Ressman presented the spoons to his friend Baron de Cosson; their present whereabouts are not known. Dino's gift of these spoons and their subsequent disposal are recorded in Ressman's manuscript inventory of his collection, covering the years 1867–99, which is preserved with numerous other documents relating to the collection that are included among the C. A. de Cosson Papers kept in the Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds (hereafter RAL). Merrillees (2009, pp. 395–96) speculates that the four spoons may be the same four acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1913.
15. Dino's gift is recorded under that date in Ressman's collection inventory (RAL) as "Boucle d'un ceinture d'épée en cuivre doré garni de granats VIe ou VIe siècle, id. [trouve a l'île de] Chype (Dino)." See also Merrillees 2009, p. 398.
16. In a letter to de Cosson of April 15, 1898 (RAL), Ressman related that Dino went to Cyprus "pour y chercher des armes et n'y trouver qu'un morion rouillé." See also Merrillees 2009, p. 98. The same information was related in a letter from de Cosson to Laking, August 15, 1898, RAL. On the Chalcis group of armor, see ffoulkes 1911, Blair 1982, and Boccia 1988.
17. Dino's gift is recorded under that date in Ressman's inventory as "Petit heaume (bassinet) pointu du XIIe [crossed out] ou XIIIe s[iècle] trouvé à l'île de Chype, Famagusta (Dino)."
18. See the article by Elena Carrara in the present volume.
19. For the background to the Christie's, London, sales of 1839 and 1840, see Pyhrr 1999.
20. Fountaine sale 1884, lot 565; de Cosson 1901, no. A.7; this composite armor was already assembled, including the restored skirt plates and tassets, when sold at Christie & Manson, London, on January 23–24, 1839, lot 264. The same lot included the codpiece of similar design made for Philip's son, Don Carlos, as discussed below.
21. Valencia de Don Juan 1898, pp. 83–86, inv. nos. A.243–.262.
22. Vaïsse sale 1885, lots 60 (de Cosson 1901, no. B.37), 66 (B.35), 69 (E.7), 78 (H.4), 91 (F.17), and 92 (F.31). In a copy of the sale catalogue annotated by Riggs, in the Department of Arms and Armor, Pujol is cited as the buyer of lots 60, 69, and 91; presumably the same dealer also acquired the remaining lots for Dino.
23. For the saddle, lot 69 (de Cosson 1901, no. H.4), see Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 29. The mace, lot 78 (de Cosson 1901, no. E.7), has a restored grip copied from that on the former royal example in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, no. K.158 (Reverseau 2004, pp. 176–77).
24. Londesborough sale 1888, lots 11 (de Cosson 1901, no. F.8), 72 (J.8), 92 (H.45, 46), 145 (A.6), 297 (C.7), 381 (J.2), and 383 (J.4). In a copy of the sale catalogue annotated by William Riggs, in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor, Bachereau is identified as the purchaser of lots 11, 92, and 145; the same dealer presumably also acquired the other lots for Dino.
25. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 145. The armor (de Cosson 1901, no. A.6) was probably made up from lots in the "Spanish sales" of 1839 and 1840 at Christie's, London (see note 19 above), including lots 101 and 102 in the 1840 sale; it subsequently appeared in the Bernal sale 1855, lots 2709–14, illustrated in the catalogue, where it was acquired by Londesborough for 315 guineas. Comparably decorated armors etched by Sorg in the years 1551 and 1553 are illustrated in the facsimile of his workshop album reproduced in Becher, Gamber, and Irtenkauf 1980, fols. 15, 26v, and 27. The associated shield, embossed with three lions rampant, no. F.12, appeared as lot 62 in the Christie's sale of 1840 and was subsequently associated with the armor, no doubt by reason of the lion motif, in the Bernal and Londesborough sales.
26. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 297; de Cosson 1901, no. C.7. For the armor to which the gauntlets belong, B.6 in the Real Armería, see Valencia de Don Juan 1898, p. 123. The gauntlets had previously appeared in three London auctions: at Christie & Manson, January 23–24, 1839, lot 260 (sold to the dealer Isaacs for £7); in the sale of Samuel Pratt's Gothic Armoury at Oxenham's April 29–May 1, 1841, lot 444; and in the Bernal sale 1855, lot 2247 (sold to Londesborough for £20).
27. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 72; de Cosson 1901, no. J.8. For this gun, see Tarassuk 1986, pp. 72–75, figs. 5–10, and Reverseau 2004, pp. 40, 293.
28. Reubell to de Cosson, August 2, 1888, RAL.
29. The history of the Bachereau firm is discussed in Pyhrr 1994, pp. 18, 21n30.
30. De Cosson 1901, nos. M.7, M.8. The history of this helmet and shield prior to the middle of the nineteenth century is not recorded, and there is no evidence to suggest their presence in the French royal collection. They appeared in at least three auctions at the

Hôtel Drouot in Paris: an anonymous sale of January 27–28, 1845, lot 113; that of Sieur Joyeau on December 58, 1849, lot 90; and that of Leon Meynard, sold anonymously on January 27, 1887, lot unknown, where they were acquired by Bachereau, with William Riggs as the underbidder. For Riggs's attempt to acquire these pieces, see the article by Elena Carrara in the present volume.

31. Opinions of Theodore Dell, Gillian Wilson, and Sir Geoffrey de Bellague, 1983, object files, Department of Arms and Armor.
32. Dino to de Cosson, May 23, 1899, RAL.
33. De Cosson 1901, no. D.4.
34. Dillon 1905, pl. 27. For a concise history of the Smythe armor, including references to the MMA shield in the inventories ("Remaynes") of the Royal Armouries in 1611, 1629, and 1660, see London 1951, pp. 26–28, no. 20.
35. The provenance of the shield is the subject of letters exchanged between Guy Francis Laking and Baron de Cosson, undated but 1915 by internal evidence, in the Royal Armouries, Leeds. The story is repeated in Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 4, p. 244.
36. De Cosson 1901, no. B.26. For a recent study of this helmet, see Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 21.
37. De Cosson 1901, no. B.29. In 1922 the Museum acquired the buff (face defense), MMA 22.140, that belonged to the burgonet but which had been separated from it since the late eighteenth century. On the reunion of the two pieces, see Dean 1922.
38. For a recent discussion of this helmet in the context of French Renaissance armor, see Paris 2011, no. 21.
39. For its Medicean provenance, see Mario Scalini in Florence–Chicago–Detroit 2002–3, pp. 275–77, no. 135. The author of the present article is preparing a detailed study of this helmet and its provenance.
40. While in Colbert's possession, the burgonet was illustrated in Jolimont and Gagniet 1836, pl. 23, and in Lièvre 1866, pl. 53; it was also exhibited at Blois in 1875, no. 2462.
41. As related in Bachereau 1904.
42. "Le Duc de Dino achète avec rage. Il vient encore d'acquérir une bourguignote repoussé et fort bien dorée qui a appartenue au M[arqu]is de Colbert." RAL. All translations from the French are by the author.
43. As related by Riggs to Dean; see Dean 1922, p. 235n1.
44. Dean 1922.
45. Ressman to Riggs, May 18, 1897, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
46. For the Spanish archer's sallet, see de Cosson 1901, no. B.16, where it is said to have come from a tomb in Aragon. In Ressman to de Cosson, September 22, 1896, RAL, the price given was 150 francs.
47. De Cosson 1901, no. B.30; see Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 41.
48. Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 39.
49. De Cosson 1901, no. B.27; see Pyhrr 2000, no. 34.
50. De Cosson 1901, no. F.16; Bachereau's account is found in the *New York Herald* (Paris), April 17, 1904.
51. De Cosson 1901, no. J.1. The Dino rifle is discussed in the context of other firearms by Spät and his predecessors in the Munich court, Egidius and Daniel Sadeler, in Stöcklein 1922, pp. 86–87, no. CS 22. Dino acquired with the rifle a matching priming flask (De Cosson 1901, no. L.1), which has the same provenance.
52. Édouard de Beaumont in Gonse 1879, p. 360.
53. De Cosson 1901, no. E.10. In a letter to de Cosson on July 6, 1897 (RAL), Ressman reported that Dino had acquired twenty enameled pendants from Spain, probably through Bachereau.
54. De Cosson 1901, nos. E.5, E.6. In a letter to Riggs of August 4, 1895 (correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor), Ressman reported that Dino had recently acquired his second bone saddle in Vienna for 23,000 francs, though it is not clear to which one he was referring.
55. The classic study of the saddles, mistakenly catalogued as of ivory rather than bone, is von Schlosser 1894.
56. De Cosson 1901, no. E.1; see Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 7.
57. De Cosson 1901, nos. N.1–.13. The first number, N.1, comprises a late fifteenth-century Turkman mail-and-plate shirt and an unrelated Ottoman helmet of the mid-sixteenth century (discussed below), which should be counted as the fourteenth item.
58. For the helmet type, see Alexander 1983, pp. 97–104.
59. Ibid., p. 98; London 2005, pp. 208, 415, no. 155.
60. De Cosson 1901, no. N.1.
61. In a letter of February 19, 1903, to Prince Ladislao Odescalchi in Rome (RAL), another collector of arms and armor who was also a regular client of Bachereau's, de Cosson relates that the dealer blamed him for undermining his relationship with Dino but hoped that he, de Cosson, would lead Dino back to him.
62. For the two Carrands, see Florence 1989.
63. De Cosson 1901, nos. B.5, B.6, and G.16, respectively. The two helmets are now considered to be fakes. The purchase is mentioned in a letter from Ressman to Riggs of September 28, 1888, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
64. Although an in-depth study of Spitzer is long overdue, he is perhaps best introduced in Bonnaffé 1890.
65. The story of Spitzer's purchase of the Meyrick armor and its subsequent sale to Wallace is recounted in an undated (but datable to July 5, 1927) letter from de Cosson to James Mann at the Wallace Collection, RAL. De Cosson confirmed the story: "I have these facts from Spitzer himself."
66. The Carrand purchases are mentioned in Bonnaffé 1890, pp. 29–31.
67. "le Roi actuel des antiquaires d'Italie." Ressman to de Cosson, June 19, 1897, RAL. Negotiations for the shields broke off six months later (Ressman to de Cosson, December 29, 1898, RAL).
68. Bardini sale 1899, lots 55–61, illustrated in the folio supplement, pls. 11, 18; the helmet crest, lot 52, was illustrated on the cover of the folio supplement and on pl. 10.
69. See Carrara 2008 and the article by the same author in the present volume.
70. Ressman had asked de Cosson to prepare a catalogue of his collection and, toward that end, turned over all the related documentation. On Ressman's death work on the catalogue stopped and the papers remained in de Cosson's possession. De Cosson bequeathed his papers to Sir James Mann, Master of the Armouries, and they subsequently were acquired for the Armouries library.
71. The Franchetti collection seems never to have been exhibited or published. The Ressman papers in Leeds, however, contain lists of Ressman's five separate sales of arms to Franchetti between 1883 and 1888 comprising eighty-nine pieces sold for 82,700 francs. Following Franchetti's death in 1909, his collection was bought by, or at least consigned to, the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome, which sold it piecemeal in the next years.
72. Ressman's notes on the Carrand collection include valuable information about the arms owned by this famous dealer-collector in the 1870s and 1880s. For negotiating the sale of the Carrand arms to Spitzer, Ressman received from the latter a commission of 6,900 francs on January 19, 1884 (RAL).
73. Acquired for 6,250 francs; see de Cosson 1901, no. B.19. Justly proud of this helm, de Cosson published it on several occasions: de Cosson and Burges 1881, no. 80, and de Cosson 1883.
74. The Don Carlos armor, a garniture for field and infantry use, is a work by Wolfgang and Franz Grosschedel of Landshut dating to

1558; the principal elements are in the Real Armería, Madrid; see Valencia de Don Juan 1898, pp. 89–90, inv. nos. A.274–276. Don Carlos's armor is notable for having the same etched and gilt decoration, in the form of stylized "cloud-bands," as that made for his father, Philip II (discussed above). The brayette, which had long been associated with the Philip II armor that Dino acquired at the Fountaine sale (see note 20 above), was given to Ressman on July 11, 1897; it is now part of the Ressman collection in the Bargello (R.28).

Other gifts from Dino included a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Iranian dagger (*jambiya*) with a hilt and scabbard of enameled copper, given on July 18, 1897 (Bargello, R.181), and a Japanese dagger (*tanto*), given on September 15, 1897 (Bargello, number unknown).

75. De Cosson 1901, included among the 153 plaques catalogued under M.4. In Ressman's inventories the plaque was recorded as a gift from the painter and dealer Attilio Simonetti (1843–1925) in Rome on February 18, 1894.
76. Supino 1902.
77. De Cosson 1901, no. A.3. Information concerning the composition of this armor is drawn from Ressman's inventory, correspondence, and receipts among the de Cosson papers in the RAL.
78. Tachaux's work so impressed Bashford Dean that in 1909 Dean hired him as the Metropolitan Museum's armorer. Tachaux (1857–1928) left the Museum in 1919 to work for the armor collector Clarence Mackay.
79. De Cosson 1901, no. B.7; see also Pyhrr 2000, no. 2. The helmet was formerly owned by the distinguished collector Maurice Chabrières-Arles (1829–1897) of Lyons, who sold it to the dealer Charles Stein in Paris; Stein in turn sold it to Ressman on October 21, 1891 for 3,000 francs.
80. De Cosson 1901, no. B.8. Ressman acquired the helmet from the Paris dealer Juste in 1883 for 5,000 francs.
81. De Cosson 1901, no. B.20. Ressman purchased the helm from Bachereau on June 5, 1885, for 4,000 francs; it had only recently been sold at the Stafford sale at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, May 28, 1885, lot 60 (112 guineas to Wilson, presumably for Bachereau).
82. De Cosson 1901, no. G.46. Ressman acquired the knife-pistol for 800 francs from Louis Carrand in Lyons in 1883. The composite nature of the piece was first suggested by Seiler 1940–42, pp. 12, 18–19.
83. De Cosson 1901, no. G.45. This is possibly the "coutelas-cimiterre (de boucher) à crochet, XVe [siècle]" that Ressman recorded in his inventory as a gift from Carrand in 1878. For a discussion of this knife and its maker, see Thomas 1955.
84. De Cosson 1901, no. G.28. Formerly in the Carrand and Spitzer collections, the dagger was included in the latter's catalogue, Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 219 and pl. 37, and in the Spitzer sale 1895, lot 282 (sold for 4,357.50 francs). It was acquired by Ressman from the Paris dealer Goldschmidt on May 26, 1897, in an exchange of arms valued at 4000 francs.
85. In a letter to de Cosson of June 3, 1891 (RAL), Ressman refers to "votre prochaîne visite à Montmorency" (your next visit to Montmorency).
86. Parsons 2003 provides the most recent examination of de Cosson's life and activities in the arms and armor field.
87. De Cosson and Burges 1881; Parsons 2003, pp. 245–46.
88. The photographs were kindly supplied by L. G. Boccia, the late director of the Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence. For the Château de Montmorency, see Tinterow 1990–91, p. 20.
89. De Cosson to Valencia de Don Juan, February 17, 1897, RAL. The catalogue had probably been proposed the year before, as Ressman's letter to de Cosson of September 22, 1896, RAL, chides him for not coming to Montmorency and queries if he has abandoned "his project."
90. See Breban 1878 and Paris 1889.
91. The pieces (lots 1–92) were consigned to Christie's, London, in de Cosson's name and were catalogued by Guy Laking. I am indebted to Lynda McCleod, librarian at Christie's, London, for information regarding this sale. The sale is mentioned in a letter of April 11, 1897, from de Cosson to Ressman (RAL), in which he suggests that both collectors should include some of their duplicates in that sale. In the end only de Cosson consigned some of his arms, which are identified with his provenance in the catalogue.
92. De Cosson 1893; de Cosson 1901, no. I.1. The history and significance of this bow have recently been examined in Breiding 2009.
93. Ressman to de Cosson, April 17, 1897, RAL.
94. De Cosson 1901, no. F.3.
95. Ibid., no. E.3. See Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 29.
96. Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 47.
97. In a letter of March 9, 1899 (RAL), de Cosson asked Bardac if he would consider selling the armor to his (unnamed) client. Bardac apparently suggested a price of 150,000 francs and de Cosson countered with an offer of 125,000.
98. Obituary, *New York Times*, January 6, 1917, p. 13.
99. "Duke and Duchess Part," *New York Times*, April 4, 1903, p. 3.
100. The address was 13, rue Raynouard, in the 16th arrondissement. Ressman to de Cosson, April 12, 1899, RAL.
101. Dino to de Cosson, April 28 and July 28, 1899, RAL.
102. Dino to de Cosson, October 11 and December 23, 1899, RAL.
103. Ressman to de Cosson, December 29, 1898, RAL.
104. Spitzer 1890–93.
105. RAL.
106. De Cosson to Dino, October 16, 1901; Dino's response, October 19, RAL.
107. Dino to de Cosson, November 5, 1901, RAL.
108. Dino to de Cosson, November 22, 1901, RAL.
109. Dino to de Cosson, November 25, 1901, RAL.
110. Dino to de Cosson, March 28, 1902, RAL. The three-million-franc price for the collection is mentioned in an undated (but August 1901) draft of a letter from de Cosson to the Paris dealer Fernard Robert, the reduced price in a letter from Dino to de Cosson, April 15, 1902, both RAL.
111. Dino to de Cosson, April 15, 1902, RAL.
112. Laking to de Cosson, July 5, 1900, RAL: "It is rumored in London that the duc de Dino is in very low water just now but probably that is only scandal."
113. Biographical information and insights into Stuyvesant's collecting activities are based on notices of his death published in the *MMAB* 4 (July 1909), pp. 116–17; (September 1909), p. 155; and (November 1909), p. 194. See also Dean 1914a, pp. ix–xiv, and Tomkins 1970, pp. 151–52, 157.
114. Kept at his country estate, Tranquility Farm in Allamuchy, New Jersey, Stuyvesant's collection might eventually have been given or bequeathed to the Museum if he had not died suddenly, whereupon the collection passed to his heirs. Portions of it eventually came to the Museum as the gift or bequest of his son Alan between 1949 and 1954.
115. De Cosson sale 1893, lots 79, 109, 114, 115, 174, 181, 184, 196, 205, 235, 240.
116. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, September 26, 1897, RAL, referring to a visit "this week."
117. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, June 30, 1901, RAL.

118. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, September 1, 1901, RAL. The bequest referred to was that of Jacob S. Rogers (d. 1901), which amounted to almost five million dollars, the income of which was intended solely for the purchase of works of art and books for the library; see Tomkins 1970, pp. 87–91.
119. De Cosson papers, RAL.
120. All references to Berlin's interest in the Dino collection are from the de Cosson papers, RAL.
121. Laking to de Cosson, March 19, 1903, RAL. On April 1, Dino confirmed to de Cosson his intentions to sell in London.
122. According to Christie's Day Books, the registers of consignments received, Dino's various objects arrived between March 19 and April 25.
123. Bachereau to Frederick Stibbert, the Anglo-Florentine collector in Florence, March 16, 1904, archive of the Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence.
124. Tomkins 1970, p. 152.
125. Unless otherwise indicated, the documentation presented in this article for the Museum's purchase of the Dino collection, which consists of telegrams, letters, and internal memoranda, as well as the minutes of the executive and purchasing committees, is found in the MMA Archives.
126. References to the availability of the Dino catalogue to the Museum's administration are found in letters from Stuyvesant to Cesnola dated October 14, 1902, and May 7, 1903; in a cable from Cesnola to Rhinelander of March 26, 1904; and again in a letter from Cesnola to Stuyvesant of April 2 that year. In his letter to Cesnola on May 7, 1903, Stuyvesant wrote: "As there seems no prospect of the Trustees seriously considering the Dino Col[lection] of armor, will you kindly send me the copy of the catalogue now at the Museum."
127. In a follow-up letter to Rhinelander the next day, Stuyvesant forwarded a handwritten copy of Dino's letter, written from Monte Carlo on March 26, in which the duke explained that he established the deadline of April 23 so as not to jeopardize the Christie's, London, sale in the event that the Museum did not purchase the collection.
128. In a letter to Stuyvesant on April 2, 1904, Cesnola noted that the catalogue had been "in our Board Room for many weeks and seen by many Trustees, among whom Mr. Avery; but he says he does not remember seeing it."
129. The following day Dino wrote to de Cosson: "Hier, j'ai vendu ma collection d'armes au Metropolitan Museum, de New York, pour 1,250, 000 francs. C'est par Stuyvesant que l'affaire a été amorcée et definitivement concluée, hier" (Yesterday I sold my collection of arms to the Metropolitan Museum of New York for 1,250,000 francs. It is because of Stuyvesant that the affair was initiated and finally concluded yesterday); RAL.
130. Cable from Rhinelander to Fahnestock, April 9. In a cable of April 8, Rhinelander asked Stuyvesant to see if he could get the duke to agree to two payments, half on shipment and the other half when the collection was received at the Museum and verified against the published catalogue, conditions that Dino vehemently rejected. Rhinelander's confidence in the wisdom of the purchase was not apparently universal among the Museum's administrators. In his letter to the president on April 8, the Museum's treasurer, Henry C. Fahnestock, while expressing confidence in Stuyvesant's experience in armor matters, nevertheless felt obliged to call Rhinelander's attention to the dealer Joseph Duveen's suggestion "that there might be advantage in selecting from the collection." The dealer's knowledge of these private negotiations no doubt reflects a certain intimacy with Dino.
131. *New York Sun* (unpaginated clipping in the MMA historical clippings and ephemera files, 1880–1980, Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA).
132. Similar stories appeared in French and American newspapers in the following days. Newspaper clippings in the Dino files, MMA Archives. The *Daily Telegraph* in London reported the price at £80,000 (about $400,000) and the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* for April 17, 1904, suggested the price to be 2,500,000 francs (about $500,000).
133. Reubell to de Cosson, November 21, 1904, RAL. Morgan to Rhinelander, cable of April 18.
134. Purchasing Committee Minutes, vol. 1 (1903–7), p. 13, as reported at the meeting of November 3, 1904.
135. Letter from Cesnola to Stuyvesant, April 2, 1904, citing financial information provided him by the Museum's treasurer, H. C. Fahnestock.
136. Dean to Cesnola, April 20, 1904, MMA Archives.
137. Dean 1903.
138. Cesnola to Dean, April 22, 1904, MMA Archives.
139. Executive Committee Minutes, vol. 6 (1903–6), p. 43.
140. This letter and subsequent correspondence between Dean and Riggs is preserved in the correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
141. Dean to Riggs, November 20, 1904.
142. In a letter to Riggs dated February 26, 1905, Dean expressed his disappointment that in the Dino catalogue de Cosson had omitted reproduction of the armorers' marks, which was particularly surprising because the baron had for many years been assembling a corpus of marks for publication. That project was left unfinished at his death. His card files of marks, numbering more than twenty thousand, are preserved in the Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds.
143. Dean to Riggs, October 28, 1905.
144. Dean to Riggs, March 27, 1905.
145. Ibid.
146. Dean to Purdon-Clarke, February 19, 1906, MMA Archives.
147. Stuyvesant to Robert de Forest, February 23, 1906, and Minutes of the Executive Committee, vol. 6 (1903–6), p. 297, MMA Archives.

In the more than one hundred years that have passed since the Dino purchase, the study of European arms and armor has made dramatic advances. The evolution and typology of armor and weapons are better defined and understood, as is the technology of arms manufacturing. We know a great deal more about national, regional, and local styles; the role of the guilds and the commerce of arms; decorative techniques and styles of ornament; and the contributions of individual masters and their collaboration with specialized designers, goldsmiths, and printmakers. Much has also been learned about the faking of antique arms in the nineteenth century. As a result, the Dino collection is viewed with a much more critical eye today than in Bashford Dean's era. Some pieces are better understood and appreciated today; others, once seen as highlights of the collection, are now judged to be composite, overly restored, or outright fakes. This is particularly true of the thirteen Dino armors: two have been deaccessioned and sold, and all but one (A.5) of the remaining eleven are not deemed worthy of display.

Baron de Cosson's catalogue gave no hint of such problems apart from two items—a basinet (B.4) and a sword (F.40), for which no dates or places of origin were given and which were identified as modern imitations in a separate errata sheet found in some of the volumes. Although Dean was disappointed in de Cosson's catalogue insofar as it made no mention of restorations, lacked weights and measurements, and failed to reproduce armorer's marks, he generally accepted the opinions, attributions, and dating of the objects given by his older, more experienced, and esteemed colleague. Guy Laking, the English armor specialist who reviewed the collection with Dean during visits to the United States in 1906 and 1909, seems to have taken the same view. Laking considered himself a pupil and friend of de Cosson's and would have been reluctant to criticize him in private or in print. Indeed, when speaking to the American press in 1909, Laking characterized the Dino collection as "the finest ever gathered."[1] He included a large number of Dino objects in his five-volume survey, *A Record of European Armor and Arms through Seven Centuries* (1920–22), where they are discussed and illustrated as representative examples of their respective types.

Dean's reservations about the Dino armors increased with time, as his curatorial eye became more experienced. In 1904 he was a scientist first and an armor collector and enthusiast second. A decade later, having largely retired from his teaching responsibilities at Columbia University and his curatorial work at the American Museum of Natural History to devote himself full-time to the study of arms and armor, the situation was reversed. His extensive hands-on knowledge of armor in public and private collections in the United States and abroad, his experience in the art market as both a buyer and seller, and his investigation of armor restoration and faking among the leading practitioners of the day had honed his skills and informed his judgment.

Dean already held some suspicions about one of the Dino armors in 1904. He had been alerted by Riggs as to the composite nature of the *Stechzeug* (see Figure 33), discussed above, in the accompanying article.[2] The armor's previous owner, Costantino Ressman, who had composed it from a variety of sources over several years, had never tried to hide the fact that it was a recent assemblage, but Dean was particularly shocked to discover that the masterfully forged helmet was altogether modern. In his 1905 handbook of the collection, Dean wrote about the armor with unusual candor: "The present writer . . . inclines to the view that it has suffered a number of 'adaptations' and that the helm is entirely modern, possibly of Viennese workmanship."[3] Although the armor continued to be featured in the Arms and Armor Galleries for decades, usually mounted on a caparisoned horse and with a lance in hand, it was omitted from the departmental handbooks and catalogues of later years.

In 1914 Dean wrote to de Cosson to voice his doubts about the authenticity of one of the more prominent Dino armors, an embossed Italian parade armor thought to have belonged to Gonzalo Fernández de Cordoba (II), duke of Sessa, the Spanish governor of Milan (see Figure 61): "Did you ever have a suspicion that our famous de Cordova suit was largely false. The breast and backplate and part of the colletin [gorget, or collar] are undoubtedly genuine, the other part of the colletin is falsely restored, and the hand work of the restoration corresponds alarmingly well with the workmanship of the arms, shoulders, and hip guards [tassets], and casque [helmet] have been splendidly fashioned in old metal but they have no trace of the damascening which the three old pieces exhibit which I have noted. The shoulder pieces, by the way, are not a pair and the restorer has done the best he could to make them look alike. . . . It is such a ghastly discovery that I hate to say anything about it."[4]

De Cosson's reply was anything but assuring: "I had not taken to pieces and examined critically the Sessa suit so did not suspect what you tell me, but knowing what old Spitzer was, it does not surprise me extremely. We all know that Carrand [the dealer Jean-Baptiste or Louis Carrand] was very given to restoration of the kind you mention, but I do not think it came from him." De Cosson noted that "the

53. Armor of German Gothic style. German and possibly French, partly 15th century, composed, extensively restored, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.293a–t)

54. Armor of Italian quattrocento style. Italian and German, partly 15th century, composed, extensively restored, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.295)

gothic suit with pierced borders" (Figure 53) was known to have been "greatly completed" by Carrand, whom he thought had also 'worked not a little" on "the Italian gothic suit with a skirt" (Figure 54): "When I saw it [the Italian armor] at the Spitzer sale I at once noticed that some of the armourer's marks are turned to right some to left. Besides this, not a few of them are engraved with acid, not punched. Carrand too always used old stuff re-forged for his repairs and I fear that a critical examination will show you that a lot of work of this kind has been done on that suit. The shoulder-pieces too are not suited to a breastplate with a lancerest nor does the lancerest go with the skirt."[5]

He went on to comment on another armor, "the puffed and slashed one with the masque [*sic*] visor," which was "also open to much criticism" (Figure 55): "I feel pretty sure that the same style of work was done on it, very skillfully no doubt, for old Carrand was an excellent workman. It was only after my Catalogue was published, that I had the opportunity of taking these suits to pieces. Then of course I was writing for a private owner at his request, not for a museum, and I could not poke holes." Finally, he mentioned another Carrand piece, "the cross hilted sword with the enamelled pommel," that was "unquestionably made up" and "altogether out of balance" (see Figure 64).

One can appreciate Dean's reluctance to advertise his suspicions to anyone outside the department. During his tenure as curator, no hint was aired in published works or internal communications that the collection was not what it ought to be. Even after the arrival of the much larger Riggs collection in 1914 and the installation of the new Arms and Armor Galleries, which opened in January of the following year, the Dino collection was displayed in its entirety and featured prominently in all subsequent editions of Dean's *Handbook of Arms and Armor*.

It was not until 1932 that the Museum was forced to confront authenticity issues head-on. In that year the English antiquarian Charles R. Beard published a lengthy and highly polemic article in the *Connoisseur* entitled "Too Good to Be True," which focused on one of the Dino armors, "the Gothic suit with pierced borders" (see Figure 53).[6] Beard stated unequivocally that his purpose was "to expose as an extensively restored composite armor of the late fifteenth century style, one that Dean had praised . . . as the supreme effort of a Gothic armorer." There is no evidence that Beard had ever examined the armor firsthand, so it is likely that his detailed criticism was based entirely on photographs and on Paul Eudel's well-informed account, first published in 1907, of the armor's "creation" by Carrand in the mid-nineteenth century.[7] Nevertheless, Beard was essentially correct in his conclusion that the armor is a marriage of diverse elements of old armor of different date and origin, combined with modern additions made in fifteenth-century style to match, all given the appearance of unity by the addition of ridged decoration on the main surfaces and pierced trefoil ornament along the edges.

Beard's contentious article caught the attention of the press, and the Museum was approached for a response. The director, Herbert E. Winlock, replied that the armor in question had, from its first installation, been recognized as partially restored and had been so labeled and that, despite its defects, the armor warranted exhibition as a representative example of the Late Gothic style.[8] These arguments notwithstanding, Stephen V. Grancsay, Dean's longtime assistant and successor as curator, had the armor removed from the galleries and declared "of doubtful authenticity" by the trustees at their meeting on May 15, 1933. At the same time Grancsay had two other Dino armors similarly downgraded; they were subsequently deaccessioned and sold in 1934.[9]

It is surprising that Beard's stinging criticism did not generate a more critical curatorial review of the Dino armors, particularly since there were several others, equally important in the collection, that were certainly "too good to be true." The most ambitious and convincing fakes or pastiches came through the hands of the dealers Carrand (father and son) and Spitzer, and appear to have been built up from a few genuine fragments under the Carrands' direction in the middle of the nineteenth century.[10] That these armors passed as genuine for such a long time attests to the technical metalworking skills and historical knowledge of old armor possessed by the Carrands and their workmen. Several additional examples, specifically those singled out by de Cosson in his aforementioned letter to Dean, will demonstrate the sophisticated work of these nineteenth-century "restorers" and the dilemma faced by collectors and curators in trying to sort out the genuine from the false.

One of the best known among Dino's armors is the "Italian gothic suit with a skirt" (see Figure 54), which purports to be a complete Italian quattrocento harness dating to about 1440 of the type depicted in paintings of the time by Antonio Pisanello and Paolo Uccello.[11] Only about a dozen reasonably complete and homogeneous Italian armors of fifteenth-century date survive, so the Dino example should claim a place of importance in armor studies.[12] Nevertheless, the armor has long been recognized as having puzzling inconsistencies. The sallet (helmet), bevor (lower face and neck defense), and pointed sabtons (shoes of plate) are of late fifteenth-century German type. The rest of the armor is an incongruous mix of pieces for the field (the breastplate with lance-rest), tournament (the arm defenses), and infantry or foot-combat use (the deep skirt). Finally, the Italian-style armorers' marks found on almost every plate are too numerous (thirty-nine in all) and too repetitious: the same mark, a reverse *S* impaled by a tall cross, appears thirty-two times on plates of both Italian and German type. On the German elements, the marks appear to be etched rather than stamped. The armor was nevertheless accepted by most specialists as essentially genuine and for decades featured repeatedly in Museum publications.[13] It last appeared in a groundbreaking book on Italian armor published in 1967, when, with certain reservations, it was given a comprehensive dating of 1435–40.[14]

Unfortunately, the armor fails critical examination. The principal Italian-style elements—the cuirass and skirt, arm defenses, gauntlets, and legs—appear for the most part to be made from modern metal or, at best, of old armor pieces so thoroughly remodeled as to be unrecognizable. From this it is clear that most of the armorers' marks—stamped or etched—are modern. The pauldrons (shoulder defenses), on the other hand, may incorporate some genuine plates of the period: the main plate on each bears traces at the back of an effaced circular mark with the points of a cross above, which suggest that at least these plates date to the fifteenth century.[15] The genuine front half of the left greave (the rear half is modern) is also struck with three marks similar to those used by the famous Missaglia workshop in Milan before 1452. Of the armor's associated German pieces, the sallet bowl is genuine but heavily patched, the visor is modern, and the bevor remodeled. The sabatons have long been accepted as additions made for Spitzer (the toe and three adjacent plates of the right sabaton appear to be old). The armor is also fitted with a gorget of plate, a defense not yet invented in the middle of the fifteenth century—a detail that escaped the restorer. The gorget, which bears traces of a mark (Augsburg), was remodeled from a late sixteenth-century example.

Another Dino harness that has enjoyed undue celebrity is the puffed-and-slashed suit mentioned by de Cosson

55. “Costume armor.” German or Austrian, ca. 1510–15, composed, extensively restored, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel, gold, and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.286)

De Cosson speculatively attributed the armor to an obscure Brussels armorer in imperial service, Franz Scroo.[17]

Like the aforementioned Italian harness, this armor has been built up from a few genuine fragments, in this case the helmet, the two hinged tassets and rear skirt, both cuisses, and the right toe-cap. Dating to about 1515, the genuine elements are probably the work of either Konrad Seusenhofer (d. 1517) of Innsbruck or Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532) of Augsburg, whose armors of the period are closely related in construction and decoration.[18] These elements evidently were in very poor, damaged condition, and each has been extensively patched, re-etched, and newly gilt. The lower edge of the helmet, for example, now cut off, was originally turned over so as to rotate on the rim of the gorget; the visor has different etching from the rest of the armor and, though contemporary, may be associated. The hinged tassets and rear skirt are actually fragments of a deep tonlet now shortened and reshaped. They presumably came originally from the Radziwill Castle at Nieswiez, in Poland-Lithuania (now Nyasvizh, in Belarus) through Jean-Baptist Carrand’s principal customer, Prince Peter Soltykoff, an armor collector who seems to have acquired a number of pieces from the Radziwill armory as a result of the regular conflicts between Russia and Poland. Soltykoff evidently kept the best pieces for himself and left the debris to Carrand. The genuine pauldrons and vambraces belonging to the Dino armor (the present ones are modern restorations) were in the Soltykoff collection of arms and armor, which was purchased by Napoleon III in 1860 and is now in the Musée de l’Armée in Paris (Figure 56).[19]

56. Pair of pauldrons and vambraces (defenses for the shoulders and arms) originally from the armor illustrated in Figure 55. German or Austrian, ca. 1510–15. Steel, gold, and copper alloy. Musée de l’Armée, Paris, inv. G 376. Photograph: Musée de l’Armée

(see Figure 55)—an early sixteenth-century German “costume armor,” so called for its imitation in steel of the elaborate and colorful costume worn by fashion-conscious German courtiers and men-at-arms of the period, especially the extreme forms favored by German mercenaries, the *Landsknechte*.[16] These elaborate parade armors were often furnished with helmets fitted with visors in the form of grotesque masks and sometimes with deep metal skirts imitating the cloth “bases” worn at court. The Dino armor possesses all these elements. The raised “puffed” surfaces have recessed “slashes” with etched and gilt ornament; the folds of the skirt are etched and alternately gilt with a pattern brocade and candelabra ornament on a crosshatched ground; and irregular diagonal slashes highlight the breastplate and cuisses (thigh defenses). Firesteels and briquettes, emblems of the Order of the Golden Fleece, are etched on the arms of the visor, suggesting that the owner was a member of that prestigious Burgundian-Habsburg order.

The original wing for the right poleyn (knee defense) of the Dino armor (the present right knee is modern) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Figures 57, 58), having been sold with the remnants of the Radziwill armory at Christie's in 1926 and 1927.[20] The Radziwill provenance of this small armor fragment demonstrates conclusively that the entire armor originally came from the armory of this wealthy, powerful family. The remainder of the Dino armor is made up of old armor and modern pieces decorated to match.

The extent, quality, and sheer cleverness of Carrand's "restoration" are made evident in a comparison of the Dino breastplate (Figure 59) and one of an identical form, but undecorated, that is coincidentally also in the Museum's collection (Figure 60).[21] Both are struck near the top with a well-worn mark in the form of a war hat, the Landshuetel of Landshut;[22] the undecorated breastplate also bears the mark "HS," probably that of the Landshut armorer Hans Schmid (active 1518–52).[23] There can be no doubt that the breastplate on the Dino armor originally looked like the undecorated example and that the fluting, recessed "slashes," and etched and gilt ornament were added under Carrand's direction.

57. Detail of restored right poleyn (knee defense) of the armor illustrated in Figure 55

58. Wing of the right poleyn (knee defense) originally from the armor illustrated in Figure 55. German or Austrian, ca. 1510–15. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, 7 5/8 x 6 1/4 in. (19.3 x 15.8 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. M.546–1927. Photograph: Victoria and Albert Museum

59. Breastplate and tassets of the armor illustrated in Figure 55

60. Hans Schmid (active 1518–52). Breastplate. German (Landshut), ca. 1530. Steel and copper alloy, H. 16 1/4 in. (41.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1937 (37.189.12)

61. Embossed parade armor, reputedly of the duke of Sessa. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1560, composed, extensively altered, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel, gold, leather, and textile. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.270 a–o)

62. J. Laurent and Company, Madrid, photographer. Portions of the armor illustrated in Figure 61, prior to restoration, ca. 1865–70. Photograph: Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

It was a fourth armor from the Spitzer collection, that of the duke of Sessa (Figure 61), that so alarmed Dean in 1914. The armor stands out in the Dino collection as the only one having embossed figural ornament of classical inspiration as well as a documented aristocratic provenance.[24] It is composed of a close helmet, gorget, breastplate with tassets, backplate, complete arms defenses, and gauntlets. The decoration consists of vertical bands of embossed and gold-damascened grotesque and candelabra ornament alternating with flat bands of etched and gilt foliate ornament framed by foliate borders. This combination of decorative techniques on the same armor, particularly as arranged in alternating bands, is unusual for the period. Raised in relief around the top of the breast- and backplate is the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, consisting of the collar proper, formed of repeating firesteels and flaming briquettes, from which is suspended the fleece. The front plate of the gorget is also embossed with the fleece, this time suspended from a simple chain, flanked by the initials *C* and *M*.[25]

The duke of Sessa was elected to the order in 1555. According to de Cosson, "this magnificent armor" formerly belonged to the Spanish dukes of Infantado, in whose inventory of 1643 a cap-à-pie harness said to have belonged to the duke of Sessa is mentioned and described as having embossed decoration that included the Order of the Golden Fleece on the breastplate. De Cosson attributed the armor to the leading Milanese armorer of the period, Lucio Piccinino.

Dean's conclusion that only several parts of the armor were genuine and that the rest had been reworked and completed was on the mark. A photograph showing elements of this armor when it was still in Spain, and therefore before it passed into Spitzer's hands, provides valuable documentation for its original appearance (Figure 62).[26] The photograph comes from the studio of Juan (Jean) Laurent in Madrid and probably dates to about 1865–70.[27] It becomes immediately evident that the elements belong to two different armors of very similar design, decorative technique, and style of workmanship: the helmet and left tasset have edges worked with an interlace, or guilloche, design and, between the embossed bands, narrow bands of etched foliate ornament framed by an egg-and-dart border; the breastplate and right tasset, on the other hand, have smooth, rounded edges and, between the embossed bands, wide bands of etched foliate ornament framed by scalloped borders formed of repeated arched leaves separated by a pointed leaf. The two types of etched bands are diagnostic features that, along with the different treatment of the edges, help us to distinguish the two armors. The decoration of the breastplate and right tasset of the Dino armor looks very different now from how it appears in the photograph. Whereas these pieces originally had three wide embossed bands alternating with wide etched bands, they now have five embossed bands separated by narrow etched bands. This alteration was achieved by hammering smooth the original etched bands and then embossing over them; new etched bands of the narrow type, which copy those on the associated helmet and left tasset, were then added between the raised decoration. These changes to the original armor appear to serve no practical purpose, merely adding ornament to an armor already profusely decorated. Such embellishment appears to be a hallmark of Spitzer's "restoration" philosophy.[28]

The Laurent photograph shows only portions of the Dino armor as it is known today, but it nevertheless provides a useful guide to sorting out the remaining pieces. The breastplate, backplate (altered like the breastplate), right tasset, and possibly the gorget plate, each with smooth edges, belong to one armor, and the helmet, arm defenses, and gauntlets to a second one with guilloche edges. The elements from the second armor especially have been subject to extensive repairs: some of the plates are modern replacements and expertly decorated to match. The present left tasset is not the one illustrated in the Laurent photograph, but rather is a modern replacement made to match the genuine, but altered, right tasset. All of the armor's parts have been regilt; the only remaining original color consists of traces of gold damascening on the breast- and backplate.

Elements from both armors are preserved in European and American collections. The left tasset matching (before alteration) the right one on the Dino armor is in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Figure 63),[29] and portions of the second, heavily restored armor with guilloche edges are found in Rome, Florence, and Philadelphia.[30] The fragmentary and damaged state of both armors, which presumably came from the same collection, is probably the result of having been in a fire, since there is fire scale inside several of the Dino elements.

The Dino collection also contains a number of elaborately decorated weapons that are composite or entirely fake, but in his letter of 1914 de Cosson singled out only one, a medieval-style sword with a hilt of gilt bronze, the

63. Left tasset belonging to the armor illustrated in Figure 61. Steel. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, no. G. PO1260. Photograph: Musée de l'Armée

64. Sword in medieval style (detail). French, 19th century. Steel, copper alloy, gold, silver, and enamel, L. 46¾ in. (118.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.276). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

pommel of which is inlaid on each side with a silver disk engraved and enameled with arms said to be those of Raoul de Goncourt (1374–1462), a nobleman at the court of Charles VII of France (Figure 64).[31] Reputedly found in Normandy in 1838, the sword was exhibited by Carrand père at the Exposition Universelle of 1867; Spitzer bought it from Louis Carrand in 1884. This handsome and well-known weapon fetched one of the highest prices in the Spitzer sale of 1895.[32] Since its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum, it has regularly figured in the handbooks on the arms and armor collection and in at least one specialized book on medieval swords.[33] However, the sword's all-metal grip, engraved with a banderole and Latin inscription, is unlike any known example of the period, and the unusual quillons of flat, ribbonlike section with asymmetrical curved tips look more Art Nouveau than medieval. The blade, too, was suspicious, being of unusual lenticular section and with an overly large engraved (rather than stamped) mark. These odd features finally raised curatorial suspicions in 1963, when the sword was removed from exhibition and dismantled. The curators and conservators concluded that the hilt and blade were of nineteenth-century manufacture, whereas the enameled arms were probably genuine but originally from another object.[34]

It is not surprising that the duc de Dino's collection contains ambitious and deceptively attractive fakes such as those described above. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the supply of high-quality armor and weapons was dwindling, and fakes were made to fill the gap. Some fakes were of such sophisticated design and workmanship as to fool even the most experienced collectors and curators, even those of recent generations. The Dino fakes, particularly those from the Carrand and Spitzer collections, are worthy of detailed study as an education for the eye and as a test of one's knowledge of metalworking, decorative techniques, and historical forms and styles. They in no way diminish the overall importance of the Dino collection, whose purchase effectively established the Metropolitan's arms and armor collection and provided it with some of its greatest works of historical and artistic importance.

NOTES

1. Unidentified newpaper clipping dated November 18, 1909, files, MMA Department of Arms and Armor.
2. As referred to in a letter from Bashford Dean to William H. Riggs, February 26, 1905, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
3. Dean 1905, p. 77. As noted above, the helm was, in fact, the work of armorer Daniel Tachaux in Paris in 1889.
4. Dean to de Cosson, September 2, 1914, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
5. De Cosson to Dean, September 20, 1914, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
6. Beard 1932; de Cosson 1901, no. A.2. Sold in the Spitzer sale of 1895, the armor cost Dino 51,000 francs.
7. Eudel 1907, pp. 68–69.
8. *New York Sun*, April 15, 1932, files, Department of Arms and Armor.
9. De Cosson 1901, nos. A.12 and A.13.
10. Eudel (1907, p. 68), followed by Beard (1932), considered that both Carrands had a hand in the restoration and completion of the Gothic armors; de Cosson and Bashford Dean attributed the work solely to Louis Carrand. Dean's opinion was based on information verbally communicated by William Riggs, who knew Louis Carrand and is said to have seen him at work about 1860–61 adding the pierced trefoils to the armor later acquired by the Metropolitan (Figure 53). This information is recorded in Dean's unpublished manuscript "Copyists and Restorers of Ancient Armor," in the Department of Arms and Armor.
11. De Cosson 1901, no. A.1. According to the "Extrait du catalogue des armes de feu Mr. J. B. Carrand, dressé par lui même," a manuscript preserved among the Ressman papers, RAL, the armor as we know it today, except for the sabatons, was completed by 1871, including the armorers' marks. The armor was presumably among the pieces belonging to J. B. Carrand that were sold by his son to Spitzer about 1871. It was exhibited by Spitzer at the Exposition Historique du Trocadéro in Paris in 1878 (see Breban 1878, p. 54) and again at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 (see Paris 1889, p. 83, no. 632); it subsequently appeared in Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 2, and in the Spitzer sale of 1895, lot 2 (sold for 41,000 francs). See also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 1, pp. 180–81, fig. 214.
12. De Cosson 1901, p. 11, praised it as one of the "three oldest complete armors" in European collections.
13. Dean 1905, pp. 64–67, and subsequent editions of the handbook in 1915 and 1921; Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 1, p. 180, fig. 214; and Grancsay 1956, p. 213.
14. Boccia and Coelho 1967, pp. 120, 137, pls. 70–72. The opinions regarding the Metropolitan's harness found in this groundbreaking publication on Italian armor were based solely on Eduardo Coelho's examination of the armor in the gallery vitrine and on photographs. Once informed by the present author as to the extent of the armor's restoration, Lionello Boccia subsequently discounted it from consideration among the surviving quattrocento examples; see Boccia 1979, p. 31; Boccia 1982, p. 13, n. 1; and Boccia 1987, p. 52, n. 22.
15. Reproduced in Dean 1905, p. 67. The discussion of this armor and those that follow, each a complex work that should be published in detail in the future, is greatly simplified here for the sake of clarity and brevity.
16. De Cosson 1901, no. A.4. Having acquired this harness from Carrand in the 1870s, Spitzer included it among his loans to the Paris exhibitions of 1878 and 1889 (see note 11 above); see also Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 7, pl. 5, and Spitzer sale 1895, lot 7 (sold for 76,000 francs, the most expensive lot in the Spitzer sale). The armor figures in a number of publications following its acquisition by the Museum: Dean 1905, pp. 85–86, pl. 42, and later editions of the handbook (1915, 1921, and 1930); Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 256–58; Grancsay 1953, no. 4; Norman 1964, p. 63, fig. 65; Nickel 1974, pp. 129, 143; and Thomas 1977, p. 153.
17. De Cosson 1901, p. 13, following Boeheim (1894–98, vol. 1, p. 3), who tentatively attributed to Scroo the "costume armor" made for Charles V as a boy (Hofjagd- und Rüsthammer, Vienna, no. A109). According to Boeheim (1890, p. 660), the Brussels armorer was recorded in imperial employment between 1480 and 1496.

18. The Dino armor is discussed together with similar costume armors, including related pieces by Kolman Helmschmid in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, in Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, pp. 70–77. The armor has frequently been published as that of Frederick of Saxony, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order from 1496 to 1510, an association first suggested by Grancsay in ibid., p. 75.
19. Reverseau 1990, pp. 32–33, with earlier bibliography cited.
20. The poleyn wing formed part of the collection of Major Victor Farquharson bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926. Farquharson acquired a number of Radziwill pieces in the sales of that collection at Christie, Manson & Woods in London on June 29, 1926.
21. Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 243, fig. 1031A, and 245; Grancsay 1955, no. 12.
22. Reproduced in Dean 1905, p. 85; the present author's identification of this Landshut mark misled Bruno Thomas to identify the armor as a youthful work of the Landshut armorer Wolfgang Grosschedel; see Thomas 1977, p. 153.
23. Von Reitzenstein 1969, p. 30.
24. De Cosson 1901, no. A.8; see also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 330–33, where de Cosson's entry is repeated. The cited provenance for the armor is given as the dukes of Infantado, dukes of Osuna (whose armory, according to Cripps-Day 1925, p. 29, was dispersed in the early 1880s), and Spitzer.
25. These initials led Mario Scalini to identify the armor (mistakenly, in this author's opinion) as that of Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence, a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1546 (Scalini 1990, pp. 22–24, 28–29).
26. The photograph may record one of the armors belonging to the duke of Osuna. It is not known when or where Spitzer acquired it. He lent it to the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris (see Paris 1889, no. 634), and it appeared in his collection catalogue (Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 19) and in the Spitzer sale 1895, lot 19 (sold for 52,000 francs).
27. The only print of this photograph known to the author is pasted into one of the scrapbooks (series 105, vol. 5) assembled by Jules Maciet now in the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. The significance of the number 841 in the caption, perhaps a negative or series number, is not known. This photograph may date about the time Laurent published his series of 187 photographs of the armors in Real Armería de Madrid 1868.
28. For an introduction to Spitzer as mastermind for the creation of fakes, see Hackenbroch 1984–85, pp. 169–76.
29. Paris 2011, pp. 40, fig. 6, and 43.
30. Discussed by Scalini 1990, pp. 28–29, n. 16, without distinguishing the two different armors and their restorations.
31. De Cosson 1901, no. F.1; see also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 2, pp. 261–62 and fig. 638, where the sword, although rumored "on good authority" to be composite, is accepted as genuine.
32. Paris 1867, p. 159; Bonnaffé 1890, p. 30; Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 101; Spitzer sale 1895, lot 175 (sold for 24,500 francs). The 1838 provenance cited in de Cosson 1901, p. 58, is found in the manuscript Carrand catalogue (see note 11 above), no. 69.
33. Dean 1905, pp. 145–46, fig. 74C, and in subsequent editions of the handbook from 1915 to 1930; Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 2, pp. 261–62, fig. 638; and Bruhn de Hoffmeyer 1954, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 91, pl. 29d.
34. The enameled Gaucourt arms are also found on a serving knife of fifteenth-century type in the Wallace Collection, no. A882, which also belonged earlier to Louis Carrand (Mann 1962, vol. 2, pp. 228–29).

APPENDIX 2: CONCORDANCE OF DINO COLLECTION CATALOGUE NUMBERS AND METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ACCESSION NUMBERS

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
Armors	
A.1	04.3.295
A.2	04.3.293
A.3	04.3.291–292
A.4	04.3.286
A.5	04.3.289
A.6	04.3.280, 282–285, 288, 479, 481
A.7	04.3.278
A.8	04.3.270
A.9	04.3.265
A.10	04.3.267–269
A.11	04.3.266
A.12	04.3.257
A.13	04.3.258
Helmets	
B.1	04.3.238
B.2	04.3.235
B.3	04.3.241
B.4	04.3.463
B.5	04.3.247
B.6	04.3.240
B.7	04.3.234
B.8	04.3.228
B.9	04.3.236
B.10	04.3.229
B.11	04.3.226
B.12	04.3.227
B.13	04.3.231
B.14	04.3.242
B.15	04.3.230
B.16	04.3.239
B.17	04.3.237
B.18	04.3.233
B.19	04.3.274
B.20	04.3.248
B.21	04.3.244
B.22	04.3.245
B.23	04.3.242
B.24	04.3.243
B.25	04.3.246
B.26	04.3.202
B.27	04.3.205
B.28	04.3.221
B.29	04.3.217
B.30	04.3.223

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
B.31	04.3.222
B.32	04.3.206
B.33	04.3.219
B.34	04.3.201
B.35	04.3.220
B.36	04.3.203
B.37	04.3.204
B.38	04.2.200
B.39	04.3.224
B.40	04.3.225
B.41	04.3.216
Armor Parts	
C.1	04.3.218
C.2	04.3.207
C.3	04.3.105
C.4	04.3.110
C.5	04.3.111
C.6	04.3.56–57
C.7	04.3.34–35
Shields	
D.1	04.3.296
D.2	04.3.262
D.3	04.3.261
D.4	04.3.277
D.5	04.3.264
D.6	04.3.255
D.7	04.3.270
D.8	04.3.256
D.9	04.3.106
D.10	04.3.176
D.11	04.3.107
Equestrian Equipment	
E.1	04.3.253
E.2	04.3.108
E.3	04.3.109
E.4	04.3.254
E.5	04.3.249
E.6	04.3.250
E.7	04.3.252
E.8	04.3.251
E.9	04.3.471–474

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
E.10	04.3.478
E.11	04.3.173–172
E.12	04.3.168–169
E.13	04.3.170–171
E.14	04.3.175
E.15	04.3.174

Swords

F.1	04.3.276
F.2	04.3.459
F.3	04.3.294
F.4	04.3.263
F.5	04.3.61
F.6	04.3.28
F.7	04.3.26
F.8	04.3.290
F.9	04.3.27
F.10	04.3.6
F.11	04.3.21
F.12	04.3.281
F.13	04.3.287
F.14	04.3.275
F.15	04.3.42
F.16	04.3.23
F.17	04.3.32
F.18	04.3.20
F.19	04.3.19
F.20	04.3.30
F.21	04.3.29
F.22	04.3.55
F.23	04.3.272
F.24	04.3.60
F.25	04.3.273
F.26	04.3.12
F.27	04.3.279
F.28	04.3.24
F.29	04.3.9
F.30	04.3.7
F.31	04.3.5
F.32	04.3.8
F.33	04.3.54
F.34	04.3.22
F.35	04.3.25
F.36	04.3.11
F.37	04.3.52
F.38	04.3.1
F.39	04.3.31
F.40	04.3.10
F.41	04.3.3
F.42	04.3.2

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
F.43	04.3.13
F.44	04.3.44
F.45	04.3.15
F.46	04.3.16
F.47	04.3.4
F.48	04.3.14
F.49	04.3.41
F.50	04.3.45
F.51	04.3.43
F.52	04.3.51

Daggers

G.1	not in collection when purchased
G.2	04.3.123
G.3	04.3.146
G.4	04.3.142
G.5	not in collection when purchased
G.6	04.3.126
G.7	04.3.139
G.8	04.3.138
G.9	04.3.137
G.10	04.3.135
G.11	04.3.136
G.12	04.3.134
G.13	04.3.133
G.14	04.3.143
G.15	04.3.127
G.16	04.3.141
G.17	04.3.124
G.18	04.3.112
G.19	04.3.18
G.20	04.3.149
G.21	04.3.144
G.22	04.3.125
G.23	04.3.145
G.24	04.3.114
G.25	04.3.121
G.26	04.3.152
G.27	04.3.140
G.28	04.3.130–132
G.29	04.3.128
G.30	04.3.117
G.31	04.3.148
G.32	04.3.120
G.33	04.3.147
G.34	04.3.118
G.35	04.3.116
G.36	04.3.53
G.37	04.3.119
G.38	04.3.17

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
G.39	04.3.166
G.40	04.3.167
G.41	04.3.113
G.42	04.3.115
G.43	04.3.129
G.44	04.3.150
G.45	04.3.152
G.46	04.3.158
G.47	04.3.153–157

Shafted Weapons

H.1	04.3.47
H.2	04.3.59
H.3	04.3.38
H.4	04.3.39
H.5	04.3.46
H.6	04.3.49
H.7	04.3.58
H.8	04.3.48
H.9	04.3.40
H.10	04.3.477
H.11	04.3.37
H.12	04.3.50
H.13	04.3.470
H.14	04.3.100
H.15	04.3.467
H.16	04.3.69
H.17	04.3.76
H.18	04.3.82
H.19	04.3.81
H.20	04.3.64
H.21	04.3.65
H.22	04.3.75
H.23	04.3.74
H.24	04.3.83
H.25	04.3.68
H.26	04.3.97
H.27	04.3.84
H.28	04.3.85
H.29	04.3.86
H.30	04.3.87
H.31	04.3.88
H.32	04.3.89
H.33	04.3.90
H.34	04.3.91
H.35	04.3.92
H.36	04.3.93
H.37	04.3.94
H.38	04.3.95
H.39	04.3.96

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
H.40	not accounted for/never received
H.41	04.3.102
H.42	04.3.101
H.43	04.3.103
H.44	04.3.104
H.45	04.3.63
H.46	04.3.62
H.47	04.3.73
H.48	04.3.67
H.49	04.3.78
H.50	04.3.79
H.51	04.3.80
H.52	04.3.464
H.53	04.3.66
H.54	04.3.77
H.55	04.3.98
H.56	04.3.99
H.57	04.3.70
H.58	04.3.71
H.59	04.3.72
H.60	04.3.465
H.61	04.3.466
H.62	04.3.482
H.63	04.3.483

Crossbows

I.1	04.3.36

Firearms

J.1	04.3.180
J.2	04.3.182
J.3	04.3.165
J.4	04.3.184
J.5	04.3.179
J.6	04.3.163
J.7	04.3.162
J.8	04.3.164
K.1	04.3.189
K.2	04.3.159
K.3	04.3.194
K.4	04.3.10–161
K.5	04.3.181
K.6	04.3.122
K.7	04.3.198–199
K.8	04.3.192–193
K.9	04.3.187–188
K.10	04.3.195–196
K.11	04.3.190–191

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
Firearms Accessories	
L.1	04.3.183
L.2	lost
L.3	04.3.186
L.4	04.3.197
L.5	04.3.185
Miscellaneous	
M.1	04.3.177
M.2	04.3.178
M.3	04.3.298–302
M.4	04.3.303–455
M.5	04.3.458
M.6	04.3.297
M.7	04.3.259
M.8	04.3.260
M.9	04.3.475
M.10	04.3.476

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
M.11	04.3.469
M.12	04.3.33
M.13	04.3.468
Oriental	
N.1	04.3.456
N.2	04.3.457
N.3	04.3.460
N.4	04.3.209
N.5	04.3.210
N.6	04.3.211
N.7	04.3.212
N.8	04.3.462
N.9	04.3.214
N.10	04.3.215
N.11	04.3.461
N.12	04.3.208
N.13	04.3.213

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Contents

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