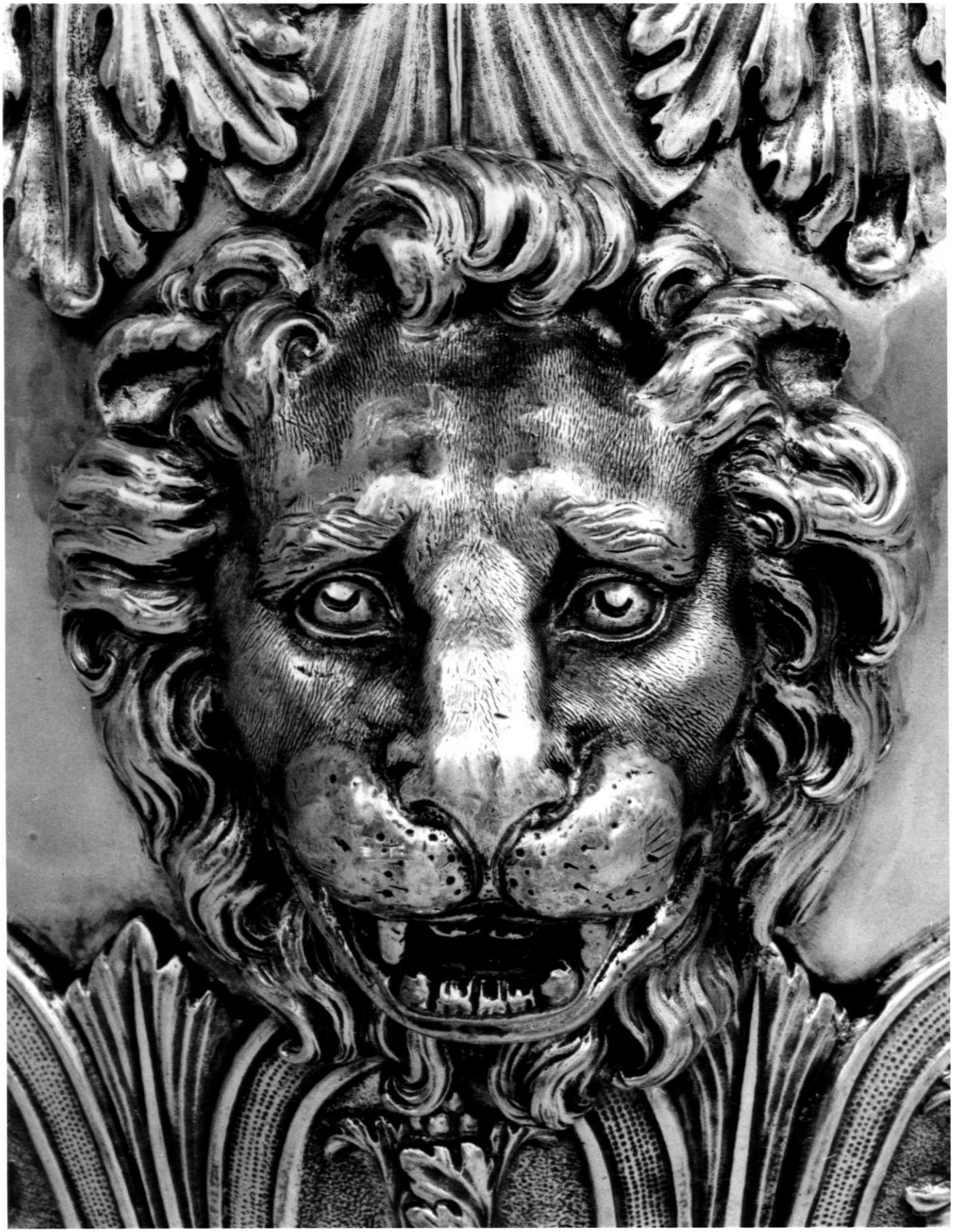
The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal 11



The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal

Volume 11/1983

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Cover: Silver fountain, detail. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DG.17. See article pp. 1–12.

The *Journal* is published annually and contains articles and shorter notes related to aspects of the permanent collections in the museum: Renaissance through nineteenth century painting and drawing, late seventeenth and eighteenth century French decorative arts and sculpture, manuscript illumination, and Greek and Roman antiquities. Conservation problems are also discussed.

The Editors

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THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM JOURNAL
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The Kedleston Fountain
Its Development from a Seventeenth-century Vase

Gillian Wilson

French (Paris), circa 1661–1663
English (London?), circa 1698 and circa 1758–1762
Height: 2′ 1 5/8″ (65.2 cm.); Width: 1′ 2 1/8″ (35.9 cm.);
Depth: 1′ 2 1/4″ (36.2 cm.)
Accession number 82.DG.17 (figs. 1 and 2)

The body of the fountain bears the Paris date letter, a crowned R, which was used between December 30, 1661 and July 2, 1663,[1] and an unidentified maker's mark HR or ILR with a sceptre and fleur-de-lys[2] (fig. 3). The cartouche above the spout is engraved with the arms of Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Baron Scarsdale (1726–1804) and his wife Caroline Colyear (d. 1812), the daughter of the Earl of Portmore (fig. 4). They were married in 1750.

The fountain has had an interesting if complicated history. There is no doubt that the main body of the piece is a rare survival from the late seventeenth century. Very little French silver of this date has survived, owing to the sumptuary edicts of Louis XIV of 1689 and 1709 when so much domestic silver was melted down to pay for France's punishingly expensive wars.

The fountain must have arrived in England before 1698, for in that year the silversmith Ralph Leeke made a copy of it, together with two large cisterns (fig. 5). The Leeke copy has not been seen since 1945, but the cisterns are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Goldsmith's Hall, London.

Since 1698 the form of the original vessel has been changed, and no doubt that of the English copy as well. It is almost certain that the base is an eighteenth-century replacement, and there is some disagreement as to whether the lid, spout, handles, the lion's head, escutcheon, and spool-shaped neck are English changes or not. The documented history of the museum's fountain is somewhat sketchy, but it does help to unravel the problem.

By 1758 the fountain was in the possession of Nathaniel Curzon. A bill exists in the Kedleston papers from Phillips Garden (active 1735–1773, apprenticed 1730, "working Goldsmith and Jeweller at the Golden Lion the North Side of St. Paul's Church Yard") dated January 4, 1759. It lists items from January 17th to November 28th of the previous year. The following entry appears for November 22nd:[3]

New doing up 2 cisterns & 2 fountains 21.0.0
Taking out 4 arms, and engraving other
arms on Fountains & c 2.0.0

The arms referred to are surely those that are now on the fountain, those of the 1st Baron Scarsdale. As his father had only died on November 16, 1758, it is unlikely that the son would have had the arms changed to his own with such unseemly haste. It is known that after Nathaniel Curzon's marriage to Caroline Colyear in 1750 and his inheritance in 1758, he spent a great deal of money on silver, furniture, and paintings; and it is possible that the fountains and cisterns were acquired from some other English noble family whose arms were then replaced. There are no accounts at Kedleston prior to 1718, and there is no reference to the fountains and cisterns in earlier accounts, nor is their history prior to 1758 known.

As to the "new doing up" of the silver in 1758 by Garden at a cost of £21, it must have been quite extensive. Could the classical foot have been added at this time?[4] As

1. See Henri Nocq, *Le Poinçon de Paris*, 1968, v. 4, p. 211.

2. Arthur Grimwade had suggested that the prominent fleur-de-lys on this stamp may indicate that the unidentified silversmith worked for the Crown and had lodgings in the Louvre. I am grateful to Mr. Grimwade for his generous help and the time he has given in answering my letters concerning the fountain.

3. I am grateful to Leslie Harris for allowing me to use this unpublished material from the Kedleston papers and for his assistance in other matters.

4. In 1772, James Bridges, the 3rd Duke of Chandos, commissioned the English siversmiths John Parker and Edward Wakelin to copy a large auricular dish made by the Hamburg maker Dirich Utermarke circa 1630. The Parker and Wakelin ledgers for the 19th of June 1772 show that the new dish, which weighed 102 ounces, cost £59.19 and that the silver cost six shillings an ounce. Thus the silver would have amounted to about £30 and the work itself to £29. By a process of deduction it is possible to say that the 'new doing up' of the cisterns and fountains might well have involved some £10 of silver, which would have been approximately thirty-three ounces—more than enough for two new feet for the pair of fountains.

Figure 1. The Kedleston Fountain. French (Paris), ca. 1661–1663 and English (London), ca. 1698 and ca. 1758–1762. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DG.17.

Figure 2. The fountain seen from the side.

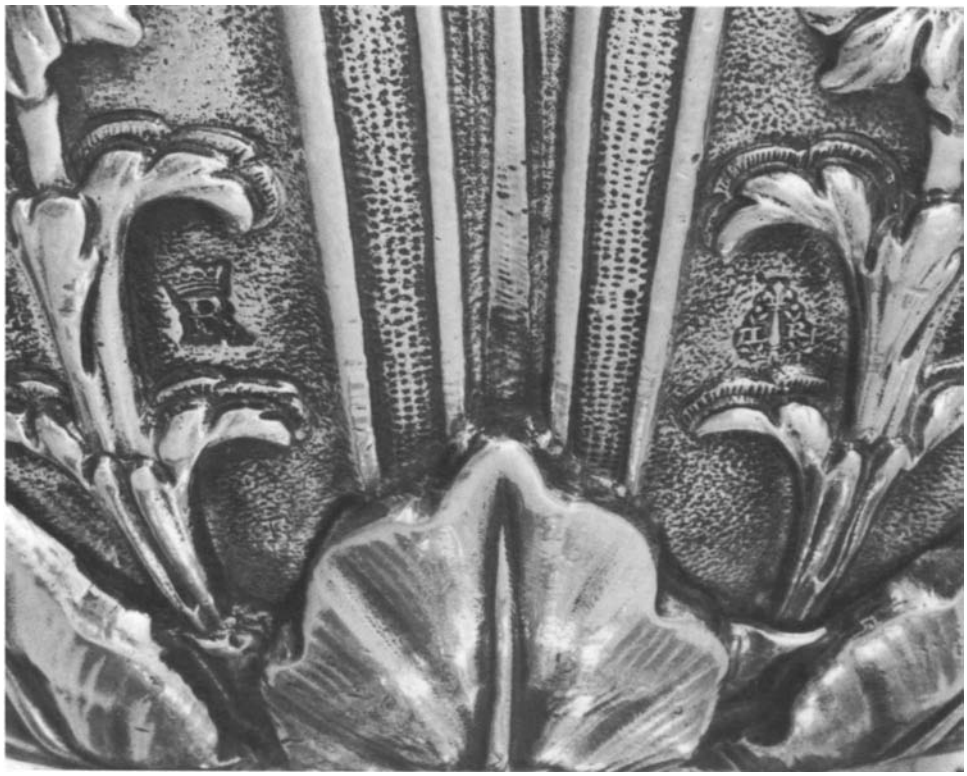

Figure 3. Detail of the body of the fountain showing, to the left, a crowned R for 1661–1663 and an unidentified maker's mark to the right.

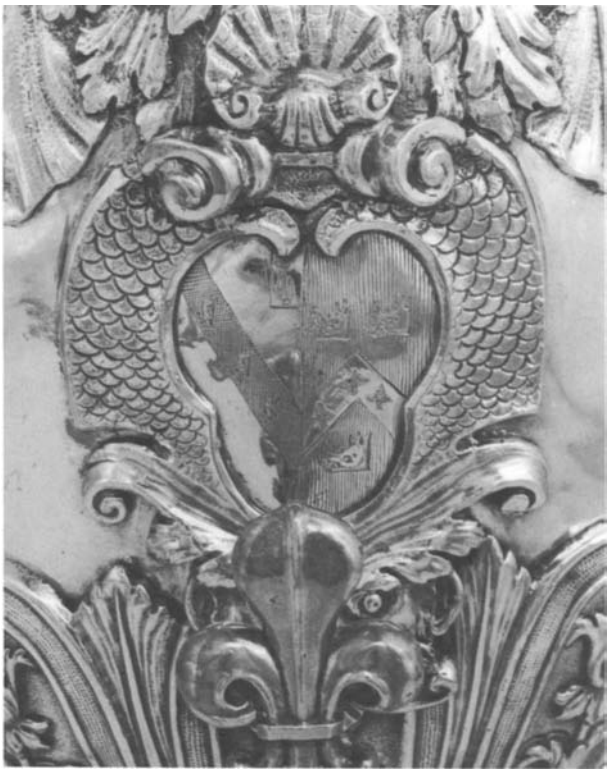

Figure 4. Detail showing the cartouche above the spigot, engraved with the arms of Nathaniel Curzon and Caroline Colyear.

Figure 5. One of a pair of cisterns made by Ralph Leeke in 1698, *en suite* with the fountain. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

the vessels were already described as fountains, we must assume that the spigots existed—but whether they are Leeke additions is difficult to say. The spigots are adorned with large fleurs-de-lys (fig. 6), and it seems more likely that they were added by Leeke to make it, and the companion he made, more functional.[5] One could hazard a guess that Leeke knew that the vase was a royal gift from Louis XIV, and he so decorated it.

The handles are of an unusual form and are rather feeble in comparison with the massiveness of the vase. It is possible that they were added by Leeke. They certainly do not resemble the massive and elaborate handles affixed to French vessels of this date, which are illustrated in tapestries produced at the Gobelins Manufactory—in particular those shown in the series called *L'Histoire du Roi*.[6] Usually only one handle is present. On the museum's fountain there is a patch situated above and to the right of the escutcheon which may be where the original single French handle was fixed.[7]

The lion's mask and the escutcheon, on either side of the vase, being of typically late-seventeenth-century style, might also have been added by Leeke. The latter was needed to carry the arms of the new English owner. The function or purpose of the lion's mask is unclear; it may well be purely decorative, but it once held a ring in its mouth.[8] The lion's mask on the fountain does not much resemble those of the cisterns (figs. 7 and 8), but a sophisticated silversmith like Leeke would have had more than one such model to his hand. The mask resembles others on a fountain of 1694 by George Garthorne and on a wine cistern and fountain of 1700 by Pierre Harache.[9]

The finial of the lid seems to be of French, or at least

It is also of interest to note that Parker and Wakelin in the same bill charged £2.10 'to mending & adding pieces to an old Emboss'd Dish, 10 oz'. This seems to have been for the addition of an armorial plate to the central boss of the Hamburg dish. They also charged thirty shillings for 'graving 2 coats, supporters & crests on the 2 Emboss'd Dishes'. This compares to Garden's charge of £2 for similar work on four vessels.

I am grateful to Anna Somers-Cocks for this information. The English copy of the Hamburg dish is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Acc. no. 7241-1861).

5. These fountains have been consistantly called 'wine' fountains, but they were intended not for wine but for water. After the middle of the seventeenth century, there was in France a notable change in table manners, which became more refined. Knives, forks, and spoons were sent off to the buffet, where such fountains were placed, to be washed by a valet; and the plates were changed at every course. This fashion obviously spread across the Channel to England, and fountains became fashionable in the dining rooms of the upper classes.

I am grateful to Anna Somers-Cocks for her comments on the use of the fountain in France.

6. Daniel Meyer, *L'Histoire du Roi*, 1980, p. 44.

7. I am grateful to Jessie McNab for her useful comments on this point.

8. The drawing shown in figure 15 shows the lions decorating the cistern with rings in their mouths. It is therefore likely that Leeke fitted the fountain's lion's mask with a ring *en suite*. It was already missing at the time of Robert Adam's drawings.

9. I am grateful to Jessie McNab for pointing this out to me.

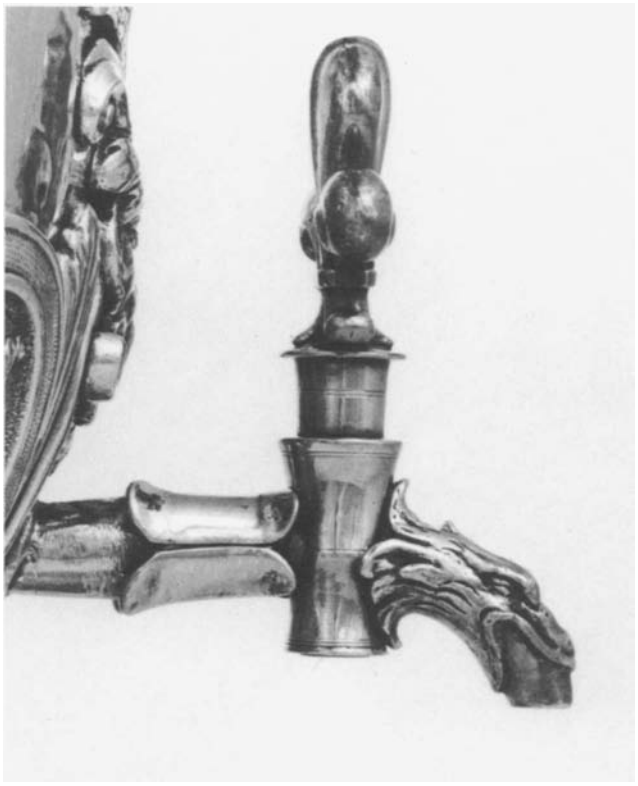

Figure 6. Detail of the spigot.

continental, design. An Italian clock of the late seventeenth century in the Victoria and Albert Museum bears a gilt bronze finial of similar form, a boy on a dolphin holding not a shell but a bow (figs. 9 and 10). The finial on the clock is after an earlier model by Francesco Fanelli (1609–1665). Fanelli was in Paris circa 1660, and in 1661 there appeared a book of fountains designed by him,[10] a number of them incorporating dolphins with boys. Although none of the engravings in the book resembles closely the finial on the fountain's lid, the presence of Fanelli in Paris in the year that the vase of the fountain was made, his model at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the obvious popularity of such a theme lead one to accept that the lid is of French manufacture of the late seventeenth century.[11] It has been pointed out that the banded reeding forming the rim of the lid seems to be of neoclassical design, but similar reeding is found decorating a silver gilt *aiguière* by Nicolas Delaunay dated 1697.[12] If we accept that the lid is French and original to the vase, we must also accept that the spool-shaped neck beneath it is also original.

That the foot with its plinth has been added, there seems little doubt. Not only is the plinth in a pure neoclassical style with its Greek key fret but also the neat chasing of it and the pedestal is quite different to the fairly rough sculptural quality of the work on the body (fig. 11).

After 1758 Nathaniel Curzon began to redecorate Kedleston Hall on a magnificent scale, using Robert Adam, whom he had met in November of that year.[13] By 1762 Adam was beginning to consider schemes for the new dining room, and three drawings by Adam for the dining room niche exist at Kedleston. One, in color, showing the entire niche wall (fig. 12), is signed and dated 1762. In it the fountains with their cisterns can clearly be seen on the sideboard. Another, also signed and dated (fig. 13), shows the sideboard arrangement; and the third, initialed and dated, shows a plan of the above.

From these drawings we can see that by 1762 the fountains already had their neoclassical bases—though the Greek key on the plinth is not shown. In Sir John Soane's Museum, London, there are two more drawings by Adam. One shows the cistern, fountain, and another ornamental vase,[14] neatly drawn with measurements. It is not dated, but it is inscribed "For Sir Nathaniel Curzon Bart" and

10. *Varie Architteture di Francesco Fanelli fiorentino scultore del Re della Gran Bretagna*, Paris, Merle, 1661.

11. Acc. no. W.35.-1916. I am grateful to Anna Somers-Cocks for bringing this clock and the work of Francesco Fanelli to my attention.

12. Illustrated in Puiforcat, *L'Orfèverie française et étrangère*, 1981, p. 63. The *aiguière* is in the cathedral at Poitiers.

13. See John Hardy and Helena Hayward, "Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire-III," *Country Life*, February 9, 1978, pp. 322–325.

Figure 7. Detail showing the lion's mask on the fountain.

Figure 8. Detail showing the lion's mask on the cistern in figure 5.

Figure 9. Detail showing the finial on the lid of the fountain.

Figure 10. Detail showing the gilt bronze finial on a late seventeenth century clock, after a model by Francesco Fanelli (1609–1665). London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 11. The foot of the fountain.

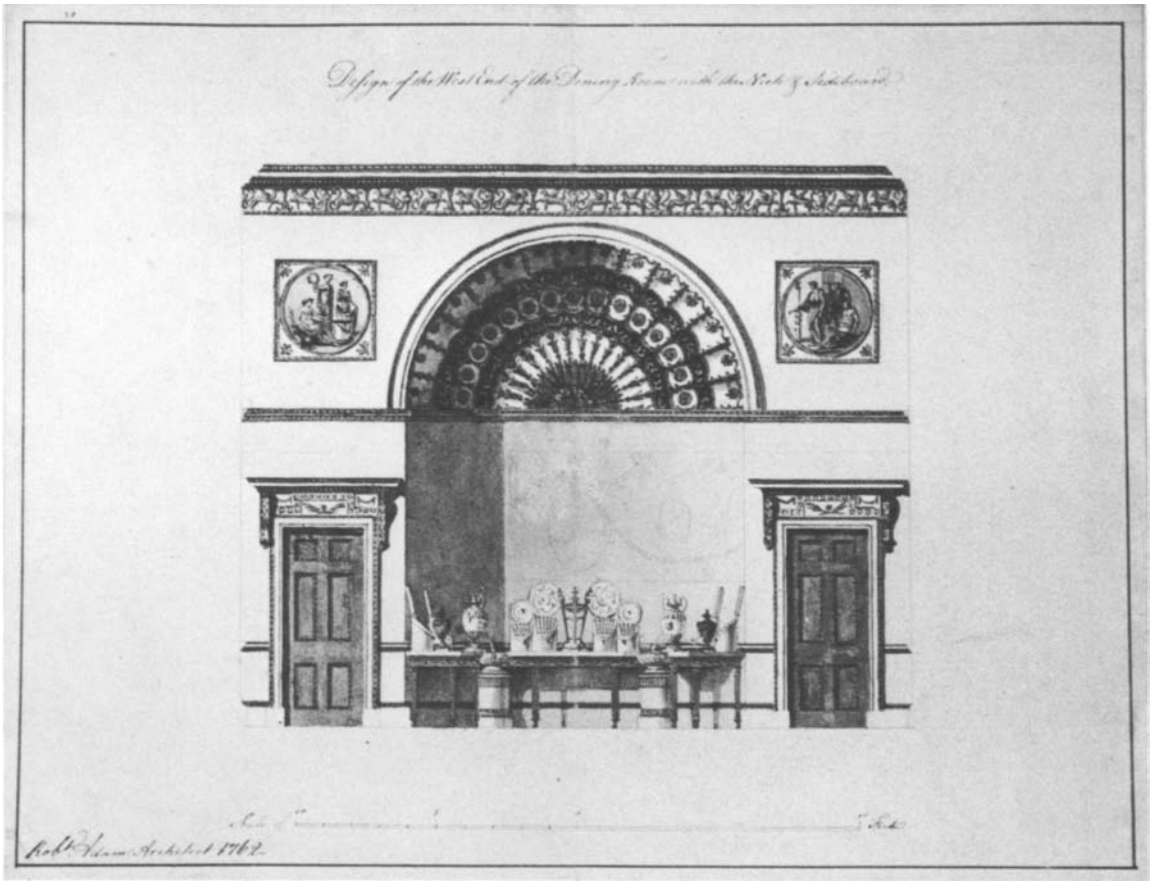

Figure 12. A colored drawing by Robert Adam showing the niche in the dining room at Kedleston Hall, signed and dated 1762. Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.

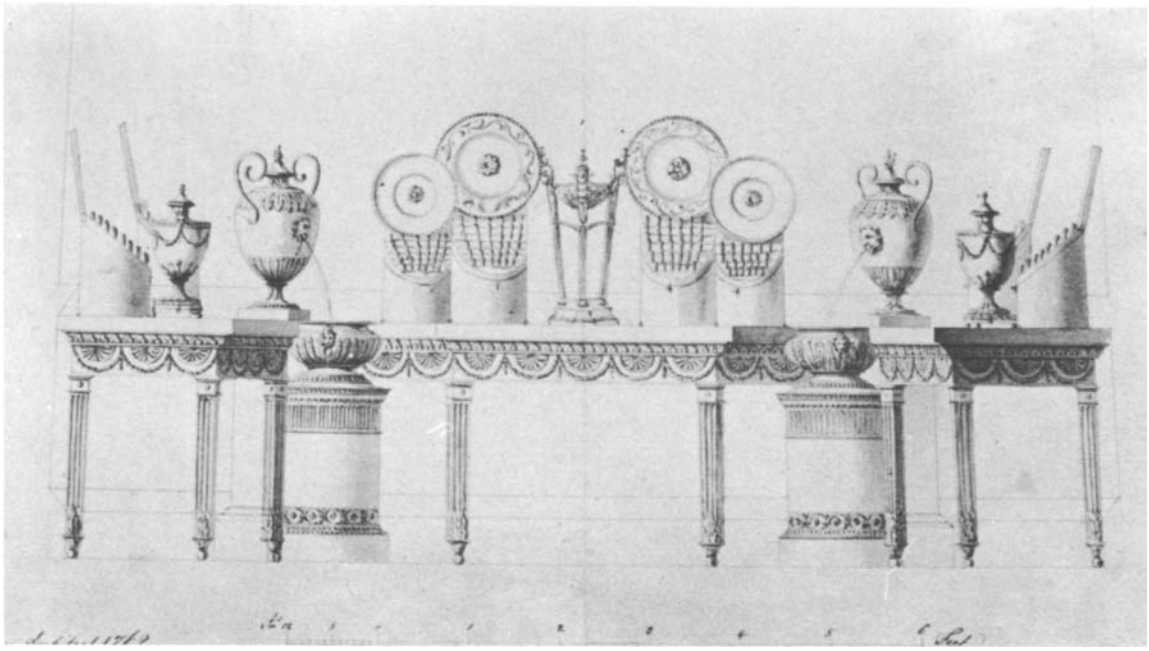

Figure 13. A drawing of the sideboard and its arrangements for the niche in the dining room at Kedleston Hall, signed by Robert Adam and dated 1762. Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.

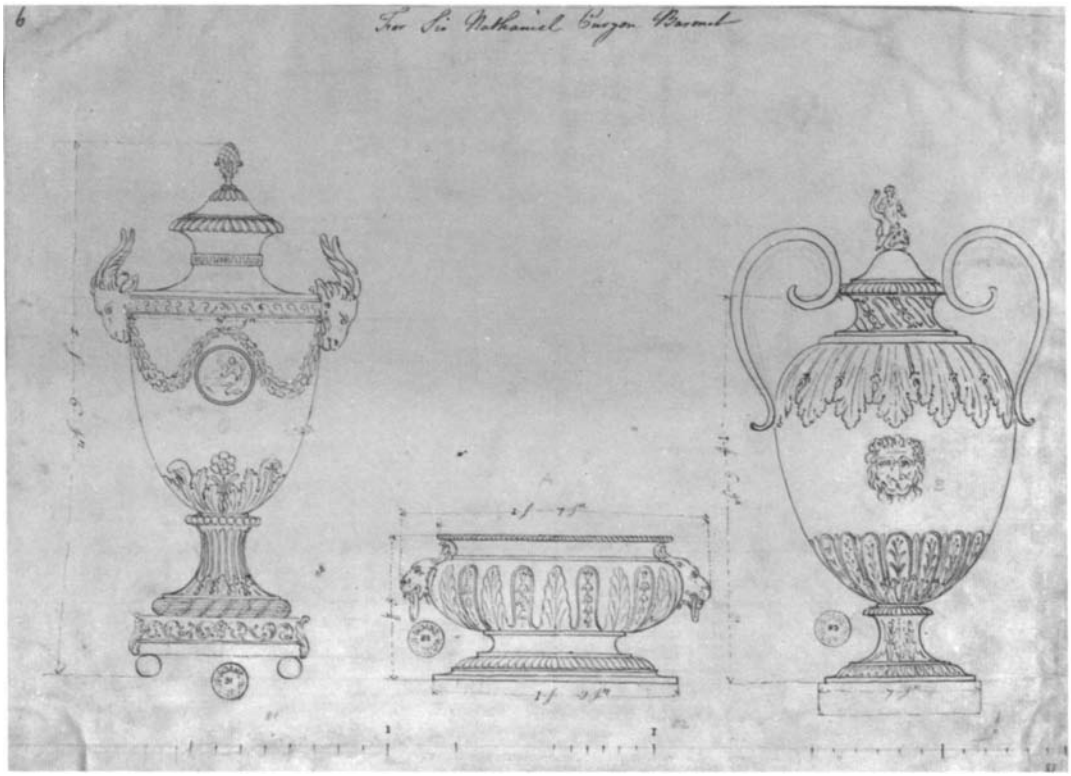

Figure 14. A drawing by Robert Adam for the fountain, cistern and an ornamental vase. London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

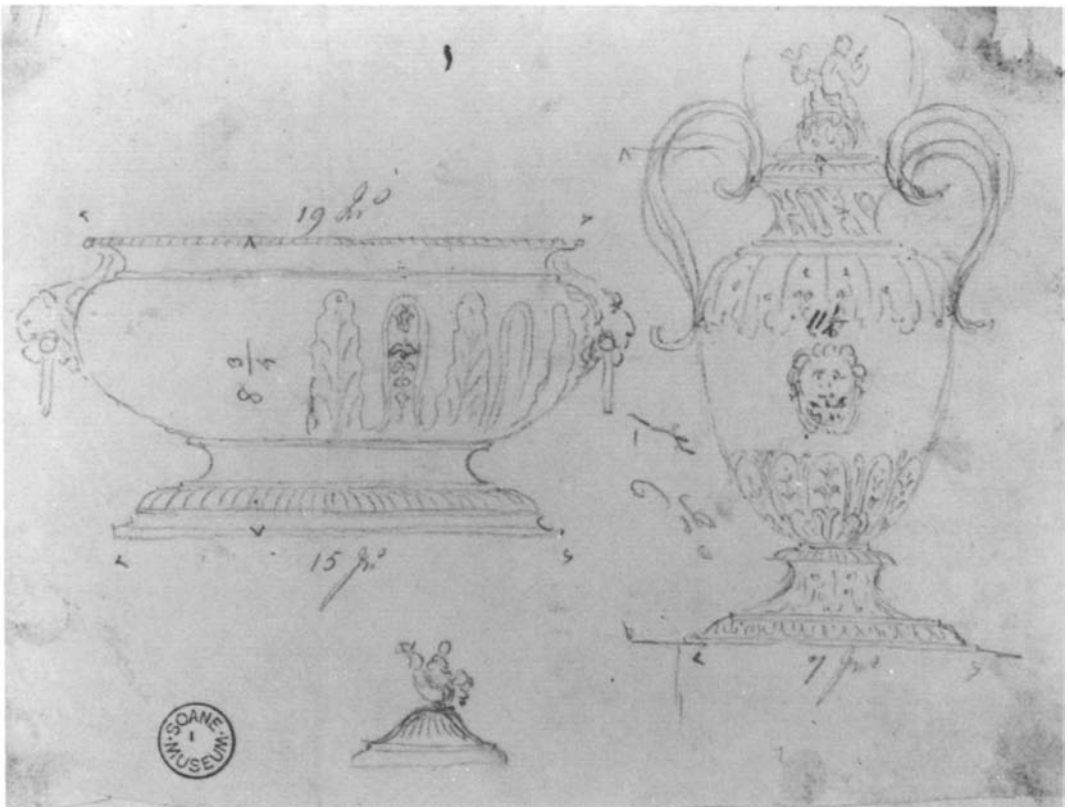

Figure 15. A sketch by Robert Adam for the fountain, its lid, and the cistern. London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

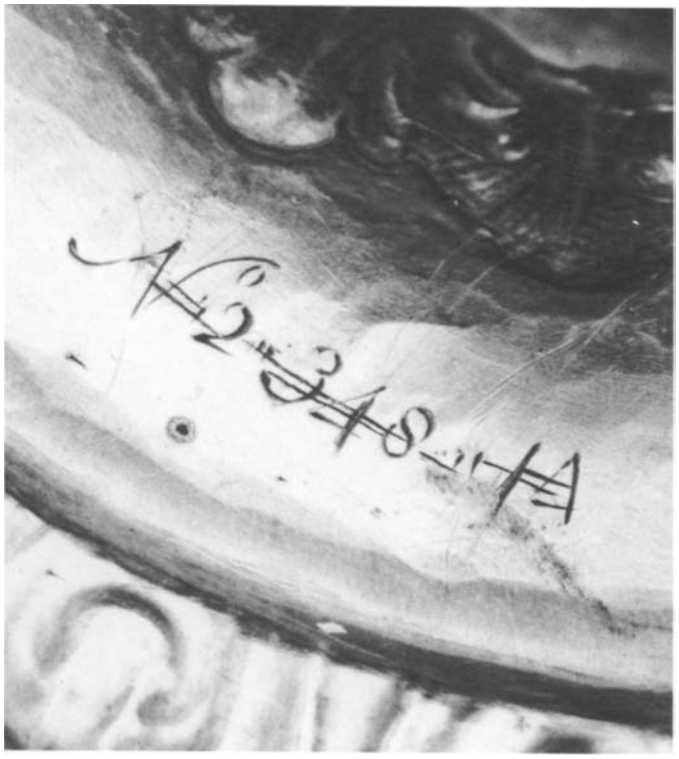

Figure 16. Detail showing the weight of the fountain, crossed through, beneath the foot.

Figure 17. Detail showing the weight of the fountain on the underside of the square plinth of the foot.

can therefore be dated between 1758 and 1761 (fig. 14).[15] The second drawing is a rough sketch of the fountain, its lid, and the cistern (fig. 15); it is not inscribed. In the latter drawing the fountain does not have its square base, but in the former drawing it is roughly sketched in.

On the measured drawing, there are two marked differences in the design of the fountain when compared to its present form. The rim of the vase, beneath the lid, shows a much larger form of gadrooning, and the top of the pedestal of the base is shown also decorated with large gadrooning and not with fleurons set between twisted molding. Is this just artistic license? It seems unlikely to be so with such a careful drawing. On July 4, 1760 Robert Adam wrote to his brother James about his intention to publish his works, including the silver done for Sir Nathaniel.[16] It is possible that the detailed drawing may have been intended for this project, and if so it would surely have been an accurate rendering. On the other hand, water or liquid is shown issuing from the lion's mouth—which is certainly artistic license as no hole exists in that area. It seems likely that the lower part of the foot, the square base with the Greek key, was added circa 1762, a few years after Phillips Garden had possibly added the upper part of the foot. This explains the two weights that are inscribed beneath the fountain. One, on the pedestal section (fig. 16), has been crossed through. It reads "N.2 -348-14". The other, under the square plinth itself, reads "N.2 -362-13 (fig. 17), showing that some fourteen ounces of silver had been added. The later addition of the plinth could account for this difference. In style it seems far too sophisticated to have been conceived in 1758. There are bills for Phillips Garden at Kedleston in the 1760's,[17] but they are only for payment and do not describe the work carried out. It is likely that he or some other silversmith added the plinths.

Although it is not possible to be precise with the lack of documents (and especially the disappearance of its English counterpart) about the alterations to the fountain, the date they were done, and by whom, the fountain remains a rare survival, if only partial, of the magnificent pieces produced in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century. It is also an interesting example of the alterations that can happen through the years to originally noble pieces, pass-

14. Soane, vol. 25, nos. 81–83 (on one sheet).

15. Soane, vol. 54-3-1. Sir Nathaniel Curzon Bart was elevated to the peerage on the 9th of April 1761 and became 1st Baron Scardale.

16. Clark of Penicuik papers, the Edinburgh Public Record Office, ref. no. 4866.

17. Phillips Garden was further paid £79.6.2 in 1760 and £6.6.0 in 1761. I am grateful to Leslie Harris for this information.

ing through the hands of owners with different tastes who succumb to different fashions. In the confident years of the eighteenth century, the English aristocracy seemed not to regard such pieces with the reverence of today's collectors and altered them with abandon to suit its taste and the prevailing fashions.

Finally, the later provenance of the fountain should be given. The fountains and cisterns were put up at auction at Christie's in 1930;[18] they did not sell. The cisterns were sold at Sotheby's in 1964 as the property of a gentleman and as having been formerly in the Scarsdale collection.[19] They were probably bought at that sale by the English dealer Shrubsole, who subsequently sold one to the Victoria and Albert Museum and the other to the Goldsmith's Hall. Presumably at about this same time, Jacques Helft acquired the fountain and sold it to Madame Lopez-Willshaw. It was put up for sale at Sotheby's, Monte Carlo in 1976, and again it was not sold.[20] The museum acquired the fountain from Madame Lopez-Willshaw in 1982.

Curator of Decorative Arts
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

18. Christie's, 16 July 1930, lot 72.
19. Sotheby's, 9 July 1964, lot 104.
20. Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, 23 June 1976, lot 48.

Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1982

Gillian Wilson, Adrian Sassoon, Charissa Bremer-David

1. PAIR OF COFFERS ON STANDS
French (Paris), circa 1670–80
Height (overall): 5′1 5/8″ (156.6 cm.)
Coffers: Height: 2′ 2 3/8″ (67.0 cm.); Width: 2′ 11 3/8″ (89.9 cm.); Depth: 1′ 10″ (55.8 cm.)
Stands: Height: 2′ 11 1/4″ (89.6 cm.); Width: 2′ 7 7/8″ (80.9 cm.); Depth: 1′ 9 1/2″ (54.7 cm.)
Accession number 82.DA.109.1–2 (figs. 1 and 2)

The coffers and stands are veneered with brass, pewter, tortoiseshell, and ebony set with gilt bronze mounts. Some of the mounts on both the coffers and the stands are stamped with the crowned C.[1] The back of stand 1 is stamped HYRASKIN, which is probably the mark of a nineteenth-century restorer.

Each coffer has a lid that opens in two sections. The upper lid reveals a shallow compartment lined with brass or pewter and tortoiseshell, while the main lid lifts to reveal the interior of the coffer (fig. 3), which is also lined with marquetry incorporating these materials. At the base of the interior are sliding panels which cover shallow wells. They can be activated by pulling gilt bronze handles on the outside of the cabinet. The large vertical gilt bronze straps are hinged and locked. They lower to reveal ranks of three small drawers, whose fronts are veneered with blue painted horn and pewter (fig. 4).

The coffers on stands were first illustrated when they appeared in the sale of Prince Demidoff at San Donato in 1880.[2] In the large engravings of the sale catalogue they appear exactly as they do today.

In an unpublished inventory of the possessions of the Grand Dauphin[3] drawn up in 1689, one finds the following description:

6. *Un cabinet de marqueterie en forme de tombeau dont le fond est d'écaille de tortue, de cuivre jaune et d'estain, garni de six bandes canelées de cuivre doré ornées par le haut de testes de femmes et par les bas de mufles de lion, haut de trois pieds neuf pouces long de sieze pouces onze lignes et large de trieze pouces. Fait par Boulle.*

In spite of the claim in the San Donato sale catalogue that the coffers were *commandé à Boulle par Louis XIV, pour le mariage du Grand-Dauphin, son fils, avec Marie-Christine de Bavière,* it is clear from this inventory description that this claim is somewhat fanciful. Only one coffer is mentioned in the inventory, and that is without a stand. The measurements do not correspond, but inaccuracies of this sort are frequently encountered in early inventories and sale catalogues.

In 1684 a coffer is mentioned in the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi: 9 janvier: à Boulle, ébéniste, pour un coffre de marquetterie pour Monseigneur . . . 700 l [ivres].*[4] With the lack of a detailed description, it can only be tentatively suggested that this is the same coffer as that described in the 1689 inventory. As the Dauphin was married in 1680, this later coffer certainly could not be described as a *coffret de mariage.*

Whether or not the museum's coffers were ever in royal possession—and the appearance of dolphins flanking the escutcheons would indicate that they were (fig. 5)—it is certain with the evidence quoted above that they were made by André-Charles Boulle. In the 1680's he was much occupied with work for the Dauphin, and in 1682 and 1683 he was paid a total of 59,900 livres *pour les ouvrages de marquetterie qu'il fait pour le cabinet de Monseigneur.*[5] The famous *cabinet* itself, lined with the type of marquetry for which Boulle was renowned—tortoiseshell, pewter, and brass—was destroyed shortly after the Dauphin's death in

1. See Henri Nocq, "Quelques Marques. Le C Couronné, "*Le Figaro Artistique,* 17 April 1924, pp. 2–4.
2. San Donato, 15 March 1880, lots 1421 and 1422.
3. The manuscript was sold by Knight, Frank, and Rutley in 1960. Its present whereabouts is unknown.
4. J.J. Guiffrey, *Comptes des Bâtiments,* 1881-1901, vol. 2, p. 473.
5. *Ibid.*

Figure 1. Coffer on stand, French (Paris), ca. 1670–1680. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DA.109.1.

Figure 2. Coffer on stand, French (Paris); ca. 1670–1680. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 82.DA.109.2.

Figure 3. Detail showing the interior of the coffer shown in figure 2.

Figure 4. Detail showing the small drawers enclosed by the gilt bronze strips.

1711, and its appearance is known to us only from rather brief descriptions.[6]

Only one other coffer of this model exists today, in the possession of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace. It is in *contre-partie* marquetry, and it lacks the gilt bronze masks found at the forecorners of the museum's coffers. It rests on a stand similar to that seen on 1, the front legs being replaced with carved and gessoed female herms.

The stands of the museum's coffers differ. One closely follows a drawing in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, which is attributed to André-Charles Boulle (fig. 6). The drawing shows the stand supporting a rectangular cabinet, and it is possible that the museum's stand originally supported a cabinet of this type. Such ensembles often became separated over the years. Indeed, such a cabinet, now in the Jones Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum,[7] has been removed from its stand and given feet; the adaptation was done by Adam Weisweiler whose stamp it bears.

The stand of the other cabinet resembles, both in its

6. Félibien, *Description Sommaire de Versailles*, Paris, 1703, pp. 52–53.

7. Acc. no. 1118-1882. See also a table formerly in the collection of Charles Stein (illus. in Henry Harvard, *Les Boulles*, 1893, p. 43). It has legs similarly set with gilt bronze rams' heads with triglyphs and guttae above. The legs themselves are veneered with marquetry of the same design. The present whereabouts of the table is unknown.

8. E. Williamson, *Les Meubles d'Art du Mobilier National*, Paris, n.d., p. 19. See also a pair of similar stands sold from the collection of Edward Steinkopff (Christie's, 22 May 1935, lot 167). The entry in the catalogue

Figure 5. Detail showing a lock plate with four dolphins.

form and its marquetry, those which support smaller caskets, of which a number of examples exist.[8] Between it and the coffer two slabs have been added to raise the coffers to the same height. The slabs are certainly of nineteenth-century date, and their appearance might lead one to believe that the coffers had been placed on their stands in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the presence of crowned C's on the gilt bronze mounts of both the coffers and the stands indicates that they were already together in the late 1740's. Such an assemblage in the decades when the rococo style prevailed seems very unlikely, and it is probable that the stands and the coffers were made to go together—but not as a pair.

We have evidence that such stands and coffers did exist in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the 1772 sale of the comte de Lauragais the following lot appears:[9]

> 20. *Deux coffres en tombeaux, sur des pieds, à quatre consoles contournées, avec entre-jambes & un dossier, le tout de belle & riche marqueterie de Boule, estimé à juste titre; ils sont garnis de bronze doré.* (They were sold for 1,502 *livres.*)

Obviously legs described as *contournées* do not correspond with those of the stands supporting the museum's coffers. The description of the following lot in the same sale is as follows:

> 21. *Deux autres plus petits coffres en forme de cassette en belle marqueterie de Boule, garnies de bandes, masques & autres agréments de bronze doré, sur des pieds à quatre consoles en gaînes avec entre-jambes & dossier aussi de marqueterie, garnis de bronze doré.* (They sold for 900 *livres* to Lefevre.)

states that the stands were formerly in the collection of the Marquis de (sic) Foz—who also at one time owned the coffers on stands (see p. 13). The stands almost exactly resemble the one supporting coffer No. 2, both in the marquetry and the mounts. I am grateful to Adrian Sassoon for pointing this sale out to me.

9. The sale was held at the Grand Couvent des Révérends Pères Augustins, 12 March 1722. I am grateful to Alexandre Pradère for pointing this sale out to me.

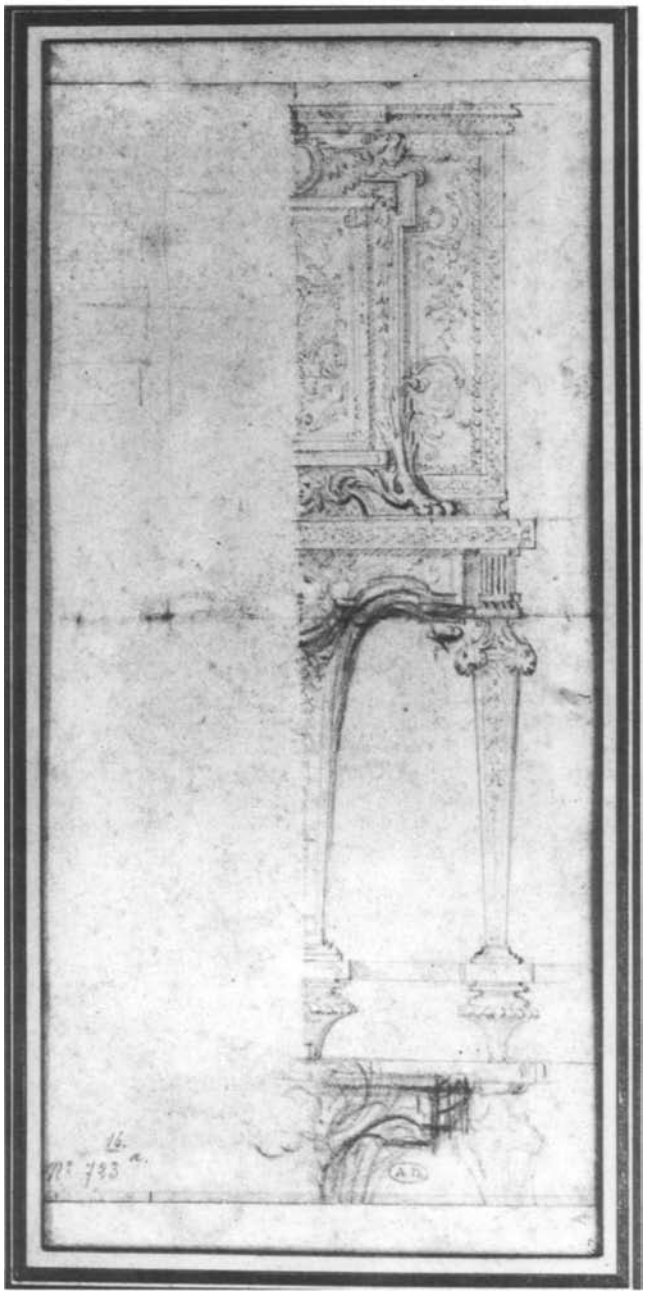

Figure 6. A drawing attributed to André-Charles Boulle; the stand is similar to that supporting the coffer in figure 1. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

It is frustrating that no measurements are given. The stands apparently were of a similar model to those in the museum, but *plus petits coffres en forme de cassette* bring to mind the smaller caskets mentioned above.

In the sale of M. Julliot in 1777 the following lot appears:[10]

> 706. *Un coffre, en tombeau, nommé toilette, & son pied, de Boule, contre partie, son dessus s'ouvre en deux parties dont l'intérieur est en marqueterie d'étain, l'une, formant le dôme, garnie d'un miroir rond dans le fond, l'autre, d'une glace quarré long encadrée de bronze avec agraffes, est ornée à l'extérieur de couronnement, d'équerres, de plaque, d'entrée de serrure ouvragés, & de moulures à feuilles de laurier, le corps à tablette à coulisse, garnie de portant & à deux parties de trois petits tiroirs en hauteur, sur le devant & côtés, revêtues, chacune de large bande à cannelures s'ouvrant en deux recouvrement à charnieres, le supérieur à masque féminin, l'inférieur se termine à forte tête de lion; l'entablement du pied, à triglyphes, est supporté par quatre gaînes quarré à têtes de béliers entre lesquelles est un pilastre avec mascaron & autres accessoires; le tout de bronze doré; longeur, 2 pieds 8 pouces; hauteur, y compris le pied, 54 pouces, profondeur, 20 pouces.* (It sold for 590 *livres.*)

This description is very close to the coffer shown on stand 1 and the stand of 2. Since the Demidoff sale, the coffers have stood on the stands as shown in the illustrations. There is no reason why the coffers should not be switched, and they are now displayed in this manner.

Since the sale of the coffers on stands at the Demidoff sale in 1880, they have passed through the hands of a number of collectors. They may have been bought at the sale by the Marquis da Foz of Lisbon. His name is given as a previous owner in the sale of Mortimer Schiff in 1938.[11] At that sale the coffers were acquired by Gaston Bensimon for 1,080 guineas. He was apparently buying for Anna Gould. She had married the duc de Talleyrand as her second husband, and the coffers were inherited by her daughter Violette Palewski (née de Talleyrand) from whom the museum acquired them.

G. W.

2. TABLE

French (Paris), circa 1675–1680.
Height: 2′ 6 ¼″ (76.7 cm.); Width (closed): 1′ 4 ½″ (42 cm.); (open): 2′ 4 ½″ (72.5 cm.); Depth: 1′ 2 ¼″ (36.1 cm.).
Accession number 82.DA.34 (fig. 7)

The table is veneered with engraved brass and tortoiseshell on a pewter ground with borders of ebony. The mounts on the legs are of gilt bronze, while the collars and pendant knop of the pedestal are of gilt and gessoed wood. A large tortoiseshell fleur-de-lys is at the center of two of the friezes of the table, and three more are found at the base of the pedestal. Paired dolphins decorate the interior surfaces of the table flaps (fig. 8).

The top (fig. 9) opens up to reveal a central circular scene of three women taking tea, which is being served on a large tray. The tray rests on a table which is draped with a tasseled cloth. The women are dressed *à la Chinois* and are sheltered by a large tent topped by a baldachin. To the left and right are trees, in which perch a parrot and a monkey, seated on the swagged curtains of the tent which are caught up in the branches. The scene is composed of engraved pewter, brass, and tortoiseshell on a pewter ground, with the baldachin and the borders of the curtains being of wood (fig. 10). The presence of prominent fleurs-de-lys and dolphins indicates that the table was made for the Grand Dauphin (1661–1711). At this date royal emblems were placed only on objects made for members of the royal family or on objects intended as royal gifts.

Furniture made in this technique, incorporating brass, pewter, and tortoiseshell, is usually attributed to the cabinetmaker André-Charles Boulle, who excelled in the use of such materials. Although Boulle worked consistently for the Dauphin, it is conceivable that the tables could have been made by Pierre Golle (died 1683), a formerly rather obscure cabinetmaker whose name had been all but forgotten until the recent research undertaken by Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer.[12] Golle worked for Louis XIV at the Gobelins from at least 1661 until his death in 1683. He made numerous pieces for Versailles; and by 1680 he was working for the Dauphin, delivering in that year two *bureaux*, four tables, eight *guéridons*, a *prie-dieu*, and a jewel box. In 1682 he was paid 7,500 *livres* for his work on the marquetry floor for the Dauphin's *Cabinet Doré*, sadly destroyed after the death of the Dauphin in 1711.[13]

Scheurleer has been able firmly to attribute a table and two *guéridons* at Knole (fig. 11) and a *bureau* at Boughton House to Golle (fig. 12).[14] All four pieces are decorated with pewter and brass marquetry, and the *bureau* in particular is decorated with large *rinceaux* that are very similar to those found on the opened top of the table. The *bureau* was probably made in 1672 and was no doubt given by Louis XIV to Charles Sackville, who was the English ambassador to Paris in 1669–1670.

10. Sale of C.F. Julliot, 20 November 1777, lot 706 (Lugt 2740). I am grateful to Alexandre Pradère for pointing this sale out to me.

11. Christie's, London, 22 and 23 June 1938, lot 68.

12. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Pierre Golle, ébéniste du roi Louis XIV," *Burlington Magazine*, June 1980, pp. 380–394.

13. A drawing for the floor is illustrated in Peter Thornton, *17th Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland*, 1978, pl. 90.

14. Scheurleer, *op. cit.* figs. 11–21.

Figure 7. Table, French (Paris); ca. 1675–1680, shown with the flaps open. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DA.34.

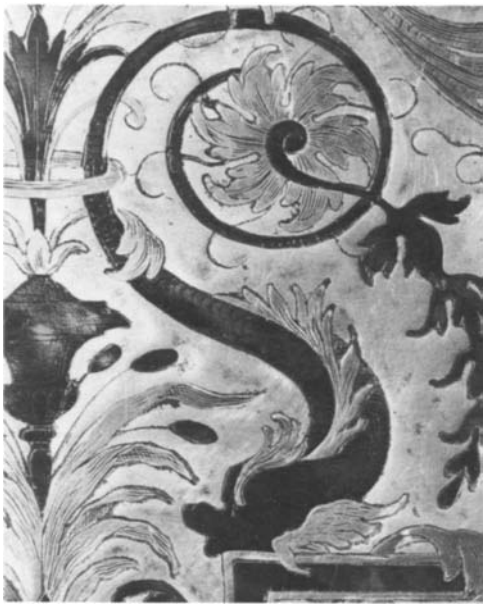

Figure 8. Detail showing a dolphin from the top of the table in figure 7.

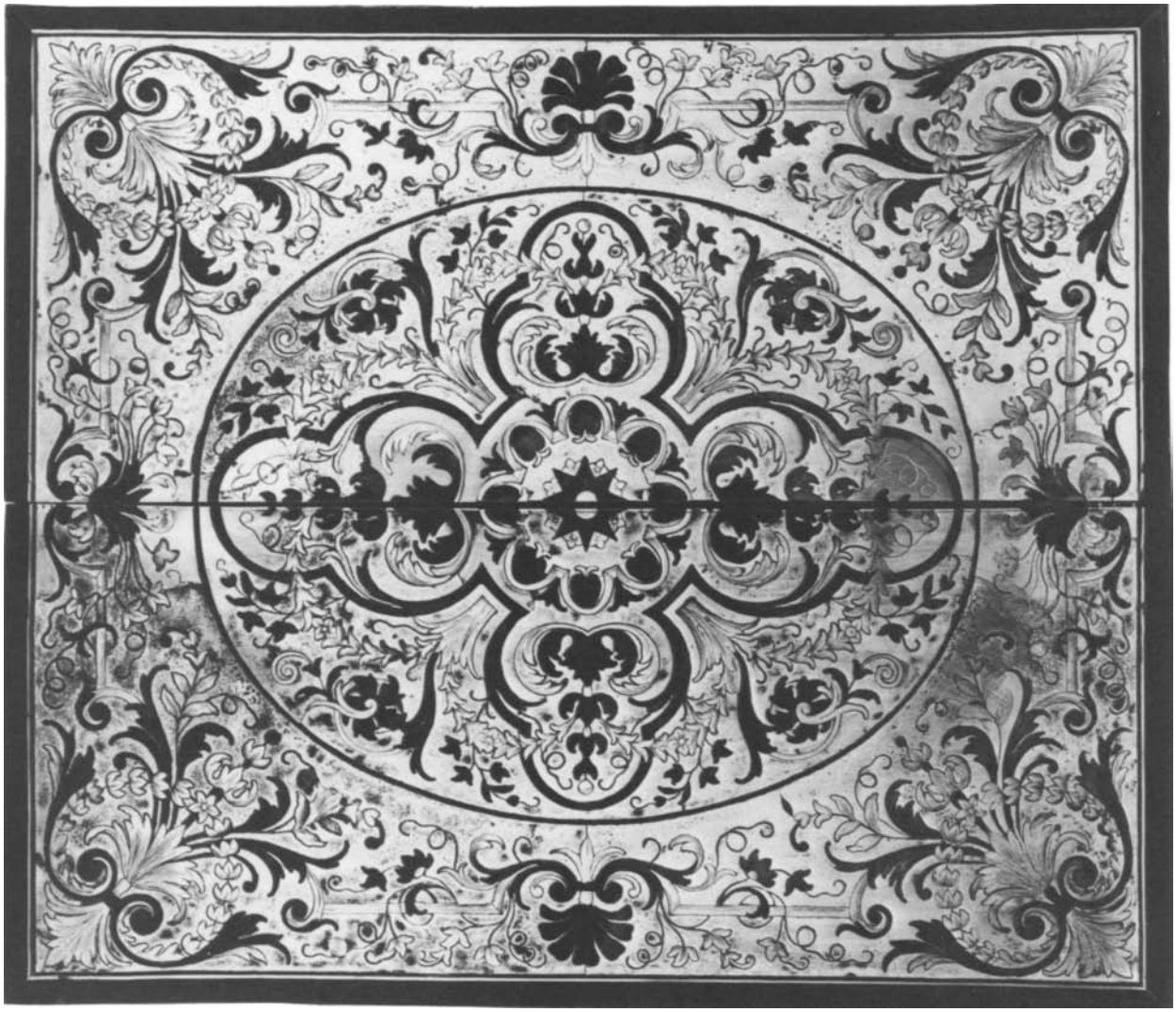

Figure 9. The top of the table in figure 7 with the flaps closed.

Figure 10. Detail showing the center of the top of the table in figure 7.

Figure 11. Pierre Golle, top of a *torchère* made about 1670. Knole, England.

Figure 12a. Pierre Golle, bureau, ca. 1672. Boughton House, Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T., Boughton House, Kettering, England.

Figure 12b. Detail of figure 12a.

Figure 13. Gerreit Jensen, desk, 1695. Windsor Castle, British Royal Collection. Reproduced by gracious permission of her Majesty the Queen.

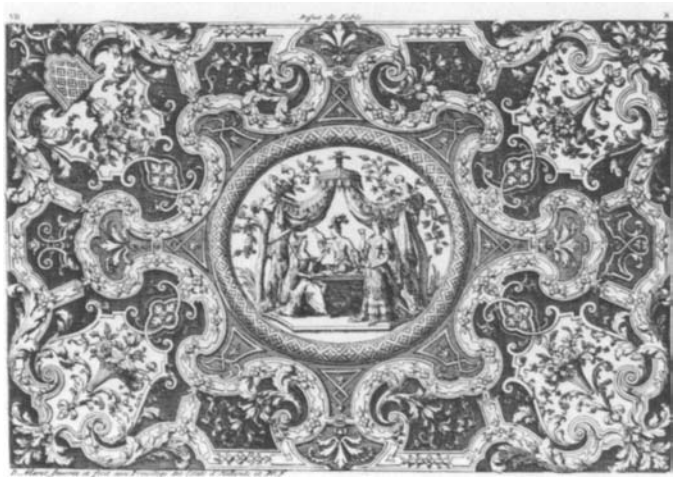

Figure 14. Daniel Marot (1650–1712), engraving for a table top, after 1685.

Figure 15. The pair to the Getty table, decorated in *première-partie* "boulle" marquetry. British Royal Collection. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.

Figure 16. The top, with the flaps closed, of the table shown in figure 15.

A close comparison can also be made between the work of Pierre Golle and that of the Dutch cabinetmaker Gerreit Jensen, who worked for the court of William III of England. Figure 13 shows a desk at Windsor Castle which was made in 1695 by Jensen.[15] It is veneered with pewter and brass, and it has gilt wood moldings and capitals on the legs that closely resemble those of the museum's table.

Pierre Golle's son Corneille left France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and by 1689 he was working in his father's style with Gerreit Jensen for William III. We do not know whether the younger Golle had any hand in the Windsor Castle desk, but he may well have influenced the style of his Dutch co-worker. That there was some communication between Pierre Golle and Jensen is shown by the fact that at his death in 1683 Golle owed "*Sieur Janson, ébèniste à Londres*" 400 *livres* for English glue.[16]

Professor Scheurleer has pointed out that the scene on the top of the table closely resembles an engraving for a table top by Daniel Marot (fig. 14).[17] In Marot's engraving the scene is reversed, and the three women are not dressed *à la Chinois*. The inscription at the bottom shows that it was printed in Holland, where Marot had fled after 1685. Therefore, Golle could not have used this print for his inspiration, as he was already dead. We should look perhaps for a common source for both the table top and the engraving. Further, if the design for the table was taken from the print, there would have been no reason to reverse it during the work. On the other hand, Marot would, of necessity, have reversed the original in his engraving. There can be little doubt that Daniel Marot and Pierre Golle knew each other, for Marot was married to Golle's daughter—and he also eventually worked with Golle's son for William's court in Protestant England.

A pair to this table is in the British Royal Collection (figs. 15, 16, and 17). Here, the decoration is identical but the materials reversed, the elements of the design being of engraved brass on a ground of tortoiseshell. The scene on the top is missing and has been replaced by a circle of velvet surrounded by a border of engraved mother-of-pearl which dates from the latter part of the nineteenth century. The piasters at the sides of the table are also lacking, as is the large knop between the legs. The collars are of gilt bronze, and it is possible that these are also nineteenth-century replacements. The table in the Royal Collection is

Figure 17. A detail of the dolphin on the table shown in figure 15.

illustrated in William Pyne's *Royal Residences*, published in 1819. It is shown standing in the Queen's Presence Chamber at Windsor Castle. It is not known when the table entered the collection, nor is its earlier provenance known.

The table and its pair have been referred to as "piquet" tables, piquet being a popular card game of that time. This seems an unlikely use, as the table, even when open, is very small, and the movement of the cards would easily lift and damage the delicate materials on its surface. It seems more likely that it was intended as a tea table, the vessels being held on a tray—and thus the decoration on the top would echo its use.

The museum's table was sold, in 1981, from a Scottish collection,[18] and it was then almost completely black. It is probable that, unlike many pieces decorated in this fragile manner, it had never been restored. There are no apparent replacements, and the engraving in the tortoiseshell is intact, a feature rarely encountered with the relatively soft and easily abraded material.

G.W.

15. The pair to the desk is at Boughton House, Northamptonshire. See Ralph Edwards and Margaret Jourdain, *Georgian Cabinet-Makers*, 1955, p. 124 and 125, figs. 6 and 8.

16. I am grateful to Colin Streeter for pointing out to me the connection between Golle and Jensen.

17. From Daniel Marot, *Nouveau livre d'Ornements propres pour faire en borderie et petit point—hausse, caparçon—montant d'ornement, dessus de table, dossiers et carreaux de chaises.*

18. Phillip's, Glasgow, 16 April 1981, lot 305. Sold by Bukeley Gavin, Esq., Graigengellan, Dalmellington, Ayrshire, Scotland. The table was acquired by Mr. Gavin's great uncle at Christie's in 1936 (March 19, lot 147) when it was sold from the collection of Henry James Laird, Esq., Ardmore House, Blackheath Park.

Figure 18. Pair of tureens with their stands by Thomas Germain, French (Paris), 1726–1728. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DG.12.1-2.

3. PAIR OF TUREENS AND STANDS
French (Paris), 1726–1728
Tureen I: Height: 6 ¾″ (17.2 cm.); Width: 1′ 6 ⅜″ (46.7 cm.); Depth: 10 ⅜″ (26.3 cm.)
Stand I: Height: 1 ⅜″ (3.5 cm.); Width: 1′ 10 5/16″ (56.7 cm.); Depth: 1′ 4″ (40.6 cm.)
Tureen II: Height: 6 ⅞″ (17.4 cm.); Width: 1′ 6 ½″ (47.0 cm.); Depth: 10″ (25.4 cm.)
Stand II: Height: 1 7/16″ (3.7 cm.); Width: 1′ 10 7/16″ (57.0 cm.); Depth: 1′ 4″ (40.6 cm.)
Accession number 82.DG.12.1–2 (figs. 18 and 19)

The pair of tureens, liners, and stands is inscribed I and II respectively, and that numbering is used here to describe the placement of the various marks and inscriptions:
Tureen I: On the underside is struck a crowned K, the Paris date letter for 1726, and a crowned A overlaid with crossed L's, the *charge* mark for May 1722-September 1727 under the *fermier-général* Charles Cordier (fig. 20). It is inscribed I and N°-I-48^{m}-1^{on}-2^{d}.
Liner I: The underside (fig. 21) is struck with a crowned M, the Paris date letter for 1728 and a crowned A, the *charge* mark used under the *fermier-général* Jacques Cottin, between September 1727 and December 1732. The side of the liner is inscribed DU N°1 with the *décharge* mark for 1727–1732 above (fig. 22). The inside is also inscribed I.
Stand I: Beneath are three obliterated marks, probably those of Thomas Germain, with the crowned A, and a small artichoke mark in the center, for modified old works[19] (fig. 23). Inscribed around the rim is: FAIT.PAR.F.T.GERMAIN.ORF.SCULP. DU.ROY.AUX GALLERIES.DU LOUVRE.APARIS with N°. 1 48^{m}2^{d} in script.
Tureen II: Stamped with similar marks to those found on Tureen I, and inscibed No. 2, with the weight 48^{m}-3^{on}-2^{d} (fig. 24), and II.
Liner II: Stamped with similar marks to Liner I. The outside of the liner is inscribed DU. N° 11. On the opposite side is the *décharge* mark for 1727–1732, and inside II.
Stand II: Stamped with similar marks to Stand I, and with three obliterated marks, inscribed No. 2, with the weight 48^{m}5^{d}. The date 1764 has been added to the inscription[20] (fig. 25).

19. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, *Les Tresors de l'orfèvrerie du Portugal*, November 1954, p. 64, the mark given there as *anciens ouvrages modifiés*. The stamp was probably struck on the stand in 1764 when François-Thomas Germain added the raised boss with Melo e Castro's arms.

20. François-Thomas Germain also inscribed and dated (1757) a large centerpiece made by his father for the Duke of Aveiro in 1729–31. But it is probable that the son had altered the piece in the intervening twenty-six years. Similarly he inscribed his name and title to candelabra made by his father for the Lisbon Court in 1734–35. They were not delivered till 1757.

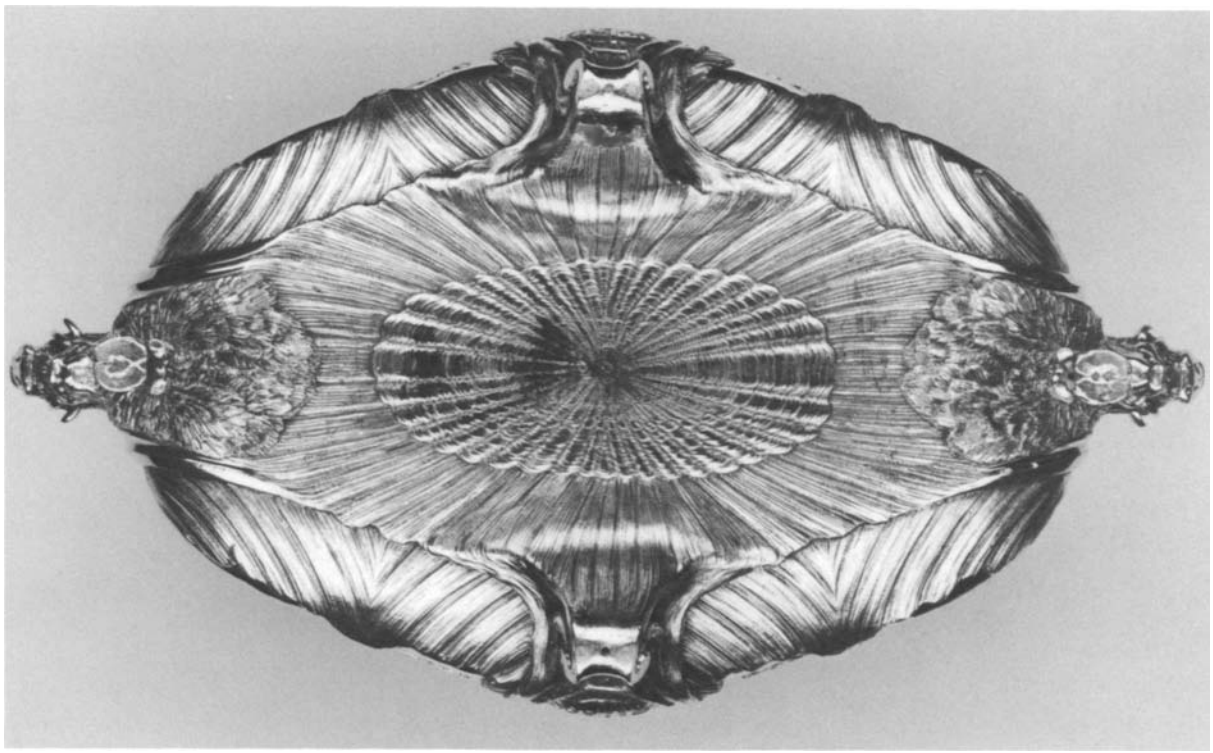

Figure 19. A view of the underside of one of the tureens.

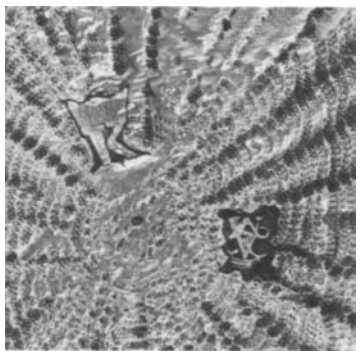

Figure 20. A detail of the underside of Tureen No. I, showing the crowned K for 1726 and a crowned A for the *fermier-général* Charles Cordier, used between 1722 and 1727.

Figure 21. A detail of the underside of Liner No. I, showing the crowned M for 1728 and a crowned A for the *fermier-général* Jacques Cottin, used between 1727 and 1732.

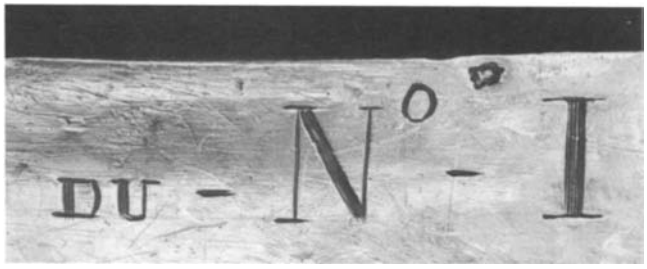

Figure 22. The inscribed number on Liner No. I, with the *décharge* mark used between 1727 and 1732.

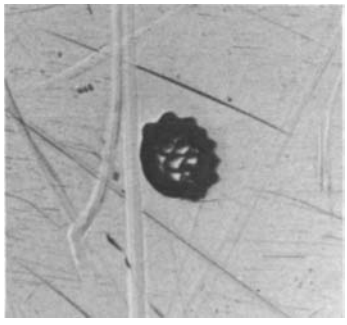

Figure 23. The artichoke stamp found beneath both stands, used for modified old works.

Figure 24. The number and the weight inscribed inside tureen No. II.

Figure 26. Detail showing the arms of Melo e Castro, inscribed on both stands.

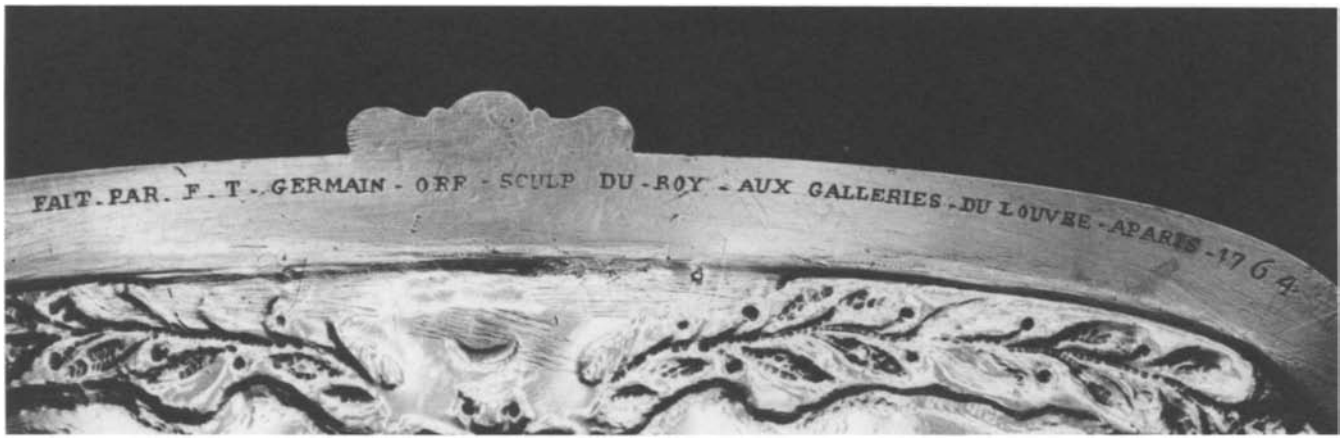

Figure 25. The inscription by François-Thomas Germain beneath the rim of stand No. II.

Figure 27. Detail showing the raised arms of Melo e Castro, from the side of one of the tureens.

Figure 28. Terrine avec des Peches, by Alexandre-François Desportes (1661–1743), Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

The liners and stands are engraved with the arms of Melo e Castro, surmounted by a marquis' crown (fig. 26). The tureens bear raised bosses with the arms in relief. Melo e Castro was the Portuguese ambassador to Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Another pair of tureens of the same model exists, dated 1733–1734, with differing stands and bearing lids. They are stamped with the mark of Thomas Germain and were reputedly made for Louis duc d'Orléans. They also bear the crest of Louis Philippe, which was added during the first half of the nineteenth century. One is in the collection of Mrs. H. Firestone, Detroit,[21] and the other is in a French private collection. It had been thought that the museum's tureens once bore lids, but the design of their liners, incorporating the backs of the boars' heads (a design feature not found on the lidded tureens), would make the placement of a lid impossible. These unlidded tureens have been

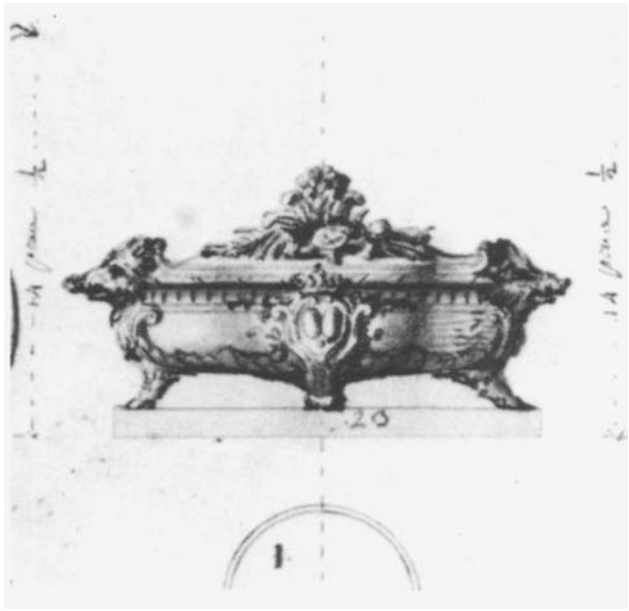

Figure 29. Detail from a drawing showing a tureen of similar form, attributed to Thomas Germain.

21. Jacques Helft, "French Eighteenth Century Silver," *Apollo,* February 1968, p. 109, fig. 4.

referred to, from time to time, as *jardinières*. It is most unlikely that they were intended to hold plants, and the nomenclature "tureen" has been retained by this writer.

The inscription on the stands was added in 1764 by François-Thomas Germain, the son of Thomas Germain. It is likely that he obliterated his father's stamps at the same time. It is not possible that the son made the tureens, as the date marks of 1726 and 1728 are clearly readable and in these years François-Thomas was only a child. In some manner the tureens were obtained by the son (it is possible that they never left the workshop), and it was he who engraved the arms of Melo e Castro on the stands and liners and added raised bosses with the arms in relief to the sides of the tureens (fig. 27).

Thomas Germain (1673–1748) was the most celebrated *orfèvre* in Paris of the mid-eighteenth century. He was apprenticed to the painter Louis Boullogne and was sent to the French Academy in Rome under the protection of the Minister Louvois in 1685 at the age of twelve. By 1695 he was working with the Bavarian goldsmith Giovanni Paolo Bendel, and in that year he was involved in various works in silver and bronze for the Church of the Gésu in Rome. He returned to France in 1706 and became a *maître orfèvre* in 1720. He was appointed *orfèvre du roi* in 1723, with Nicolas Besnier and Claude Ballin II, and was given lodgings in the Louvre. He was extensively employed by the Crown and also by the Elector of Cologne, the King of Portugal, the princesses of Brazil, the Queen of Spain, and the King and Queen of Naples. His most notable foreign patron was the King of Portugal, and Germain and his son are said to have provided some three thousand pieces for the palace in Lisbon between 1728 and 1768. Much of the elder Germain's silver was destroyed in the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755. The prosperous Germain was painted, with his wife, by Nicolas de Largillière in 1736.[22] At his death in 1748, the comte de Caylus wrote his eulogy and John V of Portugal celebrated a funeral service to his memory in Lisbon. His name has been immortalized by Voltaire, who, in his poem *Les Vous et les Tu*, wrote: *"ces plats si chers que Germain gravés de sa main divine"*.[23]

Tureens of the same model, without lids, appear filled with fruit in two paintings by Alexandre-François Desportes. One, dated 1733, is in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 28).[24] The other, dated 1740, is in the collection of Madame A. Lopez-Willshaw.[25] A sheet of pen and ink drawings for silver, attributed to Thomas Germain, was recently sold at auction.[26] In the center of the sheet is a small yet detailed drawing for a similar tureen with a lid (fig. 29).

The museum's tureens were exhibited in 1934 in Lisbon.[27] At that time they belonged to Signora D. Thereza Lobo de Almeida de Melo e Castro de Vilhena. In 1954 they were exhibited again in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris[28]—when they were recorded as belonging to "Madame T. de Melo de Castro de Vilhena (Galveias), Lisbonne." They were sold anonymously at Christie's in Geneva in 1975,[29] and were bought at that sale by Jean Rossignol, Paris. The tureens were acquired by private treaty by the museum through Christie's, Geneva.

G.W.

4. TWO ARMCHAIRS and TWO SIDECHAIRS
French (Paris), circa 1735–1740
Armchairs, Height: 3′ 7 ½″ (110.4 cm.); Width: 2′ 6 ⅛″ (76.6 cm.); Depth: 2′ 8 ⅞″ (83.7 cm.)
Sidechairs, Height: 3′ 1″ (94.1 cm.); Width: 2′ ⅜″ (62.0 cm.); Depth: 2′ 3 ⅜″ (69.4 cm.)
Accession number 82.DA.95.1-4 (figs. 30 to 34)

These two armchairs and two sidechairs of carved and gilded beechwood come from a set which is known to include a further pair of armchairs.[30] They are not stamped with a *menuisier's* name since they were made in the 1730's before such marks were required by the guild. The chairs have modern silk upholstery, but their original gilded surface has survived. It was preserved under numerous layers of later gilding and was revealed by Jacques Goujon in Paris over a period of two and a half years' work.

These chairs are described as being *à chassis* since the upholstered seats, backs, and arm pads are easily removed. In the eighteenth century the upholstery would sometimes have been changed with the seasons of the year, as we read in a brief announcement in the weekly newspaper *La Feuille Nécessaire* of June 11, 1759:

> *L'ameublement de tapisserie des Appartemens du Roi à Versailles, vient d'être remplacé aux Fêtes de la Pentecôte par celui d'été.*

22. Now in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.

23. The biographical information given here is taken for the most part from Hugh Honour, *Goldsmiths and Silversmiths*, 1971, pp. 155–160.

24. It is almost certain that the tureen depicted in the painting is one of the pair now in the museum. It too cannot have borne a lid, for the back of the boar's head is attached to the liner, as in the museum's examples.

25. Jacques Helft, *French Master Goldsmiths and Silversmiths*, 1966, p. 124, fig. 1.

26. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, 26 November 1979, lot 583.

27. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Exposição de Arte Francesca*, Lisbon, May-June, 1934, nos. 230 and 231, pp. 64–65.

28. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91, no. 453.

29. Christie's, Geneva, 11 November 1975, lot 230.

30. Two armchairs were sold, by Alexander and Berendt Ltd. of London, to a private collector in New Jersey at the same time the museum acquired these chairs.

Figure 30. One of a pair of armchairs, French (Paris), ca. 1735–1740. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DA.95.1.

Figure 31. One of a pair of sidechairs, French (Paris), ca. 1735–1740. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DA.95.3.

Figure 32. Detail showing the crest on the back of one armchair.

Figure 33. Detail showing the carving at the junction of the back and the seat of one armchair.

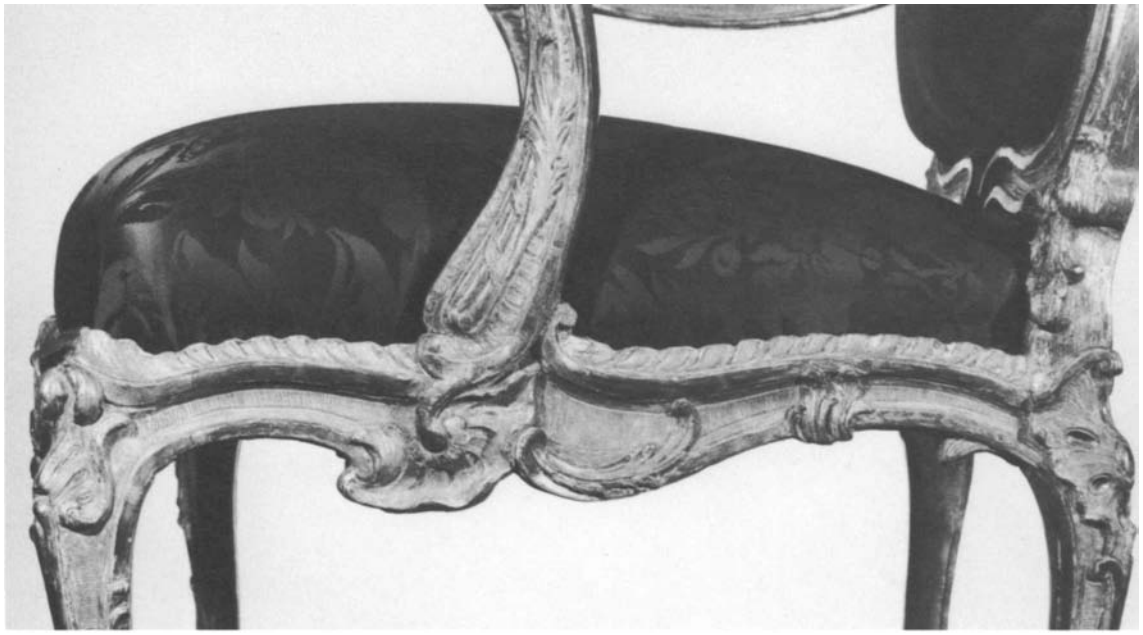

Figure 34. Detail showing the carving along the side of one armchair.

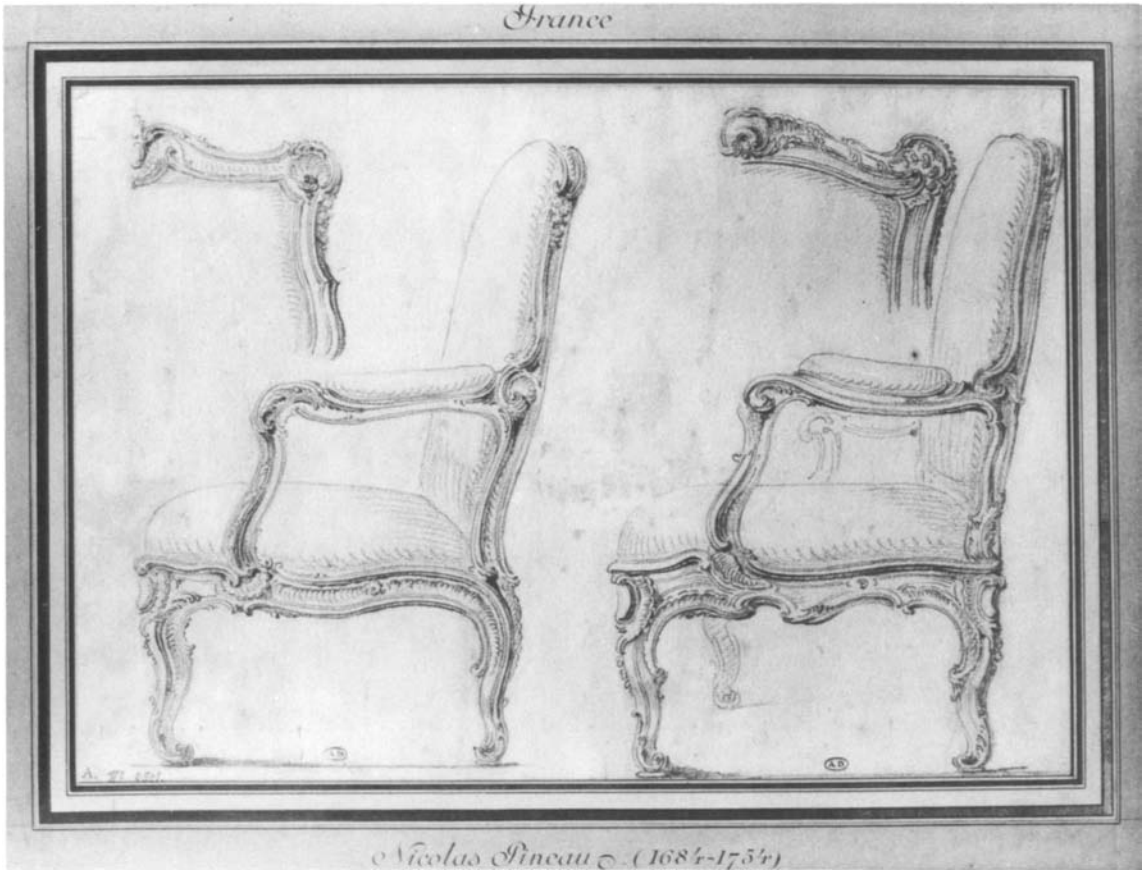

Figure 35. Drawing attributed to Nicolas Pineau. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Figure 36. Tea Service, French (Chantilly), ca. 1735. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DE.167.1-5.

The design of the chairs includes rococo features, carved boldly into the wood and also cut delicately into the gesso. Figures 32 to 34 show features such as the shell-shaped links between the frames of the chairs' backs and seats, the crests of the back frames, and the junctions of the arms and the seat rails.

A drawing attributed to Nicolas Pineau (1684–1754) for two armchairs of similar form is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (fig. 35).[31] A set of chairs made circa 1749 for Louis XV's daughter Louise Elisabeth, Duchess of Parma, also displays this rococo use of broken line. One armchair from the set is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[32] It illustrates the degree of elaboration that can be seen on chairs of this period which were intended for large *salons* in grand houses.

The museum's chairs were in an English country house from the eighteenth century until the late 1970's. They were acquired by the museum from the dealer Alexander and Berendt Ltd. of London.

A. S.

5. TEA SERVICE
French (Chantilly), circa 1735
Tray: Height: 13/16" (2.1 cm.); Width: 8 13/16" (22.4 cm.); Depth: 8 15/16" (22.7 cm.)
Teapot: Height: 3 1/2" (8.9 cm.); Width: 5 1/8" (13.1 cm.); Depth: 3 5/16" (8.4 cm.);
Sugar Bowl: Height: 3 1/8" (7.7 cm.); Width: 4 3/8" (11.1 cm.); Depth: 4 1/16" (10.3 cm.)
Tea Cups: Height: 1 1/2" (3.8 cm.); Width: 3 1/4" (8.2 cm.); Depth: 2 5/8" (6.7 cm.)
Saucers: Height: 15/16" (2.3 cm.); Width: 4 9/16" (11.6 cm.); Depth: 4 17/32" (11.5 cm.)
Accession numbers: 82.DE.167.1-5 (figs. 36 to 41)

This soft paste Chantilly porcelain tea service rests on a flat lobed tray with a raised edge. With the tray are a lidded tea pot, a lidded sugar bowl, and two cups and saucers. These pieces are all modeled in shapes derived from leaf forms or as if formed of leaves (fig. 41). None of them bears

31. Accession number A 4501.

32. Accession number 07.225.57, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, from the Hoentschel Collection, Paris. Two more armchairs from this set are known, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, and in a French private collection. For the history of this set, see James Parker, "French Eighteenth Century Furniture Depicted on Canvas," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, January 1966, pp. 177–192, illus. p. 181.

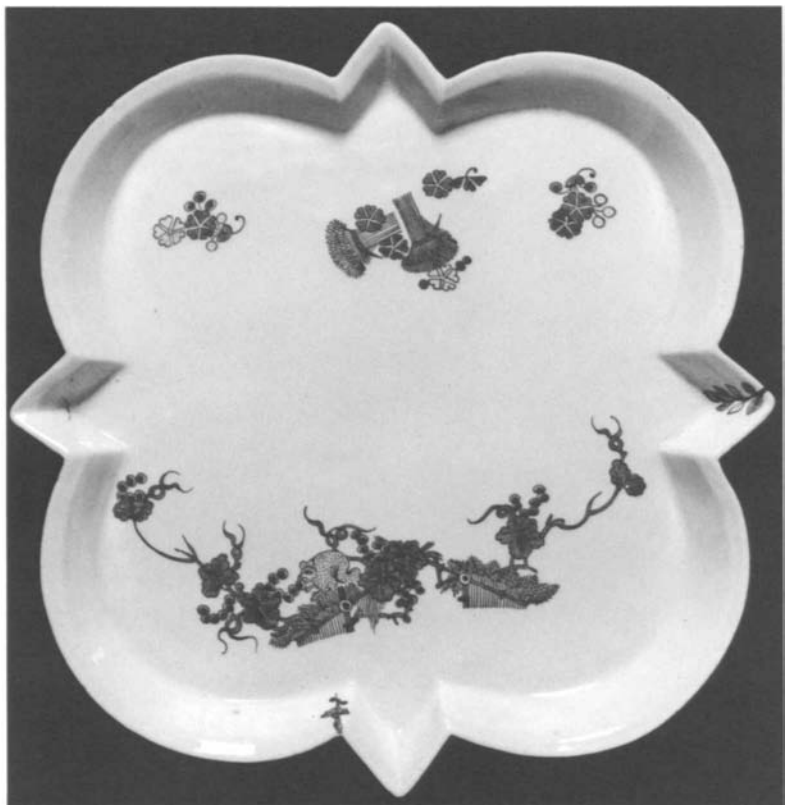

Figure 37. Tray from tea service in figure 36.

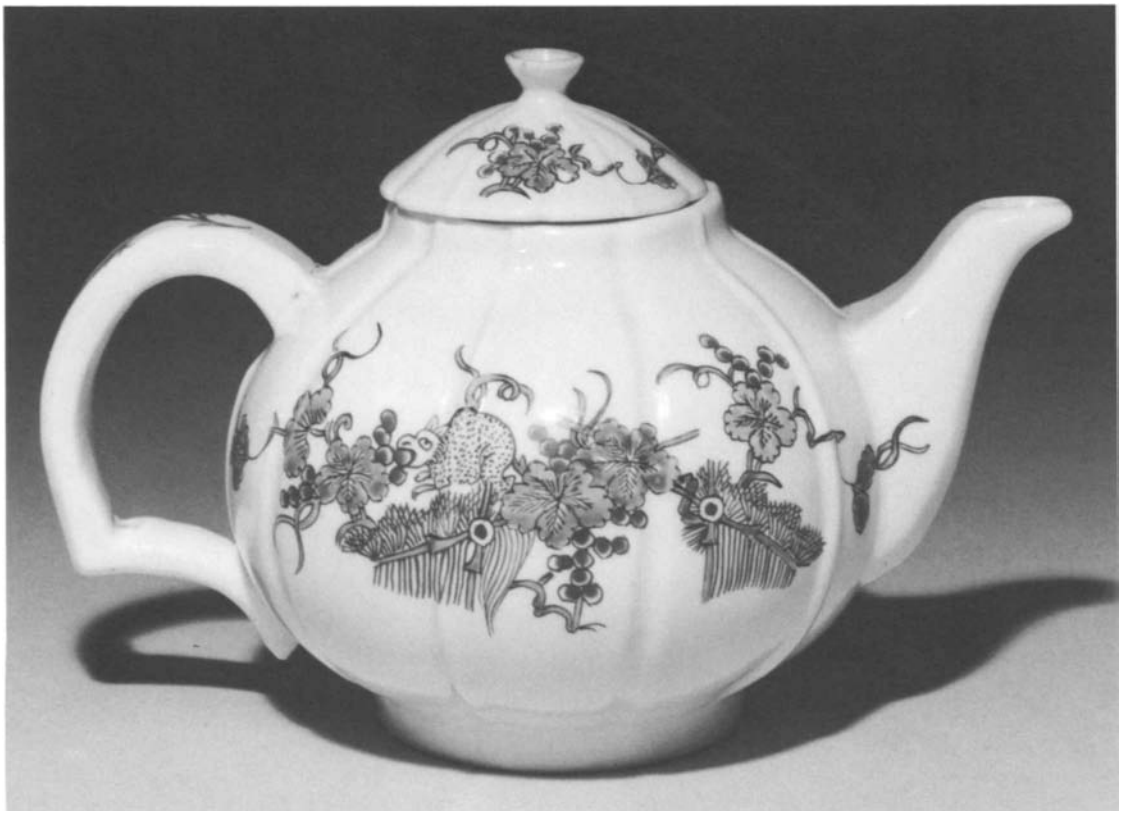

Figure 38. Tea pot from tea service in figure 36.

Figure 39. Cup and saucer, one of a pair, from tea service in figure 36.

Figure 40. Sugar bowl from tea service in figure 36.

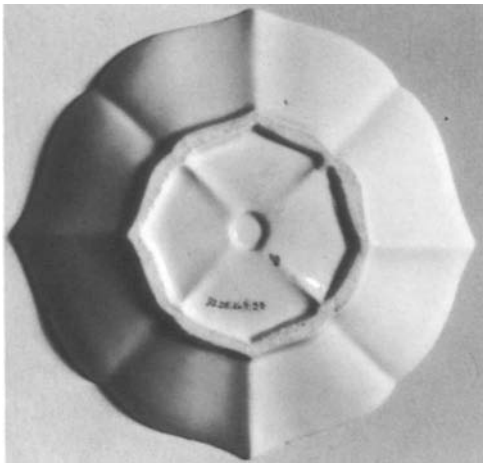

Figure 41. Underside of one saucer showing leaf form, from tea service in figure 36.

any painted or incised marks. The elements of this service are all covered with a tin glaze to provide an even creamy-white color as a ground for the enameled decoration. It is unusual for an eighteenth-century porcelain tea service not to have a milk jug; however, one can be certain that this service is complete without such an item, since there would be no room for it on the tray with the other four pieces. Except for minute finial chips and a hairline crack to the sugar bowl, these pieces are unbroken.

A cup and saucer of the same model as the pair in this service, though with different decoration, were sold at auction in 1974.[33] A tray of the same model was sold from the collection of J.P. Morgan in 1944.[34] A tea pot of a very similar model was sold at auction both in 1973 and again in 1980.[35]

All of these pieces are decorated with the Kakiemon style "yellow squirrel" pattern in enamel colors. The pattern was surely taken from an Arita porcelain object painted in the distinctive Kakiemon palette.[36] The Prince de Condé, who owned the Chantilly Manufactory, had a large collection of Japanese porcelains; and many of the Chantilly products were based on the oriental examples that he possessed. This pattern is always composed of two sheaves of wheat, restrained by turquoise-colored bamboo poles, with the squirrel on the bunch to the left and blue and green flowers with red berries and scrolling tendrils. This pattern is rigidly repeated on all of the elements of this tea service (though proportioned to fit the varying spaces available on each piece).

The "yellow squirrel" pattern is also found on many pieces of Meissen porcelain[37]— again rigidly repeated from the same design—indicating that an Arita example was most probably in the collection of the Elector of Saxony in Dresden by the early 1730's. The Musée National de Ceramique at Sèvres possesses an early Vincennes *pot à pâte*[38] decorated with the same "yellow squirrel" pattern. It is probable that the idea for the decoration of this piece was taken from either a Meissen or a Chantilly piece. There are many examples of the earliest Vincennes products imitating wares from Meissen, though they also copied wares from the Chantilly Manufactory. The shape of this *pot à pâte* is European rather than Japanese, indicating that it is most likely that the design was taken from a European rather than Japanese example of Kakiemon-decorated porcelain.

The museum's tea service was acquired from the dealer Winifred Williams of London.

A. S.

6. CHAMBER POT
French (Chantilly), circa 1740
Height: 3 7/8" (9.8 cm.); Width: 7 11/16" (19.6 cm.); Depth: 4 5/8" (11.8 cm.)
Accession number 82.DE.9 (figs. 42 to 44)

This soft paste Chantilly porcelain chamber pot is of a model known as *à limaçon*. The name refers to the scrolling walls shaped like snail shells and the lobed edges of the lip. The handle is formed and painted to resemble a twig. The chamber pot is painted with an iron red hunting horn mark under the base (fig. 44), the mark used by the Chantilly Manufactory. This model of chamber pot was made many times by the Prince de Condé's porcelain manufactory at Chantilly. Other examples of this model are to be found in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris[39] and in various private collections.[40]

Some of these chamber pots are decorated in the Japanese Kakiemon style of painting and some with European flowers. The Getty Museum's example is painted in the Japanese-influenced palette; and the flowers, though European, are not identifiable. However, the chamber pot in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs shown in figure 45 is painted with readily identifiable European flowers—tulips, morning glories, foxgloves, and a ranunculus—in the style of painting adopted at Chantilly from the early 1740's.

This model of chamber pot was copied by the Vincennes Manufactory by October 1752, when some *pots de chambre à limaçon* were listed in the inventory of stock for sale.[41]

33. Sold, Christie's, London, 3 June 1974, lot 7. Cups and saucers of a very similar model were also produced at Meissen; see Sotheby's, London, 10 July 1973, lot 25.

34. Sold, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 25 March 1944, lot 640. See also Comte Xavier de Chavagnac, *Catalogue des Porcelaines Françaises de M. J.P. Morgan*, Paris, 1910, no. 8.

35. Sold, Christie's, London, 29 October 1973, Lot 120 and again, Christie's, London, 1 December 1980, lot 50. This teapot does not, however, have the footring found under the museum's example.

36. A small Arita bowl, dating from about 1700 and painted with this pattern, is in a Japanese private collection. It is illustrated by Masako Shono, *Japanisches Aritaporzellan im sogenannten "Kakiemonstil" als Vorbild für die Meissener Porzellanmanufaktur*, 1973, pls. 35 and 36.

37. Three Meissen dishes and a tea bowl and saucer decorated with the "yellow squirrel" pattern are illustrated in the *Catalogue of the Hans Syz Collection*, Washington, D.C., 1979, nos. 67–70. Pieces of Meissen porcelain decorated with this pattern are also to be found in the Wark Collection in the Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville, Florida.

38. Inv. 23412. Sold from the collection of the comtesse de Gisenoy de Lyonne, Paris, 26 May 1971, Lot 127. Illustrated M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *Sèvres, des origines à nos jours*, 1978, p. 127, no. 11.

39. Accession numbers D.33291, A.16765, and A.16757.

40. Harold Newman, "Bourdalous, part 2," *Connoisseur*, May 1971, p. 23. See also Christie's, London, 29 October 1973, lot 142.

41. See T. Préaud and A. Faÿ-Halle, *Porcelaines de Vincennes, les origines de Sèvres*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1977, p. 91.

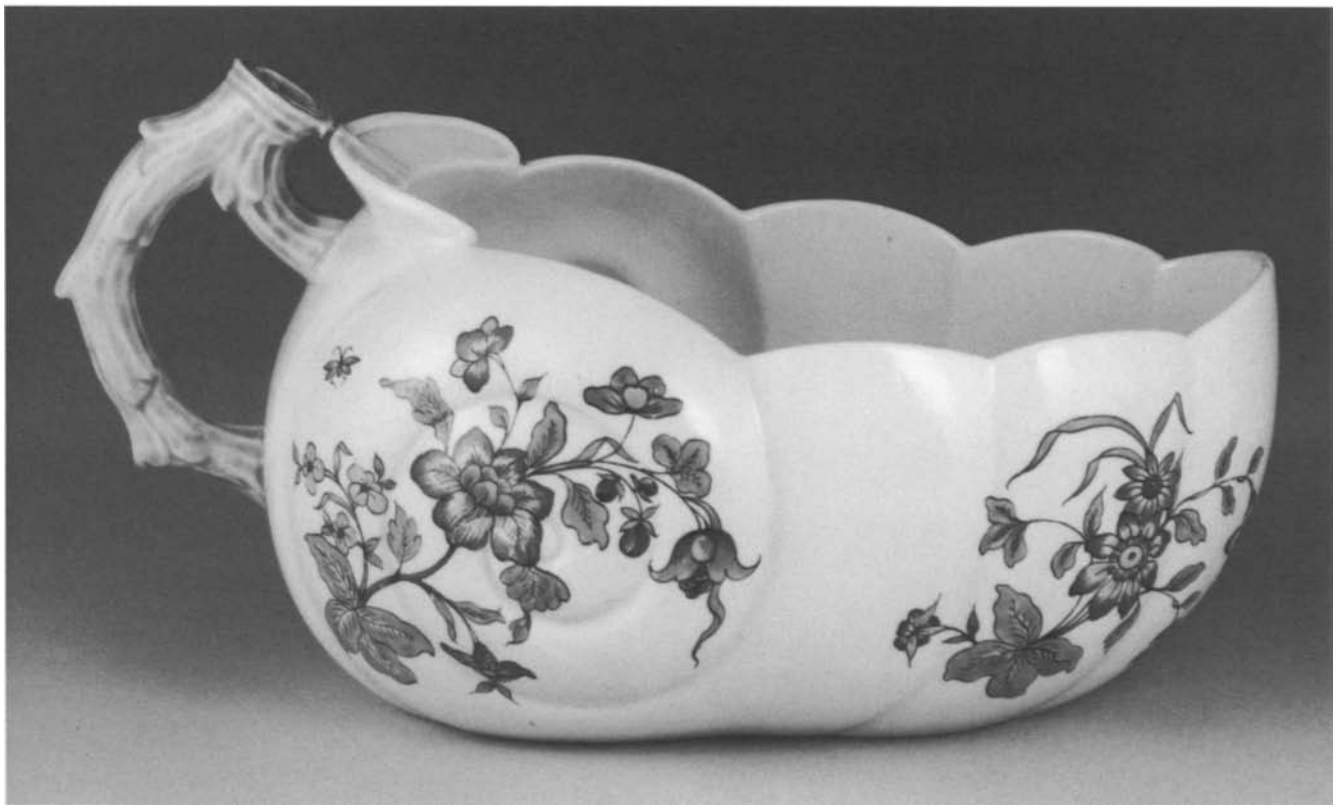

Figure 42. Chamber pot, French (Chantilly), ca. 1740. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DE.9.

Figure 43. Chamber pot, ca. 1740.

Figure 44. Chantilly factory mark painted in iron red under the base of the chamber pot in figure 42.

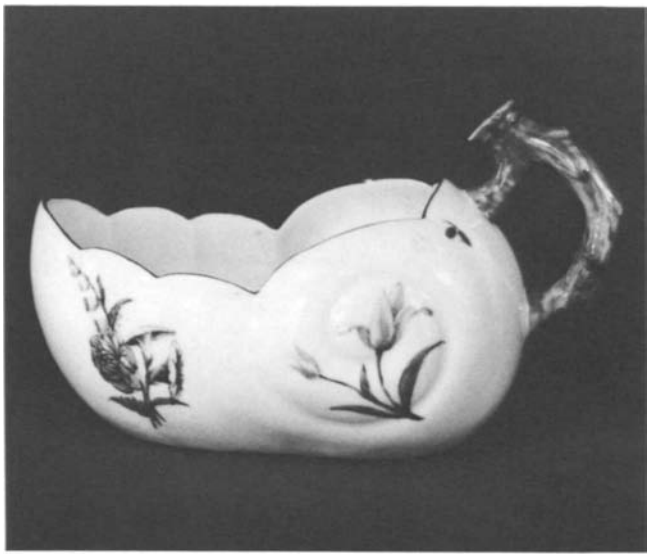

Figure 45. Chantilly chamber pot, ca. 1740. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Figure 46. Vincennes chamber pot, ca. 1752. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. From the Andrade Collection.

Figure 46 shows a Vincennes porcelain example in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, of which the plaster model survives in the Sèvres Manufactory's Archives.[42] The shapes of the Chantilly and Vincennes examples differ in that the latter piece does not have the raised lip above the bowl adjacent to the handle, as seen on the museum's chamber pot.

Oval chamber pots such as this have for a long time been known as *bourdalous*, or *bourdaloues*, though the exact origin of the term is unclear. Harold Newman has discussed this subject and the variety of vessels of this form produced in Europe at length.[43] It is generally thought that these objects were named after the Jesuit preacher Père Louis Bourdaloue (1632–1704), who preached at the court of Louis XIV and who was noted favorably in the writings of both Voltaire and Madame de Sevigné. Bourdaloue's sermons were apparently so long that ladies found it necessary to have maids supply them with chamber pots so that they would not be compelled to leave and miss any part. Another story put forward by Newman is that Bourdaloue had an ailment called hypospadias which resulted in he himself needing such a vessel during his long sermons. The chamber pots were apparently named after this priest who had influenced their use, though none survive from the late seventeenth century when he was preaching.

Newman noted in his articles that the standard French dictionaries offer several possible definitions of the word *bourdalou*. It can mean a ribbon attached to a headdress as worn by Père Bourdaloue, a rough cloth worn by Père Bourdaloue's audience in deference to his condemnation of luxurious living, the leather edging of a shako, a surveyor's mark indicating sea level on the side of a house, and an apple and creamed rice dessert in addition to a feminine urinal. The term *bourdaloue* apparently first appeared in print in 1742, many years after the preacher's death.

The museum's chamber pot was formerly in the collection of W.J. Sainsbury, who bought it in 1957 in Paris from the dealer Regainy. It was later with the dealer Kate Foster in England, and was acquired by the museum from Rosenberg and Stiebel of New York.

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42. Other Vincennes *pots de chambre à limaçon* were in the collections of Mrs. William King, sold, Sotheby's, London, 11 April 1978, lot 33, and M. Edouard Chappey, illustrated in *Les Arts*, February 1905, p. 21, sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 11–21 November 1907, lot 53.

43. H. Newman, *op. cit.*, part 1, December 1970, pp. 258–246, and part 2, May 1971, pp. 22–31.

Figure 47. Pair of lidded tureens with their stands by Thomas Germain, French (Paris), 1744–1750. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DG.13.1-2.

7. PAIR OF TUREENS AND STANDS
French (Paris), 1744–1750
Tureen I: Height: 11 ½" (29.2 cm.); Width: 1′ 1 5/8" (34.6 cm.); Depth: 11" (27.9 cm.)
Stand I: Height: 1 5/8" (4.2 cm.); Width: 1′ 6 3/16" (46.2 cm.); Depth: 1′ 6 9/16" (47.2 cm.)
Tureen II: Height: 11 3/16" (30.0 cm.); Width: 1′ 1 3/4" (34.9 cm.); Depth: 11 1/8" (28.2 cm.)
Stand II: Height: 1 5/8" (4.2 cm.); Width: 1′ 6 3/16" (46.2 cm.); Depth: 1′ 6 9/16" (47.2 cm.)
Accession number 82.DG.13.1-2 (figs. 47 to 50)

Accession number 82.DG.13.1

Tureen: The tureen is inscribed II and DU N° 3, partly obliterated. It is stamped with a crowned I for 1749; the laurel leaf mark is the *contremarque* used under the *fermier-général* Eloy Brichard from October 1756 to November 1762; and the hen's head mark is the *décharge* mark used under the *fermier-général* Julien Berthe between October 1750 and October 1756 (fig. 51).

Liner: The liner is inscribed II and DU N°3[44] and with a partly obliterated coat of arms, with a cardinal's hat above (fig. 52), still visible. It is stamped with a laurel leaf mark and a boar's head mark, the *décharge* mark used for large works under Julien Berthe from October 1750 to October 1756, and with two obliterated marks.

Lid: The lid is inscribed II and is stamped with the laurel leaf and the hen's head marks.

Stand: The stand is inscribed N° 3 - 41m-3on7d and is stamped with the laurel leaf and the hen's head marks; a crowned K for 1750, the warden's mark for July 1750 to July 1751; a crowned A; one poorly struck mark (probably a crowned I); one obliterated mark; and the following inscriptions:

N° 180 - 2 Terrines oz[45] 423-5
181 - 2 Stands oz 206 -
629 - 5

n a/c fr 2 oz
£ kck=wl - i
6743
627010
tplt xx
pair

44. As the tureens liners, and stands are marked respectively DU N° 3, and DU N° 4, it is possible that they once formed part of a set of four.

Figure 48. One of the pair of tureens.

Accession number 82.DG.13.2

Tureen: The tureen is inscribed with I and DU N°4 which has been partly obliterated. It is stamped into a crowned A, the boar's head mark, a crowned I (fig 53), and the laurel leaf mark.

Liner: The liner is inscribed I and DU N° 4, with a coat of arms, mostly obliterated but showing a cardinal's hat above. It is stamped with a crowned D for 1744, with an indistinct mark (fig. 54), the laurel leaf, and the hen's head mark.

Lid: The lid is inscribed I and stamped with the laurel leaf and the hen's head marks.

Stand: The stand is inscribed N° 4 -41-4-1- and is stamped with the laurel leaf and hen's head marks, a crowned A, the *charge* mark used under Antoine Leschaudel between October 1744 and October 1750, a crowned K for 1750 (fig. 55), an indecipherable poorly struck mark, and one obliterated mark. Beneath are the following inscriptions:

N° 180 Terrines oz 423-5
181 Stands oz 206-
629-5
n a/.....oz
£.....(all obliterated)
£ kck = wl = i
6743
627010
IN
6743
627010
tplt xx
Pair[46]

45. The old fashioned spelling of the word "Terrines" would indicate that they were at one time in a nineteenth-century English collection.

46. The marks are as given in Henri Nocq, *Le Poinçon de Paris,* vols. I-IV, 1968. I am grateful to Clare le Corbeiller for the help in reading the marks.

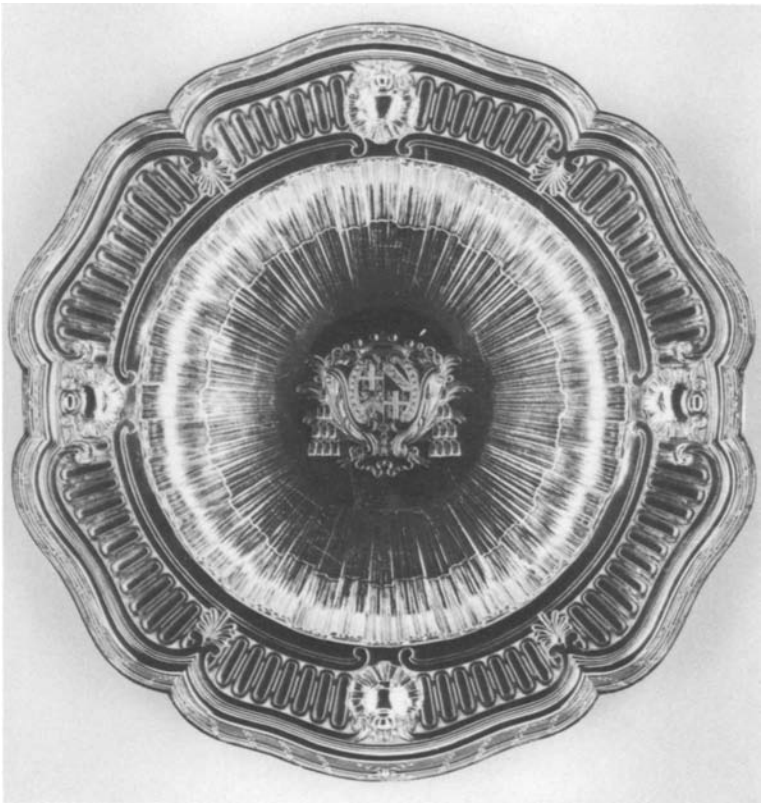


Figure 49. One of the stands.

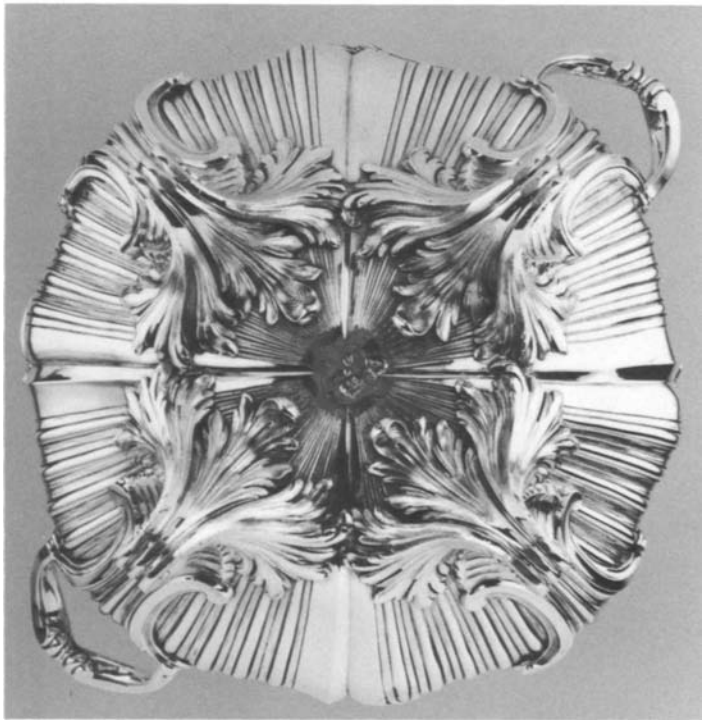


Figure 50. The underside of tureen no. II.

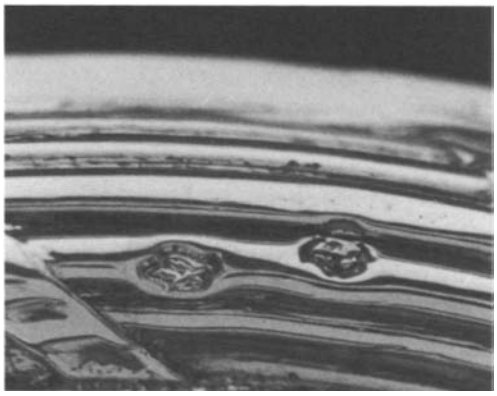


Figure 51. Detail of the rim of tureen no. I, showing the laurel leaf *contremarque* used between 1756 and 1762 and the hen's head mark, the *décharge* mark used between 1750 and 1756.

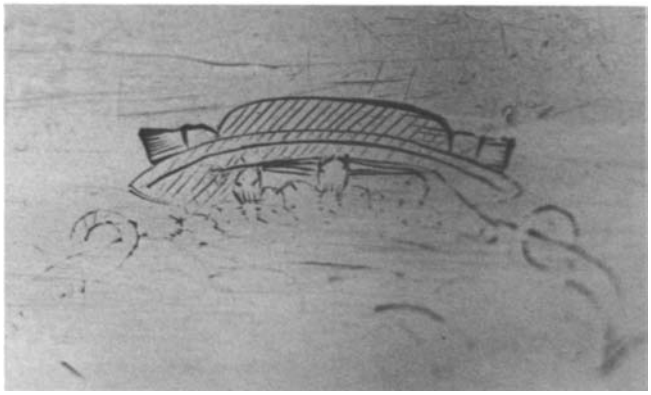


Figure 52. Detail showing a partially obliterated coat of arms on liner no. I, with a cardinal's hat visible above.

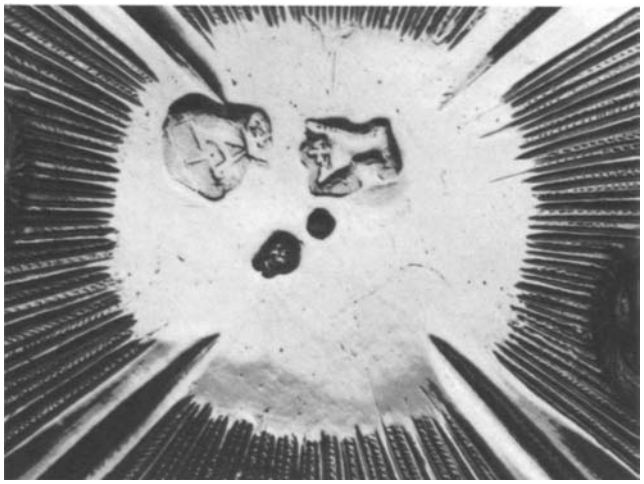


Figure 53. Detail showing the marks on the underside of tureen no. II; a crowned A, the *charge* mark used under the *fermier-général* Antoine Leschaudel between 1744 and 1750, a crowned I for 1749, and the boar's head mark, the *décharge* mark used under the *fermier-général* Julien Berthe between 1750 and 1756.

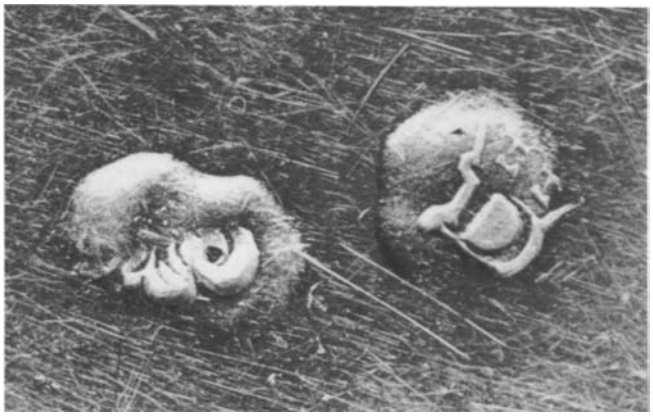


Figure 54. Detail showing two marks beneath the liner no. II, a crowned D for 1744 and an indistinct mark.

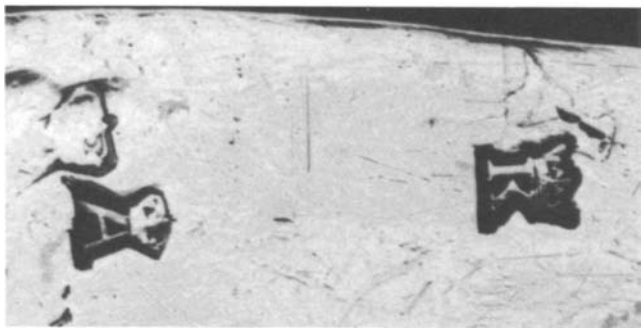


Figure 55. Detail showing three marks beneath the rim of stand no. II; a crowned A for 1744–1750, a crowned K for 1750, and an indistinct mark.

The stands are also engraved with unidentified coats of arms, which carry marquis' crowns but retain the cardinal's tassels at the sides (fig. 56).

The tureens are not stamped with the marks of Thomas Germain, but they can be firmly attributed to him. They closely resemble another lidded tureen, stamped with his mark and dated 1744–1746, in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 57).[47] As Thomas Germain died in 1748, it is likely that the museum's pair of tureens was finished, or at any rate delivered to the purchaser, by his son François-Thomas Germain in 1750 or shortly thereafter.

It has not been possible to trace the provenance of the tureens further back than the fifties of this century. According to the London silver dealer S.J. Phillips, the firm sold the tureens some years ago to Mrs. Meyer Sassoon.

47. Musées Nationaux, département des objets d'art, *Catalogue de l'orfèverie du XVIIe, du XVIIIe, et du XIXe siècle*, 1958, p. 80, no. 99, pl. XLIII, no. 124 (Inv. OA 9436), given by D. David Weil.

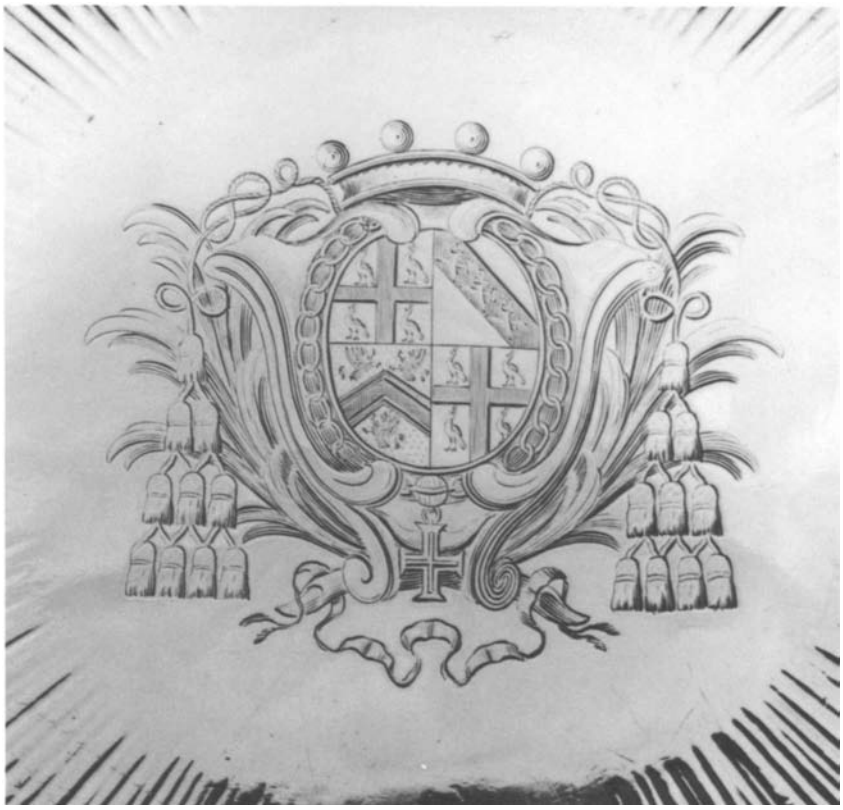


Figure 56. Detail showing a coat of arms on one of the stands.

Figure 57. A lidded tureen by Thomas Germain, 1744–1746. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

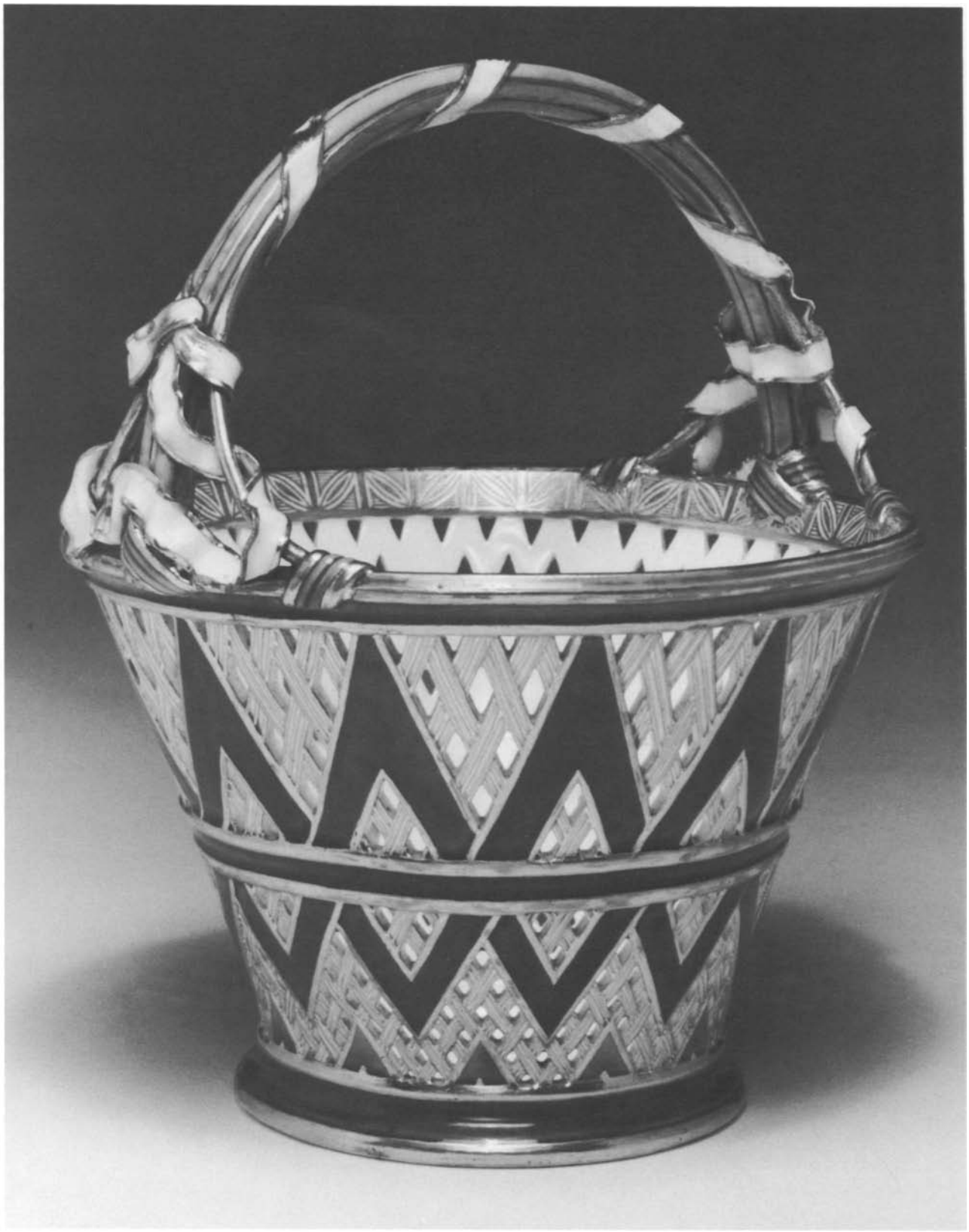


Figure 58. Sèvres basket (*panier*), 1756, with green ground color. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DE.92.

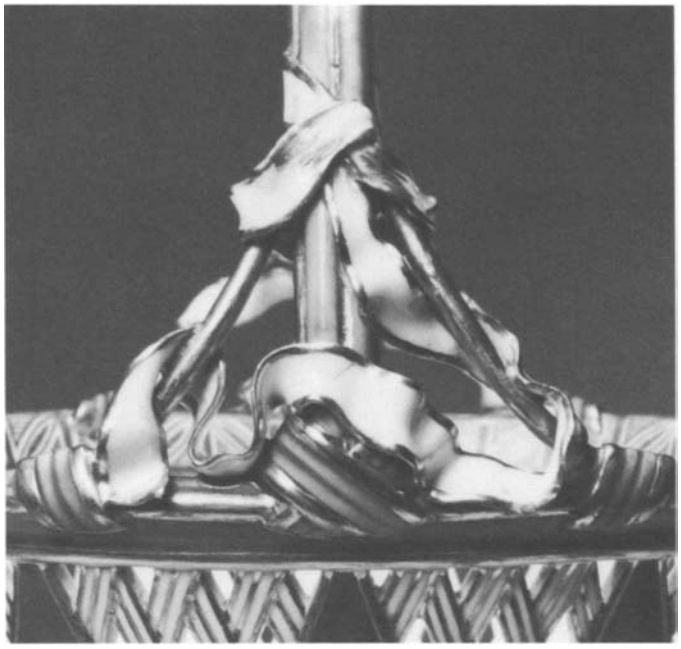


Figure 59. Detail of the ribbon on the handle of the basket in figure 58.

Figure 60. Sèvres factory mark and date letter for 1756 painted in blue and the incised *répareur's* mark under the base of the basket in figure 58.

About thirty years ago they bought them back from her and, with Jacques Helft, sold them to Jacques Kugel of Paris. He sold them to a member of the Espirito Santo family, whose heirs sold them at auction in 1976.[48] It is not known who acquired them at that sale. The tureens were exhibited in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs exhibition *Les Trésors de l'orfèvrerie de Portugal* in 1954, where they are given, in the catalogue, to a "*collection particulière, Paris*".[49] The tureens were acquired by private treaty by the museum through Christie's, Geneva, in 1982.

G.W.

8. BASKET
French (Sèvres), 1756
Height: 8 5/8" (22.0 cm.); Width: 7 7/8" (20.1 cm.);
Depth: 7 1/8" (18.0 cm.)
Accession number 82.DE.92 (fig. 58)

This soft paste porcelain basket is decorated with gilding and areas of green ground color. The circular pierced body imitates a woven cane basket with strapwork bands and a cane handle held by ribbons (fig. 59). The underside of the basket is painted with the blue crossed L's mark of the Sèvres Manufactory enclosing the date letter D for 1756 (fig. 60). It is also incised with the *répareur's* mark PZ. He would have carried out the important task of cutting the pierced openings in the unfired leather-hard body. 1756 was the first year in which the green ground color was produced by the Sèvres Manufactory. It became one of the more popular colors, but it was not produced in large quantities until 1757.

One more basket of this form is known (fig. 61). Sold at auction in London in 1983 from the Hillingdon Collection,[50] it is also dated for 1756, but it has a different incised *répareur's* mark, BL. It is not modeled in quite the same manner as the museum's basket—the pattern of the chevrons is bolder on the museum's example, and the ribbons are more elaborate. Both of these baskets are decorated with green ground color, but the Hillingdon basket has more elaborate patterns of gilding covering areas of ground color left plain on the museum's basket.

Two other Sèvres, or, to be more precise, Vincennes, porcelain baskets are known to exist of a similar and larger form, though neither are of the same model as the Getty Museum's example.[51] One is in the Wallace Collection in London,[52] decorated with a *bleu céleste* ground color.

48. Christie's, Geneva, 27 April 1976, lot 446.

49. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, *Les Trésors de l'orfèvrerie du Portugal*, November 1954-January 1955, p. 91, no. 455, pls. 164 and 165.

50. Christie's, London, 28 March, 1983, lot 25. Property of Lady Phoebe Hillingdon. This basket belonged to the Hillingdon family from the 1840's.

Figure 61. Sèvres basket (*panier*), 1756, with green ground color. Photograph courtesy of Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., London.

Figure 62. Vincennes basket (*panier*), 1753, with *bleu céleste* ground color. London, The Wallace Collection.

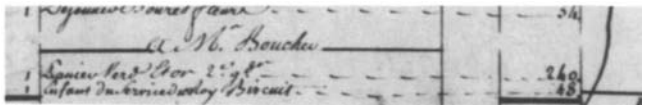


Figure 63. Entry from the Sèvres sales registers for December 1757. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres Archives.

The Wallace basket (fig. 62) does not have the strapwork of the Getty Museum's example; instead it has a larger area of pierced work. The larger basket also lacks the delicately folded porcelain ribbons at the junctions of the handle and the body of the basket. The Wallace example bears the date letter A for 1753, when the porcelain manufactory was located in the Château of Vincennes. A basket of the same model as the Wallace example, though with no handle, was in the Rosebery and Fribourg Collections.[53] Although the Wallace basket is of the same model as the Rosebery/Fribourg basket, the ground colors are applied to different areas on each. The Rosebery/Fribourg basket is fitted with a large bouquet of Vincennes porcelain flowers on gilt metal stalks.

Rosalind Savill of the Wallace Collection has shown that either the Getty or the Hillingdon basket is surely the one mentioned in the Sèvres sales registers in December 1757 (fig. 63) when it was given to the painter and designer François Boucher. The entry reads:

A Monsieur Boucher:
1 Pannier Vert Et or, 2e gdr 240 l.

No other baskets are specified in the sales registers of this size and color.

The Sèvres Manufactory gave Boucher, with whom it had a close association, various gifts of its products in the 1750's and 1760's. Some of his drawings were used in the designers' studios along with many engravings of his paintings to make figures in biscuit porcelain which proved to be highly popular. Boucher's work was also used as designs for the painted enamel scenes of children, pastorals, landscapes, and mythologies found on many Sèvres wares.[54] However, in the 1771 auction of Boucher's possessions held after his death, there is no mention of this basket amongst the lots of Sèvres porcelains.

It is interesting to note that the Hillingdon basket was certainly in England by 1862, when it was exhibited in London.[55] Further work may help to reveal more information about the provenance of these two baskets, thus enabling identification of the example owned by François Boucher.

The basket was sent to auction in 1982 from a French private collection[56] and was later acquired by the museum from the dealer Armin Allen of New York.

A. S.

51. The Vincennes Manufactory moved to Sèvres during 1756, which is the year that these baskets are dated (with the date letter D). Since a basket of this type is recorded to have left the Sèvres Manufactory in December 1757, it can be assumed that these baskets were made at Sèvres rather than at Vincennes.

52. Accession number I 43.

53. Exhibited *Three French Reigns*, London, 25 Park Lane, 21 February–5 April 1933, catalogue number 292, lent by the Earl of Rosebery, Mentmore Towers. Sold from the collection of the Earl of Rosebery, Christie's, London, 4 May 1939, lot 65. Sold from the collection of the late René Fribourg of New York, Sotheby's, London, 25 June 1963, lot 68. Present whereabouts unknown. See also T. Préaud and A. Faÿ-Halle, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 41), p. 45.

54. For full information on François Boucher's role at Vincennes and Sèvres, see Rosalind Savill, "François Boucher and the Porcelains of Vincennes and Sèvres," *Apollo*, March 1982, pp. 162–170.

55. *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art . . .*, The South Kensington Museum, London, June 1862, edited by J.C. Robinson, no. 1463, p. 132, lent by Charles Mills Esq. (later the 1st Lord Hillingdon).

56. Christie's, London, 22 June 1982, lot 19.

Figure 64. One of a pair of Sèvres chestnut bowls (*marronnières*) with *bleu céleste* ground, ca. 1760. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DE.171.1.

9. PAIR OF CHESTNUT BOWLS
French (Sèvres), circa 1760
Height: 5 ¼″ (13.4 cm.); Width: 10 9/16″ (27.0 cm.); Depth: 8 5/16″ (21.1 cm.)
Accession number 82.DE.171.1-2 (fig. 64)

The model of this pair of lidded bowls is described in the Sèvres Manufactory Archives as a *marronnière*, i.e. a chestnut bowl. The model was produced in 1757, and two plaster molds for *marronnières à oziers* are listed in the inventory of January 1, 1759 for work carried out during 1758.[57] These oval soft paste porcelain bowls are fixed to their stands, and all three elements of these pieces—the lid, the bowl, and the stand—are cut with piercings forming a pattern of interlacing chevrons and ribbons (fig. 65). The lids are decorated with garlands of flowers and, like the bowls and stands, have ribbons of turquoise blue (*bleu céleste*) ground color with gilded highlighting.

The *marronnières* do not bear any painted marks. One bowl is incised under the base with the *répareur's* marks j in script and FR in capital letters (figs. 66 and 67). The j mark is noted by Svend Eriksen[58] to be found on a variety of Sèvres tablewares made between 1762 and 1774, and he suggests that the mark FR was used by *répareur* François-Firmin Fresne, or Dufresne (active 1756–1767).[59]

Over fifty *marronnières* are listed in the Sèvres sales registers between 1757 and 1765. However, none of these entries are detailed enough to identify the museum's pair.

57. I am grateful to Tamara Préaud for this information. In the Sèvres sale registers the description for this model of basket is consistently spelt *maronnière*, though in the twentieth century the word is spelled *marronnière* with two r's, thus in the quotations from eighteenth-century records in this article, the word has been spelled differently.

58. Svend Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sèvres Porcelain*, 1968, p. 242.

59. Eriksen, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 and 324.

60. Louis XV purchased *1 Maronnière* decorated with flowers for 144 *livres* in December 1759. In 1773 he also purchased *1 Couvercle de maronnière, filets bleu* for 30 *livres*.

61. Madame de Pompadour purchased *1 Maronnière Et Platteau* for 216 *livres* on December 30, 1758, and in December 1760 *1 Maronnière fond Verd* and *1 Id*[e][Idem]*Lapis*, for 192 and 168 *livres* respectively.

Figure 65. Detail of the pierced stand of basket in figure 64.

The prices paid individually for these pieces ranged from 120 *livres* to 360 *livres*. A replacement lid (of unspecified decoration) cost the *marchand-mercier* Monsieur Tesnières 42 *livres* in October 1761. The registers show that most of these pieces were sold individually or in pairs to various *marchands-merciers* and to clients including Louis XV,[60] Madame de Pompadour,[61] and Madame Victoire.[62] *Marronnières* were also included in some dinner services, such as those given by Louis XV to Empress Maria-Theresa of Austria in 1758[63] and to the Elector Karl-Theodor of Bavaria in 1760.[64]

Ten examples of this model of Sèvres *marronnière* are known to the author at the time of writing in addition to the museum's pair. They are to be found in the Residenz-

Figure 66. Incised *répareur's* mark under the base of one basket.

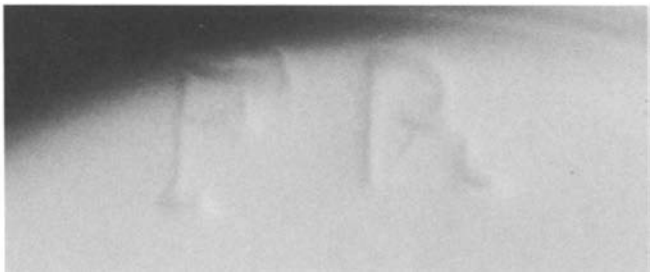


Figure 67. Incised *répareur's* mark under the base of one basket.

After her death, the inventories made in 1764 of her possessions include, at the Château of Versailles, *Une maronnière et son platteau, bleu lapis* and at the Château of Saint-Ouen, *Une maronnière bleu lapis découpée.* See Jean Cordey, *Inventaire des Biens de Madame de Pompadour*, 1939, p. 62, no. 638 and p. 96, no. 1304.

62. On December 31, 1763, Madame Victoire purchased 2 *Maronnières* for 120 *livres* each.

Figure 68. One of a pair of Sèvres chestnut bowls (*marronnières*) with pink and green grounds. Hartford, The Wadsworth Atheneum, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan.

museum, Munich,[65] the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (fig. 68),[66] the Wallace Collection, London,[67] a private collection near Boston,[68] the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch at Boughton House, Northamptonshire,[69] and in 1905 in the collection of E. Chappey in Paris.[70] At least one more pair is thought to be in an English country house.[70a]

The museum's pair of *marronnières* differs from all of the examples listed above in the shape of the lids. The museum's lids have one band of pierced work and a large flat central area, with a handle composed of two intertwined loops of porcelain. The model of lid common to all of the other *marronnières* has two bands of pierced work separated by a bar wound with ribbon. This latter form of

63. M. Brunet and S. Grandjean, *Les Grands Services de Sèvres*, 1951, Musée National de Ceramique, Sèvres, p. 25, no. 1. *2 Maronnières et platteaux* decorated with *rubans verds* were included at a cost of 360 *livres* each.

64. M. Brunet and S. Grandjean, *op. cit.*, p. 26, no. 2. *2 Maronnières tenant aux platteaux*, with decoration of *mosaique* pattern were included at a cost of 240 *livres* each.

65. A pair from the service given by Louis XV to the Elector of Bavaria and referred to in footnote 64.

66. A pair with pink and green ground colors, both painted with the crossed L's mark, accession number 1917.1011. Also one with no ground color, painted with the blue crossed L's enclosing the date letter G for 1759 under a crown mark, accession number 1917.1010, see also under note 68. All were the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. See de Chavagnac, *op. cit.* (*supra* note 34) no. 102, p. 85 and no. 93, pp. 78–79, pl. XXVIII.

67. One with turquoise blue (*bleu céleste*) ground color dated for 1759. Accession number I 45.

68. One with no ground color, painted with the blue crossed L's mark enclosing the date letter G for 1759 incised cp. Sold from the collection of Major-General Sir George Burns, North Mymms Park, Hertfordshire, Christie's, 26 September 1979, lot 652. I am grateful to Jeffrey Munger of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and to Charissa Bremer-David of the J. Paul Getty Museum for bringing this example to my attention.

It should be noted that Major-General Sir George Burns is the son of Mrs. Walter Hayes Burns, née Morgan, who was J. Pierpont Morgan's sister. It was he who owned the similar white ground *marronnière* now in the Wadsworth Atheneum. The Morgans—brother and sister—often traveled together in Europe purchasing works of art for their collections, and it could be through them that these two *marronnières*, seemingly a pair to each other, were separated.

69. A pair with blue ground (shade of the blue ground and the marks not known to the author) displayed in the Drawing Room.

70. One illustrated in *Les Arts*, February 1905, p. 31, of unknown color and date.

70a. Since writing this article the author has confirmed that there is a pair with *bleu céleste* ground (marks unknown) in the collection of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat House, Wiltshire.

Figure 69. One of a pair of wall lights by Philippe Caffiéri, ca. 1765–1770. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DF.35.1.

Figure 70. Detail of inventory number found on the reverse of the pair of wall lights.

Figure 71. Detail of one drip pan, showing Caffiéri's engraved signature.

lid has a smaller flat area in the center surmounted by a more solid handle wound with a ribbon.

Handles formed of loops of porcelain, as on the museum's *marronnières*, are also seen on the lids of the models of sugar bowls called *pot à sucre feuille de choux* and a *pot à sucre gauffré*.[71]

An interesting Sèvres porcelain dish was sold at auction in 1965.[72] It is of the same model as the stands for these *marronnières*, but it appears to be a unique example of such a dish modeled without a bowl affixed on top. The dish has a pink ground color and is twelve inches wide, which is over one inch greater than the width of the museum's *marronnières*.

These bowls were acquired by the museum from the dealer Armin Allen of New York.

A. S.

10. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1765–1770
Height: 2′ 1 ½″ (64.8 cm.). Width: 1′ 4 ½″ (41.9 cm.); Depth: 1′ ¼″ (31.1 cm.)
Accession number 82.DF.35.1-2 (fig. 69)

This pair of gilt bronze wall lights in the early neoclassical style belongs to the same set as four wall lights of the same model already in the museum's collection.[73] One light from each group is stenciled on the reverse with the inventory mark N° 151 (fig. 70), indicating that they were originally a set.[74]

Gillian Wilson published the museum's original set of four lights in 1979,[75] attributing them to the celebrated *bronzier* Philippe Caffiéri (1714–1774) on the basis of an entry in an inventory of his stock taken in 1770. Wall lights of this model were described as follows:

> *No. 94. Une paire de grands bras à trois branches en couleur avec des grandes Guirlandes de laurier agraphées dans les rouleaux des branches et nouées d'une draperie en noir de fumée avec un Vase dont le corps est aussi en noir de fumée. 650 [livres]*[76]

Six wall lights of a model conforming to this description are in the Lazienki Palace in Warsaw.[77] They, and the description above, differ from the museum's six wall lights only in that they have patinated bronze urns and ribbons,

71. Produced at Vincennes and Sèvres from 1756 and 1757 respectively. See T. Préaud and A. Faÿ-Halle, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 41.), p. 84, nos. 194 and 195, illus.

72. See Sotheby's, London, 4 May 1965, lot 100, illustrated in the auction catalogue.

73. Accession number 78.DF.263.1-4.

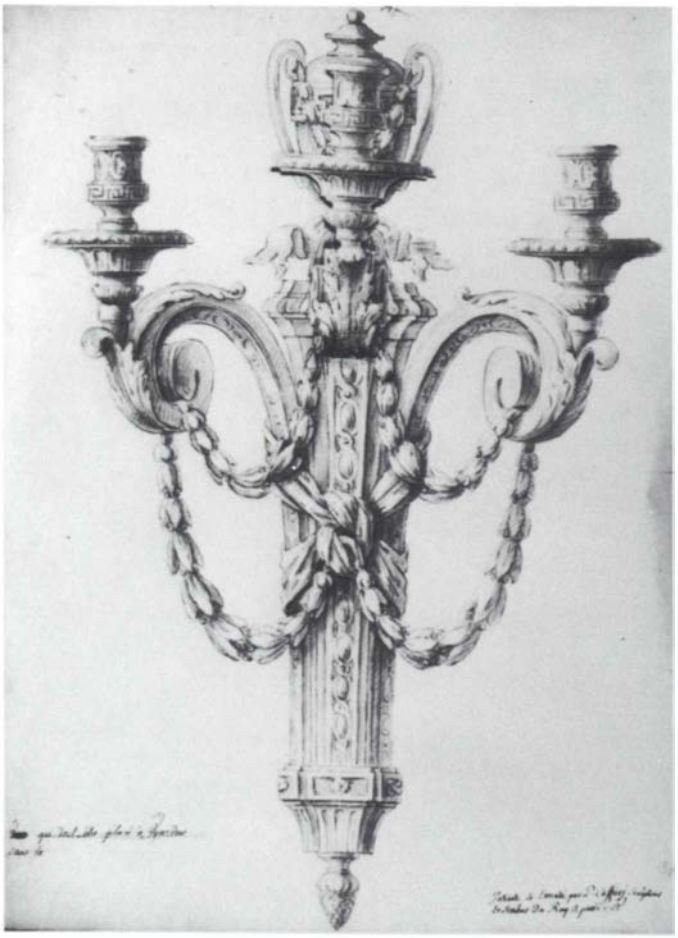


Figure 72. Drawing signed "P. Caffiéri" for a wall light, dated 1765. Warsaw, University Library BUW 375. Photo: P. Pröschel, Munich.

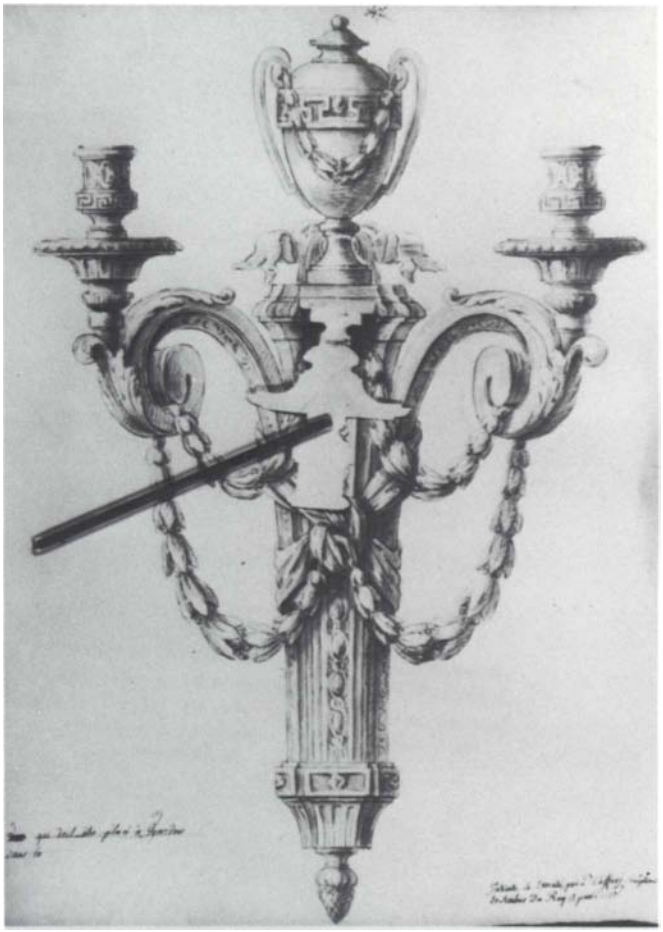


Figure 73. The drawing in figure 72 shown with the overlaid piece of paper drawn with the design of the central arm restrained to show the urn at the top of the wall light.

whereas the museum's are made entirely of gilded bronze. Caffiéri delivered a number of objects to the Lazienki Palace between 1766 and 1768, so these wall lights were presumably amongst the fittings he supplied, though they are not listed in his estimate for objects ordered.

One of the drip pans on the pair of wall lights recently acquired bears the engraved inscription "*fait par Caffiéry*" (fig. 71), which confirms their authorship. In addition a drawing for this model of wall light has recently been discovered,[78] signed and inscribed, *Inventé & Executé par P. Caffieri Sculpteur Et Sizeleur Du Roy A paris 1765* (figs. 72 and 73).

These wall lights were acquired from Alexander and Berendt Ltd. of London, who had acquired them at auction in 1980.[79] Another pair of wall lights of this model, which do not bear the same inventory number as the museum's set, were sold in 1980 by Alexander and Berendt Ltd. to a private collector in New Jersey.[80]

A. S.

74. The newly acquired pair of lights is not drilled for electricity as are the four already in the collection, indicating that the group was split up before the owners of the set of four decided to electrify their lights.

75. Gillian Wilson, "Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts, 1977 to mid 1979," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, vol. 6-7 1978–1979, no. 7, pp. 42–43, fig. 70.

76. Svend Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism in France*, 1974, p. 354, pl. 213.

77. Svend Eriksen, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

78. I am very grateful to Peter Pröschel for informing us of the existence of this drawing, and allowing us to publish it.

79. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, 21 October 1980, lot 787A.

80. Sold, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Los Angeles, 6 March 1979, lot 591.

Figure 74. Pair of Sèvres *vases à têtes de bouc*, ca. 1767–1770, with *bleu nouveau* ground color. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DE.36.1-2.

11. PAIR OF LIDDED VASES
French (Sèvres), circa. 1767–1770
Height: 1′ 1 7/16″ (34.2 cm.); Width: 8 5/8″ (21.9 cm.); Depth: 6 5/8″ (16.8 cm.)
Accession number 82.DE.36.1-2 (fig. 74)

Neither of this pair of soft paste Sèvres porcelain vases bears any painted marks. Each vase is incised with the *mouleur's* mark c.d. and the *répareur's* mark N in script under the base (fig. 76). Svend Eriksen[81] suggests that the former mark might be that of the *mouleur* Michel-Dorothé Coudray (active ca. 1759–1774); and with reference to the latter mark, Eriksen writes that the only *répareur* working at Sèvres whose name began with an N was Nantier (active 1767–1776). Vase number 1 is also incised 1 and vase number 2 is incised 2, both in script under their bases.[82] The vases are decorated with dark-blue (*bleu nouveau*) ground color and gilding (fig. 77). The pattern of the gilding on the main parts of the bodies of these vases is a simplification of a pattern found on vases in the Wallace Collection[83] and the Walters Art Gallery,[84] dated for 1766 and 1767 respectively.

The model of these vases was called a *vase à têtes de bouc* in the eighteenth-century sales registers at Sèvres.

81. Eriksen, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 58), 1968, pp. 248, 322.

82. The incised marks N1 and N2 on each vase have not been taken to read as abbreviations for number one and number two, since the mark N is found on the pair of *vases à têtes de bouc* at Waddesdon Manor without a number and thought by Eriksen to be the mark of a *répareur*.

83. A *Cassolette Duplessis*, inv. XX.59, illustrated M. Brunet and T. Préaud, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 38), p. 169, no. 135.

84. A *Vase Ovoïde*, inv. 48601, illustrated Brunet and Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 171, no. 140.

Figure 75. Detail of a goat's head from one *vase à têtes de bouc.*

Figure 76. Detail showing the incised *mouleur* and *répareur's* marks under the base of one *vase à têtes de bouc.*

Figure 77. Detail of the gilding from one *vase à têtes de bouc.*

Figure 78. Sèvres *vase à têtes de bouc,* ca. 1767–1770, with *bleu nouveau* ground color. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.

However, Troude[85] illustrated the plaster model, which survives at Sèvres, under the name *vase bouc à raisins*. The model was first produced in 1767 and was available in three sizes by 1771.[86] At least five more examples of this model of vase seem to have survived into the twentieth century—a pair in the Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor[87] and single examples in the British Royal Collection,[88] in the Palais de Fontainebleau,[89] and, in 1889, in the collection of Monsieur Berthet.[90] None of these vases can be identified against the many mentions of *vases à têtes de bouc* in the Sèvres sales registers.

The museum's pair of *vases à têtes de bouc* are of the same size as the example in the Royal Collection (fig. 78) and slightly smaller than those at Waddesdon Manor—although this difference in height (8 mm.) is probably due to the different lids. The fluted form of the stopper-shaped lids on the museum's vases is not found on the other vases of this model, though the example in the Royal Collection has a similarly shaped lid without the fluting. The vase is the Royal Collection is interestingly the only one of these *vases à têtes de bouc* modeled without the clusters of grapes and vine leaves around the neck and beneath the goats' heads. The Waddesdon Manor, Fontainebleau, and Berthet examples each bear differently shaped lids; and the model illustrated by Troude is missing its lid.

The Edward-Dean Museum in Riverside, California, possesses a pair of vases of this model. They are marked with a blue crowned N for the Royal Naples Porcelain Manufactory and are modeled with putti and landscapes in relief between the goats' heads. The Samson Manufactory in Paris made reproductions of these Sèvres vases in the late nineteenth century, one of which was sold at auction in 1980.[91]

The museum's pair of vases was sold at auction in New York in 1957[92] and again, from the estate of the late Christian Humann of New York, in 1982.[93] The museum acquired them from the dealer Armin Allen of New York.

A. S.

12. SECRETAIRE
French (Paris), circa 1770
Height: 3′ 5 7/8″ (106.3 cm.), Width: 3′ 11 1/4″ (120 cm.); Depth: 1′ 5 1/4″ (43.6 cm.)
Accession number 82.DA.81 (fig. 79)

The secrétaire is veneered with an elaborate trellis and fleuron marquetry in thuya, rosewood, tulipwood, satinwood and ebony. The interior of the carcase is inscribed in pencil '1770', which can be taken as the year of the secrétaire's construction. The piece does not bear the stamp of the maker's name, but it was almost certainly made by Jean-François Leleu (b. 1729, master 1764, d. 1807). Two other pieces of furniture, both stamped with his name and apparently made *en suite*, exist in France. One is a long *bas d'armoire* at the Château de Menars[94] which bears the same marquetry and mounts, and the other, also similarly veneered and mounted, is a secrétaire in the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris[95] (fig. 80). The secrétaire in Paris is of the usual height and construction, having a fall front. A similar small commode and a secrétaire *en suite* passed through the Paris market in 1913.[96] They both bore similar marquetry to the museum's secrétaire, and the same frieze mounts. The commode was stamped J.F. LELEU.

The museum's secrétaire is of unique form. Its height is unusually low; and if it had been provided with the usual fall front, the writing surface would necessarily have been very shallow. To overcome this problem, the center of the front of the piece lifts up from below and is supported by a metal arm (fig. 81). It then opens out to form a deep and wide surface, large enough to hold an open folio (fig. 82). This suggests that the secrétaire was made for use in a library. In addition to the mechanical devices used to form this surface, more mechanical and unusual locking systems have been used in this piece. Above the rising front are eight drawers: two in the frieze, a deeper drawer to each side below, and four small drawers in the middle. Only the deep drawers to either side bear locks, but when

85. Albert Troude, *Choix de Modèles de la Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres Appartenant au Musée Ceramique*, n.d., pl. 105.

86. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, The Queen's Gallery, London, 1979–1980, pp. 111–112, no. 116.

87. Svend Eriksen, *op. cit.*, p. 274, no. 99. Decorated with *bleu nouveau* ground and painted with scenes after François Boucher and flowers, undated.

88. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112, no. 116. Decorated with *bleu nouveau* ground and painted with a scene of putti and with a military trophy, no painted marks, incised PT in script.

89. *Le Palais de Fontainbleau, Décorations Intérieures et Exterieures. . . . Quatrième Partie. . . .*, ed. A. Guerinet, n.d., pls. 438–439. Unglazed and decorated with gilded highlighting; marks unknown.

90. Edouard Garnier, *La Porcelaine Tendre de Sèvres*, 1889, pl. XLI. Decorated with dark blue (*bleu nouveau*) ground color and painted with a bouquet of flowers, marks unknown.

91. Christie's, London, 16 June 1980, lot 27, 36 cm. high.

92. Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., New York, 11-12 January 1957, lot 247. Sold by a New York private collector, previously with the dealer J. Rochelle Thomas, London.

93. Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 22 April 1982, lot 41.

94. Pierre Verlet, *La Maison du XVIIIe Siècle en France*, Paris, 1966, p. 167, fig. 129.

95. *Musée Nissim de Camondo*, Paris, n.d., p. 101, no. 584.

96. Galerie Georges Petit, 26 May 1913, lots 61 and 62. I am grateful to Theodore Dell for this information.

Figure 79. Secrétaire attributed to Jean-François Leleu, French (Paris), ca. 1770. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DA.81.

Figure 80. Secrétaire stamped by Jean-François Leleu. Paris, Musée Nissim de Camondo.

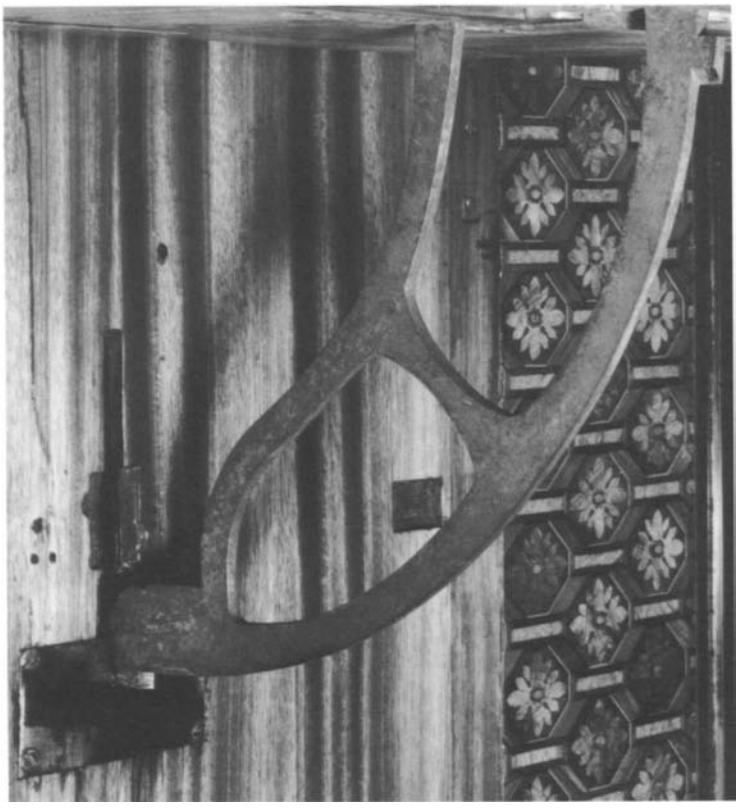


Figure 81. Detail showing metal support for the reading or writing surface.

Figure 82. The secrétaire open.

Figure 83. A side view of the secrétaire.

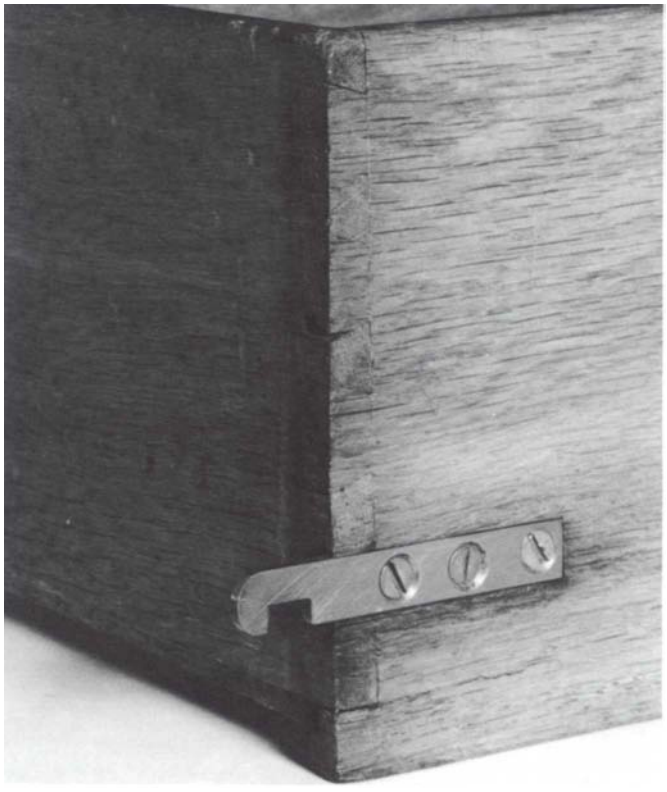


Figure 84. Detail of the back of one of the side drawers, showing the metal fitting used for locking.

the lock is activated, bolts insert into the frieze drawers above and two bolts at the inner sides of the drawers fasten the two small drawers next to them.

At the sides of the secrétaire are columns of four drawers (fig. 83). On each side, only the upper drawer locks. It has a metal prong with a curved upper surface fitted to the back of it. When the drawer is closed, this prong pushes against an interior vertical bar which lifts, and horizontal projections from it engage into notched metal prongs which project from the backs of the drawers below (fig. 84), securing them from the interior.

Jean-François Leleu frequently used such complicated mechanical systems, following in the footsteps of his master Jean-François Oeben. As with his master, they are usually ingenious but simple, with few moving parts to malfunction.

The secrétaire was presumably formerly in the possession of the Rothschilds, and it passed by inheritance and marriage into the family of the Earls of Rosebery.[97] It was sold with the contents of Mentmore Towers in 1977.[98] It was acquired at the sale by a private collector from whom the museum acquired it, using Mallets of London as the intermediary.

G. W.

13. SET OF FOUR TAPESTRIES

French (Gobelins), 1772–1773

No. 1: *Don Quixotte guéri de sa Folie par la Sages*
Height: 12′ 2″ (370.8 cm.); Width: 12′ 10″ (391.0 cm.)
No. 2: *Entrée de Sancho dans L'Ile de Barataria*
Height: 12′ 2″ (370.9 cm.); Width: 13′ 10″ (421.0 cm.)
No. 3: *Le Repas de Sancho dans L'Ile de Barataria*
Height: 12′ 2″ (370.9 cm.); Width: 16′ 5 ½″ (501.6 cm.)
No. 4: *Poltronerie de Sancho à la Chasse*
Height: 12′ 2″ (370.9 cm.); Width: 13′ 6″ (411.0 cm.)
Accession numbers 82.DD.66–69 (figs. 86–89)

The center of each of these tapestries illustrates a scene from the *History of Don Quixote*, which was one of the major productions of the Gobelins manufactory in the eighteenth century. From 1714 to 1751 Charles-Antoine Coypel was commissioned to produce twenty-eight paintings of scenes from Cervantes' popular novel for the cartoons.[99] The museum's recent acquisitions incorporate four images from the series (fig. 85).[100]

The first tapestry shows Don Quixote, who sleeps in a chair and dreams of Minerva, while Sancho envisions Folly (fig. 86). The second tapestry portrays Sancho ceremoniously arriving on the island of Barataria on the shoulders of two soldiers, under a crenelated battlement (fig. 87). Sancho, in the third tapestry, dines in a palatial setting and confers with the Doctor to the right (fig. 88). Lastly, the armored Don Quixote leads the hunt for wild boar while his companion takes refuge in the tree at left (fig. 89).

Above gold-colored plinths are frames woven to resemble carved and gilded wood, that enclose each episode of the History. Garlands of flowers, birds, monkeys, and, in no. 3, a pair of "antique" cameos decorate the surrounds. To the left of the plinth, a sporting dog points towards game birds in the garlands above. To the right are rams and sheep, and a peacock spreads its plumes above the frame. The tapestries are signed AUDRAN in the lower right *galon* and are dated 1773, 1772, 1772, and 1772 respectively. The first and second tapestries are also signed AUDRAN in the lower right corners above the borders.

The *History of Don Quixote* was woven in nine series from 1720 to 1794. Each time the design of the *alentours* (the sur-

97. Hannah Rothschild married Archibald Philip, 5th Earl of Rosebery, in 1878.

98. Sotheby's, 18 May 1977, lot 24.

I am most grateful to Gillian Wilson for her help and encouragement in writing this article.

99. Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) joined the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1715 and was established in the Louvre by 1722. In 1746 he was named *Premier peintre du roi* and in 1747 he became Director of the Académie. His other works at the Gobelins manufactory include paintings for cartoons for the *Iliad* (1717–1730) and *Scènes d'Opéra, de Tragédie et de Comédie* (1747–1749).

100. All the original paintings except one are conserved today at the Château de Compiègne. Edith Standen kindly supplied the information that the missing painting, *Don Quichotte servi par les Filles de l'Hôtellerie*, is represented by a sketch in the Musée Jaquemart-André, Paris.

101. Maurice Fenaille, *Etat Général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins 1600–1900*, 1904, pp. 237 ff. In 1870 thirty-eight tapestries of the Don Quixote series were in the possession of the Garde Meuble and were displayed or stored in various museums and state owned châteaux. In 1900 Fenaille recorded that the Duke of Rutland of Belvoir Castle, England had acquired the set of eight which had originally been made for the Marquis de la Vrillière and that the set of six ordered in 1783 by M. de Machault was still in the family's collection by descent to the Marquis de Vogüé, Paris.

Fenaille also states that the Swedish Royal family still owned those tapestries, *portières*, and seat upholstery which had been given to King Gustave III in 1784 and that the royal collection in Berlin included those tapestries given to Prince Henry. Heinrich Göbel in *Die Wandteppiche*, vol. 2, part 1, 1928, p. 163, traces the four *portières* acquired in 1775 by the Marquis de Marigny to the English collection of the Marquis of Breadalbane, Taymouth Castle. On April 13, 1923, three of the *portières* were sold by Puttick and Simpson, London, lot 217, for 3,200 guineas. The British Royal Collection possesses the group of four which were given by Louis XVI to Richard Cosway and the Palace of Pavlovsk today displays the four tapestries given in 1782 to the Grand Duke and Duchess of Russia. The Philadelphia Museum of Art has the set of four tapestries made in 1773 that were given to Cardinal Charles-Antoine de la Roche-Aymon, archbishop of Reims (acquisition numbers 43-100-1 and 2, 46-82-1, and 47-94-1). They were once part of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection.

Figure 85. The painting by Charles-Antoine Coypel entitled *L'Entrée de Sancho dans l'Ile de Barataria,* which was used for the cartoon of the tapestry. Musée National du Château de Compiègne. Photo: Musées Nationaux.

Figure 86. Detail showing *Don Quixotte guéri de sa Folie par la Sages*, after the painting by Charles-Antoine Coypel. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DD.66.

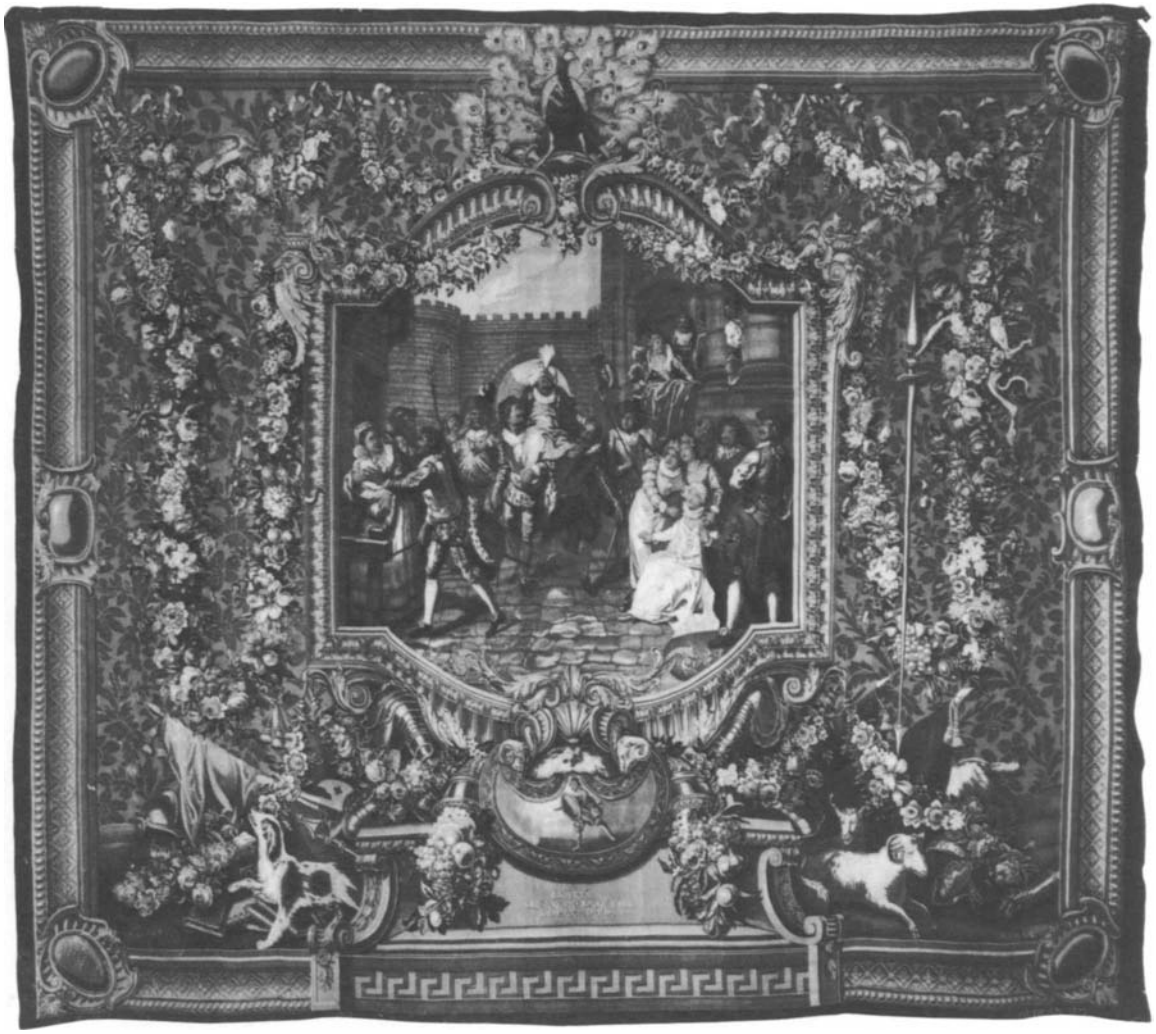


Figure 87. The tapestry, *L'Entrée de Sancho dans l'Ile de Barataria,* showing the *alentour* designed by Michel Audran and bearing his name woven in the lower right and the date 1772. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DD.67.

rounds and frames) was altered to suit the prevailing fashion. This group of four is listed in the Gobelins inventory as part of the eighth weaving, dating from 1763 to 1787, in which a total of sixty-seven tapestries were made.[101] The *alentour* of the eighth weaving, designed by Michel Audran,[102] was based on the earlier fifth *alentour.* Audran placed his design upon a newly invented crimson ground woven to simulate damask (*fond de damas cramoisi*). In 1766 it was noted that *le fond de damas cramoisi rend ces pièces plus belles et plus brillantes que les autres.*[103]

The set acquired by the museum is unique for its fine state of preservation; the colors have faded very little. In contrast to most of the other surviving tapestries of the Don Quixote history, the Getty Museum's have not lost the detail of subtle shadows and the nuances of hue. The pink color of the flowers and the blue of the ribbons in the garlands are still true; the golden color of the 'gilt' frames has not turned to a muted yellow-gray, nor have the red, blue, pink, and yellow costumes lost their brilliance.

The museum possesses another set of tapestries from the Gobelins manufactory with crimson grounds. They are near in date (1776–1778) to the ones under discussion.[104]

102. Michel Audran (1701–1771) was employed at the Gobelins manufactory as *chef d'atelier* from 1732 to 1771. Other series of tapestries that he oversaw included *The New Testament, The History of Esther,* and the *Iliad.*

103. Fenaille, *op. cit.,* p. 237 footnotes this quotation as "*Une note de l'inventaire du magasin des Gobelins, en 1766. . . .*" Only two of the nine weavings have a crimson ground, the other seven have a yellow diapered one.

104. Accession numbers 71.DD.466–469.

Figure 88. Detail showing *Le Repas de Sancho dans L'Ile de Barataria.* Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DD.68.

Figure 89. Detail showing *Poltronerie de Sancho à la Chasse.* Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.DD.69.

The five mythological scenes in the four tapestries are after paintings by François Boucher (1703–1730) and the *alentour* is by Maurice Jacques.[105] (They were given in 1782 to the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Russia, Paul Petrovitch [later Czar Paul I] and his wife Maria Feodorovna who were traveling incognito in France as the comte and comtesse du Nord.) The color of the Don Quixote tapestries is stronger than these, as is particularly apparent in the *alentours*. In addition, the Don Quixote tapestries have more ornate *alentours*; the profusion of garlands, flags, books, armor, and animals contrasts with the more simple and symmetrical surround of the mythological series.

On August 20, 1786 Louis XVI gave this set from the *History of Don Quixote* and another seven tapestries from the series *The History of Esther* to the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Teschen, who had visited both the Gobelins and Savonnerie manufactories the previous day. The Duke and Duchess, the Governors General of the Austrian Netherlands, were touring France at that time under the name of the comte and comtess de Bély. The Duchess Maria Christina was the fourth daughter of the Emperor Francis I and Maria Theresa of Austria and was the sister of Marie Antoinette. Duke Albert-Casimir-Auguste de Saxe was the son of Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

Throughout the eighteenth century, carpets and tapestries of the Gobelins and Savonnerie manufactories were given as diplomatic gifts. Tapestries from the eighth weaving of the *History of Don Quixote* were presented as gifts from Louis XVI on five other occasions. In 1774 a set of four tapestries was presented to Cardinal de la Roche-Aymon, Archbishop of Reims, who had confirmed and crowned Louis XVI and had presided at his marriage. In 1782 another four were given to the Grand Duke Paul and Grand Duchess Maria of Russia (along with the set of mythological tapestries already mentioned). In July 1784, King Gustave III of Sweden was given a set of tapestries, *portières*, and seat upholstery that he had selected personally while visiting the Gobelins manufactory. In October of that year, yet another set of six tapestries was presented to Prince Henry of Prussia (traveling incognito as the comte d'Oels), who also made a trip to Gobelins. In 1778 the English miniaturist, Richard Cosway, received a group of four (two each from the seventh and eighth weavings) in appreciation of his gift to Louis XVI of four tapestry cartoons for the history of Scipio by Giulio Romano.[106]

The museum's tapestries were in the collection of the descendants of the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Teschen at Schloss Halbturn, Burgenland, in Austria until 1936. Following the war they became property of the Democratic German Republic and later, in the late 1940's, they formed part of a private collection in Switzerland. The museum acquired the tapestries when they were offered for sale at auction.[107]

C. B.-D.

Department of Decorative Arts
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

105. Maurice Jacques (1712–1784) was employed at the Gobelins manufactory from 1757 to 1784 as a *peintre de fleurs et d'ornements*.

106. Until 1630 the cartoons by Giulio Romano were stored in the palace of the Duke of Mantua. At that date they were taken to Venice where they were left, forgotten, until an Englishman by the name of Bonfield took them to England and sold them to Richard Cosway. They were displayed in the Louvre by Louis XVI. At that time the value of the cartoons was estimated at 14,210 *livres*. See *Jules Romain, L'Histoire de Scipion*, Grand Palais, Paris, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1978, p. 124.

107. Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, 14 June 1982, lot 571.

Les boiseries de l'Hôtel Cressart—18 place Vendôme au J. Paul Getty Museum

Bruno Pons

LA PLACE VENDOME*

En août 1699, la statue équestre du roi Louis XIV que l'on inaugurait se dressait au milieu d'un vaste chantier. Ce nouveau chantier était aussi celui de l'échec, nouvel échec d'une entreprise royale dans l'urbanisme des places publiques à Paris. Sur l'emplacement de l'hôtel de Vendôme acquis par le Roi, les bâtiments prévus dans les premiers projets engagés sous le ministère de Louvois avaient pour vocation d'abriter des administrations royales: les Académies, puis la Bibliothèque du Roi. Une telle destination assurerait la régularité des façades et favoriserait la pérennité d'un ensemble architectural.

Après la signature de la Paix d'Augsbourg, le Roi céda son domaine à la Ville de Paris, celle ci s'entoura d'un consortium de financiers, et Jules Hardouin Mansart fut chargé de donner un nouveau plan, de conception fort différente de celle envisagée au premier abord: l'opération allait consister à élever autour de la place une façade régulière conforme au dessin de Jules Hardouin Mansart et à concéder à des particuliers les parcelles situées derrière les façades. Aux financiers comme Paparel, Pennautier, Herlaut ou Crozat s'étaient mêlés les architectes eux-mêmes, Jules Hardouin Mansart, Robert de Cotte, Pierre Bullet, Germain Boffrand, Guillaume Hauberat.

La construction des hôtels se fit plus lentement qu'on ne l'avait espéré. Parmi les premiers à construire et à habiter place Vendôme se retrouvent des financiers tels que Antoine Crozat, Paul Poisson de Bourvallais et Claude Lebas de Montargis, trésorier de l'ordinaire des guerres et gendre de Jules Hardouin Mansart. De nombreuses places étaient encore libres en 1718 lorsque le financier d'origine écossaise John Law tenta d'acquérir, dans le cadre d'une vaste opération de spéculation immobilière, toutes les parcelles encore disponibles à la vente. Sur les terrains de son choix, il fit construire des hôtels destinés à une revente immédiate. Sa retentissante banqueroute ne lui laissa pourtant pas le temps de faire bâtir le terrain qu'il possédait aux numéros 16 et 18 de la place.

L'HOTEL CRESSART ET SES HABITANTS

Nicolas Herlaut, trésorier général des gardes françaises et suisses, avait constitué par achats successifs, de 1704 à 1710, un terrain assez vaste situé derrière huit arcades de la place Vendôme, correspondant aux numéros 16 et 18. Légué à son neveu Michel Chamillart,[1] l'ensemble de ce terrain toujours vierge de construction fut vendu par les héritiers de celui-ce le 5 Août 1720[2] au financier John Law, dont l'autorité était déjà fort contestée. Il avait été conspué par la foule quelques jours auparavant. Après la fuite de Law, le terrain fut pris en compte par les commissaires chargés de la liquidation de ses affaires et fut adjugé le 18 mars 1723, sous le nom de l'avocat Perrin, à Pierre Grandhomme et Guillaume Cressart.[3] Les deux hommes tentaient pour leur propre compte une opération immobilière. Ayant acquis le terrain ensemble, ils le partagèrent en deux pour y faire bâtir leurs hôtels respectifs, qu'ils ne devaient jamais habiter mais destinaient à la location. L'histoire de ces hôtels, derniers construits de la place, se trouve ainsi étroitement liée. Pierre Grandhomme, maître maçon et entrepreneur de bâtiments à Paris, allait construire le n° 16 place Vendôme tandis que Guillaume Cressart, maître serrurier, allait faire bâtir à ses frais le n° 18.

Installé rue Sainte Anne, originaire d'une famille de serruriers parisiens, Guillaume Cressart s'était allié par mariage à une autre grande famille de serruriers, les Fordrin,

Je tiens à remercier Miss G. Wilson, Messieurs Ch. Baulez, Ph. Béchu, et R. Carlhian de l'aide efficace et des renseignements précieux qui ont contribué à l'élaboration de cette notice.

*Sur la place Vendôme, voir: L. Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France*, T. II, *Le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris 1948, pp. 609–611; M. Dumolin, La place Vendôme, *Procès verbaux de la commission municipale du Vieux Paris*, Mars 1927 (publié 1931), pp. 1–52; R. Strandberg, Jean Baptiste Bullet de Chamblin, architecte du roi, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 1962, pp. 193–255.

1. Testament du 10 avril 1710 déposé le 17 juin 1711 chez Maître Dutartre (disparu).

2. Contrat passé devant Maître Ballin (disparu).

3. Déclaration passée devant Maître Hurel, 26 juin 1723. Le terrain vendu 250 000 *livres* à Law en 1720 sera adjugé pour 70 500 *livres* seulement en 1723.

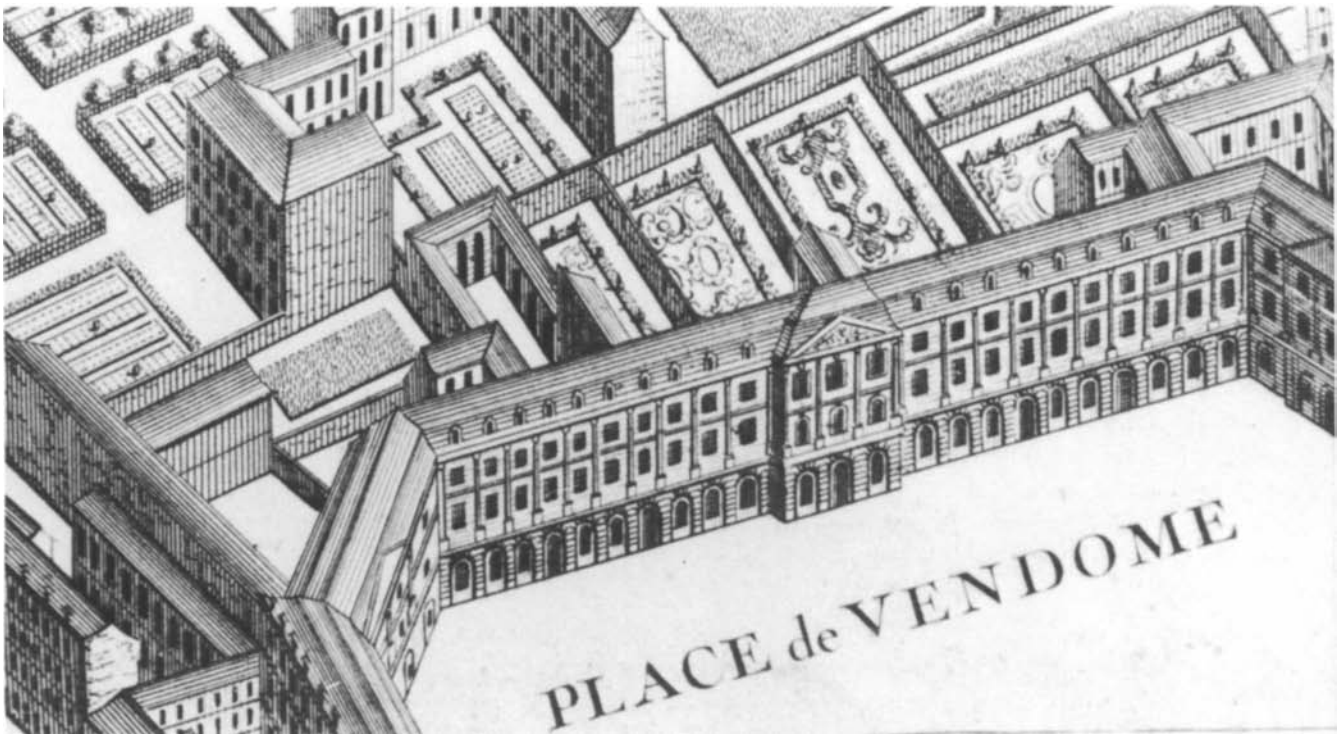


Figure 1. Vue du côté Est de la place Vendôme, d'après le plan dit de Turgot, gravé par Bretez (1735). Les hôtels Grandhomme et Cressart se distinguent à gauche du grand avant-corps central de l'hôtel de La Fare. Le plan montre comment les architectes aménagèrent les hôtels derrière les façades donnant sur la place. Une aile perpendiculaire donnant sur les jardins permettait de disposer d'écuries et d'appartements secondaires.

ce qui lui conférait une aisance certaine. Son appartenance à la bourgeoisie parisienne lui permit d'ailleurs d'exercer la charge de syndic des rentes de l'hôtel de Ville. L'entreprise de Cressart fut particulièrement florissante; il travailla pour l'architecte Thierry-Victor d'Ailly, rue du Mail, pour le duc de Mazarin, le duc de Bouillon au château de Navarre, le comte de Jonzac, le marquis de Meaupou et Mr Dodun en 1736. Cressart et Grandhomme, liés par une amitié solidement constituée à Paris sur les divers chantiers du début du XVIIIème siècle, firent échange de bons procédés. Grandhomme serait l'entrepreneur de l'hôtel Cressart; inversement l'entreprise de Cressart emporterait le marché de serrurerie de l'hôtel Grandhomme. Les marchés de construction pour les deux hôtels furent passés dès le 8 Janvier 1724.[4]

Le devis des ouvrages de menuiserie de l'hôtel Cressart confiés au menuisier Jacques Gaultier permet de dater précisément les boiseries réalisées pour l'hôtel, puisque les travaux de menuiserie devaient être terminés pour la fin de l'année 1725.[5] On évoque bien dans les marchés les lambris de l'appartement du premier étage et particulièrement ceux qui sont aujourd'hui conservés au J. Paul Getty Museum:

> « Seront faits tous les lambris de hauteur de chambre et à hauteur d'apui suivant les desseins et profils qui en ont esté arestez pour chacune piece...
> auxquels lambris seront observé toutes les decorations marqués par les desseins et tous les bossages pour y tailler toutes les sculptures convenables...
> les dessus de cheminée et trumeaux avec parquets pour les glaces cadre chantourné cintré avec enroullement panneaux au dessus remplye du grand cabinet pareillement cintré et dessus de porte avec bossage et cadre cintré en roulleaux. »

La chronologie des travaux fut respectée. Lorsque Guillaume Cressart donna bail à Jean-Baptiste-Denis Langlois de Saint Quentin en février 1726, les boiseries étaient achevées. Il ne restait plus qu'à poser les glaces des trumeaux, les plaques de cheminée et des chassis doubles

4. Minutier central des notaires parisiens, CXVII, 335, devis et marché 8 janvier 1724. Les marchés des deux hôtels (16 et 18 place Vendôme) sont passés en même temps. Sur Cressart voir son inventaire après décès, Min. Cent. CXVI, 299, 14 janvier 1738.

5. Min. Cent. CXVII, 344, 6 août 1725, devis des ouvrages de menuiserie.

6. Min. Cent. CXVII, 347, 19 février 1726, bail Guillaume Cressart à Jean-Baptiste Denis Langeois de Saint Quentin. L'hôtel est loué 5250 livres par an.

7. A l'hôtel Cressart une aile perpendiculaire au corps de logis sera

Figure 2. Etat actuel de l'ancien hôtel Cressart, 18 place Vendôme (aujourd'hui International Westminster Bank). L'hôtel comprenait « quatre arcades », les deux fenêtres au centre sont celles du grand cabinet dont le décor est au J. Paul Getty Museum. L'Hôtel Grandhomme est situé sur la droite.

Figure 3. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait de Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset* (Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts). Le célèbre collectionneur fut locataire de l'hôtel qu'il quitta en 1752 pour partir en Italie. Il relouera quelques pièces du même hôtel, lorsque son neveu, Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval en devint propriétaire.

« dans la chambre à coucher du premier appartement ». C'était la pièce dont les boiseries sont aujourd'hui au Musée qui devenait la chambre à coucher. En raison de son exposition directe sur la place, la tranquillité du locataire réclamait cette protection contre le bruit.[6] Le parti architectural de ces hôtels de la place Vendôme, compromis entre l'hôtel particulier et l'immeuble d'habitation bourgeoise, forçait les architectes à mettre l'appartement principal directement sur la place, en effet les ailes en retour étant placées derrière la façade—écran et perpendiculairement à elle, abritaient les écuries.[7] Tout était terminé le 15 Juin 1726 à l'entrée du locataire.

Cinq ans plus tard Louis-Auguste Duché, fermier général, l'un des directeurs de la compagnie des Indes, et son épouse s'établirent dans l'hôtel peu avant de se résoudre à en devenir propriétaires. Ils achetèrent l'hôtel à Guillaume Cressart en 1733.[8] L'installation de Duché fut confortable certes, mais le mobilier loin d'être luxueux. Duché possédait un petit cabinet de tableaux, placé à l'abri de la lumière du côté de la cour, où l'on trouvait des copies de peintres flamands et dont les toiles principales étaient deux vues de Paris de Grevenbroeck et deux tableaux d'Octavien.[9] Louis-Auguste Duché et son épouse furent les rares propriétaires à résider dans l'hôtel. La demeure passa en-

construite début 1726.

8. Min. Cent. CXVII, 391, 28 avril 1733, vente Cressart-Duché et arch. nat. S 1119. L'hôtel est vendu 140.000 livres et 20.000 livres pour les glaces, tableaux et ornements.

9. Min. Cent. CXVII, 419, 10 mars 1738, inventaire de Louis-Auguste Duché. Sur l'intérieur des fermiers généraux, cf. Y. Durand, *Les fermiers généraux au XVIIIème siècle*, Paris 1971, pp. 482–483.

Figure 4. Alexis-Léon-Louis Valbrun, *Portrait de Sophie Daw, baronne de Feuchères* en 1830 (Chantilly, Musée Condé). Propriétaire de l'ancien hôtel Cressart de 1836 jusqu'à sa mort en 1841, elle transforma l'ancienne chambre à coucher en salon et installa sa propre chambre dans le petit cabinet. Photographie Lauros-Giraudon.

Figure 5. Francisco-José-Pablo Lacoma, *Portrait de Marie Carmen Victoire Moreno, marquise de Las Marismas del Guadalquivir*, veuve d'Alexandre Aguado, célèbre collectionneur de tableaux (Madrid, Museo Romantico). Représentée ici au château de Petit-Bourg, elle fut propriétaire de l'hôtel après son veuvage, de 1842 à 1865. Sa fille fut Dame du Palais de l'Impératrice Eugénie.

suite à la famille du frère du fermier général, Jean Baptiste Duché, qui le loua dès 1743 à Elie Randon,[10] receveur des finances de la généralité de Poitiers—semble-t-il—avant d'échoir à Elisabeth-Louise Duché, épouse de Jacques Bertrand, marquis de Scépeaux et de Beaupreau qui demeurait au Marais.

Les locataires se succédèrent. L'un des plus intéressants au titre de l'histoire de l'art fut Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset, le grand collectionneur dont son ami Greuze nous a conservé les traits.[11] D'abord fermier général, il acquit une charge de Receveur Général des Finances « qui lui donnait plus de temps pour cultiver son goût pour l'étude et pour les Beaux Arts ».[12] Alors qu'il résidait place Vendôme, il n'avait pas encore constitué sa célèbre collection. L'ami de Boucher, de Greuze et Hubert Robert quitta l'hôtel en 1752 pour effectuer son premier voyage en Italie. Dans les années qui suivirent, au cours d'un autre itinéraire italien puis pendant le voyage en Flandres qu'il fit en

10. Bail passé devant Maître Dutartre l'aîné, 14 janvier 1743 (détruit), cité dans l'inventaire de Jean-Baptiste Duché par Maître Brochant, 12 septembre 1746.

11. Musée de Budapest. Cf. R. Freyberger, "The Randon de Boisset sales 1777," *Apollo*, April 1980, pp. 298–303 et Y. Durand, *op. cit.*, pp. 514–517.

12. Sireuil, *Avertissement du Catalogue de la vente Randon de Boisset*, Paris, 27 février 1777. Randon de Boisset acheta la charge de Receveur Général des finances de la Généralité de Lyon en 1758 (contrat devant Maître Aleaume, 11 février 1758).

13. Min. Cent. XXXI, 188 et Min. Cent. XXXVIII, 528. Randon de Boisset fut propriétaire d'une maison rue des Fossés Montmartre avant de s'installer définitivement en 1769–1770 dans l'ancien hôtel Dodun, rue Neuve des Capucines, proche de la place Vendôme.

14. Min. Cent. XCIII, 517, 2 mars 1752, bail à loyer marquis de Beaupreau au comte de Stainville.

15. Partage de Elisabeth-Louise Duché, épouse du marquis de Beaupreau, devant Maître Mathon, 21 septembre 1769.

1766 en compagnie de F. Boucher, Randon de Boisset amassa une considérable collection dont l'accroissement le contraignit à déménager à plusieurs reprises.[13]

Le comte de Stainville lui succéda place Vendôme,[14] puis le comte de La Marck, l'ambassadeur de Russie comte de Soltikoff, le fermier général Sainte Amarande. Après le décès de la marquise de Beaupreau,[15] la propriété fut transmise à Elisabeth-Louise-Adélaïde de Scépeaux de Beaupreau, l'épouse du comte de La Tour d'Auvergne qui préférait résider rue Saint Dominique au faubourg Saint Germain. Ils louèrent l'hôtel en 1773 à Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval, qui fit procéder à quelques aménagements par l'architecte du prince de Conti, Jean-Baptiste André.[16] Une fois encore, cette location fut le prélude à l'acquisition de l'hôtel par son locataire.[17]

Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval n'était autre qu'un neveu de Randon de Boisset, à qui il donna d'ailleurs en location quelques pièces de l'hôtel, bien connu de lui puisqu'il l'avait déjà habité. Il avait succédé à son oncle en 1758 dans sa charge de Receveur Général des Finances de la généralité de Lyon et fut avec Augustin Milon d'Ailly, Receveur Général des domaines et bois de la généralité de Paris, légataire universel de Randon de Boisset. Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval eut à organiser la vente de la collection dont il avait hérité après la mort de son oncle, événement dont la perspective avait été assortie de la part du défunt, par crainte d'être enterré vivant, de consignes strictes sur la conduite à tenir lorsqu'il mourrait. Pierre Rémy, qui connaissait bien la collection pour avoir été introduit auprès du propriétaire par Boucher lui-même, fit la prisée des tableaux avant d'en organiser la vente à la suite de laquelle le peintre et marchand Lebrun servit d'intermédiaire entre divers amateurs.[18] La mésentente qui régnait entre Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval et son épouse Antoinette Bureau Serandey avait conduit cette dernière à faire saisir son mari en avril 1784 et l'avait mis dans l'obligation de lui vendre tous les meubles de l'hôtel de la place Vendôme. Ils se séparèrent au début de la Révolution, puis Milon d'Inval ayant émigré, son ancienne épouse se rendit adjudicataire du 18 place Vendôme le 16 Ventôse An III. Elle le conserva jusqu'à son décès en 1836.[19]

Cette même année 1836, les héritiers le vendirent à la célèbre Sophie Dawes, baronne de Feuchères. Originaire de l'île de Wight, elle avait rencontré le duc de Bourbon, alors émigré, qui devint son amant. Arrivée en France, elle renoua avec le duc de Bourbon puis épousa le baron de Feuchères, affirmant qu'elle était la veuve d'un agent de la companie des Indes, William Dawes, mort en 1812. Le baron de Feuchères, s'apercevant de la liaison entre le duc de Bourbon et sa femme, se sépara d'elle. La mort mystérieuse du duc de Bourbon en 1830 devait laisser magnifiquement dotée sa tapageuse maîtresse: il lui donnait Saint Leu, Boissy, la forêt de Montmorency, le château de Mortefontaine et le pavillon qu'elle habitait au Palais Bourbon appelé « les petits appartements », ainsi que son mobilier.

En raison d'une difficulté d'interprétation du testament du duc de Bourbon qui lui conservait ce pavillon « et ses dépendances » sans davantage de précisions, la baronne de Feuchères se résolut à vendre au duc d'Aumale, en décembre 1836, la partie dont elle avait la jouissance. C'est en prévision de ce départ que, quelques mois auparavant,[20] elle acquit l'hôtel de la place Vendôme où elle demeura désormais. L'ancienne chambre à coucher du XVIIIème siècle devint son salon, tandis que le petit cabinet lui servit de chambre.

De 1842 à 1865, le 18 place Vendôme fut la propriété de la marquise de Las Marismas del Guadalquivir, qui venait de perdre son mari, le banquier et célèbre collectionneur Alexandre Aguado. Le cercle de l'Union Artistique y était installé au début de la IIIème République. Plus tard, ne pouvant pas échapper au mouvement général qui, à la fin du XIXème siècle, transforma la place en une vitrine du commerce de luxe, l'hôtel fut occupé par une parfumerie, puis les boiseries furent vendues dans les années 30 à Monsieur Carlhian qui céda les boiseries du grand cabinet donnant sur la place à J. Paul Getty.

LES CONSTRUCTEURS

Les documents ne révèlent pas avec précision quels furent les auteurs de la construction et de la décoration de l'hôtel construit pour Guillaume Cressart. Le style de la décoration et la qualité de la sculpture permettent de penser à des artistes proches des Bâtiments du Roi, mais il faut faire appel à la connaissance des relations extrêmement complexes entre équipes d'architectes et de

16. Min. Cent. XVII, 956, 30 juillet 1773, bail de Mr le comte de La Tour d'Auvergne à Mr Milon d'Ainval. Loué pour 8.000 livres par an. André est aussi l'architecte des La Tour d'Auvergne.

17. Min. Cent. LXXXIV, 538, 2 décembre 1774, vente par le comte et la comtesse de La Tour d'Auvergne au sieur et dame d'Ainval.

18. Arch. Nat. T 1105 (7).

19. Arch. Nat. T 1650.

20. Min. Cent. XCII, 1194, 29 avril 1836, vente, les héritiers de la veuve Milon d'Ainval à la baronne de Feuchères. Sur Sophie Daw cf. L. André, *La mystérieuse baronne de Feuchères*, Paris 1925. Sur Madame d'Aguado voir J. Genaille, «Portraits inédits du collectionneur Aguado, de Madame Aguado...», *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 1964[1], pp. 25-36. Un buste en marbre par Gayrard, exposé au salon de 1852, aujourd'hui conservé au château de Compiègne conserve le souvenir de ses traits au moment où elle possédait l'hôtel.

Figure 6. Armand-Claude Mollet, Décoration de la seconde antichambre de l'hôtel d'Evreux (Palais de L'Elysée), d'après J. Mariette, *L'Architecture Françoise.*

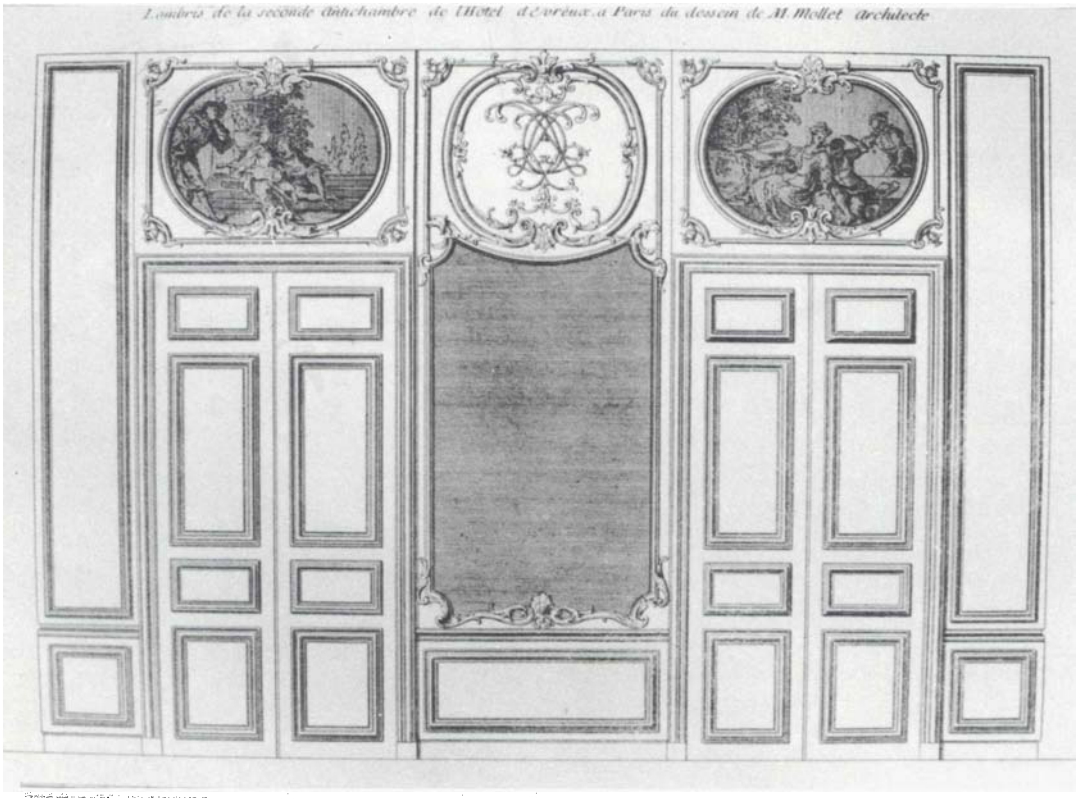


Figure 7. Armand-Claude Mollet, Décoration de la seconde antichambre de l'hôtel d'Evreux (Palais de l'Elysée) d'après J. Mariette, *L'Architecture Françoise.*

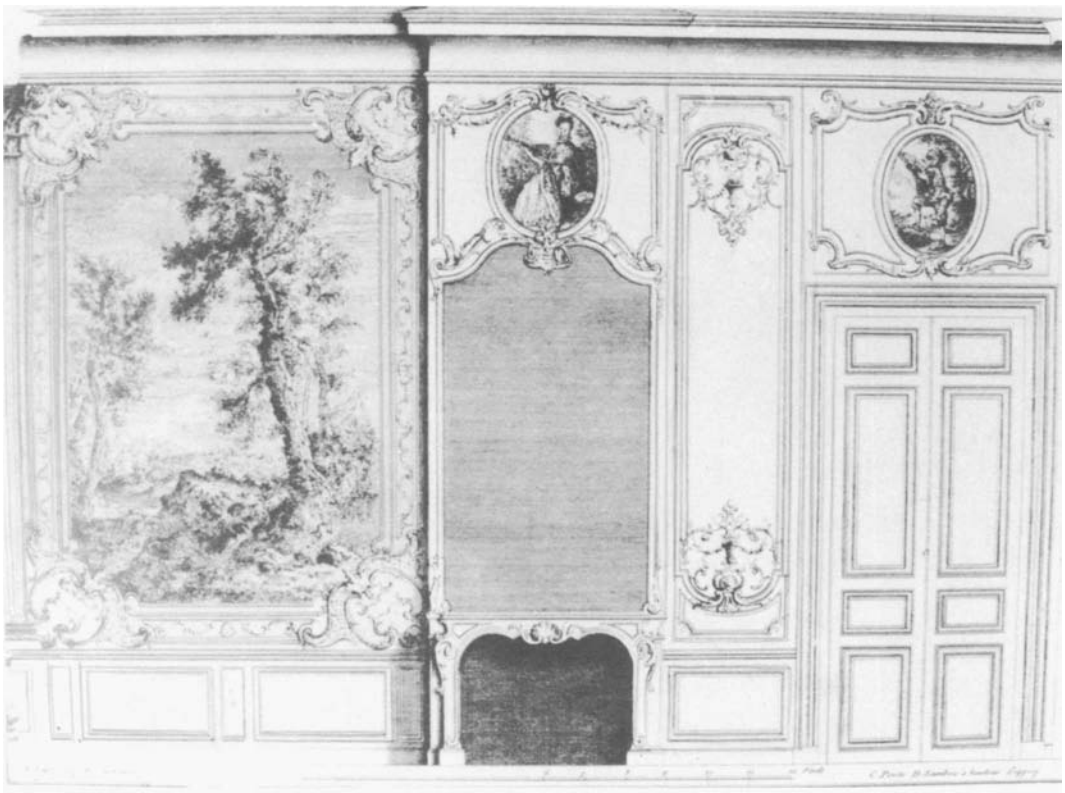


Figure 8. Armand-Claude Mollet, Décoration de la chambre de parade de l'hôtel d'Evreux (Palais de l'Elysée), d'après J. Mariette, *L'Architecture Françoise.*

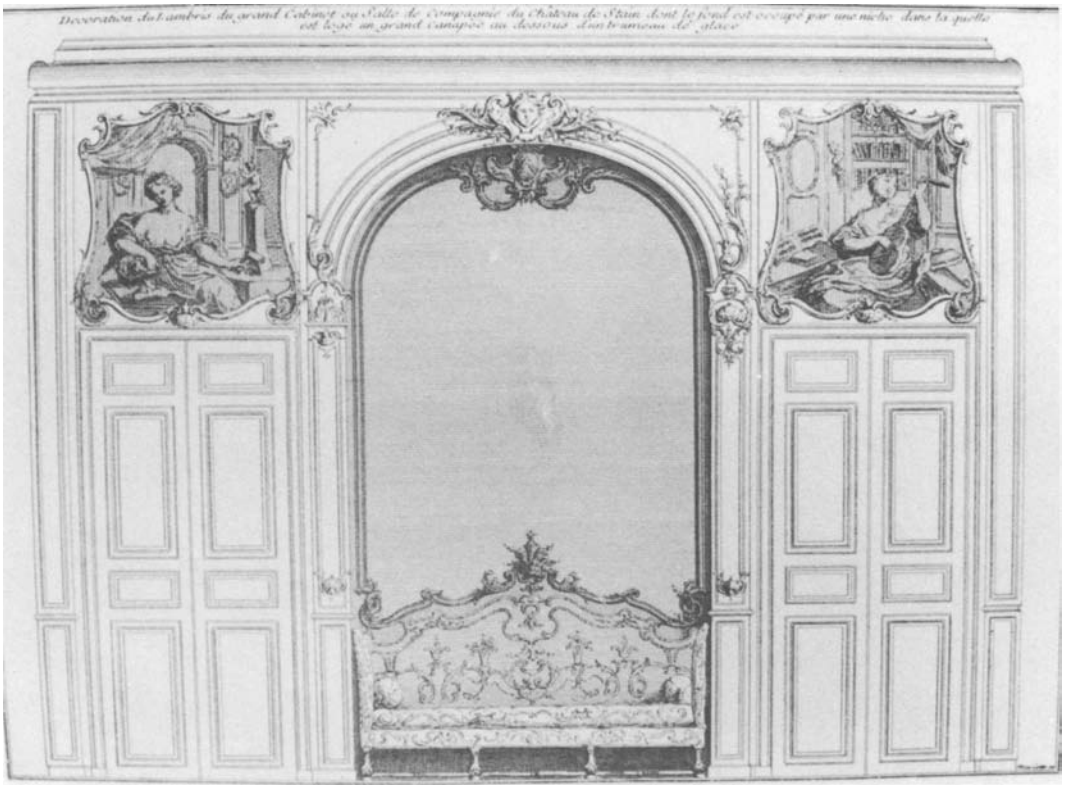


Figure 9. Armand-Claude Mollet, Décoration du grand cabinet ou salle de compagnie du château de Stains, d'après J. Mariette, *L'Architecture Françoise.*

Figure 10. Armand-Claude Mollet, Porte d'entrée de la Banque Royale à l'ancien hôtel de Mazarin (aujourd'hui Bibliothèque Nationale). 1719–1720. A propos de cette porte l'architecte P. A. Delamair parlera du «scavant Molès».

sculpteurs pour tenter de proposer des noms.

La datation précise des étapes de la construction est connue: construction proprement dite de l'hôtel en 1723–1724, boiseries exécutées entre juin et décembre 1725, aile des écuries en retour sur la cour bâtie début 1726 et à la même époque pose des glaces, l'hôtel étant habitable en juin 1726. Comme il arrive fréquemment parce qu'il s'agit d'une création plus artistique, les marchés notariés ne font pas état des travaux de sculpture pour l'hôtel Cressart. Nous avons vu toutefois que la construction de l'hôtel Cressart était très liée à celle de l'hôtel Grandhomme (n° 16). Ce dernier fut construit exactement en même temps, les marchés passés le même jour; mais soit que Grandhomme n'ait pas primitivement prévu de faire décorer l'hôtel, soit que les travaux aient été retardés, les boiseries du n° 16 ne seront livrées qu'en 1728.[21]

Dès 1724 pourtant Pierre Grandhomme avait recruté le sculpteur Charles-Louis Maurisan pour effectuer les travaux de sculpture de son propre hôtel.[22] Nous possédons la preuve que Maurisan exécuta effectivement les sculptures en pierre des mascarons aux arcades sur la place ainsi que les sculptures des boiseries.[23] Bien qu'il n'existe pas de marché de sculpture pour l'hôtel Cressart, il peut paraître vraisemblable que Maurisan ait aussi travaillé aux sculptures de l'hôtel Cressart dont, rappelons le, Grandhomme était l'entrepreneur; en effet, dans le Paris du XVIIIème siècle, c'est justement à l'entrepreneur qu'il incombait de recruter les décorateurs et sculpteurs ornemanistes. Qui était Charles-Louis Maurisan? D'une grande famille de sculpteurs ornemanistes installée d'abord au faubourg Saint Antoine puis dans le quartier de Bonne Nouvelle, Charles-Louis, dont l'atelier était rue de la porte Saint Martin, a toujours été confondu avec son fils Louis, célèbre au milieu du XVIIIème siècle pour les bordures de tableaux qu'il fournissait à la Cour. En fait Charles-Louis (né vers 1682–mort en 1740) eut une renommée propre en son temps: après qu'il eut été reçu maître à l'Académie de Saint Luc en 1717, il fut bientôt engagé au service du Roi avec les meilleurs sculpteurs ornemanistes des Bâtiments du Roi.

Le nom de l'architecte est aussi difficile à cerner. En effet, Pierre Grandhomme était entrepreneur et non archi-

21. Min. Cent. CXVII, 360, 12 avril 1728, devis et marché Robert Vitry, Pierre Lefebvre et Pierre Grandhomme.

22. Min. Cent. CXVII, 335, 8 janvier 1724, marché Pierre Grandhomme et Marie Marchand, veuve de Pierre Launoy, maître paveur, Jacques Hanusse, maître marbrier et Charles-Louis Morisan (sic), maître sculpteur.

23. Arch. nat. Z^{1J} 595.

24. M. Le Moël, Archives architecturales parisiennes en Suède, in *L'urbanisme de Paris et l'Europe, Travaux et documents inédits présentés par P. Francastel*, Paris 1969, p. 158.

25. M. Gallet, *Paris domestic architecture*, London 1972, p. 164.

26. Arch. nat. G^6 5. Charles-Louis Maurisan n'est pas le seul sculpteur employé au bâtiment de la banque, mais c'est lui qui présente les factures les plus importantes (6678 livres en tout) pour des sculptures de pierre, plâtre et bois. On trouve d'autres sculpteurs ornemanistes comme Lemaire, Jolivet et Ravau pour des travaux identiques et le sculpteur académicien François Dumont pour des ouvrages de pierre et de plâtre exécutés en 1719 (3890 livres). Mollet eut encore à régler le peintre Coypel (1100 livres); par contre il n'eut pas à s'occuper des peintures du plafond de la galerie de la Banque confiée à Antonio Pellegrini, com-

tecte ordonnateur, et même s'il avait fait oeuvre d'architecte à Paris, aux hôtels Montigny et Le Vieulx rue du Faubourg Saint Honoré par exemple,[24] il nous semble surtout constructeur de maisons bourgeoises[25] et il paraît improbable qu'il ait eu les capacités nécessaires à ordonner une décoration. Faut—il prononcer le nom de Jacques Gabriel qui, nous l'avons montré ailleurs, fut l'architecte privé de John Law et à qui serait revenue de droit la construction des hôtels du 16 et du 18 si Law avait eu le temps de mettre ses projets à exécution? Jacques Gabriel, architecte des Bâtiments du Roi, futur Premier Architecte du Roi, venait justement de confier la sculpture en pierre et la décoration de l'hôtel Peyrenc de Moras puis des Alleurs (n° 25 place Vendôme) à Charles-Louis Maurisan en cette année 1724.

Le style de Gabriel est difficile à isoler parmi les architectes des Bâtiments du Roi, mais il est sûr que certaines relations avec la boiserie exécutée sur les dessins de Gabriel à l'hôtel Angran de Fonspertuis en 1719 (n° 21 place Vendôme) pourraient autoriser à s'accomoder de cette hypothèse. Guillaume Cressart, de plus, avait travaillé sous ses ordres aux hôtels bâtis pour Law place Vendôme.

Il est pourtant un autre architecte des Bâtiments du Roi dont le nom est, lui aussi, attaché à celui de Law. Ce n'est plus son architecte privé mais son architecte « officiel », ou plutôt celui de la Banque Royale: Armand-Claude Mollet, architecte des travaux d'aménagement de la Banque dans l'ancien Palais Mazarin—aujourd'hui Bibliothèque Nationale. Or Pierre Grandhomme et Guillaume Cressart avaient travaillé en 1719–1720 sous les ordres de Mollet au chantier de la Banque. Ils étaient à ce titre créanciers de John Law, ce qui les incita probablement, lors de la liquidation de ses biens, à se porter acquéreurs des terrains que celui ci possédait. On retrouve d'ailleurs sur ce même chantier de la Banque Royale le sculpteur Charles-Louis Maurisan et le menuisier Jacques Gaultier, menuisier qui fournit les lambris du 18 place Vendôme.[26] Mollet avait de même fait employer dans ces années là le même sculpteur Maurisan à l'hôtel du Maine, rue de Bourbon au Faubourg Saint Germain.

Ces relations étroites qui tournent autour de la personnalité de Law ne se limitaient pas là. Grandhomme et Cressart en effet avaient déjà été les entrepreneurs d'Armand-Claude Mollet à l'hôtel construit pour le comte d'Evreux—aujourd'hui Palais de l'Elysée. Or l'hôtel édifié en 1718 pour l'ami du Régent qu'était le comte d'Evreux[27] l'était sur un terrain vendu par Armand-Claude Mollet à Jean Law, qui en avait aussitôt passé déclaration au comte d'Evreux. En d'autres termes, Law avait servi d'intermédiaire financier entre les deux hommes pour l'acquisition du terrain.[28] Ne perdons pas de vue qu'à travers ces opérations le comte d'Evreux se dépouille de ses terres pour ennoblir Law, d'abord comte de Tancarville puis marquis d'Effiat en 1720.[29]

De plus, on retrouve Armand-Claude Mollet, Guillaume Cressart et Pierre Grandhomme, en compagnie de l'avocat Pierre Perin, réunis dans un même bureau—celui du notaire Bapteste—où ils sont venus emprunter à Guillaume Penel, bourgeois de Paris, de l'argent « pour employer à leurs affaires ».[30] C'est dire que les trois hommes sont impliqués dans des affaires conjointes au moment même où les hôtels de la place Vendôme sont en construction, et l'on retrouve l'avocat Perin qui avait servi d'intermédiaire lors de l'acquisition des terrains quelques semaines auparavant.

Que sait-on de cet architecte? Armand-Claude Mollet semble avoir peu construit, étant occupé par ses charges officielles et les actions de spéculation immobilière qu'il entreprenait rue d'Anjou ou plus largement dans les rues les plus importantes du faubourg Saint Germain, voire autour de la place Vendôme. Pourtant, c'est bien en ces années de la Régence que nous avons la preuve de ses travaux d'architecte ou de décorateur, comme à l'hôtel Bullion pour le marquis de Fervaques.[31]

L'architecte appartenait à une famille qui pratiquement, de 1588 à la fin du XVIIIème siècle, ne cessa jamais d'être au service des bâtiments et des maisons royales. Son arrière grand père Claude Mollet s'était occupé du jardin des Tuileries; le fils de Claude fournit les dessins des jardins de Fontainebleau, Versailles et Villers Coterêts, puis les descendants continuèrent à être en charge des jardins royaux, donnant le dessin du jardin du Tibre à Fontainebleau, de Saint Germain-en-Laye, des nouveaux jardins de Versailles. Bientôt logée par le roi Louis XIV au Louvre, la famille continue au service royal son ascension sociale qui

mande personnelle de Law (engagement réciproque Law-Pellegrini, 20 décembre 1719).

27. Le comte d'Evreux, marié à une fille d'Antoine Crozat, vivait jusque là au 19 place Vendôme dans l'hôtel construit aux frais de son beau-père par Pierre Bullet.

28. Min. Cent. XLVIII, 26 juin 1718.

29. Min. Cent. XLVIII, 20 avril 1720, vente à Jean Law par Louis de La Tour d'Auvergne, comte d'Evreux, de la terre d'Effiat.

30. Min. Cent. CXVII, 333, obligation.

31. Sur Armand-Claude Mollet, cf. J. Guiffrey, *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1884, pp. 1–17. J. Guiffrey, « Traités du XVIIème siècle sur le dessin des jardins », in *Mélanges Lemonnier*, p. 236. R. Strandberg, « André Le Nostre et son école », *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1960, pp. 109–128; M. Gallet, *op. cit.*, p. 176; F. Reyniers, « Contribution à l'histoire de l'hôtel de Seignelay à Versailles », *Revue de l'histoire de Versailles et de Seine et Oise*, 1971, T. 59, pp. 67–115; Arch. nat. O^1 66 fol. 31r° à 33r°.

Figure 11. Vue du grand cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart avant dépose des boiseries (état vers 1910, d'après R. Colas). A droite de la cheminée, remarquer les panneaux en pâte moulés au XIXème siècle.

aboutit d'une manière éclatante à la brillante carrière d'Armand-Claude.

Son mariage en 1691 avec Françoise-Andrée Bombes, petite nièce de l'épouse d'André Le Nôtre, marque l'alliance de la grande famille de jardiniers Mollet avec la famille Le Nôtre-Desgots. Ainsi Armand-Claude Mollet deviendra-t-il l'héritier d'une partie des biens d'André Le Nôtre. Dès 1692 il reçut la survivance des charges de son père, puis la charge de Contrôleur Général des bâtiments, jardins, Arts et Manufactures Royales, avant d'entrer bientôt à l'Académie Royale d'Architecture nouvellement crée. Pendant la Régence, la place qu'il avait su acquérir auprès de Law et du Régent favorisa certainement l'obtention de lettres de noblesse en même temps que Gilles-Marie Oppenord, en 1722.

Sa carrière dans les honneurs ne s'arrêta pas là, puisqu'il devait en 1732 être reçu chevalier dans l'ordre de Saint Michel—faveur décernée à un nombre restreint d'artistes —puis, en 1735, devenir architecte ordinaire du Roi.

LES BOISERIES DE L'HOTEL CRESSART

L'état des boiseries aujourd'hui au Getty Museum est connu par des photographies anciennes prises avant la dépose. Il peut être complété par l'étude de documents qui

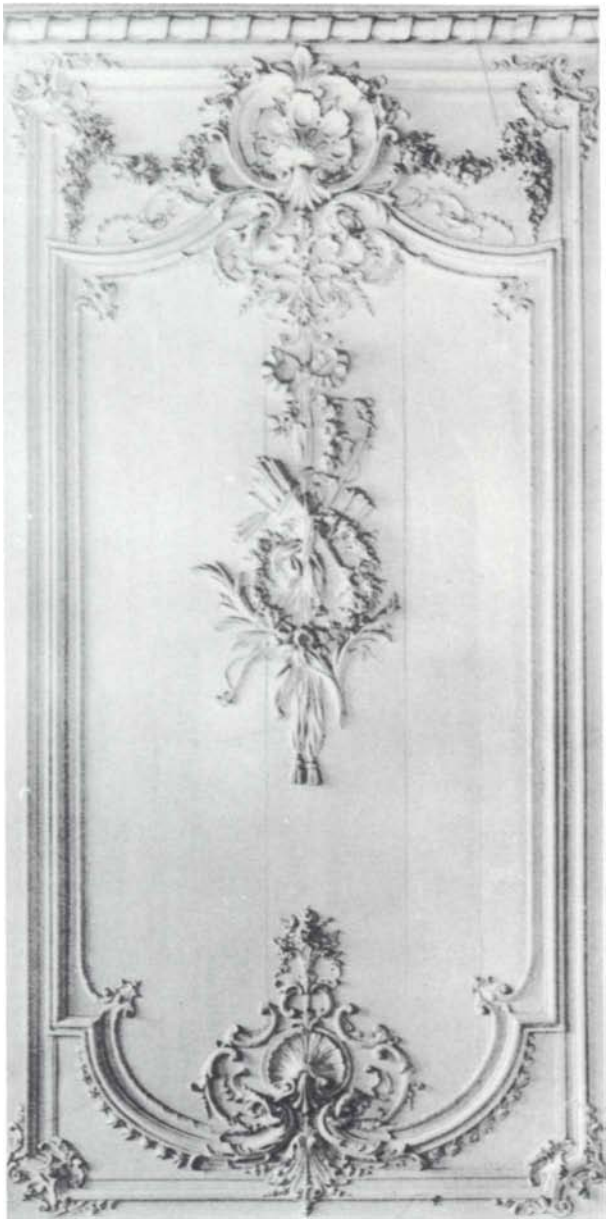


Figure 12. Détail d'un des grands panneaux en pâte exécuté au XIXème siècle pour garnir l'ancienne alcôve de la chambre à coucher. Le modèle du panneau est librement inspiré d'un décor de l'hôtel de Roquelaure au faubourg Saint Germain, connu par les gravures anciennes.

permettent de reconstituer l'évolution de la décoration de la pièce.

Eclairée par deux fenêtres donnant sur la place, cette pièce servait au XVIIIème siècle, comme nous l'avons vu, de chambre à coucher. L'ensemble de la pièce n'était pas boisé. Le fond de la chambre était tendu de tissu, au dessus d'un bas lambris qui courait, lui, tout autour de la pièce. Le décor de bois sculpté était centré sur le trumeau de glace entre les deux fenêtres, le trumeau de cheminée et

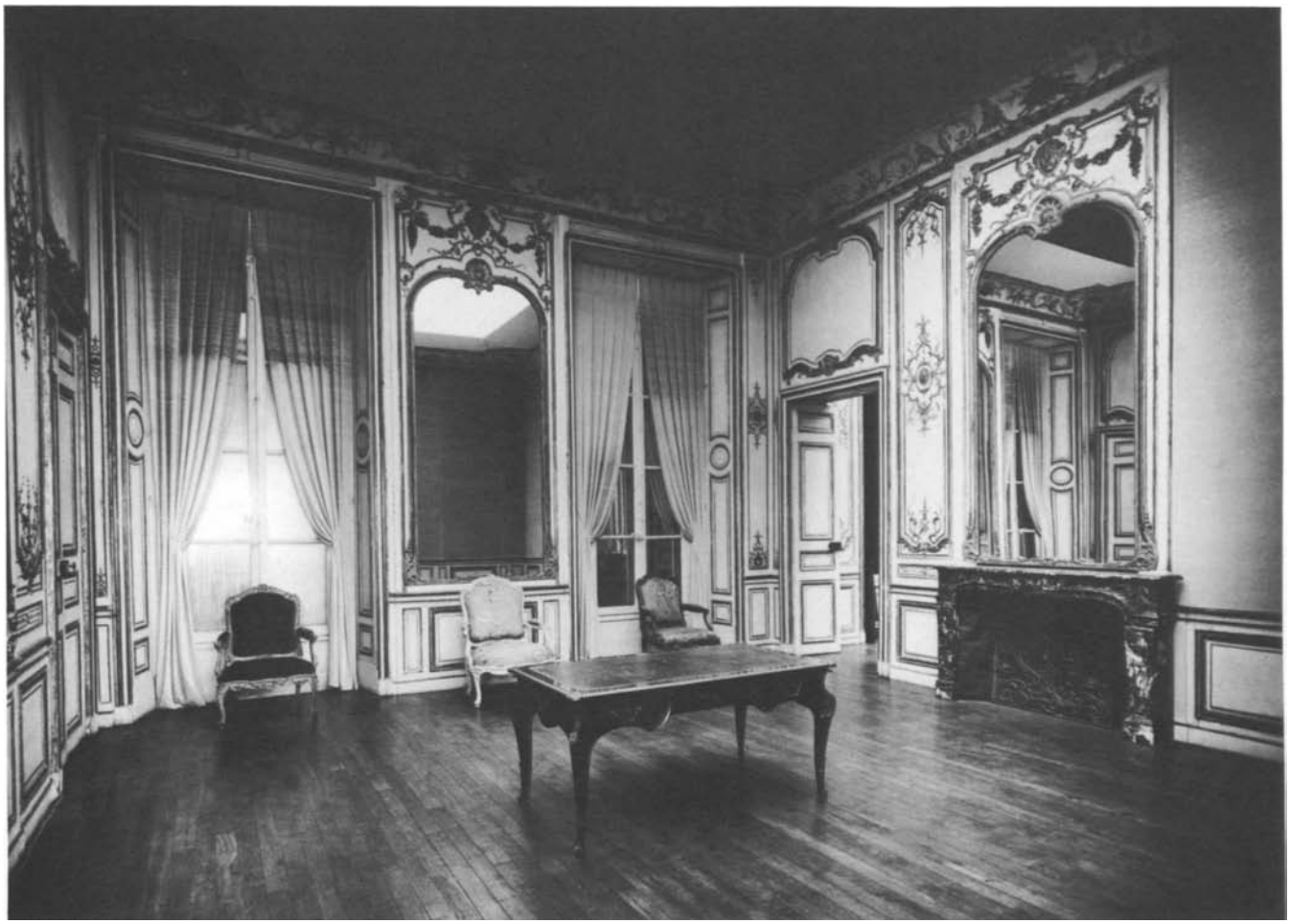


Figure 13. Reconstitution de la disposition originelle des boiseries du grand cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart (doc. Carlhian). La photographie est prise depuis l'emplacement du lit de la chambre à coucher du fermier général Duché. Les panneaux en pâte rajoutés au XIXème siècle ont été enlevés. La cheminée n'est pas la cheminée d'origine.

le trumeau placé en vis à vis. Les grands panneaux du lambris de hauteur complétaient la décoration de la face qui comportait les fenêtres ainsi que de l'espace situé entre les portes, le trumeau de cheminée et son pendant. Au cours du XIXème siècle la destination de la pièce changea, elle devint un salon. On peut se demander quel propriétaire fit compléter le décor de bois sculpté par un décor de grands panneaux en pâte qui garnit le fond de l'ancienne alcôve. Ces travaux sont en toute hypothèse postérieurs à 1841, puisqu' au décès de la baronne de Feuchères le fond du salon était tendu de satin rouge à rosaces jaunes. Doit-on rendre responsable de ces adjonctions Madame d'Aguado, qui fut propriétaire de l'hôtel de 1842 à 1865[32] ou un propriétaire ultérieur? Lors du remontage des boiseries à Malibu, qui ne tint pas tout à fait compte de la disposition primitive, ces panneaux en pâte du XIXème siècle n'ont pas été conservés. La disposition actuelle alternant panneaux de bois sculpté et tapisseries évoque mieux l'ambiance de la pièce au XVIIIème siècle. Le petit cabinet, pièce voisine aux boiseries plus riches (Paris, MM Carlhian) subit le même sort: le fond en fut complété au XIXème siècle par un décor en pâte fort peu heureux.

Si l'on tente maintenant d'examiner les parties de ces décors qui remontent à 1725, il convient de les confronter à ce que l'on connaît des décorations qui leur sont contemporaines. Le décor de l'ancienne chambre à coucher se

32. Cf. R. Colas, *Paris qui reste, Rive droite*, Paris 1914, pls. 93–98. Il nous semble en effet reconnaître dans ces grands panneaux ornés de trophées (d'ailleurs beaucoup trop riches par rapport à la conception primitive de la pièce) certains modèles de panneaux utilisés à plusieurs reprises par Hippolyte Destailleurs—notamment le grand motif de fleuron orné de dards—mais nous n'avons de preuves de travaux de Destailleurs pour la famille d'Aguado qu'en 1874. Le dessin du panneau est inspiré d'un décor de l'antichambre de l'hôtel de Roquelaure, connu par la gravure de Mariette. En l'absence de preuve formelle il est difficile de se prononcer, car en cette époque de décoration industrielle les modèles se transmettaient rapidement d'une entreprise à une autre.

Figure 14. Détail d'un trumeau de glace de la chambre (ou grand cabinet) de l'hôtel Cressart. Noter, sous la corniche, le tore enrubanné appartenant au décor original.

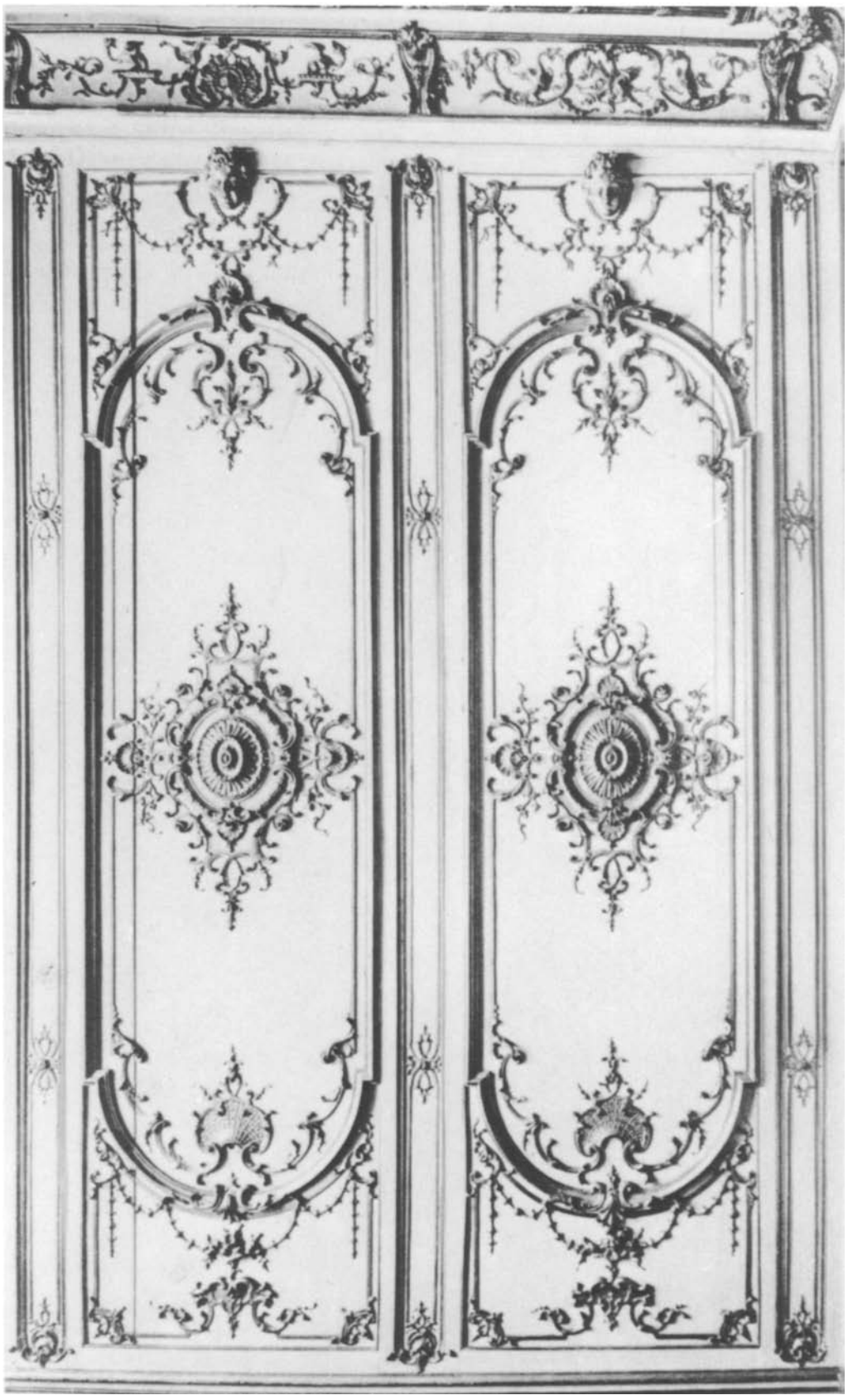


Figure 15. Jacques (V) Gabriel, architecte: détail des boiseries du petit cabinet de l'hôtel Angran de Fonspertuis (1719), place Vendôme.

Figure 16. Dessus de glace du trumeau de cheminée du petit cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart.

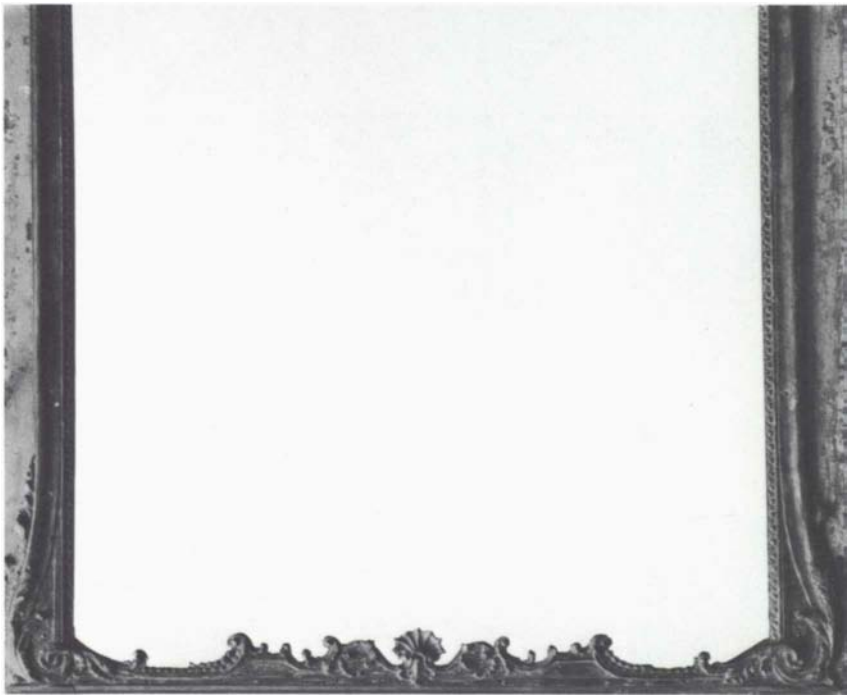


Figure 17. Traverse inférieure du trumeau de glace du petit cabinet.

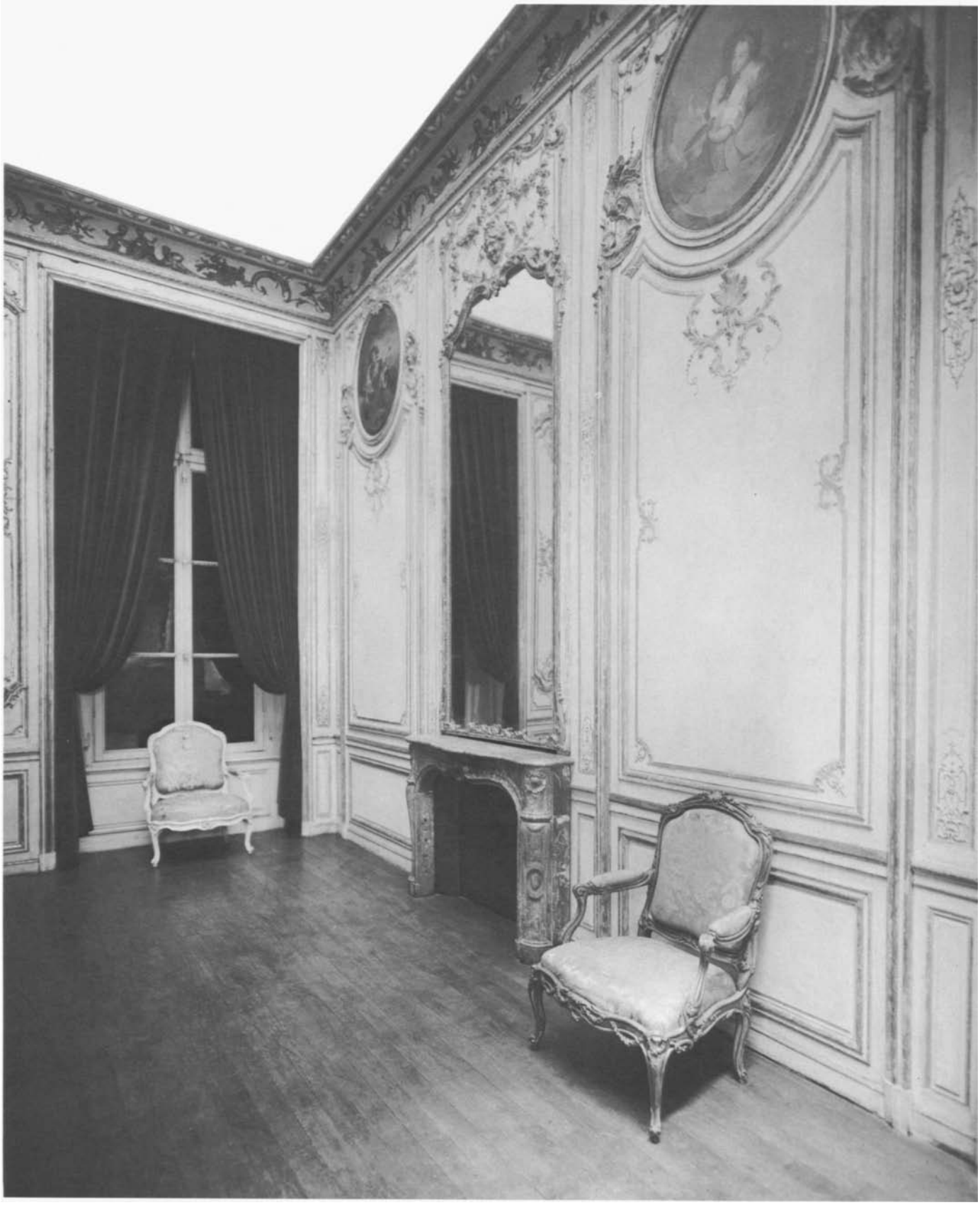


Figure 18. Reconstitution de la disposition primitive des boiseries du petit cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart, après démontage. Vue du côté de la porte de communication avec le grand cabinet.

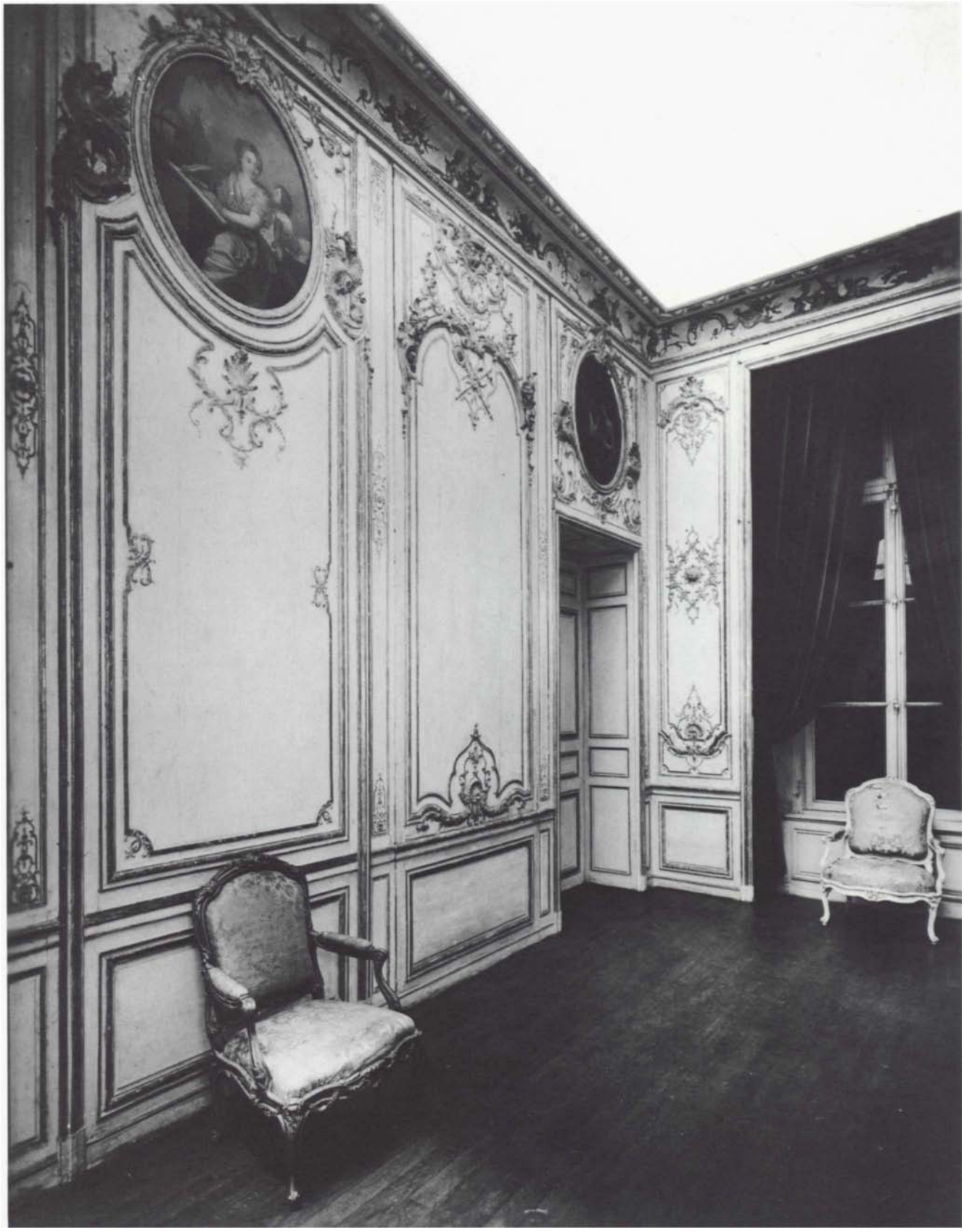


Figure 19. Reconstitution de la disposition primitive des boiseries du petit cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart. Vue du côté de la cheminée (doc. Carlhian).

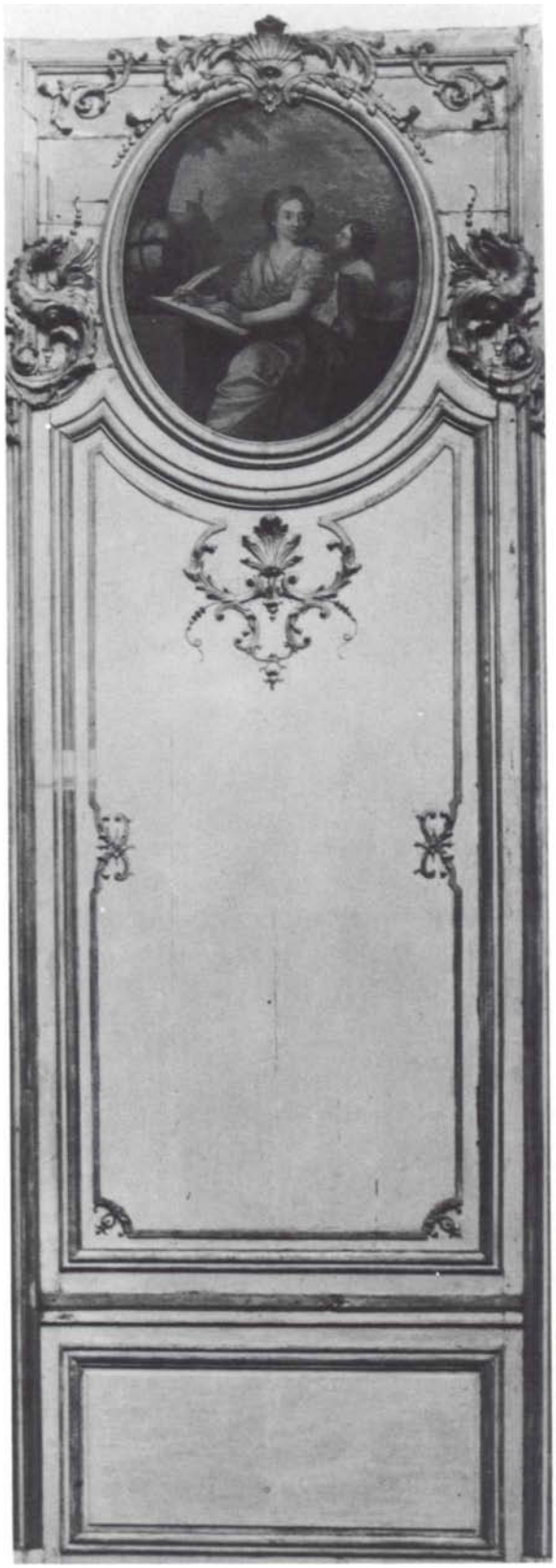


Figure 20. Détail d'un panneau du petit cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart.

Figure 21. Détail d'une parclose du petit cabinet.

compose essentiellement des trumeaux de glaces dont la bordure est simple, seule une coquille régulière venant interrompre la ligne sans chantournement du cintre de la partie supérieure. Le mascaron de femme directement posé sur un fond de menuiserie uni est simplement cerné par un contour de bande plate. A vrai dire, peu de nouveauté dans ce trumeau qui s'apparente d'assez près par le caractère du mascaron à certains décors du château de Bercy (1713–1714) et surtout, par les grands décors de graines, à un cabinet de l'hôtel de Fonspertuis (1719) au n° 21 place Vendôme. On remarque encore la ligne rectiligne de la bordure supérieure du dessus de glace, seulement interrompue par un motif d'enroulements dont le léger ressaut concourt à clore le cadre enfermant le mascaron. C'est réellement le seul détail qui permette de séparer avec netteté ce type de décor de la tradition des panneaux des années 1700–1710, alors que déjà depuis plusieurs années les créations de l'Agence des Bâtiments du Roi, sous l'impulsion de Robert de Cotte, avaient adopté des formes plus sinueuses et plus recherchées comme à l'hôtel de la Chancellerie.[33] La même retenue devant les élans du grand mouvement de la nouveauté décorative en cette période qui suit la Régence se retrouve dans les grands panneaux du haut lambris. On peut être surpris de retrouver la superposition d'un petit panneau rectangulaire en frise et des grands panneaux centrés par une grande rose. Cette conception remonte en effet au traditionnel panneautage en grands cadres et petites frises alternativement superposés qui avait caractérisé les derniers travaux exécutés sous la direction de Jules Hardouin Mansart au Grand Trianon. On trouve encore de tels panneaux sculptés jusque dans les années 1720 et dans ces années là, justement, Armand-Claude Mollet proposa un décor fidèle à cette tradition pour l'un des salons de l'hôtel d'Evreux (Palais de l'Elysée). Mais en 1725 la mode en était passée, et s'il est vrai que ce système resta en usage parfois tard dans le XVIIIème siècle, c'est dans des pièces secondaires, des garde-robes, qui recevaient un décor de menuiserie seule sans sculptures; c'était alors commodité de menuisier et non plus « topos » familier de décorateur.

Les roses centrales de ces grands panneaux qui, elles aussi, tendent à disparaître à pareille époque n'ont pas l'ampleur qu'on leur connaît aux appartements de la Chancellerie ou au château de Chantilly (1722), en revanche les grands filaments des décors de graine qui s'échappent de la rose et des ornements du haut et du bas des panneaux n'ont pas d'équivalent dans les décors cités précédemment.

La décoration du petit cabinet voisin, aboutissement de l'enfilade des pièces et motif obligé de la séquence traditionnelle des appartements, était plus riche conformément à la régle que les architectes n'avaient pas transgressé place Vendôme. Le cabinet fait en effet une part plus grande aux éléments figuratifs : au dessus de la glace de la cheminée, le masque de Vénus répond à celui de son amant, Mercure, dont on reconnaît les traits sur le panneau en vis à vis. Un mince trophée confiné à la partie supérieure, comme on en trouve quelques uns dans des décors Régence, est formé d'un caducée et du miroir. Les quatre tableaux ovales exécutés d'après des oeuvres de Sébastien II Leclerc gravées en 1724 par Jeaurat montrent avec quelle rapidité la diffusion des gravures transmettait les modèles des maîtres auprès des décorateurs.[34] On y rencontre certains éléments de la pièce que nous venons d'étudier—traverse inférieure du trumeau de glace, panneau avec rosace centrale, mais le chantournement de la traverse supérieure de la même glace s'apparente mieux aux créations récentes, celles de Jacques V Gabriel en particulier. Il faut remarquer la façon dont est traité le dessus de porte, bordure ovale accostée de deux chimères, typologie qui s'apparente encore à celle de Gabriel bien que les physionomies soient différentes de celles des animaux fantastiques au dessin élaboré qu'il affectionnait.

Si l'on recherche les points communs avec la seule oeuvre décorative connue d'Armand-Claude Mollet, qui consiste en un projet de décoration des salons de l'hôtel d'Evreux (Palais de l'Elysée) comportant trois gravures datables de 1720,[35] on retrouve la même façon de raccorder la traverse inférieure des glaces et le montant par une feuille d'acanthe, plus un autre exemple de panneau ovale venant mordre sur un grand panneau rectangulaire comme il en existe au cabinet de l'hôtel Cressart. On y voit aussi l'indication de chimères, mais elles n'ont pas l'opulence de celles sculptées dans la boiserie du cabinet Cressart. Entre le projet pour l'hôtel d'Evreux, qui ne fut exécuté que très partiellement, semble-t-il, et la décoration de l'hôtel qui nous préoccupe, cinq ans se sont écoulés. Dans l'entourage des architectes des Bâtiments du Roi, où tous puisent à la même source, il est évidemment difficile de s'arrêter à un nom

33. F. Kimball, *Le style Louis XV*, Paris 1949, repr. fig. 148. L'étude stylistique bénéficie de l'éclairage que nous avons tenté d'apporter en étudiant plusieurs cabinets de la place Vendôme créés par Jacques V Gabriel, dans notre thèse de 3ème Cycle: *Degoullons, Legoupil, Taupin et les sculpteurs des Bâtiments du Roi (1699–1736)*, qui sera prochainement publiée.

34. Ant. Schnapper, « A la recherche de Sébastien II Leclerc », *Revue du Louvre* 1973, n° 4–5, p. 247, figs. 14–15 et 17–18. Les gravures montrent une composition ovale à grand axe horizontal, à la différence des toiles du cabinet Cressart. Elles sont marquées: S. Le Clerc pinx. E. Jeaurat scul. 1724.

35. Mariette, *L'Architecture Française*, pls. 488–491 de la réédition de L. Hautecoeur. Nous espérons pouvoir donner prochainement une vue d'ensemble de la décoration des hôtels de la place Vendôme à la lumière de documents d'archives inédits.

même si, pour des raisons de relations historiques entre les protagonistes de la construction, il nous semble possible d'avancer—avec prudence—le nom de Mollet.

La réunion des deux décors de l'hôtel Cressart—chambre et cabinet—aujourd'hui séparés montre un ensemble très homogène, assurément conçu par un décorateur proche de l'Agence des Bâtiments du Roi. Le décorateur n'est peut-être pas le plus hardi des créateurs de l'Agence et il fait montre de certains archaïsmes qui le mettent en marge du courant le plus avancé de la décoration française, s'attachant encore à des formules qui ont cessé d'être. Mais cette création ne peut s'interpréter qu'en fonction de l'histoire de la construction de l'hôtel:

—l'hôtel est construit en un moment qui est un véritable tournant du siècle dans l'évolution de la décoration,

—mais surtout il est réalisé par un artisan du bâtiment parvenu à la bourgeoisie la plus aisée et introduit dans l'orbe du pouvoir édilaire municipal, de ce pouvoir qui avait su mener à son terme une entreprise commencée par un roi.

La maison était destinée à la location au profit de personnages dont l'assise sociale et financière permettait la résidence sur la « place des conquêtes ». Le décor n'y est peut-être pas aussi opulent que dans d'autres hôtels voisins créés par et pour leurs propriétaires, mais il traduit bien cette ambiguité de l'habitat de la place Vendôme où l'hôtel particulier emprunte quelques traits à l'immeuble de rapport.

Paris

DOCUMENTS

Afin de compléter l'étude qui précède, il a semblé intéressant de publier trois documents qui donnent les inventaires du mobilier qui se trouvait dans la pièce de l'hôtel Cressart dont les boiseries sont aujourd'hui au J. Paul Getty Museum.

ETAT DE LA PIECE EN 1738
INVENTAIRE APRES DECES DE LOUIS-AUGUSTE DUCHE
(Min. Cent. CXVII, 419, 10 mars 1738) (fol. 4 v°)
Dans une grande chambre où est décèdé ledit Duché

Item une grille de fer poli garnie de sa pelle, pincette, tenaille garnie de cuivre doré d'or moulu prisé quatre vingt livres cy . . . 80 l.
Item une grande couche de lit de bois d'hêtre foncée de sangle sommier de crin couvert de toile à carreaux, deux matelas rempli de laine couvert de futaine un lit (?) et un traversin de coutil à trois plombs rempli de duvet, une couverture de laine blanche, une autre couverture de soie blanche filoselle, la housse composée de deux grands rideaux (mots illisibles), deux bonnes grâces en quatre lès de damas vert et sa grande housse de taffetas de même couleur, tringle tournante de fer poli, dossier, ciel (chantourné), bonnes graces en dedans, fut en impériale, pentes en dehors et en dedans de toile serge blanche brodée de laine dessin courant roses et fruits des Indes, avec ses quatre pommes semblables, quatre grandes pièces de pareille toile serge brodée de laine coulé façon de la chine, deux grandes portières de pareille serge et broderie représentant chasse et personnages, la dite tapisserie contenant dix huit aulnes de cours sur trois aulnes trois quart de haut, deux grands rideaux de fenêtre en quatre parties, chaque partie en trois lés de damas vert, deux autres rideaux aussi en quatre parties de toile damassée, un grand canapé et huit fauteuils de bois de noyer sculpté garni de crin couvert de serge blanche brodée en laine dessin courant avec leur housse de toile à carreaux prisé le tout ensemble quatre mille livres cy . . . . . 4000 l.
Item deux encoignures et deux tablettes en encoignure de bois de la chine garnie de marbre veiné de rouge et de blanc prisé quarante livres cy . . . . . 40 l.
Item six fauteuils de bois de noyer sculpté garni de crin couvert de tapisserie à l'aiguille avec leurs housses de toile à carreaux, un écran foncé de tapisserie à petit point d'un côté, et de l'autre de damas vert dans son châssis de bois verni avec sa housse de toile à carreaux prisés ensemble cent soixante livres cy . . . . . 160 l.
Item deux bras de cheminée à deux bobèches chacun de cuivre doré d'or moulu prisé soixante livres cy . . . . . 60 l.
Item une pendule à cadran de cuivre émaillé dans sa boîte et sur son pied de marqueterie faite à Paris par Le Roy prisé cent livres cy . . . . . 100 l.
Item une table de marbre posée sur son pied a consolle de bois sculpté doré, prisée quatre vingt livres cy . . . . . 80 l.

ETAT DE LA PIECE EN 1741
INVENTAIRE APRES DECES DE MADAME DUCHE
(Min. Cent. CXVII, 440, 11 Octobre 1741)
Dans la grande chambre à coucher de plain pied (au premier étage) ayant pareille vue (sur la place Vendôme).

Item une grille en une partie à deux branches, chaque partie garnie de bronzes à piedestaux sur lesquels il y a deux figures, pelle, pincette, tenaille, de fer aussi garnis de bronze, le tout doré d'or moulu prisé trois cent livres cy . . . . . 300 l.
Item deux bras de cheminée à deux bobèches chacun à feuillages chacun garni de leurs doubles bobèches de bronze doré d'or moulu prisé trois cent cinquante livres cy . . . . . 350 l.
A l'égard d'un trumeau de cheminée en trois glaces, la première de cinquante pouces, la seconde de trente pouces, la troisième cintrée de dix huit pouces dans son plus haut, le tout de haut sur quarante cinq, le tout de large dans sa bordure pilastre et chapiteau de bois sculpté doré n'a été prisé ni jugé(?) de la réquisition des parties comme adhérant à la dite maison mais l'article tiré pour . . . . . Mémoire.
A l'égard d'un autre trumeau entre les croisées de trois glaces, la première de cinquante huit pouces, la seconde de trente pouces, la troisième cintrée de dix huit dans son plus haut, le tout de haut, sur quarante six pouces le tout de large n'a non plus été prisé ni jugé de la réquisition des parties comme adhérant à la maison, mais le dit tiré pour . . . . . Mémoire.
Plus deux tableaux dessus de porte peints sur toile représentant

des sujets de la fable dans leurs bordures de bois sculpté doré, n'ont été prisé ni jugé de la réquisition des parties comme adhérant à la maison, mais les dits tirés pour ..... Mémoire.
Item un grand pied de table en console de bois sculpté doré avec son dessus de marbre griotte de cinquante huit pouces de long prisé deux cent cinquante livres cy ..... 250 l.
Item deux encoignures à deux guichets, chacune de bois de la chine et leurs dessus de marbre garnies aussi chacune deux encoignures à trois planches de traverse pareil bois de la chine prisées ensemble trois cent livres cy ..... 300 l.
Item une table carrée de bois de violette à pieds de biche garnie de deux tiroirs dont une (sic) a une écritoire dans ses sabots et ornée de ses bronzes dorés d'or moulu et contenant un tric trac de bois d'ébène garni de ses dames de pareil bois et ivoire, cornets et dés, le couvercle d'un côté de velours vert bordé d'un petit galon d'or fin et de l'autre représentant un jeu d'hombre(?) à la française prisé cent soixante livres cy ..... 160 l.
Item une grande couche de lit de cinq pieds et demi de large de bois de chêne sanglée, garnie d'un sommier de crin couvert de toile à carreaux, deux matelas remplis de laine couverts de futaine, un lit, un traversin de coutil de Bruxelles rempli de duvet, deux couvertures, l'une de laine blanche et l'autre de filoselle, la housse composée d'une courtepointe chantourné, dossier, ciel et impériale, pentes en dehors et en dedans, soubassements et deux bonnes graces de camelot blanc d'Angleterre brodé en laine de différentes couleurs, grand dessus courant, grandes pommes couvertes de pareille étoffe, les dites bonnes graces doublées de damas vert, deux grands lés(?) aux deux autres bonnes graces, deux grands rideaux formant surtout de taffetas d'Angleterre vert, tringles tournantes de fer poli, deux rideaux de fenêtre en deux parties, chacun à trois lés chaque partie sur trois aulnes trois quarts de haut, anneaux et tringles de fer, trois pièces de tapisserie de pareil camelot brodé en laine de différente couleur à compartiments contenant ensemble quatorze aulnes et demi de cours sur trois aulnes, neuf fauteuils à manchette, un canapé à trois fonds couvert de pareil camelot aussi brodé à laine plate à grands dessins, garnis de leurs housses de toile à carreaux prisé le tout ensemble avec deux grandes portières en deux parties chacune doublée de toile à carreaux de pareil camelot brodé de laine de différentes couleurs huit mille cinq cent livres cy ..... 8500 l.
Item deux rideaux de fenêtre en deux parties chacun à un grand lé, douze aunes et demi de large de toile damassée avec leurs anneaux de potin prisé deux cent livres cy ..... 200 l.
Item deux grands rideaux de toile écrue prisée trente six livres cy ..... 36 l.
Item six fauteuils de bois de noyer sculpté, garni de crin, couverts de tapisserie à l'aiguille à pavots, garnis de leurs housses de toile à carreaux prisé cent quatre vingt livres cy ..... 180 l.

ETAT DE LA PIECE EN 1841
INVENTAIRE APRES DECES DE LA BARONNE DE FEUCHERES
(Min. Cent. LXXV, 1159, 1er juillet 1841).
Dans un salon éclairé par deux croisées sur la place Vendôme.

Une pelle, une pincette, une barre de cheminée, le tout en fer, deux chenêts en fer avec garnitures surmontés de vases dorés prisés quarante francs ..... 40 f.
Une pendule en bronze sujet d'*Orphée*, cadran doré, mouvement sonnerie de Henon, deux grands flambeaux, deux grands candélabres *femmes ailées* sur socle supportant chacune sept lumières, quatre autres candélabres forme trépied à colonnes cannelées supportant chacun sept lumières, le tout en bronze doré mat prisé le tout ensemble douze cent francs ..... 1200 f.
Deux consoles d'encoignure chacune à un pied et une autre grande console d'entre deux en bois sculpté et doré à dessus de marbre de brèche d'alette (sic) prisées deux cent quatre vingt dix francs ..... 290 f.
Quatre patères en cuivre doré à tête en relief, style de la Renaissance, deux bâtons en cuivre et deux autres bâtons tournés et dorés aussi avec tête en relief prisés ensemble cinquante francs ..... 50 f.
Un tapis de foyer, fond noir à dessins de couleur prisé seize francs ..... 16 f.
Un guéridon et trépied bronzé et doré à dessus de marbre blanc creusé, un petit écran à bureau en acajou garni d'un abattant prisés ensemble cent vingt francs ..... 120 f.
Une petite table en bois de palissandre à incrustations à damier garnie à l'intérieur de pièces d'échiquier en ivoire blanc et vert, travail de Chine prisée cent cinquante francs ..... 150 f.
Un grand divan de milieu forme ovale à dossier, un canapé, sept fauteuils, six chaises, le tout en bois doré, deux causeuses, le tout couvert en satin rouge à rosaces jaunes prisé ensemble avec leurs housses en toile écru la somme de douze cent trente francs ..... 1230 f.
Un lustre en bronze doré à cristal taillé à trente deux lumières prisé trois cent cinquante francs ..... 350 f.
Un piano en bois d'érable forme à queue de *Pape à Paris* à six octaves et demi et deux pédales prisé mille francs ..... 1000 f.
La tenture du salon en satin rouge à rosaces jaunes dans quatre panneaux prisée quatre cent francs ..... 400 f.
Un vase à anses en col de cygne doré, orné d'un médaillon de fleurs, un autre très petit vase forme buire en bronze doré sur pied de marbre, deux oiseaux empaillés prisés soixante francs .... 60 f.

POSTSCRIPT
THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE PANELED ROOM FROM THE HÔTEL HERLAUT

The paneled room from the Hôtel Herlaut was removed from its setting by André Carlhian in 1936 when the hôtel was acquired by the Westminster Foreign Bank. It may have been sent to New York in October 1939. A typed document headed *A 720. Boiserie ancienne provenant de la Place Vendôme (blanche et or) expédiée à New York en Octobre 1939* gives a complete list of the elements of the room, which corresponds to a drawing of four elevations as follows: five mirror frames, one being an overmantel and one being decorated in molded *pâte*; two double doors with their door frames and overdoors; two panels carved entirely in wood; four other panels of the same width, partially carved and partly in molded *pâte*; three narrow

Figure 22. The paneled room from the Hôtel Herlaut as it appears today in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

panels (*parcloses*) carved in wood; five other narrow panels the same, partly carved and partly in molded *pâte*; two window embrasures; a mantelpiece in *breche d'Alep* with its iron fire back and marble hearth; four mirror glasses; two large panels elaborately decorated in *pâte* (of nineteenth-century date); a third set of double doors that let into the green and gold small paneled room next door (see above); twenty-eight meters of lower carved wood cornice (*ruban tourné*); the four corners of the plaster cornice; and various pieces of cornice amounting to twenty-five meters; together with four modern carved wood panels and seven modern narrow *parcloses*.

It is reputed that the room was intended for the famous Philadelphia collector Alexander Hamilton Rice, but this seems unlikely as his first wife, who was fond of French art, had died in 1937 and his second wife preferred objects made in England. Joseph Duveen, who acquired the paneling from André Carlhian, died in 1939; and it seems that the dispatch of the room was, in fact, delayed for twenty years, for another less detailed document has survived, again in French, which is dated June 16, 1959. A note at the bottom of this sheet states that the painted overdoors and the original mantelpiece were lost and that the latter is to be replaced by another in New York. It also mentions that a complete model of the room could be seen in New York—obviously in the galleries of Duveen.

In 1965 a three-page typed document was written by the house of Duveen which describes the room and its history. While the precise elements of the room are passed over, the document does point out that the original plaster cornice was intact, the marble mantelpiece old but not original, and the overdoor paintings gone. By this time the five mirror frames had shrunk to three. Duveen was attempting to sell the room with four Gobelins tapestries

from the Palace of Pavlovsk (later acquired by the Getty Museum, accession numbers 71.DD.466–46), and a photograph exists that shows them installed with the paneling in their New York showrooms. Drawings of four elevations, which may be from this date, show the panels set out apparently to receive four tapestries. Three double doors appear and three mirror frames, one with a mantelpiece. Only two wide panels appear with four narrow ones, with two window embrasures and their shutters. It is possible that by this date much of the room had already been destroyed.

The paneling was eventually sold by Duveen to Norton Simon in 1965, together with the entire stock of that company which ended its business that year. It was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum through French and Company in 1971. Very little remained of the 1939 list. The plaster cornice had disappeared, and the present cornice is a cast of that from the green and gold room next door (see fig. 13) that still remains in Paris. The window embrasures and the double doors had gone, as had two of the original five mirror frames, while a third was so damaged that it could not be used. Although the marble mantelpiece remained, its iron fire back and marble hearth were no longer with it. As installed today (fig. 22), the room consists of two mirror frames (one being the overmantel), two door frames with their blank overdoor frames, and the modern plaster cornice with the lower part of the original carved ribbon twist cornice. There are six wide panels, three narrow *parcloses* carved in wood, two modern *parcloses* molded with *pâte*, and four modern slightly narrower *parcloses* also in molded *pâte*. A marbleized baseboard, a modern plaster ceiling rosette, and an old parquet floor have been provided; and the paneling has been repainted and partially regilded where necessary. The room is now a fragment of its former self, and it was necessary to hang four Beauvais tapestries from the Psyche series to fill these sad losses.

Gillian Wilson

Goya's *Despreciar los Ynsultos* Interpreted

Selma Holo

Goya's vision of man in his world is often deeper in feeling and broader in implication than is initially apparent. His ostensible realism belies a system of thought that is at heart both moral and magical. But Goya's observations about humanity have seldom been fully appreciated. He is seen by most scholars either as a realist obsessed with rendering the visible or as a fantasist recording his private hallucinations and those of his society. The Getty Museum's recently acquired india ink and wash drawing *Despreciar los Ynsultos* (fig. 1), executed approximately 1808–1812, is an important example of the artist's complexity.[1]

Despreciar los Ynsultos belongs to the E Album, the so-called Black Border Album, often described as the finest and most finished of Goya's drawing albums. Like the rest of the drawings in E Album, the new Getty purchase is larger than the drawings in Goya's other albums. It is 265 x 185 mm., compared for example with 171 x 101 mm. for the Sanlucar album or 237 x 148 mm. for the Madrid album. The paper Goya chose was of a thick Netherlandish type, and he used black chalk for the caption. The drawing is in perfect condition.

The carefully wrought compositions of Album E are technically paintings on paper as they are executed with a brush. Their range of blacks and grays yields a surprising effect of polychromy. All share the sensitive and elegant use of the brush and india ink washes and the precisely drawn frames around each image. That all of the mature albums contain more serious works of art than most of Goya's earlier sketchbooks is stressed by Eleanor Sayre, who points out

> they were not notebooks containing a casual assembly of portrait heads, drapery studies, and composition sketches. Neither were they any longer sketchbooks preserving the intermittent record of places he saw and picturesque figures, which might be used again. They had been transmuted by him into journals—drawn not written—whose pictorial entries of varying length pertained predominantly to what Goya thought rather than what he saw.[2]

Despreciar los Ynsultos, therefore, must be approached with much of the care we would bring to the analysis of a finished painting.

Despreciar los Ynsultos has been casually described as an image of a Spanish middle-class gentleman snapping his fingers contemptuously at two dwarfs dressed in Napoleonic army uniforms. The caption is ordinarily translated as "contemptuous of the insults". Since Goya used the infinitive form of the verb, a more appropriate translation would be "to be contemptuous of the insults". The caption establishes that the image is not merely an illustration of an event but rather a prescription of how "to be contemptuous of insults".

A careful examination of the hand directed toward the dwarfs reveals that the gesture usually described as a snapping of fingers[3] is instead a well-known Spanish gesture both aggressive and insulting.

The gentleman is smiling, confident, and in no way intimidated by the dwarfs. There is also good reason to believe that this is no anonymous gentleman. It is quite possible that Goya has portrayed himself, although somewhat younger than he actually was at the time (see fig. 2 for a contemporary self portrait).

The ugly and menacing dwarfs wearing crescent-shaped chapeaux-de-bras have consistently been presumed to be Napoleonic soldiers. However, when Goya wanted to represent members of the French army, he did so very specifi-

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. George R. Goldner, curator of the Getty Museum's Drawings Department, for inviting me to write on *Despreciar los Ynsultos*. I am also grateful to Mr. Fred Croton and Ms. Sandra Knudsen Morgan for their editorial contributions.

1. *Despreciar los Ynsultos* is fully catalogued in Pierre Gassier, *Francisco Goya Drawings. The Complete Albums*, New York, 1973, as follows: no. (P.S.) no. add. 37 (fine P) upper r. corner. Double black border. 265 x 185 mm. Watermark: Zoo. (fig. of H. and Z). Hist.: Paris, Paul Lebas; APs Paris, H.D. 3.4.1877, no. 83 "Il méprise le insultes" P. Meurice (41 fr); Ps. P. Meurice, Paris, H.D. 25.5.1906, no. 93, M. Pauline (460 fr); J. Groult Coll.; C. de Hauke Coll. (1944); France, Priv. Coll. -GW1391; purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1982. The drawing is dated 1808–1812 by Gassier.

2. Eleanor Sayre, "An old man writing. A study of Goya's Albums," *The Museum of Fine Art, Boston. Bulletin*, 56, no. 305 (autumn 1958), p. 120.

3. Pierre Gassier and Juliette Wilson, *The Life and Complete Work of Francisco Goya*, New York, 1971, p. 232.

Figure 1. Francisco Goya, *Despreciar los Ynsultos.* Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.GG.96.

Figure 2. Goya, *Self Portrait.* New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund 35.103.1.

Figure 3. Goya, *Con razon o sin ella, Desastres de la Guerra,* pl. 2, etching, working proof. Pasadena, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art.

Figure 4. Goya, drawing for *Ni por esas, Desastres de la Guerra,* pl. 11, pen and sepia ink with wash and red chalk. Madrid, Prado 167.

cally. The contemporary etching/aquatint series *Los Desastres de la Guerra* has several scenes which depict the French committing atrocities against the Spanish people. The French are shown wearing head gear readily identifiable as Napoleonic: the shako (fig. 3), czapka, or the helmet (fig. 4).[4] However, at the time not only French but also English and Spanish officers wore the chapeau-de-bras.[5] By not drawing the dwarfs wearing specificially French garb Goya has chosen to depict them as generalized military types instead—high-ranking officers who could have belonged to any one of the several armies that were in Spain after 1808. Indeed, the chapeau-de-bras was so ubiquitous that it had already begun to have parodistic possibilities: "for a time during the early 1800's, in most armies, the chapeau-de-bras became absurdly large, the baseline being curved to such an extent that the ends almost touched the shoulders when the head was turned."[6] Goya was clearly aware of

4. H. Rankin, *Military Headdress,* London, 1976, p. 20: "France, as the most successful landpower, was the arbiter of military fashion and adopted the shako for all her infantry in 1806," and p. 94: "The czapka was made fashionable by Napoleon as of 1807."

5. Paul Martin, *European Military Uniforms,* London, 1963 illustrates a number of popular prints of the period illustrating Prussian, Danish, Portuguese, and Dutch officers also wearing the chapeau-de-bras. Martin also has illustrations of soldiers in the Napoleonic helmet.

6. Rankin, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

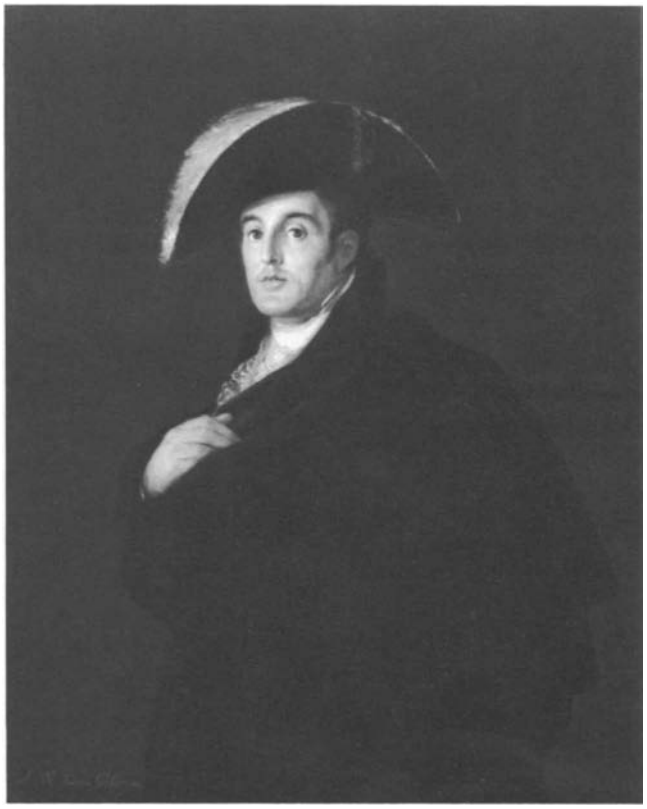


Figure 5. Goya, *The Duke of Wellington.* Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, gift of Mrs. P. H. B. Frelinghuvsen 1902.

Figure 6. Goya, *General Palafox on Horseback.* Madrid, Prado.

Figure 7. Goya, drawing for *Disparate de Miedo.*Madrid, Prado.

Figure 8. Goya, *Disparate Conocido.* Pasadena, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art.

the ubiquity of the hat, as he had executed formal portraits of the British Duke of Wellington (fig. 5), the Spanish General Palafox (fig. 6), and the French General Guye[7] with their chapeaux-de-bras either on their heads or in their hands.

Two more clues to the meaning of the drawing, size relationships and physiognomical theory, help us to divine Goya's visual thinking. While it is not normal to see two dwarfs dressed as high officers in the military and brandishing swords at civilians, Goya succeeds in bringing us to accept the scene unquestioningly. He uses a device which he employs over and over again throughout his oeuvre, the enlarging or diminishing of figures for dramatic and psychological effect. One example of this device is the *Disparate de Miedo* (the "Stupidity of Fear", fig. 7). In the drawing for this *Disparate*, armed French soldiers (note czapka on head of fleeing soldier) run in terror from what appears to them to be a huge, looming specter. Only the cowardice of the soldiers prevents them from seeing the truth: the specter is a hoax. The face of the normal-sized perpetrator of this hoax peers out of the "specter's" right sleeve.

The physiognomical aspects of the Getty drawing cannot be over-emphasized. The contrast between the almost simian faces of the dwarfs and the self-satisfied but attractive mien of the gentleman contributes to the prescription for scorn that Goya is providing. Again we can turn to the *Disparates* for a parallel. In *Disparate Conocido* (a "Stupidity Recognized", fig. 8), a group of people huddles together before a fraudulent menace. All of the members of the group are terrified save one. Their panic makes them deformed and dehumanized; one of the group looks like an ape with a top hat. The sole figure who responds with courage (by making an obscene gesture at the menace) is portrayed by Goya with an attractive and fully human visage. Like the physiognomists whose theories were sweeping Europe at the time, Goya demonstrated his belief time and again that the face was the mirror the soul.

In *Despreciar los Ynsultos,* then, Goya is responding on both an emotional and an intellectual level to the bullying and mistreatment by the military which he and his liberal friends were suffering daily in occupied Spain. But Goya was not always a hero in daily life. When summoned to

7. Illustrated in color in Gassier and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 209, dated 1810, 106 x 84.7 cm., ex-collection Mrs. Marshall Field.

paint official portraits, he executed the commissions whatever the nationality of the sitter. No doubt he felt both threatened and pressured to do so. It must be remembered that he himself had felt the strong arm of authority, having already twice been denounced to the Spanish Inquisition. Certainly he must have felt somewhat resentful and diminished by his necessary public response to orders or threats.

In his private albums of drawings, however, his imagination could reign supreme. It was here he could be truly heroic in spirit and deed. He had, in effect, found his own way "to be contemptuous of insults" by perceiving them in scornful frame of mind, a way that would help to preserve some shred of his own human dignity. By the parodistic use of the chapeau-de-bras, by the dwarfing of the generals, and by the physiognomically-based depiction of the faces, Goya satirizes all of the military men in Spain. In Goya's eyes there were no heroes in the armies on the Iberian peninsula. In *Despreciar los Ynsultos* Goya represents defiance of all oppressors. By imagining them reduced to dwarfs and by using a mere gesture coupled with a smiling face and a casual pose, Goya shows how to truly scorn all insults.

University of Southern California
Los Angeles

A New Kouros Head in the Getty Museum

Marion True

In December of 1982, the Antiquities Department of the Getty Museum was presented a rather unprepossessing piece of sculpture, a head from an archaic kouros (fig. 1).[1] Broken unevenly from a full-standing nude figure that was carved from Parian marble, the head preserves part of the curve of the shoulder on the figure's left side; its right side ends before the bottom of the neck. What remains has suffered extensive damage from exposure. None of the original surface has survived, and a blow to the right front surface of the skull and three smaller fractures in the hair at the back have caused further losses. The features of the face and the long strands of hair can be read only in shadowy traces, more easily understood from a distance.

As vague as these traces may be, they suggest that the head should be included among the kouroi that have survived from Asia Minor. The skull is high, rounded at the top and quite flat at the back (fig. 2). The cheeks and now rather pointed chin retain some indications of the fleshiness commonly associated with human figures from the Ionian coast. However, it is the treatment of the hair, more obvious to touch than sight, that is especially distinctive. A layer of short, fine hair swept back from the face over the temples and the outer corners of the forehead and ending just above the backs of the ears overlies the eighteen longer strands which fall beyond the shoulders. This layered hairstyle is well-known on kouroi from East Greece, and Gisela Richter has even suggested that it may have been an Eastern fashion.[2] The long locks of the Malibu head, thinner than those usually found on kouroi of the time, even on most kouroi heads from Ionia, are incised vertically. The mass of vertical strands is then divided horizontally with shallow grooves that create the effect of regular wavy undulations, less distinctly segmented than the so-called beaded tresses.

A fragment of unknown provenance, now in the Museum in Izmir,[3] preserves only the ear and the back of the head, but this is enough to illustrate a close variation of the Getty head's hairstyle. Just at the hairline above the right temple on the Getty kouros are the outlines of two finer locks running back and slightly upward from the face (fig. 5). These are very close in size and direction to the strands in the short upper layer of hair on the Izmir piece. And though the rest of the short layer on the Malibu head is only tangible as a raised area on the sugary surface, the dimensions of the swellings over each ear appear to be similar to those of the group of finer strands on the fragment in Izmir.

Another variation on the Getty head's hairstyle is presented on the unpublished kouros head now in the Antikenmuseum, Basel.[4] Here, the fine strands around the temples and over the forehead are carefully indicated, but they seem to be twisted together into a sort of narrow roll, different from the Getty and Izmir examples, with the ends tucked behind the helixes of the ears instead of fanning out decoratively above them. However, the treatment of the long strands is the closest parallel for the Malibu piece. On the Izmir piece, the long strands appear thicker and more distinctly segmented. The Basel kouros' much better preserved surface shows clearly the same narrow locks as the Getty head, incised vertically and divided horizontally by shallow grooves that create a gentle crimped effect. At the backs of both heads, a single long strand stands out quite obviously in the center, set off somewhat from the surrounding mass of hair.

Nor is the hairstyle the only feature which the Basel kouros shares with the Getty head. The ears of both are also very similar. Partially protected by the layer of hair above them, the ears of the Malibu head are the best-preserved features, showing a helix and antihelix modeled on two levels, with the deep inward curl of the helix at the upper front rendered both fairly accurately and decoratively (figs. 3–4). The Basel head's right ear preserves more of the helix, which has weathered severely on both sides of the Malibu piece. Because of this condition problem, it is

1. The J. Paul Getty Museum, accession no. 82.AA.142. Anonymous donation. Height: 30.7 cm.; Width: 18.3 cm. I owe my thanks to Dr. Jiří Frel for his generous advice and assistance in the preparation of this article.

2. G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1960), p. 92

3. Izmir Inv. 3040. Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 131, p. 111 , fig. 384.

4. I am grateful to Dr. Ernst Berger for providing me with photographs of the Basel piece, which is to appear in the forthcoming issue of *Antike Kunst*.

Figure 1. Head of an East Greek kouros. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.142.

Figure 2. Back of Malibu 82.AA.142.

difficult to tell whether the Swiss piece originally showed the distinction between the helix and antihelix more strongly than the Malibu example, as it seems now, or if the two heads were once more or less the same. The fact that there is no remaining evidence of an antitragus, which does appear in the Basel piece, on either side of the Malibu head may also be the result of weathering. However, in the specific delineation of the inner forms and the slightly high placement of the ears on the skull, the two are quite close. The one real difference is that the Malibu ears slope slightly more forward toward the bottom.

The features of the face of the Getty kouros have not been as fortunate as the ears. A raking light shows only that the eyes were set fairly deeply, especially at the inner corners, slanting upward slightly toward the outside beneath the arched brows. No clear indication of their outline remains, but the Basel head gives a fair approximation of the original impression. There, the zygomatic arch forms a smooth curve over the eyes, which are slanted upward from their deep-set inner corners. The eyeballs themselves are clearly rounded. A further point of comparison with the Basel head is to be found in the vertical grooves which mark the corners of the mouth. Barely visible on the Getty head, the straight cuts would have created the same sort of furrows that define the meeting of the upper and lower lips in the Basel example. This is not a rare feature, but since it appears here in combination with a close variation on the double-layer hairstyle and with ears that reflect a similar level of anatomical interest and knowledge, neither is it unimportant. Nothing remains of the lips themselves on the Getty head, but on the Basel example, the upper lip protrudes noticeably over the lower, enhancing the impression of a smile.

Close though they might be, the Basel head and the Getty head are not contemporaries. In fact, the profile of the Basel kouros betrays certain subtleties that suggest a slightly later date for it than for the Malibu piece. The back of the head is less flat, curving gently inward toward the neck. Also, the chin, with its slight indication of corpulence, slopes more naturally into the neck, which is less columnar than that of the Malibu example. The accurate rendering of the forms of the ear, including the antitragus, the treatment of the mouth, the clear indication of a recess at the inner corner of the eye still without lachrymal car-

Figure 3. Right profile of Malibu 82.AA.142.

Figure 4. Left profile of Malibu 82.AA.142.

uncle, and the sensitive modeling of the throat all combine to suggest a date of ca. 520 B.C. for the Basel head, late within Richter's Anavyssos-Ptoon 12 Group.[5] The Malibu head should then be placed earlier in the same decade, perhaps nearer to 530 B.C.

Unfortunately, the Basel head is, like the Izmir fragment, without provenance so it cannot provide any evidence for the place of origin of the Getty kouros. For this, the Malibu head must compared to less similar pieces which have better-documented histories. The kouros now in the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin was excavated in Didyma in 1911.[6] Though the hair of the Berlin piece is divided into thicker strands, the treatment of its surface is similar, with shallow grooves marking the horizontals; and the hair is dressed in a variation of the double-layer style. The face is full, perhaps closer in its well-preserved outline to the Basel head. The prominent cheekbones, most obvi-

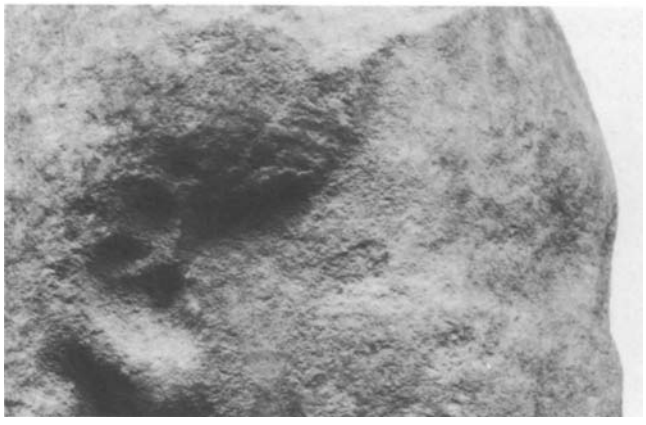


Figure 5. Detail of right temple of Malibu 82.AA.142.

5. Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–125.

6. East Berlin Staatliche Museen Inv. no. 1710. K. Tuchelt, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 27, *Die archäischen Skulpturen von Didyma* (Berlin, 1970), Kat. K16, Taf. 18.

ous in profile, emphasize a strong facial structure beneath the fleshy surface, a feature that is apparent in the Getty head even in its ravaged state. The corners of the mouth are marked with vertical grooves; and though the earlobes on the head of the Berlin kouros are much larger than those on either the Getty or Basel pieces, the forms of the helixes and the ears' inner structure are similar in all three. Even the fragment of an older kouros from Didyma, now in the British Museum,[7] shows basic similarities in the hairstyle, treatment of the surface of the long locks, and the general structure of the face.

Both of the Didyma statues show many features commonly associated with sculptures of the region around Didyma and Miletus,[8] though they were also part of a more general vocabulary shared in common with Ephesos and Samos in this period.[9] It is probable that the Izmir fragment described above as being without specific provenance also came from somewhere on the southwest coast of Turkey, though perhaps further south since the dressing of the hair may be compared to that on a complete head found near Halikarnassus (Bodrum).[10] The Getty head is not so closely related to any of these three pieces that a specific site of manufacture can be justified. Neither is it too far removed. From the available evidence, the coastal area of southwestern Anatolia is its most likely place of origin.

Malibu

7. British Museum Inv. B 283. *Ibid.*, Kat. K6, Taf. 10–11.

8. Tuchelt, *op. cit.*, p. 59, does note that the East Berlin Kouros does not treat the top layer of hair with the attention to detail characteristic of most Milesian sculptures.

9. *Ibid*, p. 179.

10. Izmir Inv. 1022. Richter, *op. cit.*, no. 130, p. 111, figs. 381–2.

A Pergamene Head of Athena

Arthur Houghton

Among the recent acquisitions of the J. Paul Getty Museum is an over life-size marble head of the goddess Athena.[1] The head is worked fully in the round (figs. 1–6). She wears an Attic helmet of the single, low-crested type, adorned with a decorative frontlet whose side elements fall from the helmet's center line in sweeping curves and terminate in volutes above the ears. The helmet once had cheek pieces, but they were not part of the original composition. Her hair is parted at the center, flowing in rippling waves down either side of her forehead and back above the ears, whose lower halves only are visible. She once had earrings, probably of metal, but these have been removed. A single, slightly curved lock of hair lies against the skin just forward of each ear. Her forehead is a smooth, unmodulated surface, descending from hairline to eyebrow in a straight line. The bridge of her nose is marked only by a slight transition from forehead to ridge; below, most of the nose has been battered off. Her lips are parted and turned upward slightly at the corners. The neck is broken just beneath the head. On the neck's proper left side, the surface of the marble turns outward, indicating that, relative to her body, the goddess' head originally twisted to her left.

DAMAGE AND REPAIR

The forward part of the helmet's crest is missing. Small surface areas of the bowl have been battered, and it was scored on the forward left quadrant in modern times. The helmet's rim has been battered away on all sides, most extensively at the front. In addition to the nose, there is damage to much of the hair on either side of the head and to the edges of the helmet. Parts of the face have suffered abrasion to one degree or another. A vertical fracture runs from the top of the helmet across the right rear quadrant to the break of the neck. Root marks are visible in the area of the goddess' left ear, on her right cheek beside her nose, and at her hairline. Long, vertical chisel strokes cut through the hair of the goddess' head toward the left rear where it was removed from its matrix (fig. 3); these, and the break at Athena's neck, are ancient.

The head reflects a history of ancient repairs, the most obvious signs of which occur around the helmet's rim and at the adjacent masses of hair. The front edge of the helmet has been recut differentially, the side to her left below the surface of the bowl to a point above and forward of the ear, the right slightly above the bowl's surface (fig. 7). Fourteen small drill holes run from behind the left ear to a point above and just behind the right ear. Remnants of iron dowels fill four of the holes. The recutting and drilling around the rim clearly indicate that new material was affixed to the helmet to reshape the battered visor and edge.[2] Multiple drilling of several of the holes and the differing degrees of competence visible in the reworking of individual elements of the head indicate that more than one intervention may have been made to repair its broken and abraded parts. When the repairs were made is not certain; however, the use of iron dowels suggests a late hellenistic or Roman date.

In addition to the reworking of the helmet's edge, cuttings to hold cheek pieces were made into each side of the helmet below the volutes (figs. 4, 5). Their workmanship is summary and bears no relationship to the careful modeling of the helmet bowl or Athena's face; the cheek pieces were therefore not part of the original composition but probably were added at some point after its completion. The rear of the helmet's bowl has been roughly tooled and may have been reshaped.

Below the helmet, the goddess' hair has been cut back

1. Acc. no. 82.AA.79. Height: 34.5 cm. White (probably Pentelic) marble with medium-grained crystals, the surface evenly patinated after cleaning to a light yellow (see the conservation report which follows this article).

2. A. Hermann, "A Fragmentary Hellenistic Ruler Portrait," *Antike Kunst* 16 (1973), 170 and notes 3 and 5, cites examples of drillings in hellenistic heads for the fixing of added material, including a helmeted head of Athena from Lindos, assigned to the second century B.C. and stylistically related to the Pergamene sculptures (V. Poulsen, "Catalogue des Sculptures," in Chr. Blinckenberg and K.F. Kinch, *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches 1902–1912*, vol. III, tome 2 [Berlin and Copenhagen, 1960], 551, no. 8). To Herrmann's list should be added a fragmentary life-size marble head of an early hellenistic ruler in the Bodrum Museum, with drill holes in the hair where one would expect the placement of a *taenia*, and an over life-size head of a hellenistic ruler in the Antakya museum, probably of a second century B.C. date, with dowel holes drilled where one would expect the placement of horns.
ment of horns.

Figure 1. Head of Athena, front view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.79.

Figure 2. Left three-quarter view of figure 1.

Figure 3. Rear view of figure 1.

and slightly retouched. On her left side, the ear, brow, eyelids, and upper lip have been recut. Part of her left cheek has been carefully remodeled in a manner which preserves the general form but, seen frontally, shows a loss of material significant enough to make her entire face appear slightly off-center (fig. 1). In addition to this asymmetry, the reworking of the left cheek is indicated by the relatively abrupt contours of the left lock of hair, which lacks the smooth and careful modeling of its right counterpart (figs. 8, 9). At the rear of Athena's head, the hair has been cut away on the right side and another hole drilled into the marble of the neck. Here too, damaged material was repaired by the addition of recut marble, affixed by an iron dowel.[3]

STYLE, TECHNIQUE, AND ICONOGRAPHY

Despite the extensive reworking, the proportions and features of the goddess' face, the unretouched portion of the hair, and the form and detail of most of the helmet's original surface have been generally preserved. Taken together, all these point to a work of the second century B.C., very likely produced at Pergamon.

The museum's Athena can be compared directly with known Pergamene works, in particular the sculptures of the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar of Zeus and the Telephos frieze surrounding the Altar's upper platform. The massive head, with its basic oval structure, uninterrupted planar fall of forehead, virtually bridgeless nose, wide-eyed gaze, heavy and immobile cheeks unrevealing of subsurface structure, parted mouth and full lips is based on the same conceptual model as the heads of Hecate and Artemis from the Gigantomachy's east side; Selene on the south; and Nyx, and the so-called lion goddess on the north (figs. 11, 12).[4] Athena's hair is rendered in a manner stylistically close to that of the lion goddess and several other figures on the frieze, with woven, ropy strands separated by regular intervals carved deeply into the marble. The subtle transitions of the goddess' face, particularly in the area of the eyes, the nasolabial furrow and cheek, and between the cheek and corners of the

3. The surface investigation was carried out with the assistance of members of the J. Paul Getty Museum's Antiquities Conservation staff.

4. For the figures cited, see H. Winnefeld, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. III, part 2, *Die Fries des grossen Altars* (Berlin, 1910); E. Schmidt, *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (Leipzig, 1965).

Figure 4. Right profile of figure 1.

Figure 5. Left profile of figure 1.

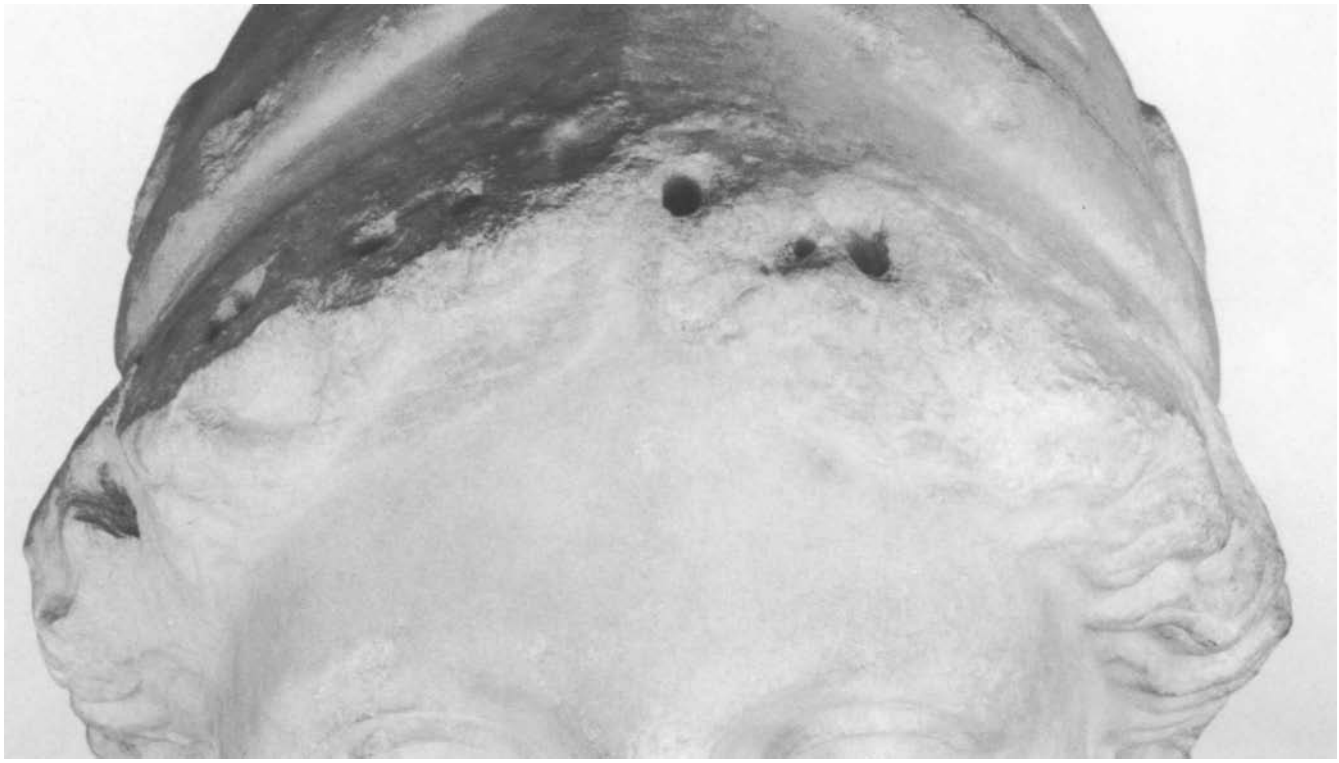


Figure 7. Detail of forehead, visor and frontlet of figure 1.

Figure 6. Right three-quarter view of figure 1.

mouth, parallel the similarly complex modeling of Nyx and the lion goddess. The emotional fire and pathos of the frieze sculptures have been banked in the museum's head; in their place, a cool, distant serenity has settled over the goddess' features.

In the sculptor's treatment of the surfaces and in the quality of workmanship, visible despite the battered and repaired areas, the museum's Athena is also comparable to the figures of the Gigantomachy. The extensive use of chisel and rasp to shape the surfaces of the goddess' face and hair (the drill was used only on the nostrils, the ears for the placement of earrings, and the interior of the open mouth, which is defined by a narrow channel running from corner to corner) reflects a technical preference that may be seen, for example, in the features of both Nyx and the lion goddess and in most of the figures of the Telephos frieze.[5]

5. A. Stewart, *Attika, Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London, 1979), 105, notes that the preponderant use of chisel and rasp becomes increasingly evident in late hellenistic Attic sculpture. There is no known Pergamene sculpture of the late hellenistic period and very little chronologically secure material from Asia Minor on which to base a meaningful comparison.

6. Schmidt, *supra* n. 4, pl. 65.

7. For the general type, B. Schröder, "Thrakische Helme," *JdI* 27 (1912), 326-7, Form 2. The Berlin helmet crested with a griffin protome, a non-functional Attic visor as a frontlet, and volutes illustrated at Beilage 11, 2-3, is a direct parallel to the fallen helmet of the Altar frieze despite

Figure 8. Detail of right ear area of figure 1.

Figure 9. Detail of left ear area of figure 1.

Both formally and iconographically the helmet of the museum's Athena can be directly related to those surviving on the Altar sculptures, despite the loss of its crest and the extensive damage to its rim. There are six of these. On the south frieze of the Gigantomachy, one is worn by the young giant who fights the goddess Theia; on the north, Nyx's opponent wears another; on the east frieze, three are worn by Otos, Ephialtes, and the stricken giant who lies face downward beneath Hera's chariot; another lies at the feet of the giant who faces Orion. On the small frieze, a seventh is worn by a companion of Telephos (fig. 13).[6] With the exception of the single Phrygian or Thracian helmet near Orion,[7] all of the helmets are of the single-crested Attic type in general use during the hellenistic

Figure 10. Tetradrachm of Lebedos, ca. 160 B.C. Photograph from catalogue of Numismatic Fine Arts Sale, 22–23 March 1983, lot 62.

the fact that it was found in connection with an early Imperial Roman vessel. For the use of the Phrygian or Thracian helmet in the early hellenistic period, see most recently M.J. Price, "A Portrait of Alexander the Great from Egypt," *NNF-NYTT* (Oslo, 1981), 32–37, who suggests on the basis of numismatic evidence that this was normally worn by Alexander in battle. I know of no hellenistic sculptural representations of Alexander wearing such headgear, but two Roman steelyard weights, one from Pompeii, the other in Delaware, likely show Alexander wearing a griffin-crested Phrygian helmet: J. Crawford, "A Portrait of Alexander the Great at the University of Delaware," *AJA* 83 (1979), 477–481.

Figure 11. Head of Nyx, north frieze, Great Altar of Zeus. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Photograph courtesy of DAI, Rome.

Figure 12. Head of lion goddess, north frieze, Great Altar of Zeus. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Photograph courtesy of DAI, Rome.

period,[8] but they are evolved in a manner suited less to military function than to ceremony, with wide-flanged rims and visors reduced to functionless, decorative frontlets held close against the bowl. Several—in particular that of Otos, whose closely-wound, unarticulated volute is a direct parallel to that of Athena's helmet (fig. 14)—have elements closely related to the Getty head. The sculptors of both the Gigantomachy and Telephos friezes have followed the same basic helmet model in each case, varying each in a manner which may have been determined by individual preference but which nevertheless appears programmatic, as if contrived by the Great Altar's master planners.[9] In this context the helmet of the Getty Athena falls fully within the mainstream of the Altar's sculptural

8. The use of the Attic helmet in the hellenistic period has been most recently dealt with by K. Kraft, "Der behelmte Alexander der Grosse," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* (Munich, 1965), 7 ff. Other Asiatic representations of Attic helmets in the hellenistic period can be added to Kraft's list, including the Athena-head coin issues of Seleucus II (E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* [New York, 1941], nos. 1008–9, 1012 and 1014 [Antioch]; 1153 ["Apamea", but more probably Antioch]; 1652–1665 ["Uncertain Asia Minor"]; idem, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York, 1938), nos. 554–5 [Ecbatana]; and autonomous issues of Lebedos dated to the 160s B.C. by O. Mørkholm, "Chronology and Meaning of the Wreath Coinages of the Early 2nd Century B.C., *Quaderni Ticinese, Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 1980, 153 (for examples, see Bank Leu Sale 28, 1981, no. 152, now in the Nelson Bunker Hunt collection; Numismatic Fine Arts Sale, March 22–23, 1983, no. 62: fig. 10). Pergamon itself struck bronze issues contemporaneously with the construction of the Great Altar, which show on their obverse the head of Athena in an Attic helmet: W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: the Coins of Mysia* (London, 1892), 119–122; U. Westermark, "The Portrait Coin of Eumenes II of Pergamon," *Lagom: Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20. November 1979* (Munster, 1981), p. 22, fig. 3. See also Poulsen, *supra* n. 2, 560, no. 4, a fragmentary hellenistic head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet, now in Copenhagen; and the modified Attic helmets worn by several of the battling figures of the frieze of the Artemision of Magnesia, dated to the latter half of the second century B.C.: A. Yaylali, *Der Fries des Artemisions von Magnesia am Mäander, IstMitt* Beiheft 15 (Tübingen, 1976); A. Davesne, *La frise du temple d'Artemis a Magnésie du Méandre* (Paris, 1982).

9. In his discussion of the styles of the large frieze W. Schuchardt, *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1925), proposed its execution by some fifteen sculptors, working with their own designs within the framework of a general master plan. H. Kähler, "Die Komposition des grossen Fries von Pergamon," *Bericht über den VI internationalen Kongress*

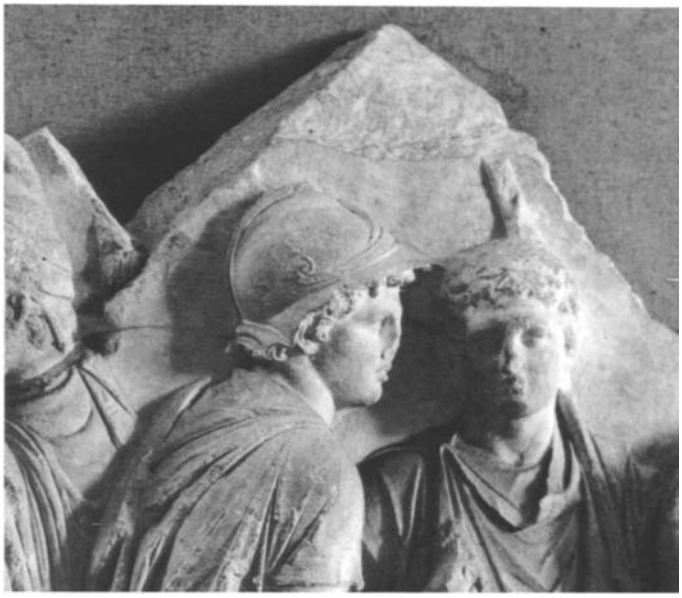


Figure 13. Companions of Telephos, Telephos frieze. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Photograph courtesy of DAI, Rome.

Figure 14. Head of Otos, east frieze, Great Altar of Zeus. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Photograph courtesy of DAI, Rome.

tradition. Its basic structure conforms to the model used by artists of the Altar, while its decoration—in this case the frontlet, which has been reduced to two abstract lines ending in simple volutes—has been minimally but intentionally modified.

In sum, there are enough stylistic, qualitative, and iconographic parallels between the museum's Athena and the Pergamon friezes to indicate that the head was probably the product of an artist from the Altar's workshop, executed during the period when the two friezes were being sculpted in the years before the death of Eumenes II in 159 B.C. when work on the Telephos frieze was suspended.[10] The date of the head probably cannot be refined much further. One may note, however, that the goddess' cool

für Archäologie," Berlin, 21–26 August, 1939, emphasized the compositional unity of the frieze without focusing on the stylistic differences of its sculptors. On the basis of the fragmentary signatures, D. Thimme, "The Masters of the Pergamon Gigantomachy," *AJA* 50 (1946), 345–357, has expanded the number of frieze artists to approximately forty, each working on individual sections of between 2 and 5 meters in length over a period of only one to two years, under the influence of a single leading master. The evidently carefully planned variation of helmet detail tends to support the view of a highly coherent integrated plan.

10. H. Kähler's date for the beginning of the Great Altar's construction to the period shortly after the Battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. (*Der grosse Fries von Pergamon* [Berlin, 1948], 131ff., esp. 145–6; see also J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon, Pergamenische Forschungen 2* [Berlin, 1968], 26, who uses Kähler's chronology as a *terminus ante* for the sherds found beneath the Altar's basis) has been recently revised downward. Basing his conclusions on an analysis of the same sherds P. Callaghan, "On the Date of the Great Altar of Pergamon," *BICS* 28 (1981), 115–121, proposes that the Altar was constructed after Eumenes II's victory over the Gauls of 166 B.C. as a grandiose memorial to that event. The lowered date, Callaghan concludes, "allows the Altar to form one facet of a complex propagandist effort on the part of Eumenes which not only sought to underline his military achievements but also exalted the regime at a time when it was under severe pressure due to Roman hostility" (idem, "On the Origin of the Long Petal Bowl," *BICS* 29 [1982], 65–66). Callaghan accepts the year of Eumenes' death as the probable date of completion of the Altar's superstructure, including the Telephos frieze.

M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955, revised 1961), 120 and C.M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), 544, date the Telephos frieze to the reign of Attalus II (159–138 B.C.). Callaghan (*BICS* 28, 119; *BICS* 29, 66) accepts Kähler's judgment that work stopped on the monument when Eumenes died.

I wish to thank Prof. Andrew Stewart for directing my attention to Callaghan's work.

Figure 15. Head of Athena (Rospigliosi type). Basel, Antikenmuseum.

and distant repose is closer in spirit to the less troubled figures of the Telephos frieze than to any of the figures of the Gigantomachy. Turning to Attic examples, there are also points of stylistic affinity to the Athena by Euboulides,[11] whose formal and technical relationship to the museum's Athena is only partly attenuated by its dry and academic execution.[12] One tends in any event to be drawn toward a probable date for the execution of the Getty Museum's Athena nearer to the midpoint of the century than toward its first quarter, or about 160 B.C.

COMPOSITION

Judging from its full modeling and the attention given to the repairs at its rear, the head must have originally belonged to a free-standing statue or sculptural group. The break at the neck gives no clue as to whether the head was worked separately for insertion or carved integrally with the goddess' body. The head's size indicates that the statue's full height would have been approximately 2.6 meters, half a meter less than the 3.1 meter representation of the Athena Parthenos found at Pergamon.[13] That it was not the fully frontal Parthenos type seems clear from both the curvature of the goddess' neck and the form of the helmet.[14] The curve of the neck suggests, in fact, that the Athena may have been based on a fourth rather than a fifth century model, if it was not freely composed. A parallel may be seen in the Athena Rospigliosi, whose type has been dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 15).[15] The upward and leftward turn of the Rospigliosi Athena's head induces a curvature of the neck similar to that implied by the Getty Museum's Athena, and it is conceivable that the sculptor of the goddess' head followed the general composition of the Rospigliosi type without replicating its iconography (the Corinthian helmet), facial proportions, or emotional pathos.

Where the Athena Rospigliosi was innovative when it was sculpted, however, the Getty Museum's Athena was retardataire by the time of its creation, modifying classical forms only slightly in its representation of an ideal type. This cannot be surprising: with the exception of the cult statues of Asklepios and Athena Nikephoros, a composite Greek warrior goddess and fertility figure associated with Eumenes' reorganized nikephoric festival,[16] Pergamene artists who worked on cult figures appear to have turned for their inspiration to classical models whose authority, both formal and symbolic, was enormous. In the case of the Getty Museum's Athena, the stylistic result was a change of idiom but not of language; the structure was reformed but in concept remained Attic to the core.

Malibu

11. Athens, NM 234; see Bieber, *supra* n. 10, fig. 669.

12. Stewart, *supra* n. 5, 52, observes in regard to Eubolides' Athena: "Differentiation of modeling over bone and muscle . . . has been replaced by massively immobile, stereometric forms and a surface handling that is deliberately lifeless and numb . . ."

13. F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. VII: *Die Skulpturen* (Berlin, 1908), 33ff., no. 24, Beiblatt 23, pl. VIII.

14. The later addition of cheek pieces may have been intended to bring the museum's Athena into closer visual relationship with the Pergamene Athena Parthenos: as a pendant?

15. I am grateful to Jiří Frel for pointing out the possible association of the new Athena head with the Athena Rospigliosi. The type has been most recently dealt with by A. Borbein, "Die Athena Rospigliosi," *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm* 1970, 29–43. As Borbein has noted in regard to the chronology of the type, current scholarship differs only on when during the first half of the fourth century the statue was created.

16. For the "baroque" Asklepios attributed to Phyromachos, see A. Stewart, *supra* n. 5, 12ff. The Pergamene Athena Nikephoros, a statue of mixed Greek and oriental elements closely related to Anatolian and north Syrian cult figures, represents a totally different and until now virtually unexplored area of Pergamene religious and formal tradition: see O. Mørkholm, "Some Pergamene Coins in Copenhagen," *Essays in Honor of Leo Mildenberg: Numismatics, Art History and Archaeology* (Wetteren, 1984) (forthcoming).

Conservation Procedure and Technical Notes

Zdravko Barov

When the Athena head came into the lab it was covered with a thick layer of incrustation and deposit, mainly carbonate and silicates. The thickness of this layer on the face was approximately 0.2-1.3 mm., and its color varied from bright white to dark brown and black. There were a few traces of completely mineralized roots. In order to expose the original surface, mechanical cleaning was employed with the use of a microscope to remove the layers of deposits. The use of chemicals was excluded because of the similarities in chemical composition of the accretions and the original marble.[1]

Ultraviolet examination of the object shows very even oxidation of the surface, with the exception of a few abrasions on the left cheek and several fresh scratches on the back of the helmet. The break of the neck is also completely oxidized, indicating its ancient date.

The antiquities conservation laboratory performed two different tests on the marble, one aimed at the identification and the ratio of the different elements of the marble, the other to analyze its structure. Both can be used for comparison with other apparently related marble and may allow the identification of provenance.[2]

For quantitative elemental analysis, the ICP method was used.[3] The results show the following elements:

	ppm		*ppm*		*ppm*		*ppm*
Sodium	200.	Arsenic	100.	Gallium	80.	Selenium	200.
Potassium	118.	Gold	10.	Germanium	90.	Tin	100.
Lituium	10.	Beryllium	1.	Mercury	40.	Titanium	2.
Calcium	372000.	Cadmium	8.	Lanthanum	4.	Vanadium	4.
Magnesium	778.	Cerium	200.	Manganese	13.	Zinc	49.
Barium	30.	Colbalt	10.	Molybdenum	90.	Zirconium	6.
Strontium	80.	Chromium	189.	Nickel	40.	Boron	6.
Aluminum	350	Copper	2.	Lead	6370.	Phosphate	100.
Silver	4.	Iron	584.	Antimony	500.	Silica	1000.

In addition to the elemental analysis, a petrographic cross-section of the marble was made and compared with the existing reference specimens at the research laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[4] The comparison showed that the structure of the marble of the Getty Museum's Athena head is closest to that of Pentelic marbles in the Museum of Fine Art's reference collections.[5]

Malibu

1. The patina of marbles is primarily a mechanical accumulation of micro- and macroparticles in the cavities of the surface very often cemented with insoluble salts. Complete cleaning aimed at the removal of all extraneous material is impossible without inflicting damage on the macrostructure of the surface. For this reason, in the cleaning process we have tried to preserve a thin uniform layer of the deposits.

2. K. German, G. Holzmann, K. Winkler; "Determination of Marble Provenance: Limits of Isotopic Analysis," *Archeometry* 22, no. 1 (1980).

3. Inductively coupled plasma emission spectroscopy performed by Vetter Research Lab, Costa Mesa, California.

4. The thin section was made by Rudolf von Huene, Thin Section Laboratory, Pasadena, California.

5. The identification of the sample was made by Dr. L. van Zelst, Director of the Research Laboratory.

Figure 1. Marble head of Athena, half-cleaned. Malibu 82.AA.79.

A Hellenistic Torso in Malibu

C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson

A recent accession of the J. Paul Getty Museum is an interesting male torso of the Hellenistic period. It has a preserved height of 0.71 m., and it is carved out of a grayish large-crystalled marble, of a type found in Asia Minor (figs. 1–5).[1] The nude torso unfortunately is not complete. The head is missing together with the right leg, which is broken from below the center of the thigh, and the left, at the level of the knee.[2] The arms are also lost from just below the shoulder stumps. These were attached separately, as suggested by the smooth finish of the surface under the stump and the rectangular dowel hole.[3] The two drill holes on the back of the right shoulder were evidently pour-holes.[4] Both arms were repaired at some time in antiquity, and the evidence for these ancient repairs can be seen in cramp cuttings on both shoulders: the once rectangular slot on the right shoulder measures Length: 4.2 cm., Width 6 cm., whereas the one on the back of the left shoulder is Length: 2.4 cm., Width 6 cm.

Despite all these mutilations, the powerful articulation of the musculature creates an impact on the viewer. The male figure represented here is shown standing in an interesting contrapposto stance. The weight was carried by the right leg—most of it now missing—which is shown frontally. This creates a strong curve in the torso above, together with a languid déhanchement of the hips, which in turn is echoed in the position of the flexed left leg. This is resting in the externally rotated position, with the thigh turned slightly forward from the front plane. The athletic and young character of the figure is emphasized by the treatment of the muscles and bone structure and the firmness of the flesh. The figure is probably a mature man in his twenties. His torso, though muscular, is by no means heavy. The abdominal divisions are in evidence, taut and bulging under the skin surface. The abdomen shows softness and elasticity as it curves slightly outwards from the navel to vanish into the pubic hair. The treatment of the iliac crest is strong and frames the position of the hips and the thoracic wall with the overlying serratus anterior muscle which is rather knobbly. The thorax, with the sternum clearly indicated, is youthful, i.e. with an almost imperceptible sag of the breast line, whereas the relief of the pectoralis major next to the armpit and breasts is firmly indicated.

The shoulders follow the rhythm of the body; and, although they appear to be level, the right shoulder is actually very slightly lower, thus corresponding to the weight-bearing hip, while the smooth curve of the stump seems to indicate that the right arm was most probably hanging beside the body. In contrast to this, the left shoulder is a little higher, corresponding to the left side which is shifted to the right. In real life this results from the double curvature of the spine (lumbar spine to the left; thoracic spine convex to the right) which is a compensatory mechanism to maintain the center of gravity. However, the artist ignored these necessities when treating the torso's back. Moreover, the deltoid muscle is shown in greater relief, suggesting that the left upper arm is abducted from the side of the body. This suggests that the left arm was probably shown drawn a little backwards and away from the body. Very little remains of the neck save two projections at the sides, which may be the remains of a ribbon; unfortunately the muscles which could have come to our rescue, particularly the sterno-mastoid, are no longer there. To judge, however, from the way the body moves, the head was probably turned slightly to the left.

The back view echoes the movement of the front. The shoulders are shown broad and rounded, but the scapulae are not shown enough to give a more definite clue as to the position of the arms. However, the spinal column with the sacral triangle is subtly modeled, thus underlining the slimness and yet firmness of the body. The muscular bulges above the pelvis are in contrast to the rounded buttocks of the figure: the left relaxed buttock drops below the taut right one, better observed from the side view. The double curve of the back also becomes more comprehensible when seen from the sides.

1. J. Frel, Getty *MJ* 8 (1980), 92–94, figs. 15–18.

2. Here there is evidence of ancient repairs possibly during the Roman period. Both legs have remains of iron pins and rectangular slots.

3. The rectangular hole under the stump of the right arm measures Length: 3.3 cm., Width: 1.1 to 1.5 cm., and Diameter: 5.3 cm.

4. These two drill holes on the back of the right shoulder have a diameter of .5 cm. and .7 cm. respectively.

Figure 1. Hellenistic torso. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.138.

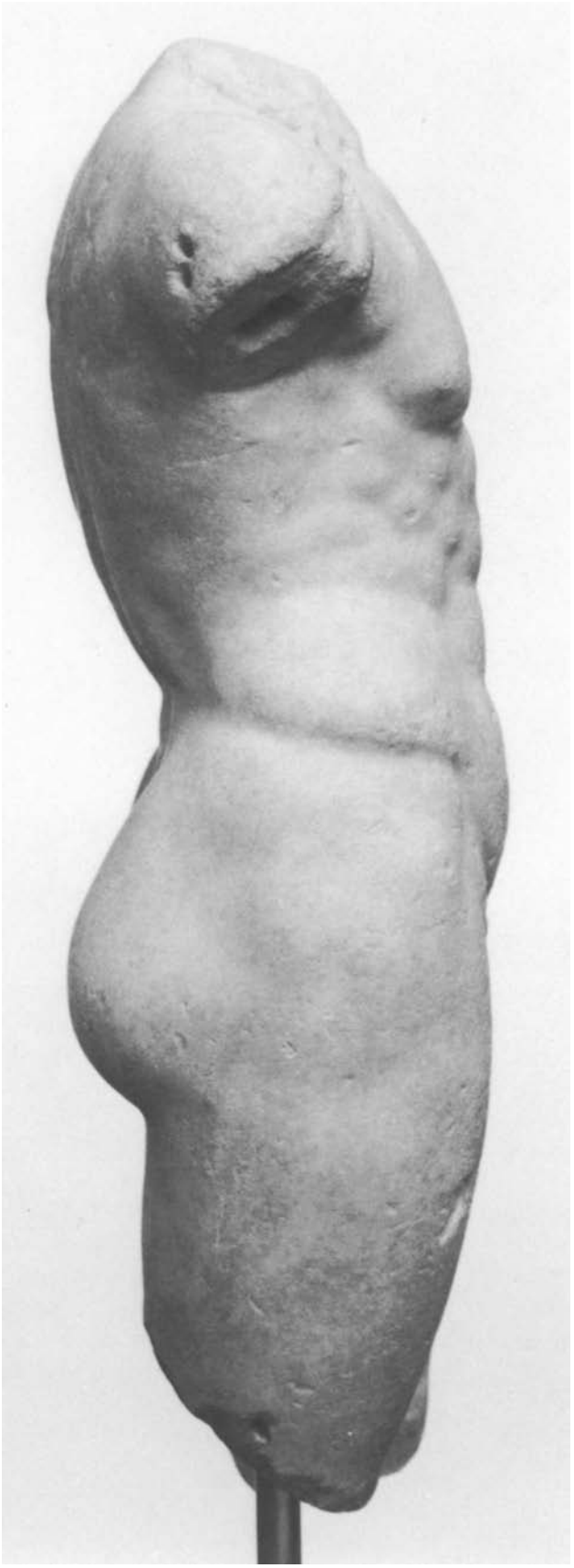


Figure 2. Right profile of Figure 1.

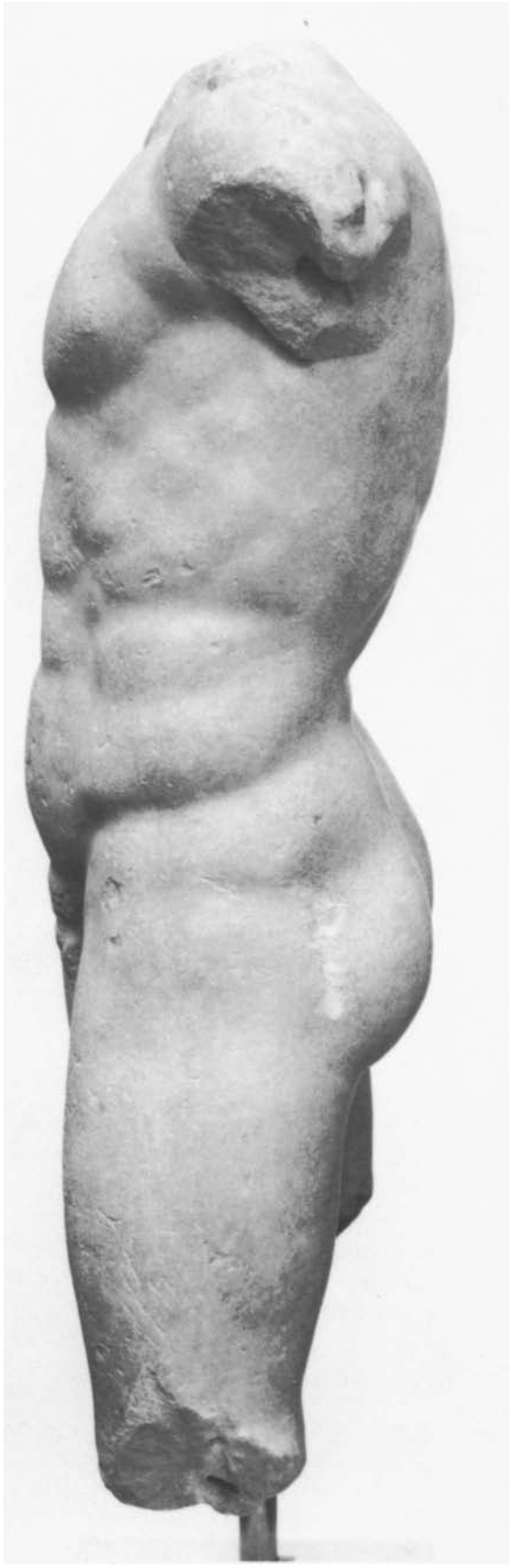


Figure 3. Left profile of Figure 1.

The torso presents many problems but offers few answers. One of the main problems is the difficulty in finding convincing artistic parallels. The type may be due to the eclectic style of the artist who created it or the patron who commissioned it. How far can the picture come into focus by stylistic analysis? Let us first examine the actual stance. One could initially say that it harks back to the creations of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.,[5] via the Polykleitan Kanon,[6] but having lost "en route" both the sturdy proportions and the hardness of the figures so characteristic of the Argive master. Further, the tight curls of the pubic hair betray the carving of a later date.[7] The impression one gets is of an artist who was aware of the fifth-century creations on the one hand, but for whom the soft and fluid modeling of the fourth century was nearer to his heart.[8] In other words, he was drawing upon the traditions of both classical centuries and translating them into the form and concept of his own period.

The closest parallels one can find for both the treatment of the musculature and the rendering of the modeling are in the frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Here on the South frieze the figure of Iapetos betrays many similarities to the Getty torso.[9] Firstly, the treatment of the sternum has the same hollow depression between the breasts, which in their turn are shown broad and flat. The abdominal musculature above the navel bulges and swells in a similar fashion.[10] Also, the rendering of the navel recalls that of the giants, and the knobbly rib cage with the pelvic musculature shows analogies too. Another giant who shows similarities to our torso comes this time from the East frieze: the adversary of Artemis.[11] Once more the torso is very close in treatment, particularly in the way the stomach swells below the navel and also in the line of the breast which sags imperceptibly.

Turning to the North frieze, Phobos' opponent is shown with his back to the spectator, standing in the same contrapposto pose, and offers the closest parallel with the back of the Getty torso.[12] The same slim but athletic back is evident, with the sacral triangle rendered like a circumflex accent whereas the thigh musculature above the right hip, particularly the tensor fascialata, swells as the muscles of the buttock contract on the side of the supporting weight, thus forming a hollow on the surface.

What did the Getty figure look like when complete?

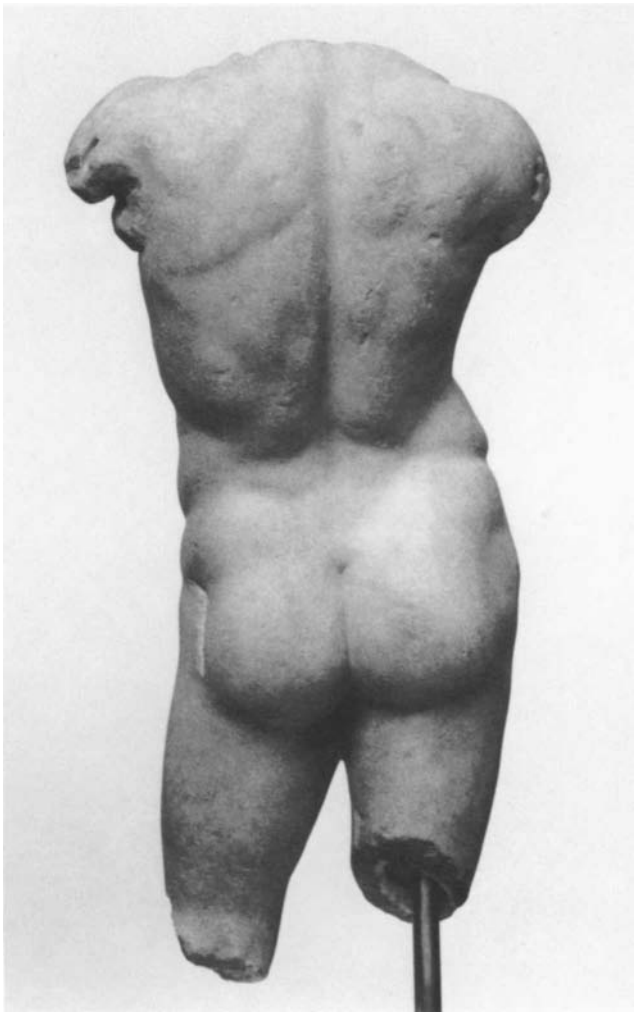


Figure 4. Back of Figure 1.

Whom did he represent? I think these are questions that, though one can attempt to answer them, will continue to puzzle experts, for opinions differ and identification is always debatable. One recent suggestion is that the figure shows a variant of the Polykleitan Diadoumenos.[13] Despite the fact that we know Polykleitan types to have been favored from the second century B.C. down to Hadrianic times,[14] I find this particular identification of the torso a little difficult to accept for a number of reasons. First, the musculature's treatment is more robust than what we know it to be on copies of the Diadoumenos.[15] Second, the position of the shoulder stumps does not suggest a figure

5. E.g. D. Arnold, *Die Polykletnachfolge* (Berlin, 1969), pl. 11c.

6. H. v. Steuben, *Der Kanon des Polyklet* (Tübingen, 1973) pl. 19 and pls. 34–35.

7. M.B. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone, The Greek, Roman and Etruscan collections of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Boston, 1976), 134, 210.

8. Cf. A. Stewart, *AJA* 82 (1978), 305, fig. 5; and A.H. Borbein, *JdI* 88 (1973), 160, figs. 85–86.

9. H. Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des Grossen Altars,* Band III (Berlin, 1910), pl. III.

10. *Ibid.*, pl. XI.

11. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI.

13. J. Frel, Getty *MJ* 8 (1980), 92.

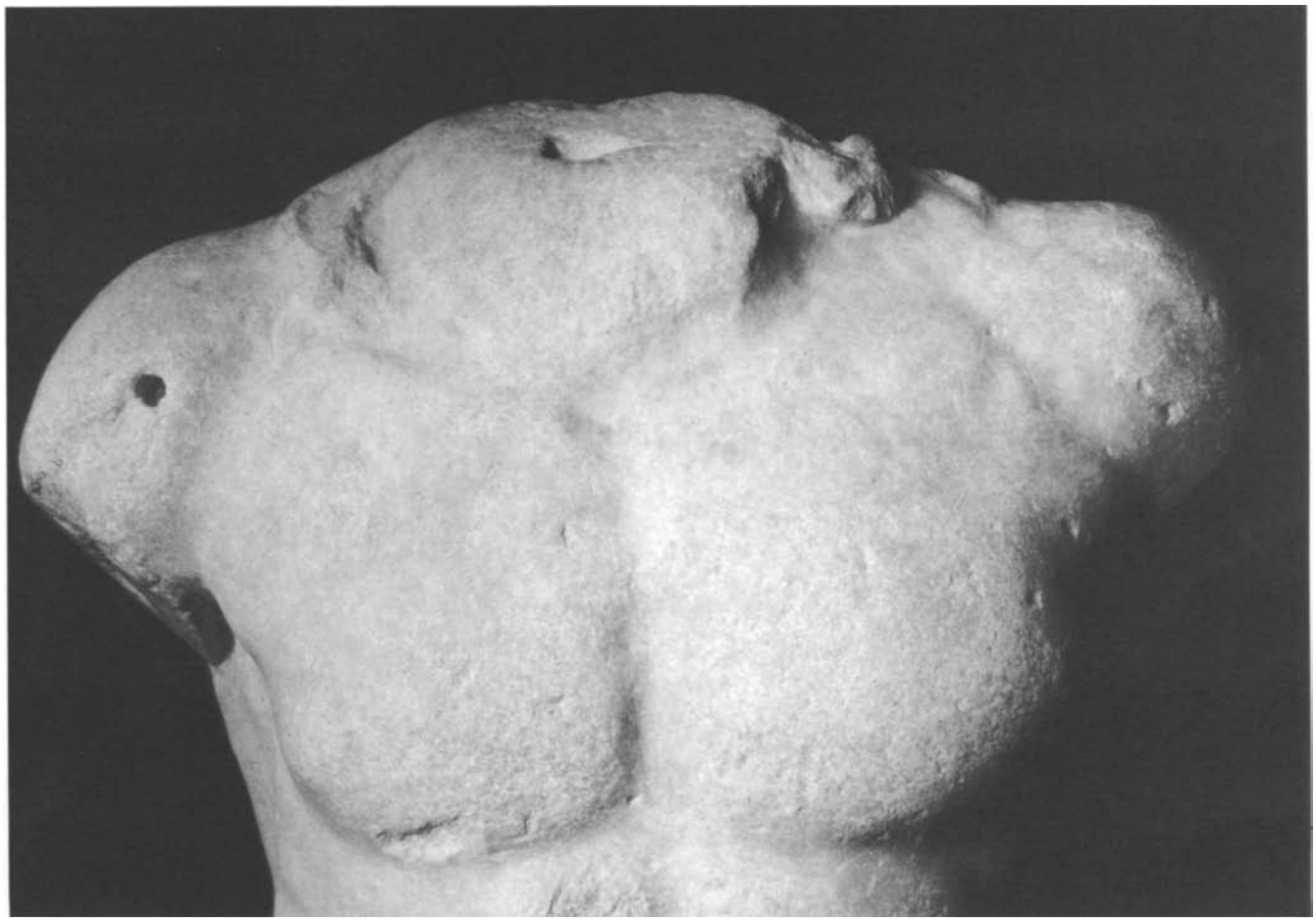


Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1.

in the action of binding his fillet.[16] Third and last, the remains on either side of the neck look more like the extremities of a ribbon which often accompanies a thick wreath,[17] than a taenia of victory, which in any case never rests on the shoulders of the Diadoumenos. All these factors, therefore, seem to point in some other direction.

A very close parallel is a small bronze statue in the British Museum (figs. 6–8),[18] whose original Krahmer compared in its stance and stylistic development to the frieze of the Altar at Pergamon and dated as post-Pergamene.[19] Here Hermes is shown, his right arm hanging free and loose along the side of the body, whereas his left akimbo has the left hand slightly resting on the hip. The stance with the right leg carrying the weight while the left is flexed and to the side is very close to that of our torso. Admittedly nothing remains on the left side of the Getty torso to prove that the left hand was resting on the hip, and as mentioned above the scapulae are not clearly shown so as to indicate with any certainty the movement of the arms.

The method by which the arms were re-attached, however, may provide evidence as to their position. The cutting for the cramp which secured the right arm is visible on the front of the right stump. The arm would probably not have been fastened on this side unless the weight of the arm was forward, suggesting that the forearm was abducted from the body and held slightly forward, as on the British Museum bronze. By contrast, the left side has the

14. P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, (Mainz, 1974), 41–45, pls. 8–11.

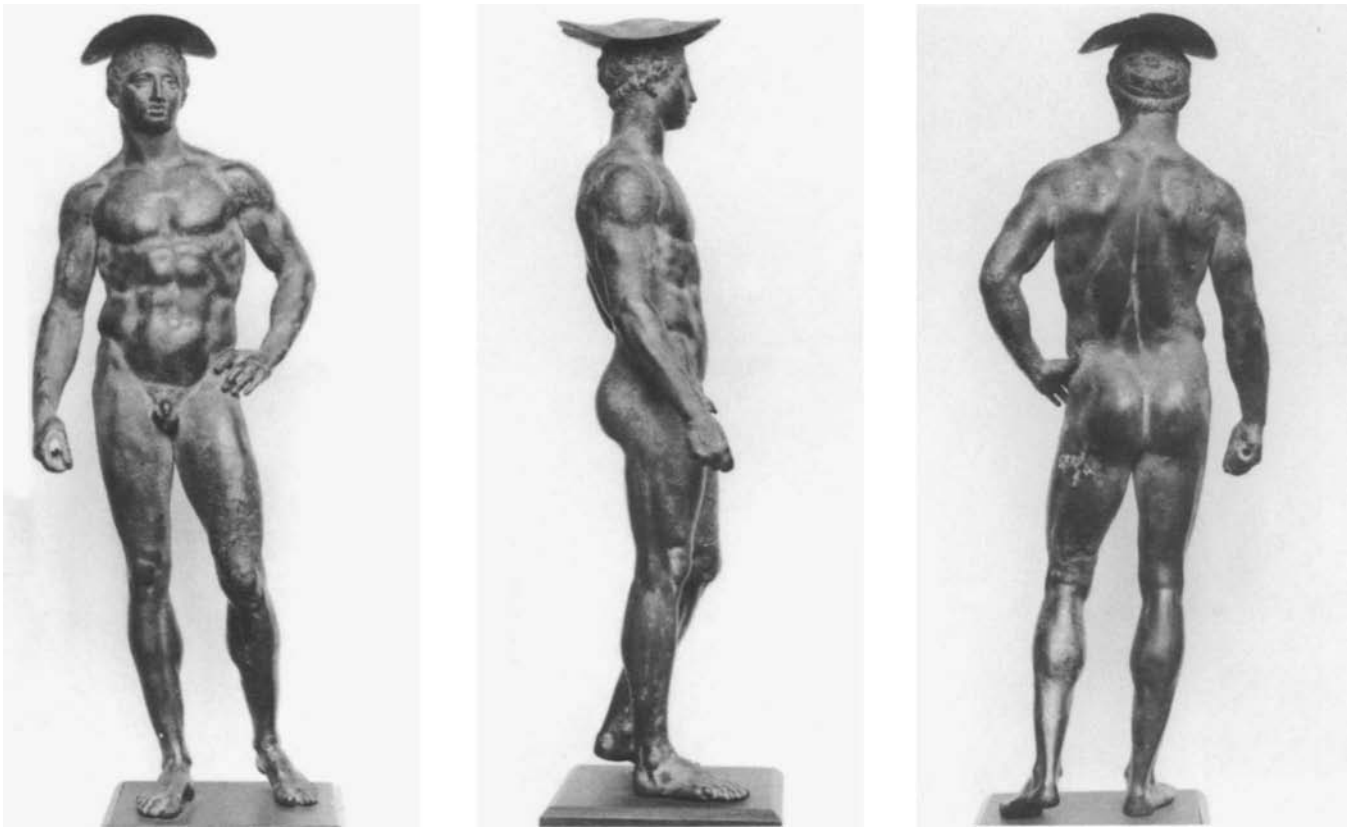
15. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), pl. 109b; J. Inan, *Roman Scupture in Side* (Ankara, 1975), 40, pl. 19; D.K. Hill, *AJA* 74 (1970), 21–24, pl. 3.

16. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961), figs. 7–8, 9–10; also G. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (Yale, 1970), fig. 605.

17. Cf. A. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros* (New Jersey, 1977), pl. 31c; R. Kekulé, *Antike Skulpturen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1881), 186, no. 478.

18. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum* (London, 1899), 207, no. 1195, Height: 49 cm.

19. G. Krahmer, *RM* 46 (1931), 130–149, pls. 15–16.



Figures 6–8. Bronze statue. Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

cramp cutting at the back, which would have made it impossible for the arm to have been akimbo as on the bronze, and this suggests that possibly the forearm was holding and maybe even resting its weight on something. Could one postulate that the figure was holding a spear, a kind of mirror image of the Poseidon from Melos?[20] However, the stump of the shoulder is incompatible with a left upper arm held straight out to the side as in the statue of Poseidon. The spear must have been held further down, as for instance in the Athena Promachos or in the little bronze Athena in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore.[21]

Further, if we examine more closely the treatment and interplay of the various parts of the musculature on the British Museum bronze, we quickly realize the marked resemblances with the torso. The proportions, the manner in which the abdominal divisions are rendered above the navel, the softness of the stomach, the treatment of the pelvic muscles, and even the way the left side is divided into two halves, all reflect close similarities with our torso. The same closeness in treatment may be detected from the back view, particularly in the hip region with the slight tilt to the side.[22] The identity of the Getty torso is more difficult to pin down, for there are no firm signs on which to base any assumptions On the other hand, if one were to accept the possibility that the young man held a spear in his left hand, this might open another avenue—that of the Hellenistic ruler[23] in the guise of a God or a hero.

One final point remains to be considered and that is the date. As we are not dealing with a copy of a particular type and the torso displays signs of eclectic taste with definite signs of baroque overtones, this helps to narrow the field considerably. Therefore, taking into account what our torso shares with the Baroque Art of the Great Altar at Pergamon, one could reasonably suggest that it was created at some time around the middle of the second century B.C. The torso, despite all its mutilations, remains a powerful and interesting piece of sculpture.

Jesus College, Oxford

20. J. Schäfer, "Der Poseidon von Melos," *Ant.Plast.* 8 (Berlin, 1968), 68, fig. 1 and pls. 38–39.

21. R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren, Originale* (Mainz, 1980), pl. 35.

22. All these characteristics seem to surface once again during the Roman period, on the bronze spearbearer in Houston, Texas. Cf. P. Oliver-Smith, *Ant.Plast.* 15 (Berlin, 1975), 95–110. Best seen from the side and back views, *ibid.*, pls. 43a, 44b, and 46.

23. Cf. R. Lullies and M. Hirmer *Greek Sculpture* (London, 1966), pl. 264 and A. Giuliano, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture* I.1 (Rome, 1979), 198, no. 124.

Some Observations On Classical Bronzes

Jiří Frel

1. A NOTE ON THE RIACE BRONZES

The marvel of Greek art that is the Riace bronzes[1] provides a direct contact with Pheidias. The hero without helmet is aptly compared to Anakreon (as far as a bronze original masterpiece can be compared to an Antonine marble copy), and his head with the Roman glasspaste inscribed **Κοδρος**.[2] Both point to Pheidias' workshop in the very beginning of the second half of the fifth century B.C. The latter comparison supports the identification of the bronze with an eponymous hero of an Athenian tribe, perhaps Kodros himself, as a part of the Marathonian anathema at Delphi.[3] The head of the helmeted bronze hero goes well with the Pheidian Xanthippos which is recognized in the head of the Polignac strategos (copies in Berlin, Ephesos, and the J. Paul Getty Museum).[4] The relationship of this bronze with the well-known image of Miltiades[5] is less convincing, as its original was created for the Lykourgan restoration of the Dionysos theater in the later thirties of the fourth century.[6]

Some observers insist on the differences between the two bronze statues rather than the similarities, pointing out the Polykleitan elements of the helmeted statue. But Pheidias learned eagerly from Polykleitos; many instances of borrowing are evident in the Parthenon sculptures,[7] and the same Polykleitan elements are discernible in the statue without helmet. The apparent differences result in part from an extensive restoration of the helmeted statue, probably dating to the first century B.C. as evidenced by the style of the replaced right arm with its prominent veins, marked musculature, and other naturalistic details.[8] These repairs also included the helmet (now lost again), the disappearance of the silver teeth, the coating of the eroded surface of the lower lip with a sheet of copper, the replacement of the original ivory eyeball (preserved on the helmetless statue) with one in white marble. At the same time, the right upper eyelid was retouched, some points of the beardlocks were lost, and the design of the beard was reincised, resulting in a less fine articulation of the cold-work. The pubic hair also lost the central endings of the original "snail" curls. The entire surface of this statue must have lost some of its original layer when being repaired. The damaged areas were simply evened out. Perhaps the bronze had already suffered some corrosion as well as physical damage. To reach healthy metal, the repairer may have simply reduced the surface. The skinning is particularly obvious at the right inguinal line.

These and other interventions produce the impression of differences of style and date between the two statues.

1. This note summarizes some thoughts resulting from one day's study of the statues in 1976 during the process of their conservation in Florence. The main points were communicated to the public following the lecture of Warren Moon at the J. Paul Getty Museum 6 October 1982.

The copious bibliography is summarized in two excellent articles by A. Giuliano, *Xenia* 2 (1981), 55 sqq. and *ibid.* 3 (1982), 41 sqq. The author's conclusions correspond to the views expressed in this note. (It may perhaps be worth noting that the bronze bearded head exhibited in Edinburgh, mentioned in *Xenia* 3, 41 as supposedly found together with another bronze portrait head from the early fourth century B.C. found in the sea by Porticello, is, as a matter of fact, an excellent version of the early type of Antoninus Pius. The workmanship points unmistakably to Asia Minor.) Another point concerns the Getty Bronze. Giuliano (*Xenia* 2, 60) suggests that the ephebe might have been added to the Marathonian anathema when in 307/6 B.C. the thankful Athenians created two new tribes named after the "liberators" Antigonos (Monophtalmos) and Demetrios (Poliorketes). But Demetrios was then too old for the juvenile appearance of the Getty Bronze, which represents a victor in the Olympic games: not too appropriate for Delphi. On the other hand, the possibility that the Getty Bronze may represent Demetrios (independent of the Marathonian anathema) deserves serious consideration. Already in 1978 (*The Getty Bronze*, 1st ed.) the statue was compared with a marble head in Smith College, identified by Phyllis Lehmann (Getty *MJ* 8 1980, 107 sqq.) as Demetrios. New evidence available since then requires further study.

From the bibliography, cf. especially A. Busignani, *Gli eroi di Riace* (1981), with outstanding photographs by L. Perugini; W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 4 (1981), 25 sqq.; and E. Formigli, *ibid.*, 15 sqq. Cf. also C. Hauser, *Source Notes in the History of Art* I.3 (1982), 5 sqq.

2. Cf. Giuliano and Fuchs.

3. However, the fragment of drapery and the crest of a helmet incrusted with copper and found recently in Delphi—cf. J.F. Bommelaer, *BCH* 105 (1981), 463 sqq.—seems to be of different make from the Riace bronzes.

4. *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1982), p. 34 and no. 1.

5. Giuliano, *Xenia* 3.

6. Cf. *Felix Ravenna* 48/49 (1969), 5 sqq., especially for the sixteenth-century restoration of the inscribed herm in Ravenna.

7. Cf. especially Fuchs.

8. This is now confirmed by the analysis of the metal, but the difference appeared striking in the visual examination in 1976. For this and all following points, see the excellent photographs of L. Perugini in Busignani.

Figure 1. Bronze head of a horse. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AC.92.1.

Figure 2. Reverse of figure 1.

Figure 3. Terracotta head of a horse. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AD.182.

Figure 4. Reverse of figure 3.

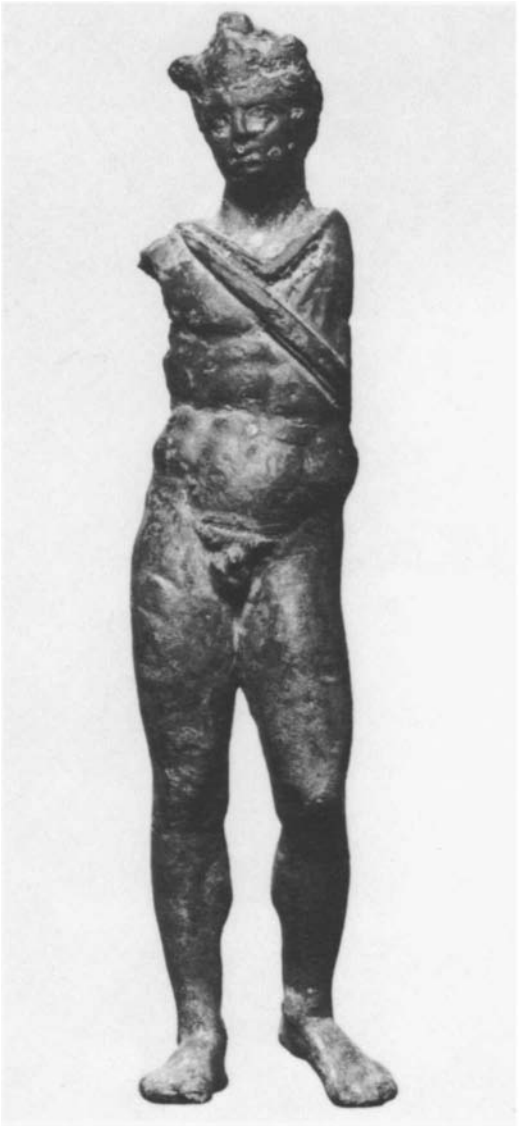


Figure 5. Bronze statuette of Hermes. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AB.171.

Figure 6. Back of figure 5.

However, the stances, the general proportions, and the *ethos* of both masterpieces are remarkably close, as are the details on closer examination.[9]

2. GREEK BRONZE PLATES

A splendid bronze object in the Norbert Schimmel Collection was recently reproduced and labeled as an amphora lid.[10] While the object may have been ultimately used as a cover, perhaps on a cinerary vessel, its original function was as a plate. Several parallels of handles with Pegasos protomai are well known,[11] but the only complete plate, also with the Pegasoi at the handle, is in Berlin (from Dodona).[12] By comparison with other bronzes from Dodona, the Berlin plate was assigned to Sparta,[13] but the

9. Another original masterpiece of Greek sculpture appeared recently in Punic western Sicily (*Connoisseur*, February 1983, 57 sqq.) The statue of a victorious charioteer providing a marble companion for the Delphi bronze was found in regular excavations of Motya, but it must have been carved in the same local Greek workshop of Agrigentum responsible for the ephebe from Agrigentum (Richter, *Kouroi*, ed. 1970, no. 182, figs. 547–549). The statue is more recent (slightly before 460 B.C.) than the ephebe (before 470 B.C.), but the identity of workmanship is unmistakable. The charioteer was not only carved but also quite certainly erected in Agrigentum. It must have been brought to Motya as a trophy of a fifth century B.C. victorious war.

10. E. Simon, in *Zaberns Archäologisches Kalendar* 1982 (September 13–16). Her description of the technique (handles cast, body hammered) is correct; the same procedure was also used for the Berlin plate (note 3 *infra*), whatever was previously stated.

Figure 7. Bronze left arm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AB.187.

Figure 8. Front of figure 7.

Figure 9. Outside of figure 7.

Figure 10. Inside of figure 7.

generally proposed date about the middle of the sixth century seems to be too early. The workmanship is clearly derived from a hypothetical prototype not far from the Schimmel plate. The equine head is summarily modeled with a cursorily incised eye, and the tongue pattern on the handle is reversed—the engraver did not understand it. The date should be close to the end of the century. By contrast, the excellent design of the tongues on the Schimmel plate is well articulated and properly placed; the Pegasoi, masterfully modeled in three-quarter view, are shown posing with their manes falling in wavy ropes. This detail and the anatomy point to a date of about 530 B.C.[14] A Corinthian origin seems probable, but it may be an imitation of a Corinthian prototype in Magna Graecia. A third Pegasos fragment of a plate handle from the Athenian Acropolis[15] may also be Corinthian, but later, as the horse head is post-Siphnian and closer to those of the Dodona plate in Berlin.

Several plate handles with simple horse heads have been listed;[16] interesting fragments in the J. Paul Getty Museum may be added:

1. Bronze head of a horse, 80.AC.92.1, anonymous donation, Height: 5.3 cm., surface worn (figs. 1, 2).
2. Terracotta head of a horse, 81.AD.182, anonymous donation, Height: 6.35 cm. (figs. 3–4).

Both came to the museum together with other fragments from a favissa. They belong to the beginning of the fifth century, and the second is a cheap imitation after the same prototype as the first.

3. PIECING OF BRONZE STATUETTES

In a recent publication, D. Kent Hill[17] listed statuettes with the left arm case separately and mounted. Three more examples may be added:

1. Statuette of Hermes, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AB.171 (figs. 5–6), presented by R. Blaugrund. Height: 16.7 cm., possibly from Asia Minor, second century A.D. Around the head, a band under two miniature wings. Right leg below the knee broken off and reaffixed. Right arm broken off; left arm cast separately and now missing.

2. Left arm with drapery, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AB.187 (figs. 7–10), said to be from Asia Minor, second century A.D. Length: 24.5 cm., surface partially corroded. From a medium-sized statuette. The stump of the shoulder is missing; the arm was extended forward.

3. Statuette of Hermes, art market. Height: ca. 15 cm. Left arm cast separately and lost.

4. AN INTERESTING FORGERY

In 1979 the J. Paul Getty Museum was presented with a bronze statuette of a peplophoros with a bird in the extended right hand (figs. 11–12).[18] At first glance there is nothing special about the piece, the style pointing to the second half of the fifth century. But the top of the head shows some irregularities well covered by a homogenous patina. On both sides of the peplos under the left arm runs an inscription: KPYBA / ANEΘHKE. The letters are curious and out of proportion, the proper name is spurious, and the disposition of the inscription does not produce a favorable impression. But it is covered by the same patina as the whole surface.[19] The problem is settled by comparison with a replica in the Louvre,[20] which was the support of a mirror broken at the top. The Getty statuette must be a modern aftercast. The Louvre bronze sports an identical inscription, carefully reproduced on the modern piece with all the oddities extant already on the original version. In spite of the heroic effort to explain its inconsistencies[21]—it could be one or two centuries later, the name might be Boeotian—it must be a modern addition. The Louvre statuette has been repatinated.

Malibu

11. U. Jantzen, *Bronzenwerkstätte in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien* (1937), 47 and 69.

12. Jantzen 69.13; A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke (Berlin)*[2] (1966), pl. 14 top, p. 44 (bibl.); idem, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 206, fig. 151; U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen, and N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Berlin (1968), 134.

13. A. Rumpf, in *Charites* (Festschrift Langlotz), 134.

14. Simon hesitates between Corinth and Sparta.

15. Jantzen 69.12; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole*, fig. 146.

16. Jantzen 69.8-11.

17. *Hesp.* 51 (1982) 277 sqq.

18. The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AB.65, anonymous donation, Height: 8.1 cm.

19. Examined in the antiquities conservation laboratory in the Getty Museum.

20. Br.167, R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplophoroi, Originale* (1980), 154, No. 42A, pl. 102B-C; A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques* (1913), no. 167, pl. 18.

21. L. Jeffery in *Frühklassische Peplophoroi*, p. 154, n. 292.

Figure 11. Modern bronze statuette of a peplophoros. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AB.65.

Figure 12. Reverse of figure 11.

Figure 13. Bronze statuette of a peplophoros, the original of figures 11–12. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Figure 14. Reverse of figure 13.

Two New Representations of Helen and Menelaos

Kenneth Hamma

Helen's return to Menelaos at the fall of Ilion was popular subject matter for the pictorial artists of antiquity and survives in numerous vase paintings and reliefs of Greek and Roman date.[1] Representations of this episode on two objects in the Getty Museum are here added to those already known.

Helen was by all accounts a daughter of Zeus and the most beautiful among women. She quite naturally attracted the often forceful attention of men, and her wooers and paramours from Theseus to Deïphobos are related by Hesiod, Homer, and the various authors of the poems of the Epic Cycle. Very little, however, survives in the fragmentary epic poems concerning Helen's return to her husband after the greatest of her misadventures in Troy with Paris and, for a short while after Paris' death, with Deïphobos. From Proklos' analysis of the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos, we gather only that Menelaos took Helen back to the ships after killing Deïphobos.[2] The event was also related with an apparently fuller account and a long repercussion in the figurative arts in Lesches' *Little Iliad.* Menelaos approached his long-absent wife with drawn sword and murderous intent, enraged at the troubles she had brought down on him and the other Achaeans. According to a scholiast on the *Lysistrata* (155), Lesches had the same account as Aristophanes: "Menelaos at least, when he caught a glimpse somehow of the breasts of Helen naked, cast away his sword, methinks."[3] Although this shows Aristophanes' sensibility for presenting the importance of Helen's beauty in her conquering of Menelaos' anger, it surely was not that of Lesches or any epic poet. As Ghali-Kahil makes clear, the epic poem must have included at this point the intervention of Aphrodite rather than Helen's own charms.[4]

Fragments from an early fifth-century red-figure kalpis in the Getty Museum offer an early if hesitant representation that indicates Aphrodite's assistance to Helen (fig. 1).[5] The surface preservation of the fragments is good, and although most of the vase is missing, the figured scene is nearly complete. Helen moves away to the left, turning back with out-stretched arm to beg her husband to spare her life. Her right hand probably originally touched the veil on top of her head, a gesture of her despair.[6] She is fully clothed in chiton and himation. The bearded Menelaos approaches from the right. He carries his shield with centaur blazon on his left arm and spear in his left hand. With his right hand he has begun to draw the blade from its scabbard as he glares intently at his wife and victim. Coming from the battle inside Ilion, Menelaos is dressed in full armor: greaves with red leggings, a cuirass over a short tunic, and a crested helmet, its hinged cheek-pieces turned up. Between the two figures is a small altar, an Ionic volute at its top and red swatches attached to the side.[7] A fire once burned on top of this altar (*eschara*); the flames were painted in added white which is now entirely worn away leaving the glaze dulled. The altar stands *pars pro toto* for the sanctuary in which Helen seeks refuge.[8]

The painter of the vase is the Providence Painter, active in the first decades of the fifth century.[9] His name vase is here illustrated in figure 3. He liked small ears with round interiors, like Helen's, and cork-screw spirals of hair falling over the shoulders. The blunt, pear-shaped ankle bones and crossed squares in the maeander pattern below the fig-

1. The basic work on the subject remains Lilly Ghali-Kahil, *Les* Enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène, Ecole Française d'Athènes: Travaux et Memoires, 10 (Paris, 1955). Also now J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote,* Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, 14 (Geneva, 1975), pp. 31–41.

2. Proklos, *Chrestomathia:* Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηίφοβον φονεύσας.

3. Trans: H.G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 519.

4. Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* pp. 31–32, 36 ff. According to the scholiast (*Lys.* 155–56), it was Ibycus who introduced the nude breast variant: ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἰβύκῳ Εὐριπίδης ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπεῖδες μαστὸν ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος φίλημ' ἐδέξω.

5. The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.44.2. Height: 17.7 cm.; Width: 31.3 cm. Presented by the Crary Foundation in memory of J. Paul Getty.

6. As often in red-figure, e.g., a cup in the manner of the Brygos Painter, Tarquinia RC 5291: Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 54, Pl. 56.2; *ARV*² 405,1 and p. 1651, "might be by the Foundry Painter."

7. Altars are not frequent adjuncts to the scene in Attic red-figure, but cf. Tarquinia RC 5291, *supra* n. 6.

8. The altar in this sense is equivalent to the cult statue at which Helen seeks refuge, popular in red-figure painting and first introduced by the Berlin Painter: Vienna 741: *ARV*² 203,101; Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* pl. 57.1. Also Moret, *L'Ilioupersis,* p. 33.

9. Attribution: Jiří Frel.

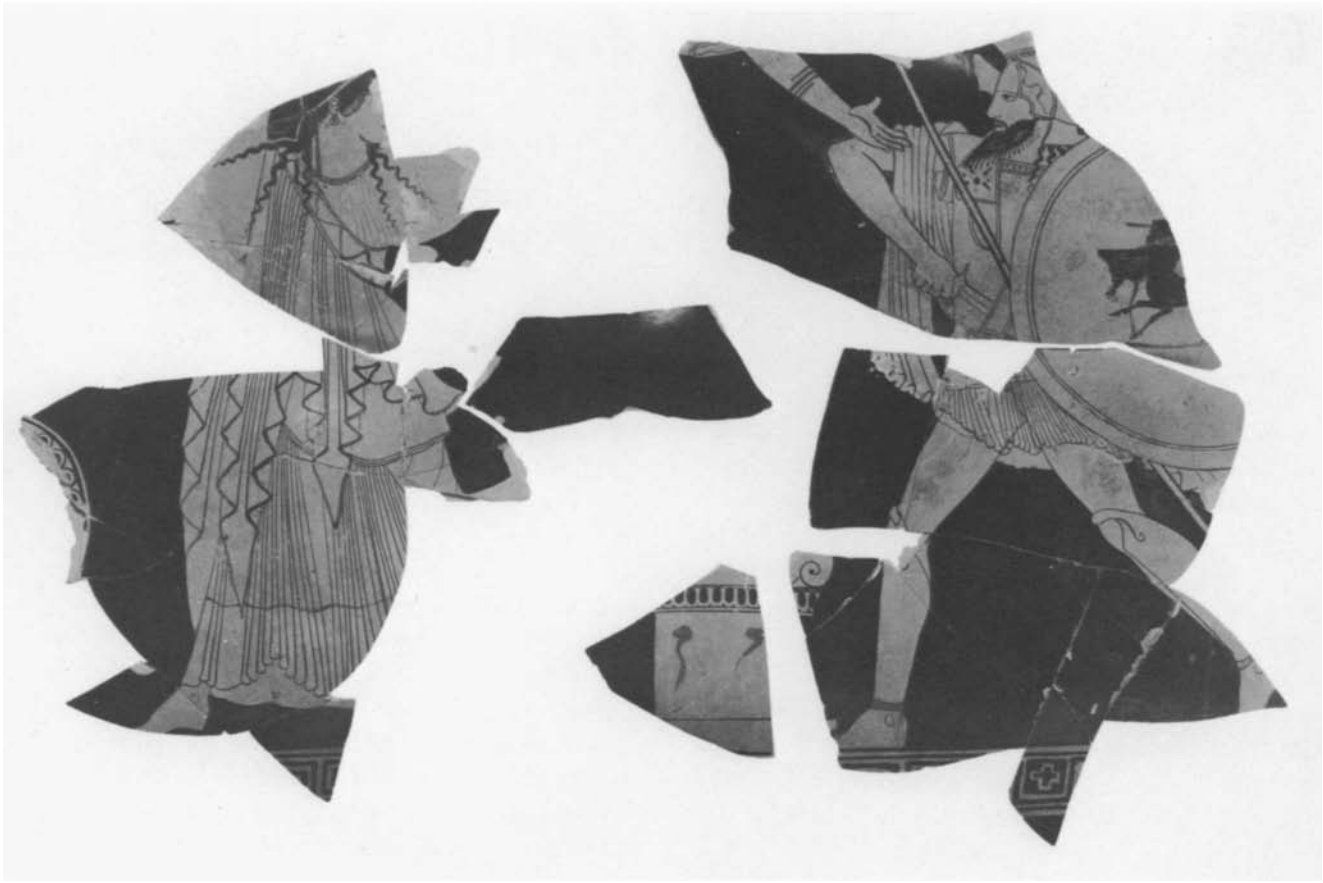


Figure 1. Fragments of a kalpis by the Providence Painter with Helen and Menelaos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.44.2.

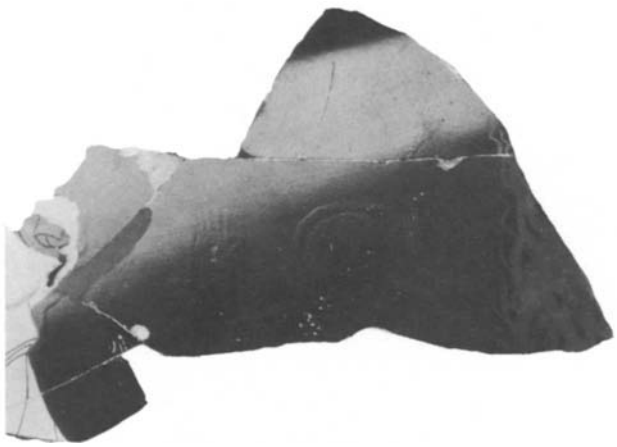


Figure 2. Detail of figure 1 in a raking light, showing pentimenti of the figure of Eros between Menelaos and Helen.

ured scene also show his hand. He was an excellent draughtsman, drawing soft sweeping folds of drapery with masterly control and exhibiting a fine sense for detail, from Helen's delicate earring to the leather thong on the cheek guard on Menelaos' helmet.

His instinct for composition, at least on this vase, was not so self-assured. The heavy relief line the Providence Painter used in outlining his figures permits us to detect pentimenti. At the far left side of Helen approximately half a centimeter of drapery has been obliterated. This is not drastic nor an infrequent phenomenon. Much more interesting is the figure which originally had a place in the center of the composition between Helen and her husband, just to the left of the altar. Although painted out entirely, the figure's outline is visible from the shoulders up (fig. 2) and shows it to have been small—about half the size of Menelaos—and facing toward Menelaos with its right hand up as if to stop the angered husband from achieving his immediate goal. This little fellow was surely Eros, whom red-figure painters added to the composition in the fifth century, making visible Menelaos' impending change of heart as told in the *Little Iliad*. The same effect of revealing the next moment in the story was achieved in a dif-

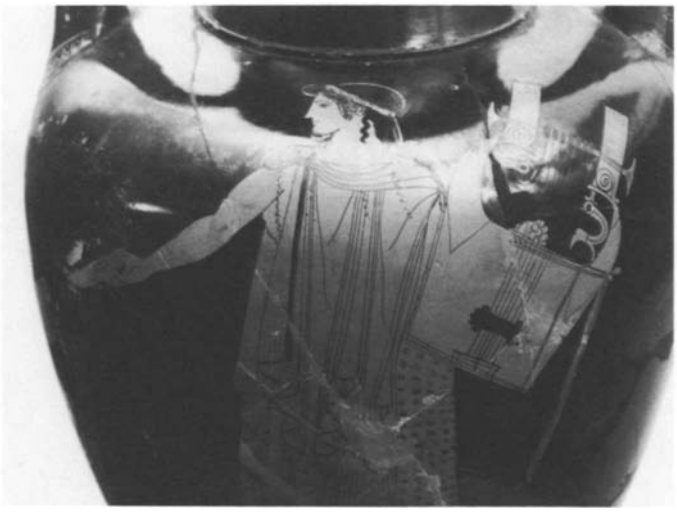


Figure 3. Detail of a neck amphora, the name piece of the Providence Painter. Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, gift of Mrs. Gustav Radeke, 15.005.

ferent manner by the Berlin Painter, a painter with whom the Providence Painter is closely associated: "He must have been a pupil of the Berlin Painter."[10] The Berlin Painter seems to have been the first to introduce two innovations into this scene of Helen and Menelaos: the cult statue at which Helen seeks refuge and the sword which Menelaos has pulled clear of the scabbard *and* let drop (fig. 4).[11] This latter element in particular changes the time and import of the scene: Menelaos is no longer threatening, Helen is safe. The Providence Painter's Eros effectively accomplishes the same. Against this emissary of Aphrodite Menelaos' rage will not prevail.

The Providence Painter's Eros is, to my knowledge, the earliest in this context. Eros is common in later red-figure painting and has previously been recognized intervening between Helen and Menelaos in the second quarter of the fifth century on a column krater by the Painter of Bologna 235.[12] In painting out his Eros and in omitting the other innovations of the Berlin Painter, the Providence Painter is being old-fashioned. His Menelaos is still threatening, like that of the black-figure painters. He has sacrificed the new narrative emphasis for a spare but entirely successful composition. The uncluttered outlines, the simple and forceful gestures of Menelaos and Helen, and the sacrificial altar relate his narrative clearly and easily.

10. *ARV*² 623.

11. Berlin Painter amphora, *supra* n. 8. On the compositional changes, see Moret, *L'Ilioupersis*, pp. 31–34.

12. Bologna 235: *ARV*² 517,6; Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène*, pl. 56.1; Moret, *L'Ilioupersis*, p. 33.

Figure 4a. Neck amphora by the Berlin Painter, front. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 741.

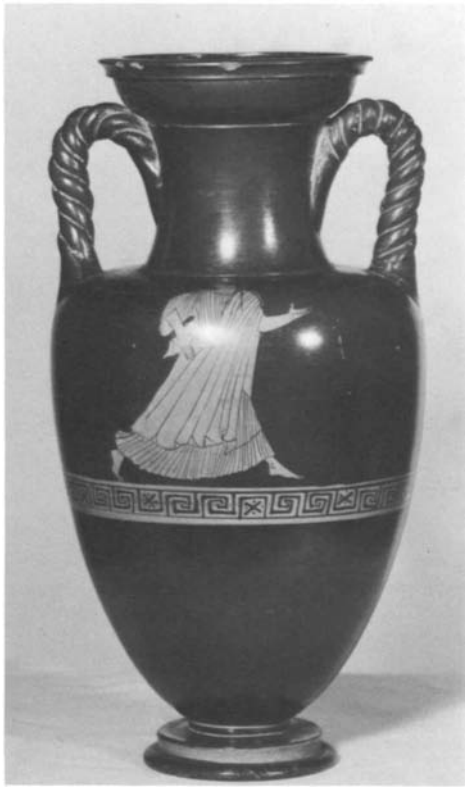


Figure 4b. Reverse of figure 4a.

Figure 5. Lekythos by the Providence Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Catherine Page Perkins Fund, 95.44.

I know of no other representations of this scene by the Providence Painter. A lekythos in Boston (fig. 5), however, preserves another of his depictions of Helen and Menelaos—their wedding.[13] It is the natural antecedent to the kalpis in Malibu. As the Getty representation shows us the resolution of the Trojan war, the Boston lekythos shows us its beginning, the new bridegroom supported in his marriage by the unlucky suitors who swore to stand by him for rich-haired Helen's sake.[14]

A fragmentary marble relief in the Getty collection offers a second and a very different depiction of Menelaos' discovery of Helen (fig. 6).[15] No original edges survive, but the relief block, to judge from the size of the figure, may have been originally 45 to 55 cm. in height. The carving is extremely low; outline and details have been incised with a small drill, especially where planes within the relief overlap. The carved face of the stone was cleaned at some time with acid, leaving the surface lightly pitted and reducing the clarity of the representation. Some details barely visible on the stone are not reproduced in the photograph, e.g., the folds of cloth on the figure's right shoulder similar to those on the left.

Most of the relief is occupied by the figure of a warrior preserved from the hips to the head; his face and right arm are partially missing. He wears a cuirass and a helmet with a long crest to the right (the incised outline of it is continuous over the figure's shoulder) and the cheek-pieces down over his beard. His body is turned slightly to the right, his head sharply to the left. With his left hand he grasps the scabbard and with his right pushes the sword back into it. Behind and to the right of the figure, between his lower left arm and torso, is the upper edge of a large curved object (A in the line drawing, fig. 7). Above and behind this is another figure or object indicated by the edges of two planes ascending to the right at about a 45 degree angle, the nearer incised with two curved lines (B in the line drawing, fig. 7).

The relief was first identified as Amphiaraos departing for the expedition against Thebes.[16] This interpretation might have been suggested by the object to the right, which could possibly be understood as the neck, mane, and bridle of a horse, but which is after all far too small and too low in the relief. It might also have arisen from the warrior's pose, looking in the opposite direction of his movement, as Amphiaraos looks back at his wife. And although a friendly departure of Amphiaraos from Eriphyle is not unattested, the gesture of returning the sword to the scabbard would be iconographically unique and seems too strong a narrative element and thus out of place.[17] It implies not only anger subdued but a plan of murder given up. The figure is almost certainly to be identified as Menelaos.[18] Pushing the sword back into the scabbard is equivalent to, if somewhat more methodical than, the impulsive dropping of the sword common in Attic and South Italian vase painting.[19] The same gesture is perhaps found on a scarcely legible provincial Roman relief in Budapest (fig. 8).[20] To the far left on that relief Eros stands on an

13. Boston 95.44: *ARV*² 640,76; L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford University Press, 1931–36), no. G125, pl. 46.

14. Hesiod frg. 94; Evelyn-White, *Hesiod*, pp. 89 ff.

15. The J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.113. Presented by Dr. Max Gerchik. Height: 17.6 cm.; Width: 19.4 cm.; blue-white marble, 5–6 cm. thick, back roughly picked. Ex-coll. Dr. Bruno Meissner. Ars Antiqua, *Lagerkatalog* 3 (December 1967), no. 4, pl. 1; J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum, a Checklist. Sculpture II: Greek Portraits and Varia* (Malibu, 1979), no. V76, p. 36. I thank Zdravko Barov for his observations on the condition of the stone.

16. Ars Antiqua, *Lagerkatalog, supra* n. 15.

17. A. Yalouri, "A Hero's Departure," *AJA* 75 (1971), 269–75.

18. Frel, *supra* n. 15.

19. *Supra* n. 11.

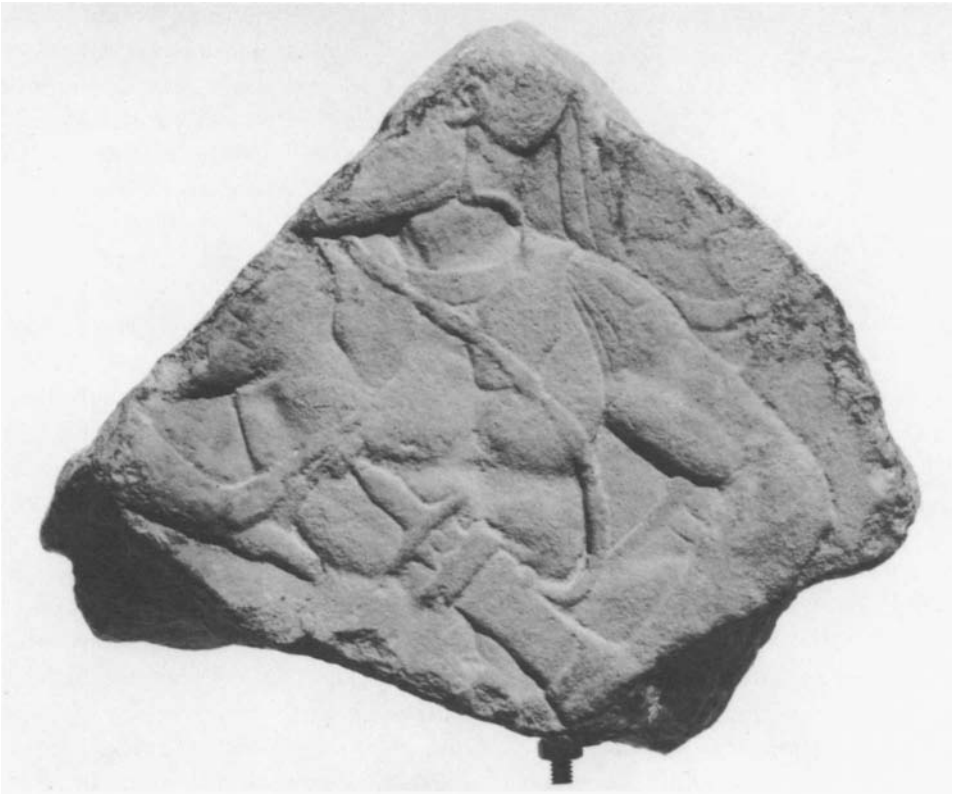


Figure 6. Fragment of a Roman relief with Helen and Menelaos. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.113.

Figure 7. Drawing after the relief in figure 6. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

Figure 8. Roman relief from Acquincum. Budapest, Musée national. Photo: Ghali-Kahil, pl. 88.1.

altar, and in the center a partially nude Helen confronts Menelaos, "qui remet (?) l'épée au fourreau."[21]

Menelaos' gesture is typical, but a reconstruction of the entire scene remains problematic. One would expect Menelaos to be confronting Helen, but does this mean by his glance or the turn of his body? I take it to be the latter. To the right of Menelaos (area B in the line drawing) could be the left arm of Helen, the short parallel curves being the sleeve of her chiton or an arm bracelet, the narrow strip above that being the edge of her himation which has been pulled up over her head and grasped lower down in her hand. As such she could be an archaizing Helen, like Menelaos himself, a figural type reminiscent of Attic black-figure.[22] The round area below (A in the line drawing) may be Menelaos' shield, which appears on the ground and leaning against his thigh in other representations.[23]

Why then is Menelaos looking away to the left? Although it is impossible to be certain, he may be looking at the agent of his changed temperament, Eros or Aphrodite. On a terracotta dish in Alexandria, one finds a similarly distracted Menelaos, turned right but looking left. To the right is Helen, nude and grasping the Palladion, and to the left an Eros has stopped Menelaos' bare sword in mid-swing before it completes the fatal blow.[24] To be sure, our Menelaos is not interacting thus with an Eros, but nor does he involve himself directly with Helen if this reconstruction is correct. He is caught still, balanced as it were between anger and forgiveness. The composition is quiet and academic, the iconography eclectic. This and the archaizing style point to a date for the relief in the first century B.C. The fine workmanship and low relief are like much archaizing work of the late first century and can be compared, for example, to the figures on the base of the Zelada candelabrum in the Vatican Museum.[25]

The relief does not possess the presence and vitality of the Providence Painter's scene. Yet it conveys in Menelaos' gesture the same change of heart which had been the center of the narrative since Lesches' *Little Iliad.* It is this foible of human nature, a *volte-face* when confronted with beauty, that must have fascinated the ancients just as it continues to do.

University of Southern California
Los Angeles

20. Budapest, Musée national; Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 199, pl. 88.1; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* (Berlin 1890–1919), III, 3, no 426, p. 505 (here identified as Jason and Medea).

21. Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* p. 246.

22. For Helen compare, e.g., amphora by the Painter of the Vatican Mourner, Vatican A350: *ABV* 140,1 (top); Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 28, pl. 43.1. The type appears also later seated and sometimes nude: Etruscan kalyx krater, Villa Giulia 1197: Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 164, pl. 73.2-4; and in a Pompeian painting of the persuasion of Helen from the Casa di Amantus: Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 176, pl. 37.1. Archaisms in Menelaos, particularly in the elongated right hand, the long crest and turned-down cheek-pieces of the helmet like the one-piece helmets of Attic black-figure; cf. Baltimore Walters Art Gallery 48.16: *ABV* 140,1 (bottom); Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 29, pl. 43bis.1.

23. Cf. fourth-century bronze cista, British Museum, Walters no. 640: Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 229, pl. 95.2. A late sixth-century amphora, Florence 4148, shows Menelaos' shield merely set on the ground: Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 91, pl. 79.1.

24. Alexandria 9578 (first century A.D.): Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* no. 196, pl. 88.2. Or, similarly, on an Apulian krater where Helen's attendant or Aphrodite intervenes behind Menelaos, attracting his gaze away from Helen; Berlin 1968.11, near the Darius Painter: A.D. Trendall, "Three Apulian Kraters in Berlin," *JBerlMus* 12 (1970), 153–190, figs. 6, 8. Here Helen is shown with a bared breast, and Trendall notes (p. 167), "Menelaus has already caught a glimpse of it for the sword lies fallen from his hand. . . . Although he has now turned his head away to look in the opposite direction fearing lest he be still further unmanned."

25. G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1936), III, 2, no. 54, pl. 142, pp. 319–321 (with further comparanda). The quiet composition compares with the affected calm of neoattic reliefs of the persuasion of Helen; see Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène,* nos. 170–175.

Two Etruscan Painted Terracotta Panels

Mario A. Del Chiaro

Two large painted terracotta panels[1] consisting of a highly fragmentary example with figured scene (no. 1, figs. 1 and 1a), the other complete but plain save for a decorative geometric border (No. 2, figs. 2 and 2a), serve well to expand the overall character and content of the J. Paul Getty Museum's growing collection of Etruscan antiquities.[2]

1. Terracotta Panel (figs. 1 and 1a)
   Acc. no. 78.AG.355
   Presented by Dr. and Mrs. Paul Flanagan
   Incomplete; two joining fragments.
   Maximum preserved height, 34.0 cm.
   Width, 51.5 cm.
   Thickness, excluding overhang, 3 cm.;
   6 cm. at turned edges.
   Painted border: heraldic sphinxes with central disc and framed by larger and partial petalled discs.
   Second half of the sixth century B.C.
   (ca. 530/520 B.C.)
2. Terracotta Panel (figs. 2 and 2a)
   Acc. no. 78.AG.300
   Presented by Bruce McNall
   Complete, unbroken.
   Height, 78.8 cm.
   Width, 50.3 cm.
   Thickness, 3 cm.; 6 cm. at turned edges.
   Painted border: geometric (entwined maeander) pattern
   Second half of the fourth century B.C.

As would be expected for terracotta productions of such large-scale objects, the clay is very coarse, with much grog and black bits, and fired to that light reddish-brown tone which intuition and experience have taught me is characteristic of clay fired at ancient Caere (present-day Cerveteri), an important and prosperous Etruscan coastal center about 35 km. northwest of Rome. In cross-section (see figs. 1a and 2a), both panels present a broad flat upper (i.e., exterior) surface upon which the decoration is painted, and turned edges at the vertical sides which project 6 cm. from the frontal plane of the panel. Panel No. 1 retains, at its back, portions of a vertical brace located midway between the turned ends. In essence (discounting the overhang on no. 1), the form and dimensions of these panels are not unlike the "pan-tiles" used for exterior roofing—with turned edges placed upwards—in major Etruscan structures and later Roman construction. The turned edges of adjoining pan-tiles would have then been capped by curved or angular cover-tiles to prevent rain penetration. I do not believe, however, that painted panels such as the two Getty examples were utilized in this manner; they must have been in part cemented, despite the presence of holes for nailing,[3] against an interior vertical wall so that the turned edges served to create a kind of insulation; i.e., a vacuum or space of ca. 3 cm. between the wall surface and the broad back plane of the painted panel. In this way, the natural dampness of an interior tomb wall surface would not affect the painting. Hence, the painted panels

1. Because of scale and thickness, I prefer to use the identification "panel," or even "slab," in place of "plaque" in order to avoid possible confusion with the popular, relatively small, Etruscan terracotta architectural reliefs (originally painted) that were nailed to wooden parts of religious or secular buildings to create decorative friezes: see G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milano, 1935), pls. 98–100; *Studi Etruschi* 9 (1935), pls. 24–26; *Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 31 (1971), pls. 1–27; *Studi Etruschi* 39 (1971), pls. 13–17, 18, and 20; *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Rom* 81 (1974), pls. 9 and 11; and M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *Die Etrusker, Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1977), pl. 66.

2. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel, curator of Classical Antiquities, for the opportunity to study and publish these fine Etruscan objects in this issue of the museum journal.

3. Holes in panels for the purpose of hanging against walls are known: for the two Boston painted terracotta panels with four holes to each panel, see *Bulletin, Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 61 (1963), figs. 3 and 4 on pp. 154–155 and F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri* (Florence, 1965), pl. 30. For other Caeretan painted panels, see *Archeologia Classica* 9 (1957), pls. 3 and 4; and *Archeologia Classica* 18 (1966), pl. 3 and F. Roncalli, *op. cit.*, pls. 25–26.

On the sphinx panel, No. 1, there may very well have been a hole originally made at a point presently corresponding to the fragementary lower edge directly below the painted central disc. If such is the case, the hole must have run clear through the central vertical back brace (i.e., 6 cm. deep). For panel No. 2 a very small hole is visible along a central vertical line near the base about one-fifth of the panel's total length. Although the hole is flush at the surface, at the corresponding back portion of the panel it is a raised boss (see cross-section, fig. 2a).

4. M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Ghiaccio Forte* (Santa Barbara, 1976), p. 39. The *tegola mammata* is basically a terracotta wall-tile with a distinctive perforated boss on the backside to allow attachment to the wall—the boss serving to maintain a space between wall surface and the back of the tile.

Figure 1. Etruscan terracotta panel. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AG.355.

would have functioned very much like the so-called *tegole mammate* used by both Etruscan and early Roman builders.[4]

The sphinxes painted on the first of the two Getty panels (fig. 1) crouch or sit on their hindquarters facing each other and, with their far legs upraised, seem to support a central shield-like disc that is rendered with a creamy-white center and an encircling red-brown band, barely preserved. The heraldic sphinxes are painted in the entire range of colors employed for the panel throughout: a creamy-white—white must be a slip employed for the entire upper surface of the panel to be decorated—red-brown, and black. Some of the contours of the bodies of the sphinxes are defined by outlines which allow the creamy-white background color to show through—a technique well known for certain East Greek vase-painting fabrics (cf. Rhodian, Chiote, Clazomenian, etc.). Consequently, the flesh color for the faces and paws of the sphinxes can be considered "reserved"—to use a term more appropriate to the technique of vase-painting. The characteristically archaic, sickle-shaped wings of the sphinxes show the feathers painted in alternating series of threes—black, red-brown, and the reserved creamy-white.

To either side (i.e., behind) of each sphinx, there is painted a large partial disc with its central area slightly smaller yet located on the same level as the disc supported by the sphinxes. An even broader encircling band is internally decorated with "petals"—alternating red and black—which contribute to a rosette-like motif. Because these end motifs are slightly larger than a half circle, the subsequent joining of a series of such panels—as would certainly be the case—would result in rather crude circles but, on the other hand, convincing elliptical motifs. The entire figured frieze is framed above by a narrow red-brown line

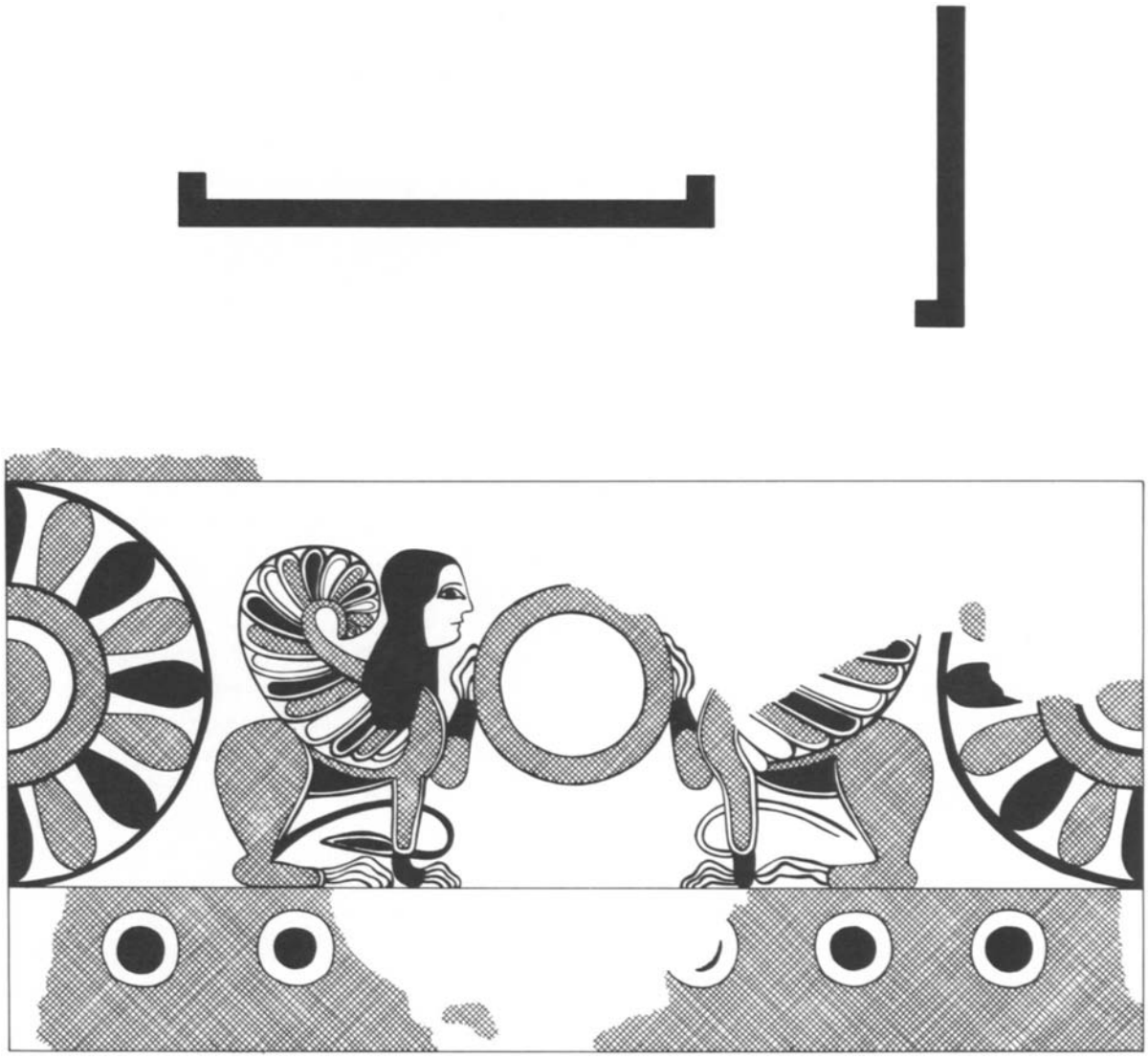


Figure 1a. Drawing of profile and painted decoration of 78.AG.355. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

painted directly under the overhang and below by a broad band which is colored a richer red than found elsewhere and enhanced by a series of seven small circles—two worn away, a third barely discernible—rendered with a black interior bordered by a creamy-white band (reserved). Below this broad horizontal band, at the lower right portion of the fragmentary panel, vestiges of a narrow line painted in white, and markedly contrasting with the creamy-white slip, are yet clearly visible near and parallel to the right edge of the panel. This line may have originally set off an interior color panel that may have extended across and downwards on the now missing portion of the terracotta panel.

An excellent stylistic and typological panel for the sphinxes on the Getty panel is offered by a sphinx on one of the celebrated "Boccanera" painted terracotta panels in the British Museum with its recorded provenience, "Caere, Necropoli della Banditaccia".[5] Comparison of the sphinxes will leave little doubt that the Getty and the Boccanera panels were decorated by one and the same Etruscan painter.[6] Likewise, the equally celebrated "Campana" panels in the Louvre, from the Monte Abetone necropolis, Caere, disclose stylistic similarities which suggest the same artistic climate—e.g., the essentially congruent profile heads exhibited by the women depicted on three of the Campana panels.[7] Roncalli dates the Boccanera panels to 560–550 B.C. and the Campana panels to 530–520 B.C.—a difference in chronology which presents some problems in dating the Getty painted terracotta panel with sphinxes, since I see stylistic elements of both the Boccanera and Campana panels in the Getty specimen. Despite this discrepancy, I prefer to assign the Getty panel to the years ca. 530–520 B.C.

Although not as eye-catching as the panel figured with sphinxes, the second Getty painted panel (figs. 2 and 2a) presents a far more polychromatic aspect because of the conspicuous use of a pasty and opaque red, blue-green, black, and bright white color applied over the usual creamy-white slip. The decorative border located within the top third of the panel is basically a simple entwined maeander pattern with enclosed boxes, but it achieves a more complex visual and almost illusionistic character owing to the choice and distribution of the colors: bright white for the chief lines of the maeander and its boxes and the broader defining band below and, in addition, the irregular and inconsistent patterns of black, red-brown, blue-green, and reserved creamy-white throughout (see fig. 2a). On the evidence of the painted decoration which continues onto the upturned edge—a feature present only at the panel's right side—this Getty panel must have actually served as an *end* panel. On the remaining two-thirds of the panel's exposed surface scattered traces of the creamy-white slip are yet in evidence and bear no signs of additional painted decoration. All in all, I have the impression that the Etruscan artist responsible for the decoration of this Getty panel was attempting, quite unsuccessfully, to create an illusionistic geometric motif of a type found in later Roman mosaics (and fresco paintings) but, more immediately, in decorative patterns painted in Etruscan tombs dating to the fourth century B.C.—specifically, the François Tomb of Vulci.[8] In this case, I believe the Getty panel with maeander pattern may be appropriately dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

Although the Getty painted terracotta panels may have come, as I believe, from the same Etruscan site (Caere), they obviously do not belong together for reasons stylistic and chronological. Whereas Getty panel No. 2 could have been set against an interior wall near or against the ceiling to afford a continuous maeander pattern above eye level—as in the François Tomb—Getty panel no. 1 may have been placed on the lower portion of the wall so that the overhang created a dado. Although it may be argued that the overhang would also prove suitable to the meeting of vertical wall and ceiling, the presence of the creamy-white slip along the top of the overhang seems to support the assumption of a dado which would have been located at or near eye level.

Granted that the exact placement of the two panels pres-

5. F. Roncalli, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–33, Nos. 16–26, pls. 12–15. This publication is by far the most definitive on painted terracotta panels from Caere and carries exhaustive bibliography and footnote references to Etruscan painted terracotta panels and associated material. See also M. Moretti, "Lastre dipinte inedite da Caere," *Archeologia Classica* 9 (1957), pp. 18–25; C. Vermeule, "Greek and Etruscan Painting," *Bulletin, Boston Museum of Fine Arts* 61 (1963), pp. 149–165; L. Ricci Portoghesi, "Una nuova lastra dipinta Cerite," *Archeologia Classica* 18 (1966), pp. 18–22; and F. Roncalli, "A proposito delle lastre dipinti di Boston," *Archeologia Classica* 21 (1969), pp. 172–189.

6. F. Roncalli, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, 1.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–24, nos. 1–9, pls. 1, 2, and 4 in particular, but for which Roncalli suspects repainting of outlines by Marchese Campana's restorer. See also G. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. 108; and M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, *op. cit.*, pl. 75.

8. M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (Geneva, 1952), pp. 115, 122–124; and M. Cristofani, "Ricerche sulle pitture della tomba François di Vulci. I fregi decorativi," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 1 (1967), pp. 186–219: see pls. 23–26 in particular. See also G. Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pls. 264 and 266.

9. I cannot see that either of the Getty panels would have been used as "eaves-tiles" or to decorate other parts of an Etruscan temple—save for an interior wall. However, see G. Matteucig, "A Painted Terracotta Plaque from Caere," *Homages à A. Grenier* 3 (Brussels, 1962), pp. 1154 ff. in particular. As painted panels to be place againt the interior walls of a tomb—i.e., funerary context—see C. Vermeule, *op. cit.*, p. 156 and F. Roncalli in *Archeologia Classica* 21 (1969), p. 180 and *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri*, pp. 49ff., wherein temple panels are also discussed, pp. 51 ff.

Figure 2. Etruscan terracotta panel. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AG.300.

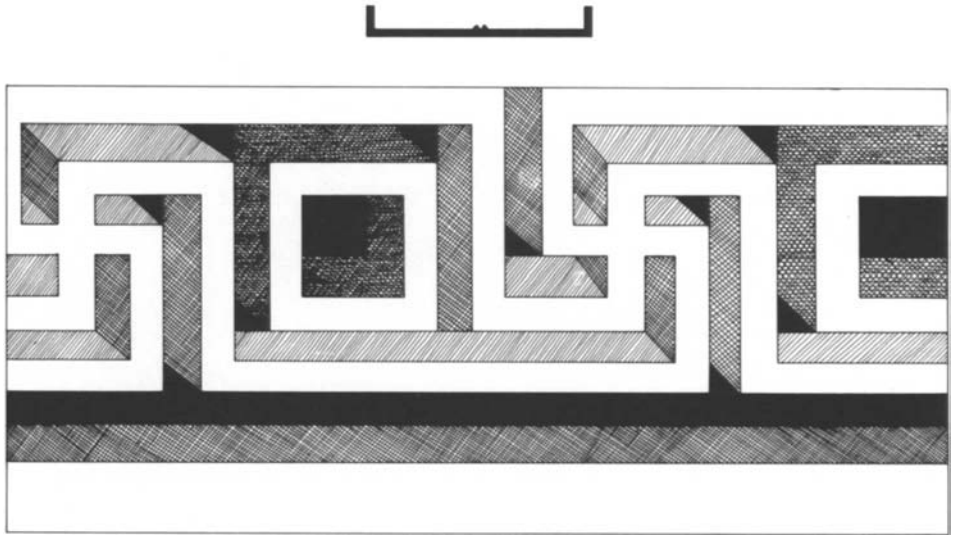


Figure 2a. Drawing of profile and painted decoration of 78.AG.300. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

ently escapes us—and I believe their chief function was funerary[9]—there can be no question that they are attributable to two different periods of Etruscan art—i.e., respectively to the archaic and hellenistic periods—and thereby illustrate the chronological and stylistic scope of Etruscan objects within a single artistic discipline on view to the scholar, student, and lay visitor at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

University of California
Santa Barbara

Griechische Originale und Kopien unter römischem Tafelsilber

Michael Pfrommer

Von der Leidenschaft reicher Römer für griechisches Silber klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit berichten zahlreiche antike Quellen.[1] Wie uns ein spätklassisches, silbernes Sieb im J. Paul Getty Museum verdeutlicht (Abb. 1),[2] war offenbar vor allem das Alter und nicht nur die Qualität des Gegenstandes ausschlaggebend. Das Sieb kam ins Museum zusammen mit einem Silberbecher wohl augusteischer Zeit[3] und einer gleichfalls silbernen tiefen Kylix mit ausschwingendem Rand und großen siebenkantigen Schlaufenhenkeln (Abb. 2).[4]

Ob Kylix und Sieb bereits in spätklassischer Zeit zusammengehörten, läßt sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit entscheiden, jedoch fanden sich Kylikes dieses Typs mehrfach mit vergleichbaren Sieben, so daß wir von einem Ensemble sprechen dürfen.[5]

Die Kylix besitzt zahlreiche silberne Parallelen im makedonisch-kleinasiatischen wie auch südrussischen Raum, wobei deutlich zwei Entwicklungsstufen zu scheiden sind. Die im 4. Jahrhundert breit und ausladend gebildeten Gefäße gewinnen gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts zunehmend an Höhe, um schließlich zu den hohen, schlanken Kylikes des 3. Jahrhunderts überzuleiten.[6] Im späten 5. und frühen 4. Jahrhundert finden sich noch relativ gedrungene Beispiele mit nur wenig ausschwingendem Rand. Auch sind die Henkel noch nicht oder nur wenig zur Lippe hin umgebogen.[7] Im Laufe des 4. Jahrhunderts erhalten die Metallkylikes profilierte, vom Körper abgesetzte Füße und scharf zur Lippe hin umbiegende Henkel. Mit einer Münze Alexanders des Großen fand sich eine Silberkylix in dem Selenskij-Kurgan auf Taman.[8] Das Gefäß dürfte ungeachtet der Münze wegen des einfachen Fußes noch vor der Jahrhundertmitte gearbeitet worden sein.[9] Bereits in das dritte Viertel datiert dagegen wohl schon eine Silberkylix aus dem im späteren 4. Jahrhundert angelegten Kurgan von Karagodeuašch.[10] Anzuschließen sind zwei weitere der Getty Museum-Kylix sehr verwandte Exemplare aus Südrußland,[11] die in der Fußprofilierung wie auch im Innenprofil des Kelches beinahe identische Detailformen besitzen. Überaus ähnlich ist weiterhin die 'Aderung' der Lorbeerblatt-förmigen Henkelattaschen.[12] Ohne Parallele steht vorerst nur der gravierte Dekor im Inneren der Malibu-Kylix da. Man wird das Atelier dieser

Für die in liberalster Weise gewährte Publikationserlaubnis ist der Verfasser dem J.P. Getty Museum und insbesondere J. Frel zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Für Fotos und Informationen dankt der Verfasser weiterhin F. Baratte, Musée du Louvre, K. Rhomiopoulou, Museum Thessaloniki und J.R. Mertens, Metrop. Museum of Art.

Abkürzungen

Küthmann: H. Küthmann, *Beiträge zur späthellenistischen und frührömischen Toreutik* (1959).

Oliver: A. Oliver jr., *Silver for the Gods, 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver*, Exhib. Toledo Mus. of Art (1977).

Strong: D.E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966).

1. E. Künzl, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 8, 1978, 311ff und die in Anm. 2–4 zit. Lit.—H. Gabelmann, *Helvetia Archaeologica* 13, 1982–49, 9ff.

2. Inv. 72.AI.35. L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, Getty *MJ* 5, 1977, 79.

3. Inv. 72.AI.33. ebenda 79ff.

4. Inv. 72.AI.34. ebenda 79.—Oliver 49 zu Nr. 17. Der antike Name ist unbekannt. In der Lit. wird 'cup', 'Kylix', 'Kantharos', und 'cup-kantharos' verwendet.

5. Mit Sieb: u. Anm. 8. 10. 14. 16.

6. Im 4. Jh. v. Chr. Verhältnis von Kelchdurchmesser zu Höhe ca. 1,8–2,0. Gegen 300 v. Chr. 1,6–1,7. Im 3. Jh. ca. 1,3.

7. Silber, Vouni/Zypern. A.M. Woodward, *JHS* 49, 1929, 238 Abb. 6. u.—E. Gjerstad et al., *Swedish Cyprus Exp.* III (1937), 238. 274 Nr. 292 d. Taf. 90,5. 102 d (vor der Zerstörung 390/80 v. Chr.). Ton: B.A. Sparkes—L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery, The Athenian Agora* XII (1970) 279 Nr. 608 Abb. 6 Taf. 26.

8. Leningrad, Eremitage. B. Pharmakowsky, *AA* 1913, 181 Abb. 13.—L. Skorpil, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoj Komissii* 60, 1916, 30 Abb. 19.—V. F. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (1971) 151 Abb. 35.— Pfrommer, *Jdl* 97, 1982, 164 Anm. 214.

9. Noch älter ist, wie B.A. Sparkes nachwies, ein Balsamarium der Talcott-Klasse, Pharmakowsky a.O. 180f. Abb. 16.—Skorpil a.O. 30 Abb. 18.—Gajdukevič a.O. 151 Abb. 34 oben re.—B.A. Sparkes, *Antike Kunst* 20/1, 1977, 22f. D 1 Taf. 9, 6 (gegen 400 v. Chr.).

10. Leningrad, Eremitage. A. Lappo-Danilevskij—V. Malmberg, "Drevnosti Kurgana Karagodeuašch," *Materialy po archeologii Rossii* 13 (1894) 43 Abb. 8.—Strong 96 Anm. 6 (wegen der unvollständigen Abb. von Strong als Vorstufe der megarischen Becher angesprochen).—G.I. Smirnova, *Archeologičeskij sbornik* (Leningrad) 6, 1964, 11 Abb. 1 (re. 2. Reihe von unten). 17 re. Mitte.

11. Leningrad, Eremitage. Pfrommer, *Jdl* 97, 1982, 164 Anm. 218.

12. Sehr ähnliche Attaschen besitzt eine Bronzekylix im British Museum aus Galaxidi bei Delphi, Inv. 82.10-9.23.

Abb. 1. Sieb. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AI.35.

Abb. 2. Kylix. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AI.34.

Abb. 3. Kylix. Paris, Louvre Bj 2217.

Abb. 4. Kylix aus Prusias. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972. 118.164, bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971.

Abb. 5. Kylix aus Potidaea. Thessaloniki 5144.

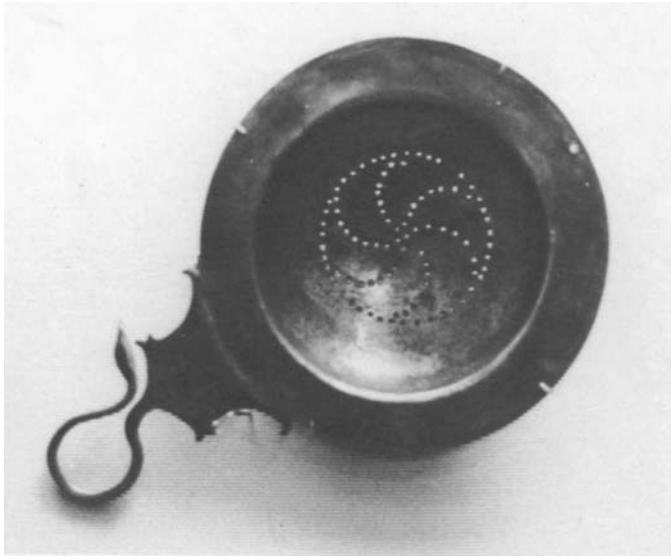


Abb. 6. Sieb. Leningrad, Eremitage. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

drei offensichtlich werkstattgleichen Stücke im Bosporanischen Reich oder in den Griechenstädten an der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres zu lokalisieren haben.

Deutlich höher gebildet und somit bereits gegen 300 v. Chr. zu datieren ist schließlich eine in formalen Details verwandte, jedoch meisterhaft gearbeitete Silberkylix im Louvre (Abb. 3).[13] Auch dieses Gefäß entstand trotz seiner italischen Ranke im Schaleninneren im makedonischen Bereich oder im Raum des Schwarzen Meeres. Unter Umständen wird man sie ebenfalls der Werkstatt der Malibu-Kylix zuweisen.

Ebenfalls in die Übergangsphase gegen 300 v. Chr. gehört eine etwas provinziellere Silberkylix aus Prusias in Bithynien (Abb. 4),[14] sowie ein Exemplar aus Vani in Georgien.[15] Auch in Makedonien lassen sich derartige Kylikes belegen. Zu nennen wäre ein Beispiel aus Potidaea auf der Chalkidike (Abb. 5)[16] sowie eine Silberkylix aus einem Grab bei Arzos im Hebrosgebiet in Thrakien.[17] Von der Proportionierung her folgen beide noch dem Typus des 4. Jahrhunderts. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings die von den südrussischen Kylikes abweichende Bildung des Gefäßfußes. Die tiefe Kylix läßt sich schließlich—wenn auch relativ selten—in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts unter griechischer Schwarzfirniskeramik nachweisen.[18]

Ungleich verbreiteter sind hingegen die eleganten, schwarzgefirnißten Kylikes der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts. Wir finden Beispiele in Athen[19] auf Rhodos[20] und vor allem in Olbia an der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste.[21] Alle diese Tongefäße stehen auf relativ hohen Füßen, eine Entwicklung, die sich bereits bei den Prusias- und Vani-Kylikes andeutete. Silbergefäße sind dagegen wesentlich seltener erhalten als im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Anzuführen wäre eine Kylix mit niedrigem Fuß aus Kerč,[22] sowie ein Beispiel auf hohem Stiel, das wohl am Ende unserer Entwicklungsreihe steht.[23]

Das silberne Sieb mit Schwanenhenkel im Getty Museum (Abb. 1)[24] ist ein qualitativ bescheidenes Stück. Es gehört zu einer Gruppe von Sieben, die in der Regel mit zwei Henkeln gefertigt wurde.[25] Die einhenkelige Version ist bis heute ausschließlich in Südrußland zu belegen. Ein dem Malibu-Exemplar außerordentlich ähnliches silbernes Sieb gehört zu den Beständen der Eremitage in Leningrad

13. Paris, Louvre Bj 2217. J. Charbonneaux, *La Revue des Arts* 10, 1960, 133ff.—Strong 95.—L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 48, 1973, 121f. Abb. 3.—Oliver 49 Nr 17 Abb. S. 48.—Pfrommer a.O. 163ff. Abb. 13.

14. New York, MMA 1972.118.164. H. Luschey in: K. A. Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (1938) 47 Nr. 211.—G. Hanfmann, *Ancient Art in American Private Coll.* (1954) 37 Nr. 307 b. Taf. 88.—D. v. Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Coll.* (1961) 69 Nr. 269 Taf. 100.—Strong 93 Taf. 22B.—Oliver 49 zu Nr. 17.—*The Search for Alexander*, Exhib. New York, Cat. Suppl. (1982) 8 Abb. S. 25. In diese Zeit gehört auch eine unpubl. Silberkylix aus Kastamonou/Kleinasien, Istanbul 1416. Oliver 49 zu Nr. 17.

15. O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Vani, Archaeological Excavations* III (1977) 209 Taf. 105–108 (georgisch).

16. Thessaloniki Mus. 5144. M. Siganidou, *Deltion* 21, 1966, 343f. Taf. 361.—J.P. Michaud, *BCH* 94, 1970, 1066 Abb. 392.—Oliver 49 zu Nr. 17.—Pfrommer a.O. 164 Anm. 216. Wenn Potidaea tatsächlich mit dem 312 v. Chr. gegründeten Cassandreia identisch ist, kann die Kylix frühestens im späten 4. Jh. unter die Erde gekommen sein.

17. Komotini Mus. 1889. *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, Ausst. Thessaloniki (1979) 107 Nr. 462 Taf. 61.—*The Search for Alexander*, Exhib. (1980) 156 Nr. 108 Abb.

18. C.W. Blegen—H. Palmer—R.S. Young, *The North Cemetery, Corinth* XIII (1964) 307 Taf. 73 Deposit 30 a (mittleres 4. Jh.); 281 Taf. 75,2 Grab 450 (nach Proportionierung bereits gegen 300 v. Chr.).

19. G. Kopcke, *AM* 79, 1964, 82 Beil. 46, 7–9.—K. Braun, *AM* 85, 1970, 143 Taf. 58, 1 Nr. 103 (um 280 v. Chr.).

20. A. Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos* II (1932) 125 Abb. 7. (Das Grab wurde mehrfach belegt !).

21. Als Beispiele für viele seien zit.: M. Parovič—Pežikan, *Nekropol'Ol'vii* (1974) 74 Abb. 72, 1. Gefunden mit einer Silberkylix des 4. Jahrhunderts, B. Pharmakowsky, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoj Komissii* 8, 1903, 90 Nr. 88 Taf. 4, 2.—Parovič a.O. 204. 216.—Pfrommer a.O. 164 Anm. 214. Weiterhin Tonkylix: Parovič a.O. 74 Abb. 71, 3; 72, 3.

22. Leningrad, Eremitage. S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1892) S. LXIII 90 Taf. 38, 1—Strong 95 Taf. 30 B.

23. Columbia, Univ. of Missouri 182. *ILN* 8, 1968, 33 Nr. 7 Abb.—Muse 12, 1978, 70 Abb.

24. o.Anm. 2.

25. Vgl. Oliver 45 Nr. 14 Abb. und die zit. Parallelen.—J.R. Mertens, *MetropMusJ.* 11, 1976, 71 Abb. 4. 5 (mit Parallelen).

26. Reinach a.O. 82 Taf. 31, 5.—D. Kent Hill, *Journal of the Walters Art Gall.* 5, 1942, 52 Anm. 38. Ein weiteres unter Umständen ähnlich zu ergänzendes Miniatursieb fand sich in der 'Großen Blisnitza'/Taman, L. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu St. Pétersbourg* 1869, 8 Nr. 26 Abb.

27. Leningrad, Eremitage, Lappo-Danilevskij A.O. (o. Anm. 10) 151 Taf. 6, 3—Strong 93 Anm. 1.

28. Sieb mit Kylixhenkeln, Reinach a.O. 82 Taf. 31, 4.—Strong 93

(Abb. 6).[26] Übereinstimmend ist die Sieblochung in Form einer sechsblättrigen Wirbelrosette. Selbst die Zahl der Löcher differiert nur geringfügig. Bei beiden Sieben fehlt jede feinere Ziselierung. Eine Zuweisung an dieselbe Werkstatt kann als sicher angenommen werden.

Ein drittes wesentlich qualitätvolleres Beispiel fand sich in dem erwähnten Kurgan von Karagodeuašch.[27] Dieses Sieb sichert nicht nur die Datierung in die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts, es macht auch—ohne selbst ein Meisterwerk zu sein—die einfache Arbeit des Malibu-Siebes deutlich. Die Siebrosette ist wesentlich reicher gestaltet. Die Spitzen der Henkelattasche sind präzise überarbeitet und ziselierte Kreise schmücken den Rand der Siebschale.

Einhenkelige Siebe, allerdings nicht identischer Form, fanden sich auch sonst im südrussischen Raum[28] sowie in Kleinasien.[29] Man wird trotz der Fundverteilung das einhenkelige Sieb nicht allein als südrussische sondern auch als nordkleinasiatische Form ansprechen dürfen.[30] Wie die beiden Gefäße in römischen Besitz gelangten, läßt sich nur mutmaßen. Unter Umständen gehörten sie mit zu der Beute der Mithridateskriege in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.

Als 'Antiken' stehen die beiden Gefäße unter römischem Tafelsilber nicht allein. Aus Boscoreale stammt eine flache Silberkylix des mittleren 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.[31] Nach dem eingravierten italisch-lesbischen Kymation im Schaleninneren[32] kommt das Stück aus einer großgriechischen Werkstatt, eine Lokalisierung, die durch vergleichbare Gefäße aus Paterno auf Sizilien[33] und aus Montefortino im Raum Ancona[34] gestützt wird. Zusammen mit archaischen und klassischen Bronzegefäßen aus den Vesuvstädten wird man diese Kylix unter Umständen als Teil jener Beute betrachten dürfen, die die Römer aus Großgriechenland und namentlich aus Tarent heimführten.[35]

Angesichts der offenkundigen Wertschätzung klassischen und hellenistischen Metallgerätes kann es nicht verwundern, daß antike Autoren von regelrechten 'Gefäßkopien' berichten. So gab etwa der Bildhauer Zenodorus einer Kolossalstatue des Nero eine Kopie einer Kalamis-Phiale in die Hand.[36] Es liegt somit nahe, auch unter den erhaltenen Metallgefäßen Kopien und Nachschöpfungen älterer Vorbilder zu vermuten. Entgegen der unlängst vertretenen Ansicht, es seien keine Kopien erhalten,[37] lassen sich doch eine ganze Reihe derartiger Beispiele anführen. Ob man diese Gefäße allerdings mit dem Terminus 'Kopie' belegen sollte, sei vorerst dahingestellt.

In diesem Zusammenhang lohnt sich ein Blick auf einen Silberschatz des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus dem Libanon im J. Paul Getty Museum,[38] der neben Schmuck, einem großen Silberlöffel und einer henkellosen Silberflasche[39] auch eine Oinochoe sowie Trinkgefäße enthielt, von denen sich zumindest zwei Kylikes mit Skyphoshenkeln als deutliche Rückgriffe auf eine ältere Gefäßform zu erkennen geben (Abb. 7).[40] Dieser in spätesthellenistischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Schatzfunden so beliebte Kylixtypus[41] läßt sich bereits unter hellenistischer Keramik des 3. und zweiten Jahrhunderts (Abb. 8.9)[42] wie auch unter hochhellenistischen Metallgefäßen nachweisen[43]—allerdings mit einigen bezeichnenden Abweichungen in Detailformen. Unterschiedlich sind—wenn wir den Dekor einmal beiseite lassen—vor allem die Henkel sowie die Stiele und Füße. Im Gegensatz zu den frühen Beispielen sind die

Anm. 3. Weiterhin das o. Anm. 26 zit. Sieb.

29. Aus Prusias, New York, MMA 1972.118.161. Luschey a.O. (o. Anm. 14) 47 Nr. 212 Taf. 90.—v. Bothmer a.O. (o. Anm. 14) 68 Nr. 267 Taf. 100.—*Search* (o. Anm. 14) 9 S. 24.

30. Eine Ausnahme macht nur ein Sieb in Minneapolis, Inst. of Arts 72. 103 aus Akarnanien, M. Crosby, *AJA* 47, 1943, 209ff. Abb. 4. 5.—Oliver 47 Nr. 16 Abb. 16.

31. London, Brit. Mus, H.B. Walters, *Cat. of Silverplate* (1921) 5 Nr. 15 Taf. 3.—Strong 94 Anm. 7.—*Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, Ausst. Villa Hügel, Essen (1973) 112 Nr. 134 Abb.—Oliver 65 zu Nr. 31. 32 Abb. 32 c.

32. Zum italischen Kymation Pfrommer, *Jdl* 97, 1982, 141 Abb. 6.

33. Berlin West, R. Zahn in: Stephanos, *Festschrift Th. Wiegand* (1924) 14 Abb. S. 15 Taf. 10.—Strong 94 Taf. 24 B.—Oliver 65 zu Nr. 31.32 Abb. 32 a.

34. New York, MMA 08.258.52–53. Oliver 65 Nr. 31. 32 Abb. S. 64. 65 (mit Lit.).

35. Das Problem kann hier nicht vertieft werden. Als Beispiele seien zitiert: E. Pernice, "Gefäße und Geräte aus Bronze," *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji* IV (1925) 9 Abb. 9; S. 12 Abb. 17; S. 35 Abb. 46. Zu letztgenanntem Gerät vgl. B. Filow, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenischte am Ochrida-See* (1927) 78 Nr. 112 Abb. 94.

36. Plinius n.h. 34, 47.

37. Künzl a.O. (o. Anm. 1) 315. Als Mögliche Kopien wurden vor allem Gefäße aus dem Schatz von Berthouville vorgeschlagen: Kanne, Strong 142 Taf. 35 A (mit Lit). Kentauren und Maskenbecher, Küthmann 44. 79. Lykophronbecher, T. B.L. Webster, *Hellenismus* (1966) 33 Abb. 4. Coppa Corsini, Künzl a.O. 315f.

38. A. Oliver jr., Getty *MJ* 8, 1980, 155ff.—K. Parlasca, *Allgemeine und vergleichende Archäologie*—Beiträge 2, 1980, 300 Abb. 6.

39. Inv. 75.AI.59. Oliver 85 zu Nr. 48.—Ders., Getty *MJ* 8, 1980, 164f. Abb. 19. Den von Oliver gezogenen Vergleichen ist nicht in jedem Falle zuzustimmen. Das zit. Gefäß aus Emesa ist eine kleine Amphora. Der Vergleich gehenkelter und henkelloser Gefäße ist nicht so ohne weiteres zulässig. Das Kayseri-Gefäß besitzt einen ungleich schlankeren, höheren Hals und erinnert eher an römisches Glas, vgl. *Antike Gläser*, Ausst. Berlin, Antikenmus. 1976/77 (1976) 34f. Nr. 44.45 S. 55 Nr. 96. Vergleichbar sind eher ägyptische, henkellose Gefäße. Die Form des 'Flaschenkürbis' ist in Ägypten seit prähistorischer Zeit bekannt. W. M.F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery, Brit. School of Arch. in Egypt* 32 (1917) Taf. 50 Nr. 64. Als hellenistische Beispiele: R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition E. v. Sieglin* II 3 (1913) 142 Abb. 152 b. c. Weiterhin die bereits von Oliver zit. Silberflasche im Metrop. Mus. of Art 38.2.18.

40. Inv. 75.AI.54/55. Oliver, Getty *MJ* 8, 1980, 155ff. Abb. 2–9. Zur Benennung: Gabelmann a.O. (o. Anm. 1) 14 Abb. 4 c.

Abb. 7. Kylix. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AI.55.

Abb. 8. Tonkylix aus Olbia. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

Abb. 9. Fuß einer Tonkylix aus Olbia. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

niedrigen Stiele der späthellenistischen und frühkaiserzeitlichen Kylikes mit einem sehr kräftig profilierten Absatz versehen. Profilierte Stiele dieser Art wurden im 3. Jahrhundert für den hohen 'Pokalkantharos'[44] entwickelt und offenbar in späterer Zeit auch auf niedrigere Gefäßfüße übertragen.[45] An den Tongefäßen läßt sich diese Entwicklung nur in Ansätzen fassen (Abb. 8). Desweiteren findet sich bei zahlreichen Tonkylikes ein sehr hoher Fuß (Abb. 9).[46] Auf eine derartige Bildung wird nur noch bei einer Silberkylix aus Boscoreale angespielt.[47]

Die Henkel der späten Silbergefäße sind in der Regel komplizierter als die der Tonkylikes, auch besitzen sie sämtlich Fingerstützen unter dem Ring, eine Eigentümlichkeit, die wir an den Tonbeispielen nicht finden. Andererseits war in hochhellenistischer Zeit dieser späte Henkel mit Daumen und Fingerstütze bereits voll ausgebildet.[48]

Der Silberschmied verwendete demnach für die Malibu-Kylikes einen älteren, hochhellenistischen Gefäßtypus, paßte ihn jedoch im Dekor und in Details wie der Fuß- und Henkelgestaltung zeitgenössischem Geschmack an.

Vergleichbares begegnet des öfteren unter kaiserzeitlichen Silberfunden; wie etwa bei der girlandengeschmückten Kylix des Hildesheimer Silberfundes.[49] Sie orientiert sich gefäßtypologisch ebenfalls an Vorbildern des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.[50] Auch hier wurden Dekor und Fuß modifiziert. Einem spätklassischen Phialentypus folgt dagegen die 'Eierphiale' des Hildesheimer Schatzes.[51] Ähnliches gilt weiterhin für den als Krater verwendeten überdimensionierten Kantharos aus Hildesheim,[52] der im Umriß vollständig griechischen Kantharoi des 4. Jahrhunderts entspricht.[53] Jede Einzelheit wie etwa die als Pflanzentrieb verstandenen Henkel[54] oder die eingravierten, etwas mißverstandenen Lanzenspitzenketten unter dem Mündungsrand lassen sich in früherer Zeit belegen.[55] Der an Krateren spätklassischer Zeit plastisch ausgeführte Stabzungendekor des Körpers ist hier rein linear gegeben und mittels winziger Früchte in den Zwickeln bereichert.[56]

Zu diesen Aufgriffen älterer Gefäßformen stellt sich nun auch die Silberoinochoe des Malibukomplexes (Abb. 10.11).[57] Ihr Henkel mit der Daumenstütze schließt einen spätklassischen oder frühhellenistischen Ansatz der Kanne aus.[58] Der Typus der Oinochoe mit Silenskopf als Henkelattasche ist bereits im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegt,[59] auch finden sich in spätklassischer Zeit durchaus ähnliche Silenskopfattaschen.[60] Jedoch ist bei der Malibu-Attasche durch die wenigen aber völlig überdimensionierten Efeublätter des im 4. Jahrhundert naturalistischen Kranzes ein ornamentaler Zug hineingetragen, der angesichts des zwar relativ unplastischen aber naturalistischen Silensgesichtes besonders hervortritt. Auch wirkt der Kopf insgesamt

41. Paris, Louvre. Aus Boscoreale. D. Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* 5, 1899, 68ff. 85f. Taf. 9. 10. 18. Oliver a.O. 158 (verweist auf Identität der Henkel). Neapel NM. aus Casa del Menandro. A. Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (1932) 321ff. Taf. 31–36.—A. Linfert, *Rivista di Archeologia* I/1–2, 1977, 24f. Abb. 5–9. St. Germain-en-Laye, aus Alesia. Strong 115 Taf. 33 B.

42. Aus Kalymnos, Brüssel, Mus. Royaux. *CVA Bruxelles, Mus. Royaux* III (III L. N) 3 Taf. 3,6.16 (Belgique 138). Aus Olbia, Parović-Pežikan a.O. (o. Anm. 21) 75 Abb. 71, 5. 6; 73.—Abb. 73. 2. 3 (unsere Abb. 8) zeigen die ersten Ansätze einer Schaftprofilierung.

43. Athen, Benaki Mus., B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1938) 51f. Nr. 39 Taf. 15 unten—Strong 95 Anm. 5. Das Gefäß ist nach dem Kymation auf dem Fuß noch im 3. Jahrhundert gearbeitet. Zu der etwas niedrigeren Form des Gefäßes vgl. eine Kylix aus Boscoreale, Héron de Villefosse a.O. 85f. Taf. 18.

44. P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente* (1930) 41ff. Taf. 5. 6. Zum Typus des 'Pokalkantharos' vgl. Pfrommer (u. Anm. 77).

45. Diese Eigentümlichkeit ist nicht landschaftlich eingrenzbar: Silberpokale aus Taxila, J. Marshall, *Taxila* II. III (1951) 612 Taf. 187, 5a. b; 188, 5a. b.

46. Kalymnos (o. Anm. 42) Taf. 3. 16. Olbia (o. Anm. 42) Abb. 73,1. (hier Abb. 9).

47. Héron de Villefosse a.O. 68ff. Taf. 9. 10.

48. Vorhanden bereits bei dem o. Anm. 43 zit. Gefäß. Eine Frühstufe bei einem Kantharos aus Joanina, Pfrommer, *Jdl* 97, 1982, 139 Anm. 73. Henkel wie die Benaki-Kylix zeigt ein Skyphos aus einem hochhellenistischen Grab in Ancona, L. Mercando in: P. Zanker (Hrsg.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* I (1976) 164. 188 Abb. 24.

49. Berlin (West), Antikenmus. 3779,10. E. Pernice—F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (1901) 32ff. Taf. 10.

50. Tonkylix aus Alexandria, E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cat. Gén. des Ant. Égypt. du Musée d'Alexandrie (1912) Taf. 55 Nr. 114. Aus Athen, K. Braun, *AM* 85, 1970, 134 Taf. 54, 1 Nr. 10.

51. Berlin (West) Antikenmus. 3779,68. Pernice—Winter a.O. 70f. Taf. 42. Zum Typus: H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (1939) 132ff. 133 Nr. 6.

52. Berlin (West), Antikenmus. 3779,63. Pernice—Winter a.O. 64f. Taf. 35. Die Umfunktionierung der Kantharosform als Mischgefäß findet sich auch an einem Bronzekrater, Pernice a.O. (o. Anm. 35) 15 Taf. 14. Wandgemälde: A. de Franciscis, *Die pompejanischen Wandmalereien der Villa von Oplontis* (1975) 36 Taf. 23.

53. Vgl. Darstellungen auf unteritalischen Vasen, A.D. Trendall—A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* I (1978) Taf. 8, 4; 67, 1.

54. Kannenhenkel aus Derveni, Thessaloniki Mus., Ch. I. Makaronas, *Deltion Chronika* 18, 1963, 194 Taf. 226γ.

55. vgl. die o. Anm. 22 zit. Kylix.

56. Pernice a.O. (o. Anm. 35) 39 Taf. 13. Zu Palmetten-Blüten zwischen den Stabzungen vgl. Gipsabeguß aus Memphis, Hildesheim 1133. C. Reinsberg, *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik* (1980) 306 Nr. 25 Abb. 30. 31. Linearer Stabzungendekor findet sich in spätklassischer Zeit nur an klein-formatigen Gefäßen: Becher Hamburg, Mus. f. Kunst u. Gewerbe, H. Kusel, *AA* 1917, 59ff. Abb. 5. 6.

57. Inv. 75.AI.57. Oliver 114 Nr. 74 Abb.—Ders., Getty *MJ* 8, 1980, 161ff. Abb. 13–16 (Bereits Oliver sah die Abhängigkeit von älteren Oinochoen). Für die Boscorealekannen, u. Anm. 63, bereits Küthmann 52. Die Malibukanne vgl. mit schwarzgefirnißten Oinochoen, Sparkes—Talcott a.O. (o. Anm. 7) 245 Nr. 127–135 Taf. 7 bes. Nr. 127 (ca 350 v. Chr.).

58. Vgl. späthellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Kannen, Strong 115f. 142 Taf. 34 Mitte. 35 A.

59. Berlin (West) Antikenmus., C. Robert, *Archäologische Zeitung* 37, 1879, 82 Taf. 5, 1. Eine weitere Oinochoe befindet sind im Kanellopoulos Mus., Athen. Unpubliziert.

60. Vgl. Pfrommer, *Jdl* 98, 1983, (im Druck) 18 und die zit. Parallelen.

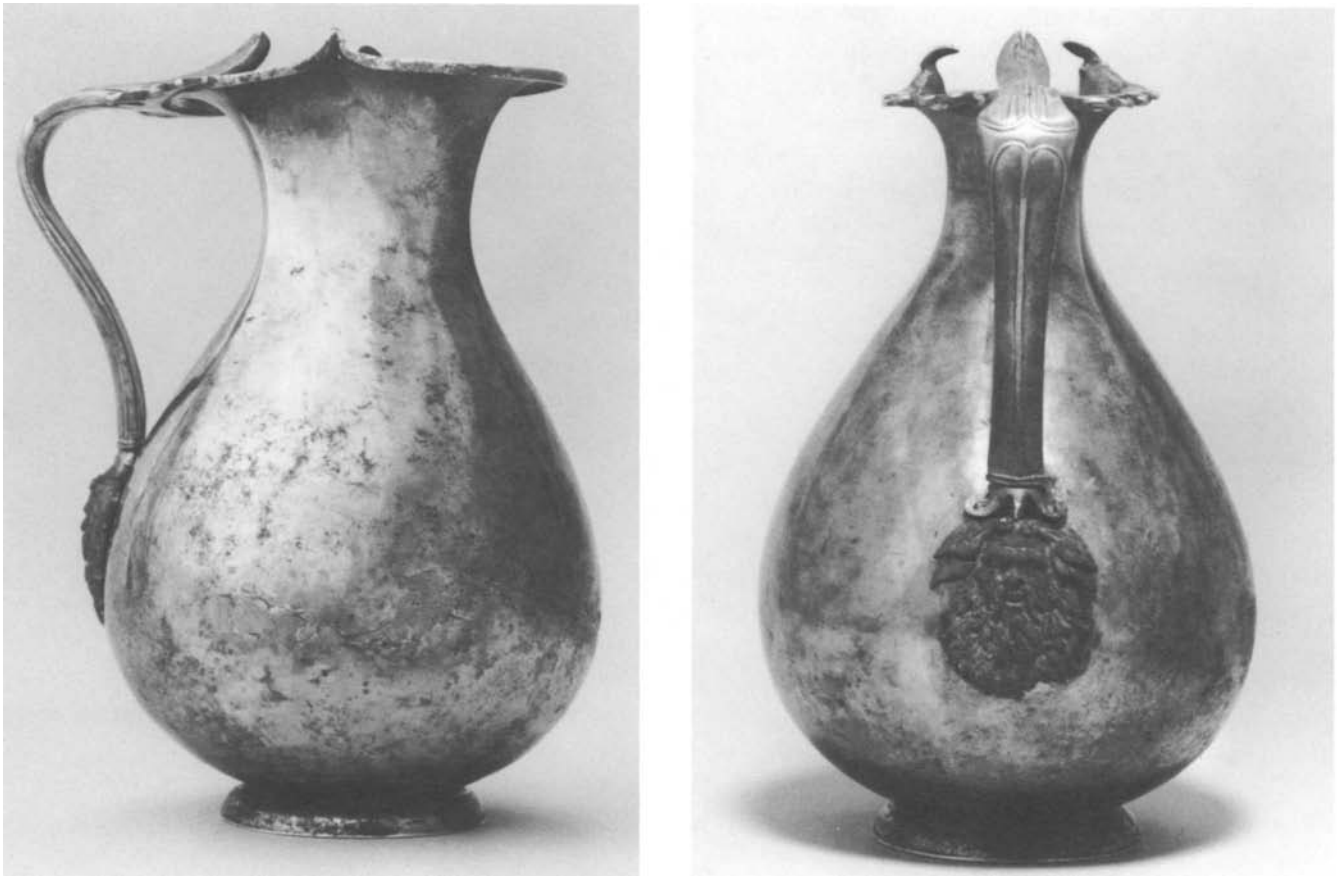


Abb. 10.11. Oinochoe. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AI.57.

gelängter als bei den spätklassischen Prototypen. Angesichts des Fundortes 'Libanon' kann es nicht überraschen, daß wir vergleichbare Attaschen im späthellenistischen oder frühkaiserzeitlichen Ägypten finden.[61] Auch die Oinochoe wird man somit in den Kreis spätestptolemäischer Toreutik einreihen.

Im Gefäßtypus folgt die Malibu-Kanne mit der Kleeblattmündung, dem bauchigen Körper und dem abgesetzten, niedrigen Fuß jedoch griechischen Oinochoen des mittleren bis späteren 4. Jahrhunderts. Im Detail fallen allerdings sofort einige Unterschiede ins Auge. Bei der Malibu-Kanne ist die Mündungskontur weniger geschwungen. Auch liegt der größte Durchmesser der Kanne dem birnenförmigen Umriß zufolge tiefer als bei spätklassischen oder frühhellenistischen Beispielen (Abb. 12).[62]

Die Unterschiede in der Umrißführung wären vielleicht als Zufall oder Mißverständnis zu interpretieren, wenn sich nicht bei zwei weiteren Silberoinochoen aus der Villa von Boscoreale dieselben Eigentümlichkeiten fänden (Abb. 13–15).[63] Die lesbischen Kymatien auf den Gefäßfüßen ähneln Typen des 4. Jahrhunderts, jedoch sind die Kymatienblätter zum Teil nicht mehr mittels Schlaufen verbunden. Auch besitzen sie gefiederte Zwischenspitzen, eine Besonderheit, die klassischen Beispielen fremd ist.[64] Bei den Henkeln finden sich erneut Daumenstützen. Anders als bei der Malibu-Kanne erweisen sich jedoch die Silenskopfattaschen geradezu als Kopien spätklassischer oder frühhellenistischer Originale (Abb. 16).[65] Es stellt

61. Gipsabguß einer Attasche des Zeus-Ammon-Dionysos in Privatbesitz. G. Grimm in: V. M. Strocka (Hrsg.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, Symposion Berlin 1976 (1978) 107 Abb. 96. Bronzekesselchen München, Antikenslg. aus Meroe, M. Maaß, Griechische und römische Bronzewerke der Antikensammlungen (1979) 58f. Nr. 34 Abb. S. 58.

62. o. Anm. 57. 80.

63. Paris, Louvre Bj 1898/99. Héron de Villefosse a.O. (o. Anm. 41) 47ff. Nr. 3. 4 Taf. 3. 4.—Küthmann 52ff.—Strong 142.—A. H. Borbein, *Campanareliefs*, 14. Ergh. *RM* (1968) 78ff.—*Pompeji* a.O. (o. Anm. 31) 112f. Nr. 135 Abb.—E. Künzl, *JbZMusMainz* 22, 1975, 66 Taf. 23, 1.

64. Vgl. die Alesiakylix o. Anm. 41.

65. Thessaloniki Mus. Makaronas a.O. (o. Anm. 54) 194 Taf. 227d.—M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98, 1983 (im Druck). Zu den von dieser Variante abweichenden zwei Dolden des Kranzes vgl. einen Gipsabguß, Hildesheim 1159, Reinsberg a.O. (o. Anm. 56) 307f. Nr. 29 Abb. 39. Auch die Voluten über dem Silenskopf sind sicher an spätklassische Formen angelehnt. Vgl. Kanne aus dem 'Philippgrab' von Vergina, *Search* a.O. (o. Anm. 17) 184 Nr. 163 Taf. 31.

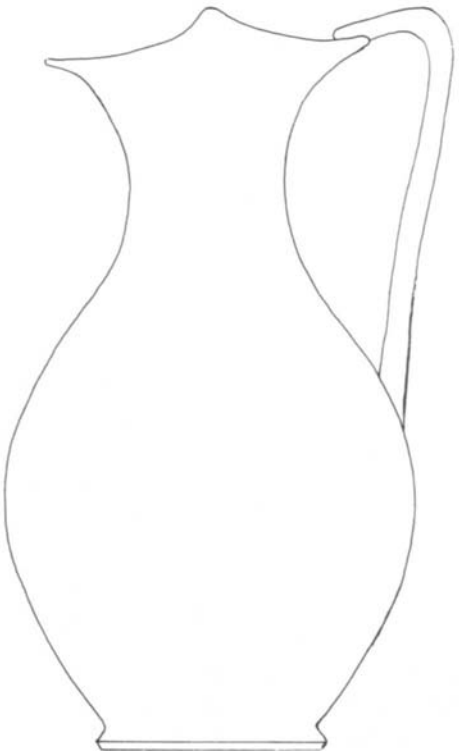


Abb. 12. Schwarzfirnisoinochoe. 'Philippgrab' Vergina. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

Abb. 13. Oinochoe aus Boscoreale. Paris, Louvre Bj 1899.

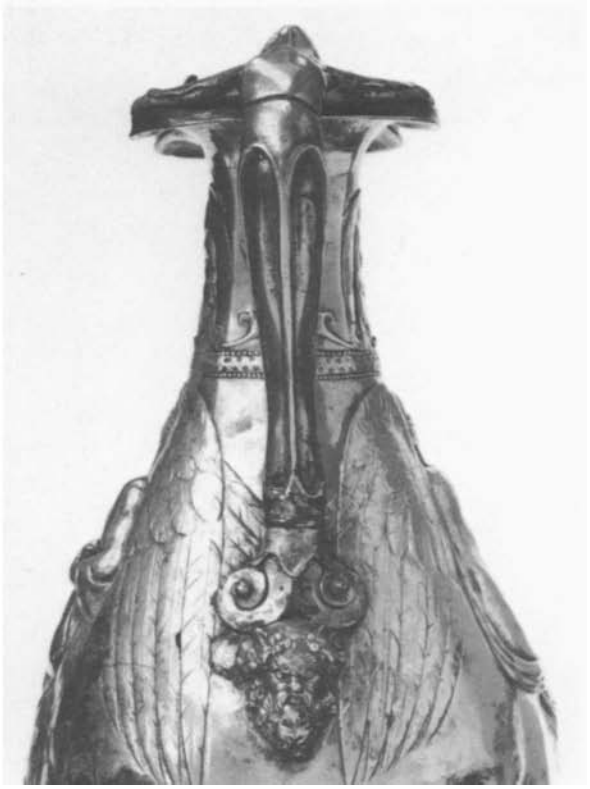


Abb. 14.15. Oinochoe aus Boscoreale. Paris, Louvre Bj 1898.

Abb. 16. Attasche eines Bronzeeimers aus Derveni. Thessaloniki. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

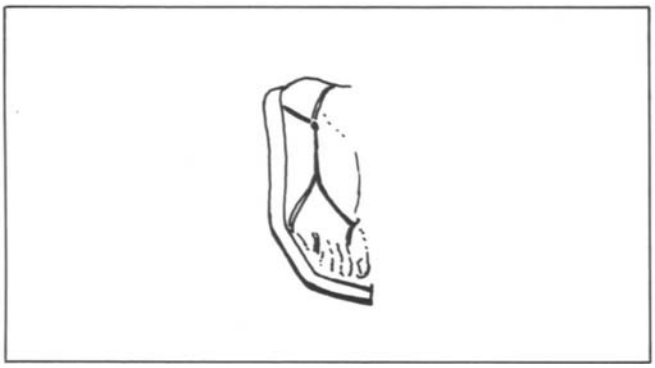


Abb. 17. Sandale einer Nike. Oinochoe. Paris, Louvre Bj 1899. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

sich infolgedessen die Frage, ob nicht vielleicht der gesamte Dekor als Kopie zu deuten ist?

Römisches sahen H. Küthmann und A. H. Borbein in der symmetrischen Anordnung der Opferszenen, jedoch kennen wir bereits im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Oinochoen

Abb. 18. Altarprofilierung. Oinochoe. Paris, Louvre Bj 1898.

mit assymmetrischem[66] wie symmetrischem Dekor.[67] Auch alle anderen von H. Küthmann als römisch apostrophierten Motive finden sich bereits in weitaus älterer Zeit. Dies gilt insbesondere für den Typus der 'tieropfernden Nike'. So vergleiche man etwa eine Lampsakener Münze des 4. Jahrhunderts mit einer Widderopferung. Selbst das Motiv des den Körper der Nike rahmenden Mantels kehrt in verwandter Weise wieder (Abb. 13).[68] Die Flügel der Niken entsprechen mit dem regelmäßigen Deckgefieder und der 'Fellrahmung' des Flügelrandes frühhellenistischen Typen.[69] In spätklassischer Zeit belegbar sind die Frisuren der

66. Oinochoe, London, Brit. Mus., G. Kopcke, AM 79, 1964, 46 Nr. 214 Beil. 36, 3.

67. Oinochoe, Triest Mus. Civ., A. Puschi, *ÖJh* 5, 1902, 115f. Abb. 28–30.

68. Zu der Münze: P. R. Franke, *Die griechische Münze* (1964) 148 Taf. 202 Nr. 731. Vgl. auch Borbein a.O. 73 Abb. 2. 3. Zu dem Motiv der 'opfernden Nike' in griechischer Zeit: ebenda 71ff.

69. Vgl. Prometopidion in Basel, Reinsberg a.O. 88f. Abb. 92 (mit Lit.).

70. Neben einfachen Frisuren finden wir eine auf der Stirn geknotete Sphendone mit darübergezogenen, auf dem Scheitel verknoteten Haaren. Die Frisur bereits gegen 400 v. Chr., Franke a.O. 52 Nr. 113 Taf. 39. Zu dieser Frisur in spätklassischer Zeit: Pfrommer, *JdI* 98, 1983 (im Druck). Wie bereits Küthmann 54 erkannte, kehrt die Frisur in der Ausführung der Kanne auf Münzen des 1. Jh. v. Chr. wieder.

71. Der Verfasser bereitet eine einschlägige Untersuchung vor.

72. Vgl. zum Umriß das Kyma des Alexandersarkophages, V. v. Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt* (1970) Taf. 25. Zu den an Stelle der Zwischenspitzen verwendeten Palmetten vgl. Pfrommer, *AA* 1980, 540.

73. G. Kopcke, AM 79, 1964, 40f. Nr. 118 Beil. 25; 46 Nr. 214 Beil. 36, 3.

Siegesgöttinnen,[70] ja selbst die Sandalen (Abb. 17).[71] Spätklassische bis frühhellenistische Parallelen besitzt das lesbische Kymation der Altarprofilierung (Abb. 18).[72] Auch das Girlandenbukranion läßt sich im späten 4. Jahrhundert auf Schwarzfirniskeramik fassen.[73] Frühhellenistisch ist das perlreihengerahmte doppelte Flechtband auf den Kannenhälsen.[74] Endlich läßt sich auch das Motiv der einen Löwengreifen tränkenden Rankenfrau bereits in spätklassischer Zeit belegen.[75] Der halb pflanzliche Löwengreif mit Akanthusblattwerk an Stelle des Hinterleibes tritt spätestens auf einem ptolemäischen Gipsabguß des 3. Jahrhunderts in Erscheinung.[76] Überdies trinken die Löwengreifen aus achämenidischen Zungen- oder Blattphialen, die noch im frühhellenistischen Ägypten anzutreffen sind.[77] Auch die Melonenfrisur der Rankenfrauen findet sich unter anderem auf frühptolemäischen Zeugnissen.[78] Der unter den Figuren angedeutete Blattkelch mit umgeschlagenen Blattspitzen, den H. Küthmann für späthellenistisch hielt, ist gleichfalls in frühhellenistischer Zeit nachweisbar.[79]

Die schlanke Form der Kannen könnte auf Vorbilder des ausgehenden 4. oder 3. Jahrhunderts deuten (Abb. 12).[80] Nimmt man die zeitlich eingrenzbaren Details der Reliefs, so ist ein Ansatz im früheren 3. Jahrhundert erwägenswert. Da die spätesten Elemente des Dekors wie auch die Kanne mit ihrer Silenskopfattasche im großen und ganzen in die gleiche Zeit zu weisen sind, ist es zudem wenig wahrscheinlich, daß der Toreut die Opferszenen von einem anderen Vorbild auf die Oinochoen übertrug, da die zeitliche Übereinstimmung doch allzu zufällig wäre.

Es bedarf keiner Bekräftigung, daß die Reliefs stilistisch deutlich von frühhellenistischen Originalen differieren—wie bei der Großplastik spielt auch hier der zeitbedingte Stil des Kopisten eine erhebliche Rolle. Da uns zur Kontrolle keine Repliken zur Verfügung stehen, läßt sich nur schwer abschätzen, inwieweit der Toreut die Darstellungen modifizierte.

Obwohl sich für Einzelmotive Vergleiche aus verschiedenen Kunstlandschaften zitieren ließen, deutet doch einiges auf den ptolemäischen Bereich. Dort wäre auch die Synthese kleinasiatischer und großgriechischer Einzelformen ohne weiteres erklärbar, da die frühalexandrinische Kunst gerade aus diesen Kunstlandschaften beträchtliche Impulse empfing.[81] Andererseits finden sich in frühhellenistischer Zeit auch in Kleinasien und natürlich in Makedonien großgriechische Einflüsse, so daß man mit einer abschließenden Kunstkreiszuweisung der Originale vorerst noch zurückhaltend sein sollte. Nur das griechische Mutterland wird mit Sicherheit auszuschließen sein.

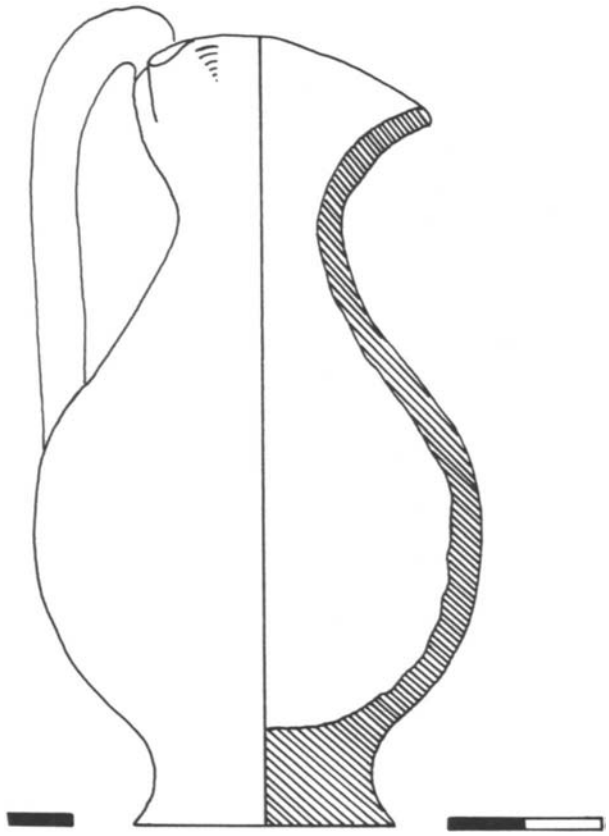


Abb. 19. Tonoinochoe aus Milet. Milet, Museum. Zeichnung: Verfasser.

Der Rückgriff auf die spätklassische und frühhellenistische Oinochoenform beschränkte sich keineswegs auf

74. Becher aus Varbitza, Sofia, Arch. Mus. 51 bibl. B. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgerien* (1934) 173f. Nr. 3 Abb. 188. 189.—Strong 101 Abb. 23 b.

75. Krater Syrakus 47038. G. Libertini, *Boll. d'Arte* 35, 1950, 97ff. Abb. 5.—Pfrommer, *JdI* 97, 1982, 146.

76. Hildesheim 1137. Reinsberg a.O. (o. Anm. 56) 300 Nr. 15 Abb. 23.

77. Zum Typus: H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (1938) 76ff. 125ff. Zum Auftreten im frühptolemäischen Ägypten vgl. M. Pfrommer, *Studien zur spätklassischen und frühhellenistischen Toreutik* (Diss. Erlangen 1979) (unpubliziert).

78. Vgl. Pfrommer a.O.

79. Vgl. Sirenen an einem Thymiaterion aus Tuch el-Karamus, Kairo, Ägypt.Mus. JE 38089, C.C. Edgar in: G. Maspero, *Le Musée Egyptien* II (1907) 59ff. Taf. 24. aus Tuch el-Karamus, Kairo JE 38080. G. Grimm (-D. Wildung), *Götter Pharaonen* (Ausst. München 1978/79 (1978) Nr. 81 Abb. (mit Lit.).

80. Vgl. Kanne aus dem 'Philippgrab' in Vergina, M. Andronikos, *Acta of the XI Congr. of Cl. Archaeol.*, London 1978, 52 Taf. 24 b.—Ptol. Fayencekannen, D. Burr Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Fayence* (1973) 134f. Nr. 29 Taf. 11 und C.—153ff. Nr. 87. 92 Taf. 31. 36. Italische Schwarzfirnisoinochoen, Kopcke a.O. 45f. Nr. 201. 216. 217 Beil. 37, 1–3.

Metallgefäße, wie einfache Tonkännchen aus einem frühkaiserzeitlichen Grab in Milet beweisen (Abb. 19).[82] Trotz einiger Unterschiede besitzen auch diese Kännchen die birnenförmige Körperkontur der Silberoinochoen.

Angesichts der offenkundigen klassizistischen Tendenzen augusteischer Zeit ist man nun versucht, Rückgriffe und Kopien mit dieser Epoche in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Diese Hypothese ist jedoch nicht haltbar. So fertigten die Alexandriner bereits im 3. Jahrhundert silberne und gläserne Kopien fremder Tongefäße[83] Unter den erhaltenen Metallgefäßen sind Imitationen älterer Gefäßformen spätestens seit dem 2. Jahrhundert nachweisbar. In dem Artiuchov-Kurgan[84] im Bosporanischen Reich fand sich neben einem Silberskyphos auch ein silberner Kantharos, der sich mit seinem profilierten, abgesetzten Fuß, der scharf umbiegenden Schulter, der steilen Halskontur und seiner Henkelform an Tonkantharoi des dritten Viertels des 4. Jahrhunderts orientiert.[85] Das lesbische Kymation auf dem Fuß verbietet jedoch ebenso einen spätklassischen Ansatz wie die Ausführung des Blattkelches auf dem Gefäßkörper.[86] Demgegenüber ist der übrige Dekor mit dem von Perlreihen abgegrenzten Flechtband auf der Schulter, der feinen Ranke auf dem Hals[87] und den mit Herakleskknoten geschmückten Henkeln unmittelbar spätklassischen Prototypen entlehnt.[88]

Bemerkenswert ist ferner, daß uns mit einer einzigen möglichen Ausnahme keine spätklassischen Metallgefäße dieses Typs erhalten sind,[89] so daß wir hier die Kopie nach einem Tongefäß vor uns haben dürften, wenn wir nicht ein metallenes Zwischenoriginal etwa des 3. Jahrhunderts postulieren wollen, um den großen zeitlichen Abstand von Kopie und Prototyp zu überbrücken.

Dieselben Dekorelemente begegnen auch an dem Artiuchov-Skyphos,[90] der mit seinem halbkugelförmigen Körper und den geknoteten Henkeln ebenfalls Parallelen im späteren 4. Jahrhundert findet.[91] Aufgrund der Ausführung werden beide Gefäße aus derselben Werkstatt stammen.

Wenn wir von hellenistischen 'Gefäßkopien' sprechen, so handelt es sich offenbar primär um Rückgriffe auf klassiche oder frühesthellenistische Gefäßformen. Der ornamentale Dekor unterlag dagegen häufiger modischen Veränderungen. Wie wir sahen, gilt dies auch für Henkel oder Fußformen. Die Kopie figürlich verzierter Gefäße dürfte dagegen weitaus seltener gewesen sein.[92] Hier erhebt sich nun allerdings nochmals die Frage, ob der Terminus 'Kopie' auf all die zitierten Beispiele anwendbar ist. Da vor allem bei einem Zitat einer älteren Gefäßform häufig auf eine getreue Wiederholung der originalen Details verzichtet wurde, sollte man hier eher von einem 'Rückgriff' oder einem 'Zitat' sprechen. Erst wenn der Toreut—wie bei den Oinochoen—versuchte, außer der Gefäßform auch den ornamentalen und figürlichen Schmuck nachzubilden, sind wir berechtigt, von Kopien zu sprechen. Wie bei Statuenkopien gab es sicherlich je nach Intention und Können des Toreuten Nachschöpfungen sowie Kopien und Umbildungen. Wir werden uns somit auch bei den 'Gefäßkopien' von der Vorstellung freizumachen haben, sie seien in jedem Detail vollwertige Repliken ihrer Originale.[93]

Vorerst läßt sich nur schwer abschätzen, ob die Rückgriffe und Kopien im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. im gleichen Umfang auftreten wie im ausgehenden Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit. Rein zahlenmäßig werden sie immer hinter den zeitgenössischen Formen zurückgetreten sein. Es ist jedoch durchaus wahrscheinlich, daß bei dem Bedarf an 'antikem Silber' in der Zeit der späten Republik und in der frühen Kaiserzeit der Anlehnung an alte Formen und der Kopie eine weitaus größere Bedeutung zukam als in den Jahrhunderten des Hellenismus.

Deutsches Archäologisches
Institut Istanbul

81. Zu den Beziehungen der kunsthandwerklichen Produktion dieser Bereiche: Pfrommer, *JdI* 97, 1982, 119ff und *JdI* 98, 1983 (im Druck).

82. Milet Museum. Zu dem Grab allgemain: F. J. Henniger—A. U. Kossatz, *IstMitt* 29, 1979, 174ff. Taf. 53–59. Für die Publikationserlaubnis bin ich W. Müller-Wiener zu Dank verpflichtet.

83. Athenaios, Deipn. V 199 d. e (Silberne panathenäische Preisamphoren). ebenda XI 784 c (Glasgefäße).

84. Zur Dat. in das 2. Jh. v. Chr. vgl. H. Küthmann, *JbZMusMainz* 5, 1958, 94ff (mit älterer Lit.).

85. Leningrad, Eremitage, L. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, St. Pétersbourg 1880, 17 Nr. 51. S. 69 Taf. 2, 19.—Küthmann 14ff.—K. Parlasca, *JdI* 70, 1955, 150.—Küthmann, *JbZMusMainz* 5, 1958, 104ff. Taf. 6,1.—Strong 114 Taf. 31 B.—L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 45, 1970, 137. —M.I. Maksimova, *Artiochovskij Kurgan* (1979) Nr. 106 Abb. S. 31 oben.—Reinsberg a.O. (o. Anm. 56) 41. 44. Vgl. einen Tonkantharos aus Athen, Sparkes—Talcott a.O. (o. Anm. 7) 287 Nr. 709 Taf. 29 (350–325 v. Chr.).

86. Zu hellenistischem Kelchdekor vgl. Pfrommer (o. Anm. 77).

87. o. Anm. 74.

88. Vgl. Kantharos aus Alexandria, Breccia a.O. (o. Anm. 50) 66 Nr. 175 Taf. 55 Nr. 112. Aus Athen: Sparkes—Talcott a.O. 287 Nr. 715. 717 Taf. 29.

89. Bronzekantharos (?) aus Zlokutchene/Bulgarien, I. Velkov, *BlBulg* 6, 1930/31, 256 Abb. 185.

90. Leningrad, Eremitage. Stephani a.O. 22 Nr. 21. S. 91 Taf. 4, 8.—Küthmann 14ff.—Ders., *JbZMusMainz* 5, 1958, 104ff. Taf. 6, 2.—Strong 114.—Byvanck a.O. 137.—Maksimova a.O. 78f. Nr. 61 Abb. 24.

91. Sparkes—Talcott a.O. 287 Nr. 722 Taf. 29. Vgl. auch die o. Anm. 50 zit. Tonkylikes.

92. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit sind auch die Kylikes mit Ares und Aphrodite aus der Casa del Menandro, o. Anm. 41, als Kopien anzusehen, ein Punkt, der hier nicht vertieft werden kann.

93. Zur Treue römischer Statuenkopien vgl. Ch. v. Hees-Landwehr, *Griechische Meisterwerke in römischen Abgüssen* (Ausst. Freiburg 1982) 33.

Ein späthellenistisches Steinschälchen aus Ägypten im J. Paul Getty Museum

Klaus Parlasca

Die in erster Linie wegen ihrer antiken Skulpturen berühmte, archäologische Abteilung des J. Paul Getty Museums besitzt auch zahlreiche bedeutende Werke der Kleinkunst. Von den bisher noch unpublizierten Objekten dieser Art kann hier dank des freundlichen Angebots von J. Frel ein besonders interessanter Fund veröffentlicht werden (Abb. 1. 2).[1] Das vorzüglich erhaltene Schälchen gehört zu einer Gruppe, die ich kürzlich in anderem Zusammenhang kurz besprochen habe. Dabei handelt es sich um einen Beitrag, der in erster Linie den bekannteren Schälchen mit bildlichen Motiven gewidmet ist.[2] Die meisten von ihnen zeigen Darstellungen aus der graeco-ägyptischen Götterwelt, einige wenige auch erotische Motive, die vermutlich ebenfalls in religiös-magischem Sinne zu interpretieren sind.[3]

Die Schälchen, zu denen das Exemplar in Malibu gehört, wirken demgegenüber rein ornamental. Diese Klassifizierung ist allerdings nur bedingt richtig, wie ein genauerer Vergleich der z.T. nur als Fragmente erhaltenen Parallelen und Varianten zeigt (A):

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Inv. 12582 (West) (Abb. 3. 4).[4]
2. Ebendort Inv. 17740 (Kriegsverlust) (Abb. 5. 6).[5]
3. Hannover, Kestner-Museum Inv. 1935,200,159 (Abb. 7. 8).[6]
4. Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum J.E. 60621 (Abb. 9. 10).[7]
5. London, University College, Egyptian Dept. Inv. 2447 (Abb. 11. 12).[8]
6. Ebendort Inv. 2452 (Abb. 13. 14).[9]
7. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Inv. 79.AI.297 (Abb. 1. 2).[10]

Abb. 1. 2. (Nr. A7) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Inv. 79.AI.297.

Den Direktoren bzw. Konservatoren der im Folgenden genannten Museen danke ich auch an dieser Stelle für Photos und Publikationserlaubnis.

1. Inv. 29.AI.297. Durchmesser: 9,7 cm. Geschenk von Michel de Bry, Paris.

2. "Griechisch-römische Steinschälchen aus Ägypten" (mit Exkurs von M. Pfrommer) in: Das romisch-byzantinische Ägypten—Akten des Internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier = *Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, Bd. 2 (Mainz, 1983). Im folgenden: Parlasca, *Coll. Trier* bzw. Pfrommer.

3. Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Anm. 23f Taf. 20, 2.3 (Luxor, Museum Inv. 1135 bzw. München, Staatl. Slg. ägypt. Kunst Inv. 6299).

4. Durchmesser: 12,5 cm Höhe: 2,3 cm—1895 durch Dr. Reinhardt von einem Mann aus Achmim in Kairo gekauft.—*Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer*[2] (Berlin, 1899), 444 (im Abschnitt "Aus christlicher Zeit"); Pfrommer Anm. 10.

5. Durchmesser: 10 cm—Erworben 1906 aus der Papyrusgrabung der Staatlichen Museen Berlin in Eshmunen (Hermopolis Magna) in Mittelägypten.—Pfrommer Anm. 8.

6. Durchmesser: 8,2 cm; aus der Slg. v. Bissing.—Pfrommer Anm. 7.

7. Durchmesser = 12,5 cm, unpubliziert.—Erworben 1933; gefunden in Temaï el Amdid (Thmuis), dem östlichen Tell des antiken Mendes.

Abb. 3. 4. (Nr. A1) Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Inv. 12582 (West).

Abb. 5. 6. (Nr. A2) Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Inv. 17740 (Kriegsverlust).

8. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. E. 3722 (Abb. 15. 16).[11]
9. Privatbesitz (Rheinland) (Abb. 17. 18).[12]
10. Privatbesitz (Erlangen) (Abb. 19. 20).[13]

An der Oberseite des Schälchens in Malibu (Abb. 1) erkennt man bei genauerer Betrachtung die stark stilisierte Darstellung eines Vogels mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln. Das Motiv ist so zu verstehen, daß der Vogel gleichsam auf dem Rücken schwebend dargestellt ist, und zwar mit einwärts gewendetem Kopf. Dabei sind der eigentliche Vogelkörper und die Flügel nicht von einander abgesetzt. Abge sehen von Partien mit detailliert ausgearbeitetem Gefieder ist allerdings das Naturvorbild stark verunklärt. Wesentlich deutlicher ist in dieser Hinsicht ein Fragment in Privatbesitz (Nr. 9). Hier sind in Randnähe die beiden Flügelansätze deutlich herausgearbeitet; dazwischen ist der Hintergrund durch Kreuzschraffur angedeutet. Das Verständnis dieses Befundes lehrt das auf den ersten Blick nicht leicht zu deutende Londoner Fragment Nr. 5 (Abb. 12). Hier sieht man an der Innenseite deutlich einen Vogelschwanz auf glattem Hintergrund und auf dem Rand Gefieder des rechten Flügels. Bei dem Schälchen in Malibu sind die Endigungen der Flügel in einem dem Gefäßrand folgenden Bogen zusammengefaßt. Dadurch macht das Ganze teilweise den Eindruck einer Muschel. Diese Assoziation ist zweifellos beabsichtigt, da muschelförmige Schälchen im Altertum recht verbreitet waren.[14] Im übrigen wird die Wirkung eines—wenn auch stilisierten—Vogels mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln beeinträchtigt durch das Fehlen des Kopfes. In den meisten Fällen macht die glatte "Schnittfläche" den Eindruck einer tatsächlichen Verstümmelung. In zwei Fällen sind jedoch Stiftlöcher erhalten, in denen Hals und Kopf des Vogels angestückt waren (Nr. 1 und 9; Abb. 3. 17).

8. Maße = 00,0 cm; W. M. F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (1927), 38, Taf. 34, 26 ("shell"); Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Taf. 27, 2 a.b.

9. Maße 00,0 cm; Petrie a.O. 38 Taf. 34, 31; Pfrommer Anm. 7.

10. s.o.Anm. 1.

11. Durchmesser = 9,8 cm; Höhe = 2,1 cm; Pfrommer Anm. 7.—Erworben 1902 als Überweisung des Egypt Exploration Fund, aus den Grabungen von B. P. Grenfell und A. S. Hunt im Fayum (der Fundort ist nicht belegt).

12. Ergänzter Durchmesser = 7,4 cm. Höhe = 1,1 cm; Chr. Grunwald in: *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz*, Ausstellungskatalog Bonn, 1973, 82 Nr. 119, Taf. 50 ("Das bisher einzigartige kleine Fragment", "aus Dimeh" [im Fayum], "Grünschiefer"); Pfrommer Anm. 9.—Es war mir trotz mehrfacher Versuche nicht möglich, mit der Eigentümerin (?) in Kontakt zu treten.

13. Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Taf. 27,4 a.b.

14. Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Anm. 43 (mit weiteren Nachweisen).

Abb. 7. 8. (Nr. A3) Hannover, Kestner-Museum Inv. 1935.200.159.

Abb. 9. 10. (Nr. A4) Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum J.E. 60621.

Abb. 11. 12. (Nr. A5) London, University College, Egyptian Dept. Inv. 2447.

Abb. 13. 14. (Nr. A6) London, University College, Egyptian Dept. Inv. 2452.

Abb. 15. 16. (Nr. A8) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. E. 3722.

Abb. 17. 18. (Nr. A9) Privatbesitz (Rheinland).

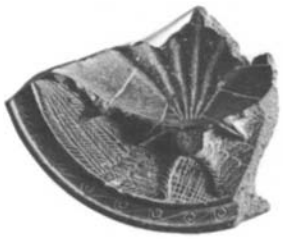


Abb. 19. 20. (Nr. A10) Privatbesitz (Erlangen).

Diese Einzelheit ist anscheinend noch eine Reminiszenz des Kunstgewerbes pharaonischer Zeit. Bei Toilettengefäßen in Vogelform diente die separat gearbeitete Kopfpartie als Scharnier für einen Deckel, der aus den Flügeln gebildet war.[15] In geschlossenem Zustand sah das Behältnis also wie ein schwimmender Vogel aus. Dieser Vergleich verdeutlicht zugleich den großen Abstand solcher reizvoller Schöpfungen des Neuen Reichs von den stilisierten Kunstwerken der uns beschäftigenden Gruppe. Das Prinzip der Zweckform dominiert, wenn auch in der Einzelausführung das Gefühl für Qualität unverkennbar ist. Noch deutlicher illustriert die Unterseite des Schälchens diesen Befund. Innerhalb eines breiten, gedrehten Randes, der durch mehrere Rillen gegliedert wird, befindet sich ein

15. Vgl. J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens . . . Louvre* (Paris, 1972) 44f. Nr. OT 117–119 mit Abb. Derselbe Typus begegnet in reicherer Form auch bei Salblöffeln in Form einer Schwimmerin, die den Vogel vor sich hält: Ebendort 11f. Nr. OT 1–3 mit Abb. = I. Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel* (Wiesbaden, 1967) 138. 140, Nr. P. 4a, P. 5 Taf. 12; P. 11a Taf. 15, wo außer den drei zitierten Exemplaren im Louvre zahlreiche Parallelen besprochen sind.

16. Verschollen, jedenfalls 1979 nicht auffindbar. Mir nur bekannt durch die Beschreibung in: G. Kminek-Szedlo, *Catalogo di antichità egizie* (Turin, 1895) 364 Nr. 3277, aus Slg. Palagi; Parlasca, *Coll. Trier* Anm. 46.—Zur ägyptischen Sammlung dieses Malers und Architekten (1775–1860) vgl. S. Curto—E. Fiora, in: *Pelagio Palagi artista e collezionista*, Ausstellungskat. Bologna, 1976, 369ff.

Abb. 21. (Nr. B2) Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum C.G. 18765.

Abb. 22. 23. (Nr. B4) London, British Museum Eg. Dept. Inv. 32256.

Blattkelch, der sich um ein Mittelfeld mit Blütenrosette legt.

Es gibt aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten auch mehrere Schälchen, bei denen die Vogelform deutlicher herausgearbeitet ist, besonders der Kopf und das zu einer geriefelten Höhlung umgestaltete Flügelpaar. Auch bei dieser Gruppe wird zwischen dem Vogelkörper und den Flügeln kein Unterschied gemacht. Der typologische Zusammenhang ist offenkundig; dabei sind die Vogelschälchen sicher als die ältere Form anzusehen. Im einzelnen konnte ich folgende Beispiele ermitteln (B):

1. Bologna, Museo Civico archeologico Inv. B 3277.[16]
2. Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum C.G. 3560 (Silber).[17]
3. Ebendort C.G. 18765 (Abb. 21).[18]
4. London, British Museum Eg. Dept. Inv. 32256 (Abb. 22. 23).[19]
5. Ehemals Paris, Kunsthandel (1923).[20]

Als Sonderform ist vermutlich hier ein verschollenes Schälchen anzuschließen, das sich früher in Berlin befunden hat, wo es ohne nähere Begründung als koptisch klassifiziert war (Abb. 24).[21] Die sechsblättrige Rosette auf der Unterseite spricht sogar für eine relativ frühe Datierung, wohl noch im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

Die Unterseiten dieser Schälchen bedürfen einer systematischen Analyse. Die Variationsbreite ihres Dekors erlaubt mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit, Werkstattgruppen zusammenzustellen. Vor allem aber wird sich mit ihrer

17. F. W. von Bissing, *Metallgefässe* (Cat. Gén. 1901) 65 Taf. 2; A. Jolles, *JdI* 23, 1908, 240 Abb. 39b; F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (1912) 72; G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* 4. Aufl. (1915) 545 Nr. 5554; M. Bratschkova, "Die Muschel in der antiken Kunst," *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulgare* 12, 1938, 119 Nr. 820; L. Keimer, *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* 28, 1945/46 (1947) 132, 133, 136 Anm. 1 (demnach ist das Naturvorbild eher ein Adler als ein Falke).

18. Durchmesser = 10 cm; aus Naukratis. Die Augen waren eingelegt. —F. W. von Bissing, *Steingefässe* (Cat. Gén. 1904/07) 165 Taf. B; Petrie a.O. 38; Keimer a.O. 132 (Naturvorbild eher Falke als Adler); Parlasca, *Coll. Trier* Anm. 45.

19. Acç.-no. 1876/11-30.18; Durchmesser = 8,5 cm; angeblich aus Alexandria.—Parlasca, *Coll. Trier* Anm. 45 Taf. 20, 5.6.

20. Maße und Verbleib unbekannt; *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiens et gréco-romaines*, Auktionskatalog Paris Feuardent Frères 19. Nov. 1923, 10 Nr. 128, Taf. 3 "Belle petite tête d'aigle très expressive. Fragment d'une coupe en schiste gris"; Parlasca, *Coll. Trier* Anm. 46.

21. Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung Inv. 4158: J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Cat. Gén Kairo; Wien, 1904) 109 (provis. Nr. 812); O. Wulff, *Altchristliche Bildwerke* (1909) 49 Nr. 130 Taf. 4 ("Schwarzer Stein; 3./4. Jh."). Erworben 1902, "aus Kene". Dieses damals bekannte Zentrum des oberägyptischen Antikenhandels ist offenbar nur der Erwerbungsort. Trotzdem ist Oberägypten als Provenienz wahrscheinlich.

Abb. 24. Berlin, Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung Inv. 4158 (Kriegsverlust).

Hilfe auch die relative Chronologie dieser Gattung genauer herausarbeiten lassen. Ich habe bereits in meiner vorhergehenden Studie darauf hingewiesen, daß Schälchen mit deutlich frühen Reliefs an der Innenseite auch am Boden schlichte frühe Muster aufweisen.[22] Hierbei handelt es sich ausschließlich um Rosettendekor, den M. Pfrommer aufgrund des von mir gesammelten Materials erstmals analysiert hat.[23] Die Vergleichsbasis seines Exkurses sind entsprechende Muster auf Silbergefäßen, die er im Zusammenhang mit seiner Dissertation sorgfältig untersucht hat.[24]

Auch im Falle der zuletzt genannten Vogelschalen gibt die Ausarbeitung der Unterseiten offensichtlich Anhaltspunkte für eine relative Datierung. Das Londoner Exemplar (Nr. 4) mit seiner fächerförmig gerippten Außenseite zeigt eine logische Entsprechung zur Gefäßform (Abb. 22. 23). Im Gegensatz dazu besitzt das Kairiner Exemplar aus Stein (Nr. 3) eine glatte schälchenartige Unterseite, die nur durch einen geritzten Doppelring gegliedert ist. Eine derartige Verselbständigung der beiden Seiten desselben Objekts ist sicher als eine Weiterentwicklung anzusehen; dieses Exemplar ist also relativ später anzusetzen.

Interessanterweise besteht ein Schälchen dieser Gruppe aus Silber (Nr. 2). Wir gewinnen daraus die willkommene Bestätigung für die Annahme, daß die Steinschälchen auf Metallvorbilder zurückgehen. Dabei ist in erster Linie an Silber zu denken, zumal auch bei den Metallparallelen der frühen figürlich verzierten Steinschälchen bisher nur solche aus Silber bekannt sind.[25] Die Beziehungen der Steinschälchen zu derartigen Prototypen bestätigen zugleich auch das oben begründete chronologische Verhältnis der beiden Vogelschälchen Nr. 3 und 4 unserer Liste. Die aus Edelmetall getriebenen Stücke haben natürlich zwei einander entsprechende Seiten. Nur bei den ältesten Steinschälchen findet sich derselbe Befund. In der nächsten Entwicklungsphase ging man von diesem technisch nicht erforderlichen Prinzip ab und versah die Schälchen mit einer bequemeren Standfläche, die sich durch Abdrehen auch besser vorarbeiten ließ.

Schwierig bleibt allerdings das Problem der absoluten Chronologie der hier besprochenen Gruppen von Steinschälchen. Man gewinnt allerdings den Eindruck, daß die ältesten Beispiele mit Sicherheit noch in die (spät) hellenistische Zeit gehören; die jüngsten Stücke reichen vielleicht noch bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit. Im Laufe des 1./2. Jahrhunderts verlagerte sich dann das Interesse ganz auf die figürlich verzierten Schälchen, wobei die Rosettenmuster der frühen Exemplare ganz verschwinden.

NACHTRAG

Nach Manuskriptabschluß wurde ich durch J. Frel auf ein weiteres Schälchen dieser Gruppe aufmerksam, das dem J. Paul Getty Museum geschenkt wurde (83.AA.11). Es ist als Nr. 7 a unserer Liste (oben S.) zuzufügen. Die Mittelrosette der Außenseite entspricht den Exemplaren Nr. 2 (Berlin), 3 (Hannover) und 9 (Privatbesitz) dieser Zusammenstellung. Der Vogelkopf war mit einem Stift angefügt. Das in meinem früheren Aufsatz veröffentlichte Schälchen im Kunsthandel Zürich (Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Taf. 23, 1.2) kam inzwischen in eine kalifornische Privatsammlung.

Erlangen

22. Parlasca, *Coll. Trier*, Taf. 21,2; 26,1.2.4; 27,4.6.
23. Pfrommer 159f.
24. *Studien zur spätklassischen und frühhellenistischen Toreutik*, Diss. Erlangen 1979.
25. Parlasca, *Coll Trier*, 154 mit weiteren Nachweisen.

Some Roman Glass in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Catherine Lees-Causey

The collection of ancient glass in the J. Paul Getty Museum contains representative examples which range in time from the Late Hellenistic to the Islamic periods. This short note is to introduce four selections of Roman glass which are of special interest and display the glassmaker's virtuosity.

1. CINERARY URN
   80.AF.125
   Presented by Richard Swingler
   Probably Italian or Rhenish
   Second half of first century A.D.
   Ht.: 25.3 cm.; Max. dia. body: 25 cm.;
   Dia. rim: 17.9 cm.; Dia. base: 13.2 cm.

Broken. Two areas of repair below right handle. Pale greenish-blue. Free blown. Lid missing. Body fairly thin, base and rim somewhat thicker. Round-bellied, near globular body curving to concave neck, flaring conically to heavy rim. Rim folded out, over, and in. Base fairly wide with medium kick, no pontil mark. Two tall, double arched handles, set vertically on shoulders, tops level with bottom of rim, "rat-tails" up right hand sides. The pairs of arches pinched together at center, handles attached at three points. Slight remains of creamy film, faint iridescence. Two shallow dents approximately one-third the distance up from the foot on both sides of the belly.

Such urns or jars are the largest free blown vessels of Roman manufacture to survive. They were usually intended as lidded urns to hold cremation ashes and placed in graves with other grave goods. Under such conditions (prolonged burial) the pressure of other items on the urn may have caused the shallow indentations noted above. Vessels of this size and shape may also have served as containers for commercial or household purposes, as some have been found in Italy containing the remnants of fruit and oil. The museum's example of the large urn is especially handsome with its harmonious proportions and graceful shape. The knobbed lid commonly found with such vessels is missing from this urn.

Figure 1. Cinerary urn. Malibu 80.AF.125.

Parallels: Auth (1976), no. 99, pp. 92–3: Canivet (1969), 21, fig. 4; Calvi (1968), pl. H1; Corning (1957), no. 204, p. 119, variation of shape; Dusenbery (1951), pl. 23, pp. 21–22; Eisen (1927), 1, pl. 9A; Fremersdorf (1958), pl. 99; Hayes (1975), no. 615–16, pp. 148–9; Honey (1946), pl. 6A, p. 26; Isings (1957), form 64; Kisa (1908), pl. III, fig. 55; Los Angeles County Museum of Art 53 16A,B; Morin-Jean (1913), pp. 42ff; von Saldern (1968), no. 45; Spartz (1967), no. 42, Taf. 10; Toledo (1978), p. 81, fig. 18; Trier (1977), nrs. 1450–57, pp. 244–45; Schosser (1977), fig. 201, p. 31; Wiseman (1969), pp. 86–7, pl. 32, 1.

2. BOWL WITH TOOLED RIM
   78.AF.22

Figure 2. Bowl with tooled rim. Malibu 78.AF.22.

Ex. coll. H. Leonard Simmons, New York
Syro-Palestinian
Third-fourth century A.D.
Ht.: 7.7 cm.; Dia.: 14 cm.

Free blown with tooling. Clear greenish with some iridescence and creamy film. Applied round foot, body with straight walls flaring to a collar and wide rim tooled to form twelve points.

Bowls of this shape and tooled ornamentation are not common in late Roman glass. During the fourth century, ornamentation of glass vessels frequently took the form of small nips on the body vessel. These were obtained by pinching the still malleable material with glassmaker's pincers. Rim decorations such as these points were created by catching a small portion of the outside rim with the pincers and pulling. The close similarity in style (although number of points differ) between Dorig no. 351, Harden no. 257, Los Angeles Museum of Art M.45.3.74, Platz-Horster no. 176, and von Saldern (1980) no. 107, suggests the possibility of a common workshop or artisan.

Parallels: Dorig (1975), no. 351; Harden (1936), no. 257; Isings (1957), form 42d; Platz-Horster (1976), p. 88, no. 176; Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.45.3.74; von Saldern (1980), p. 108, no. 107.

3. FLASK WITH INTERIOR THREADS
71.AF.85
Syro-Palestinian
Fifth-sixth century A.D.
Ht.: 13.6 cm.; Max. dia. body: 8.2 cm.

Intact. Clear pale blue. Globular body with flattened base, slight kick. Cylindrical neck with sharp constriction at bottom. No pontil mark. On neck trailed decoration of medium blue, alternating one heavy and two thin threads. Five enclosed interior threads from top of base to shoulder.

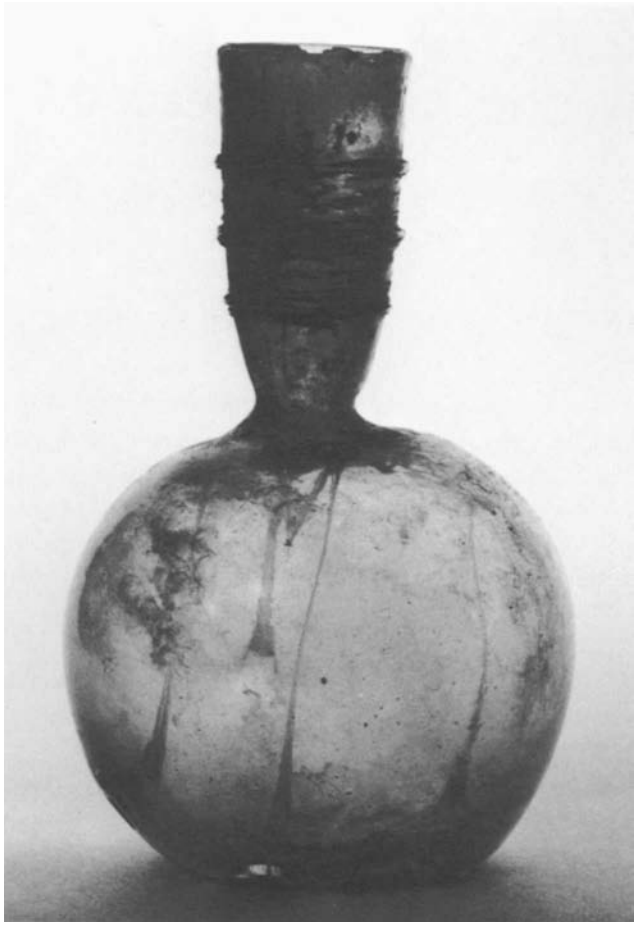


Figure 3. Flask with interior threads. Malibu 71.AF.85.

Though this flask shares its shape and style of neck decoration with countless examples of the fifth and sixth centuries, it is a rare example of virtuosity in glass making. Only some half dozen flasks containing interior threads still exist. These enclosed threads were obtained by piercing the hot glass bubble with a sharp tool, quite possibly of copper, and reheating the vessel, which traps the air inside the wall.

Parallels: Auth (1976), p. 128, fig. 158; Harden et al. (1968), no. 125, p. 90; As cited by Auth (1976), Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, D-994; Toledo (1978), p. 88, fig. 30; Toledo (1969), 23.534, 23.1239, 23.2074.

4. PENDANTS
78.AF.321.1-5
Presented by Ira Goldberg
Eastern Mediterranean
Sixth-seventh century A.D.
Avg. ht. 2.2 cm.

Five pendant medallions roughly roundish in shape. No. 1 yellowish amber colored glass, 2,3,4,5 darker amber col-

Figures 4–8. Pendants. Malibu 78.AF.321.1–5.

or. Nos. 1,2,3,4 bear a frontal portrait bust in the Imperial Byzantine style. It appears to be a female wearing what may be a crown with pendilia and staring straight ahead with large intent eyes. Left field N I, right field K H. No. 5 depicts a rooster facing left with well-defined comb and tail. All bear a thick raised cuff created by the stamping of the design. The reverse of all the medallions is smooth and flat. The attachment is a flat drop of glass with a horizontally bored hole for stringing.

Amulet pendants strung in necklaces were used for personal adornment or could be carried separately on the person. Some were intended to protect the wearer either by reference to a saint or deity or as an apotropaic device. (For complete discussion see Eisen, pp. 517–38, 672). Amulets could also serve as testimony to one's religious faith and belief. Many amulet pendants comparable to those in the Getty collection, of different colors and symbols, survive in collections and museums throughout the world. They bear not only Christian but also Jewish, Sassanian, and pagan symbols. The symbols on the Getty amulets do not appear to be particularly religious; indeed, the rooster could carry a Christian or pagan meaning equally well. The amulets may possibly have originally been strung in the same necklace. Necklaces usually alternated amulets with shaped beads. The choice of amber colored glass could have been a deliberate attempt to resemble gems which were carved from carnelian, a semiprecious highly prized stone, or carved amber.

Parallels: Constable-Maxwell Collection (1979), p. 112; Eisen (1927), p. 517; Harden (1936), pp. 297–8; de Ridder (1909), tome 6, nos. 664ff, p. 284: von Saldern (1980, Sardis), p. 89.

List of works cited and abbreviations:

Auth (1976)	Auth, Susan H. *Ancient Glass at the Newark Museum.* Published by the Newark Museum, with assistance from the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1976.
Calvi (1968)	Calvi, M.C. *I vetri Romani del Museo di Aquileia,* Pubblicazioni dell' Associazione Nazionale de l'Università de Aquileia 7, 1968
Coll. de Clerq (1909)	*Collection de Clerq. Catalogue.* Bd. VI: A. de Ridder, *Les terres cuites et les verres,* Paris 1909.
Corning (1957)	*Glass from the Ancient World, The Ray Winfield Smith Collection,* Exhibition catalog, Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, N.Y., 1957.
Dorig (1975)	Dorig, J. *Art Antique, Collections privées de Suisse Romane,* Editions Archéologiques de l'Université de Genève, 1975.
Dusenbery (1951)	Dusenbery, E. "Ancient Glass in the Eugene Schaefer Collection." *The Museum,* Published by the Newark Museum, n.s. 3, no. 1, Winter 1951.
Eisen (1927)	Eisen, G. A., assisted by Fahim Kouchakji. *Glass, Its Origin, History, Chronology, Technic, and Classification to the Sixteenth Century.* 2 vols., New York, 1927.
Fremersdorf (1958)	Fremersdorf, F., *Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln IV,* Das naturfarbene sogenannte blaugrune Glas in Köln, 1958.
Harden (1936)	Harden, D. B. *Roman Glass from Karanis, found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924–29,* University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series 41, Ann Arbor, 1936.
Hayes (1975)	Hayes, J. W. *Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum.* ROM, Ontario, 1975
Honey (1946)	Honey, W. B. *Glass, A Handbook for the Study of all glass vessels of all periods and countries and a guide to the museum collection.* London, 1946.
Isings (1957)	Isings, Clasina. *Roman Glass from Dated Finds.* Groningen, 1957.
Kisa (1908)	Kisa, A. *Das Glas im Altertume.* 3 Bds. Leipzig, 1908.

Morin-Jean (1913) Morin-Jean. *La Verrerie en Gaule, sous l'empire Romain.* Henri Laurens, Editeur. Paris, 1913.

Goldstein (1979) Goldstein, S. M. *Pre-Roman and Early Roman Glass in the Corning Museum of Glass,* Corning, N.Y., 1979.

Oppenländer (1974) von Saldern A., et al. *Gläser der Antike, Sammlung Erwin Oppenländer,* Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln, 1974.

Platz-Horster (1976) Platz-Horster, G. *Antike Gläser Ausstellung im Antikenmuseum,* Berlin, 1976

von Saldern (1968) von Saldern, A. *Ancient Glass in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,* Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston, 1968.

von Saldern (1980) von Saldern, A. *Glass, The Hans Cohn Collection.* Mainz, 1980.

von Saldern Sardis (1980) von Saldern, A. *Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis.* Cambridge, Mass., 1980.

Spartz (1967) Spartz, E. *Antike Gläser, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel.*

Toledo (1978) *Ancient Glass.* Museum News, The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, vol. 20, no.3, 1978.

Trier (1977) Goethert-Polaschek, K. *Katalog der römischen Gläser des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier.* Mainz, 1977.

Wiseman (1969) Wiseman, J. "Excavations in Corinth, the gymnasium area, 1967–8." *Hesperia 38,* 1969.

Wulff (1909) Wulff, O. *Altchristlische und mittlelalterliche byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke.* vol. iii, Berlin, 1909.

Sotheby Parke Bernet Sale Catalog (1979) Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. *The Constable-Maxwell Collection of Ancient Glass,* June 1979.

Riverside Art Center
and Museum

A Musical Instrument

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

Although mentioned with some frequency in Latin literature,[1] *cymbala* themselves do not seem to have often survived. While an undamaged representation (fig. 1) of the *cymbala* is preserved on the support for a rosso antico sculpture of a centaur in the Getty Museum,[2] one of these musical instruments is actually part of the antiquities collection.[3]

It consists of two bronze clappers mounted on a bronze fork. The fork was made from a single piece of metal split about one-third of the way down to form a "Y" with the remaining intact portion then rolled over on itself to form a handle (fig. 2). Through both sides of the bifurcation is attached a cyclindrical piece of bronze on which the two clappers, via holes in their centers, are mounted. One tine of the fork has an extra puncture in it; it appears that the craftsman may simply have miscalculated the amount of space required for giving the clappers free play between the tines. One of the clappers retains more than half of its original edge (fig. 3), while its mate, however, has suffered heavier losses at its edge in addition to being badly dented (fig. 4). Even so, when gently shaken the instrument provides a fairly good impression of what it no doubt was originally meant to sound like.

Malibu

Figure 1. Detail from statue of a centaur. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. 82.AA.78.

1. Lucr. 2, 619; Cat. 63, 21; 63, 29; Ov. *Fasti* 4, 213; Verg. G. 4, 64; Livy 39, 8; Cic. *Pis.* 9, 20 sq.; Pliny 5, 1, 1 § 7; Pliny *Ep.* 2, 14, 13.

2. 82.AA.78.

3. 81.AC.6. Presented by A. Silver, Height: 16.1 cm. A comparable piece appears in *Hesperia Art*, Bulletin XIV, no. 17 and is said to be from Syria. It differs somewhat from the Getty piece since its two bronze clappers are described as being mounted on an iron fork. A full discussion of cymbals appears in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1887), pp. 1697–8.

Figures 2–4. Cymbals. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AC.6.

Homer in Malibu

William Brashear

On display in the J. Paul Getty Museum but easily overlooked among the more imposing treasures are two papyrus fragments which were presented to the museum in 1976 by Mrs. Lenore Barozzi.[1] The first of these has been published by J.G. Keenan ("A Papyrus Letter about Epicurean Philosophy Books," Getty *MJ* 5 [1977], 91–94). The second is the subject of the present note.

The minuscule papyrus (4.4 x 1.9 cm.), broken off on all but one side which preserves a lower margin of 1.5 cm. bears writing on both surfaces. Thus far only the fragmentary text of the recto surface (horizontal fibers) has been published by J. Frel ("Antiquities in the JPGM." *Pamphlet* 2. Nov.-Dec. 1977) as Homer, *Odyssey* X 397-403. That of the verso (vertical fibers) still defies attempts at identification.

The script of the *Odyssey* text may be assigned to the first century B.C. and compared with *P. Oxyrhynchus* IV 659 (= R. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, Ann Arbor 1965², no. 1371 = E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1971, no. 21). The 0.47 cm. high letters are individually formed. Serifs[2] occasionally decorate the vertical hastae of such letters as phi, gamma, nu, or kappa. The lower horizontal stroke of zeta (l. 3) ends in a "Zierstrich." Noteworthy are the heterogeneous letter forms of tau (l. 1) formed with two strokes, one horizontal and one vertical, and tau (l. 7) with one curved stroke as the left half of the cross bar and vertical hasta and another horizontal stroke for the right half of the cross bar. Theta (l. 3) has a medial cross bar, theta (l. 6) has a dot in its stead. Round, normal-size epsila (l. 3) contrast with a large, ungainly epsilon (l. 7). No accents or diacritical marks are preserved. New or divergent readings are lacking. As S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Cologne and Opladen 1967, 285, says with regard to vulgate Ptolemaic papyri, by this time "the text was well protected and remained comparatively stable." She is able to list six *Odyssey* papyri from the first century B.C. The only other papyrological attestation for these lines was heretofore *P. Fayum* 157 descr. with *Odyssey* X 399–402 (= Pack² no. 1092).

The text has been collated with the edition of von der Mühll (1946). Despite the admonitions of M. Manfredi, *Papiri dell'Odissea*, Florence, 1979, 6, against such a practice, the missing portions have been restored (in brackets) for the convenience of the non-expert.

[ἔγνωσαν δ' ἐμὲ κεῖνοι] ἔφυςν τ' ἐ[ν χερσὶν ἕκαστος.]
[πᾶσιν δ' ἱμερόεις ὑπέ]δυ γόος ἀμ[φὶ δὲ δῶμα]
[σμερδαλέον κονάβι]ζε. θεὰ δ' ἐ[λέαιρε καὶ αὐτή.]
[ἡ δέ μευ ἄγχι στᾶσα πρ]οσηύδα [δῖα θεάων]
[Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη] πολυμ[ήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,]
[ἔρχεο νῦν ἐπὶ νῆα θοή]ν καὶ θῖν[α θαλάσσης.]
[νῆα μὲν ἂρ πάμπρω]τον ἐρύ[σσατε ἠπειρόνδε]

The larger letters (0.65 cm.) of the verso side appear at first glance to be different from the ones of the recto side. Yet the case can be made for their stemming from the same hand, especially if one compares the letter forms of tau, epsilon, and rho in the last line of the recto with the same letters on the verso. Upsilon on both sides is similar. The text might possibly be a paraphrase, commentary, or scholion pertaining to the *Odyssey* text of the recto.

]ν[
].ερειῳ[
].μενου[
]ον [
]γεντα[
]ιεντορ[
]ναυτον[
]ο βασιλ[

2 ἐρεῖ?,ερερε[?
6 ἔντο?, τοι?

West Berlin

1. The papyrus bears the inv. no. 76.AI.56. I would like to thank J. Frel for placing the papyrus at my disposal.

2. Cf. G. Menci's discussion in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979) 23–53.

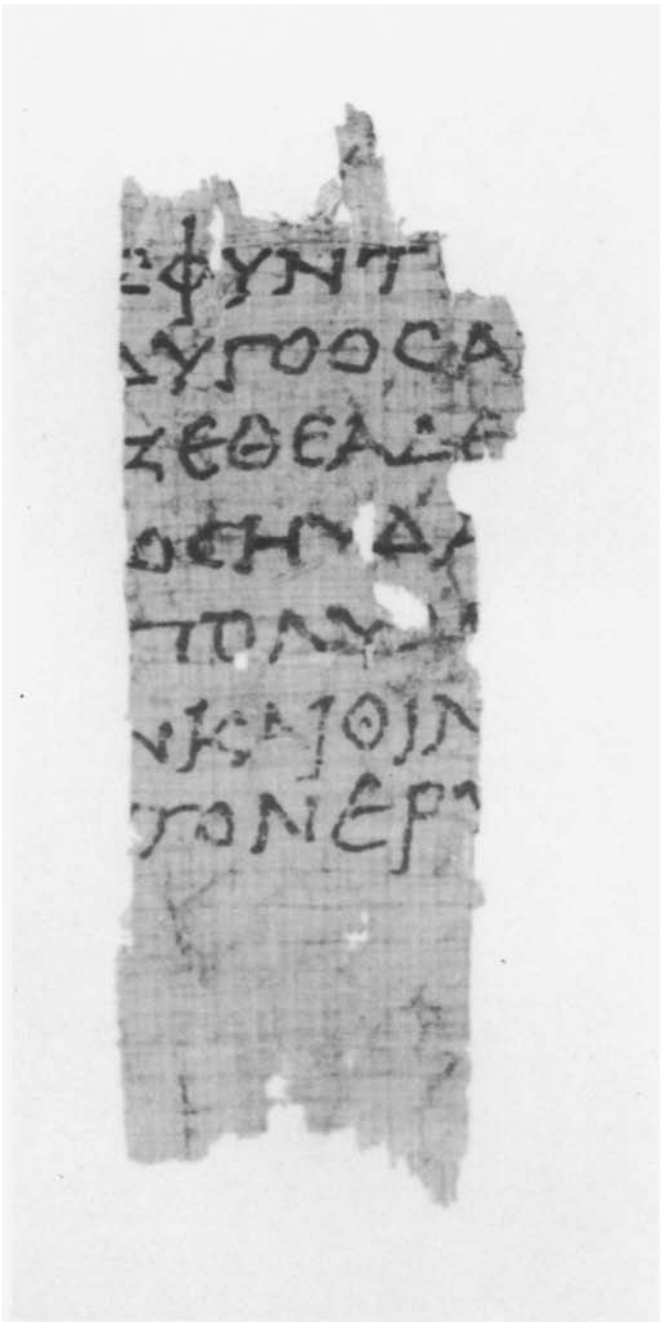


Figure 1. Papyrus fragment, recto. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AI.56.

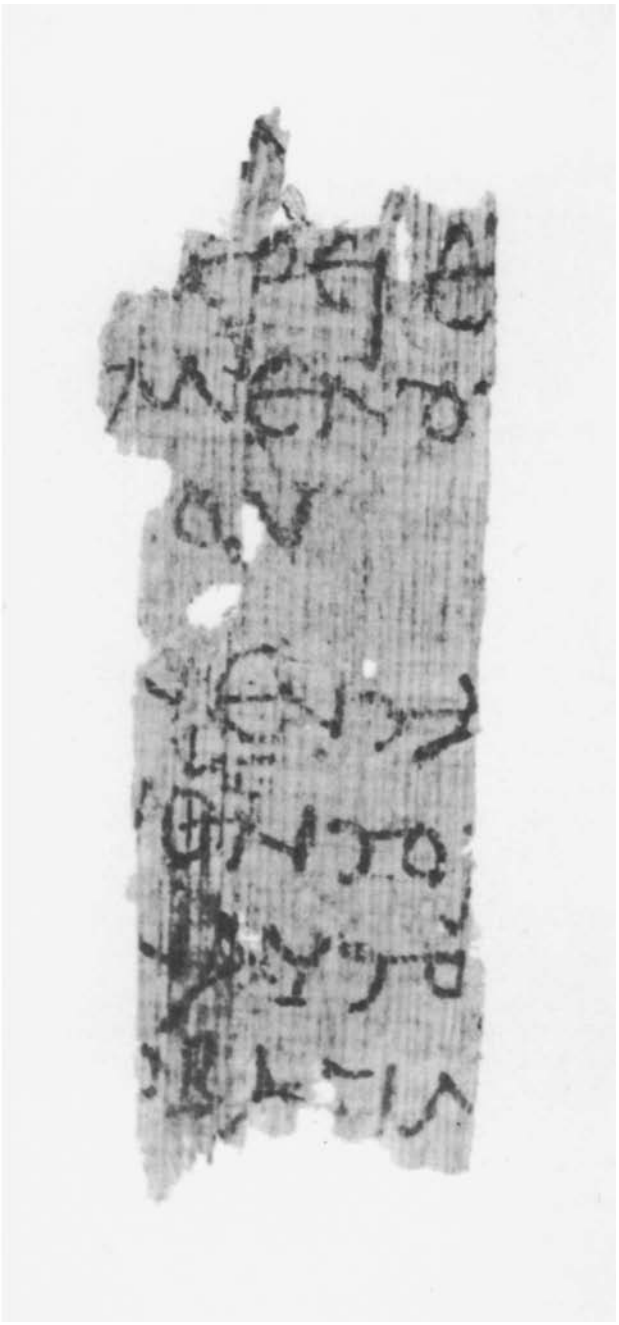


Figure 2. Figure 1, verso.

A Byzantine Sale of Land

William Brashear

Early in the spring of 1982, the Berlin collector A. Kiseleff acquired a collection of tablets and boards with writing on them in Egypt near Sheik Ibada. Two of the boards proved to contain portions of land sales of Byzantine date —whether copies of the same sale or records of two different transactions it is difficult to say (*v. infra*). Both texts were so fragmentary and the language so stylized that they were indistinguishable from numerous other contemporary sale contracts already published.

During the first days of June 1982, while vacationing in California, I chanced upon the missing lower section of one of the boards in Berlin. Since I was leaving California soon, I could only hurriedly make some xerox reproductions of the board and begin deciphering work from them.[1]

In the meantime the Berlin board has been incorporated into the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (inv. no. K 1022), while the California section belongs to the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California (inv. no. 82.AI.76). My sincere thanks go to both A. Kiseleff and J. Frel for allowing me to unite the respective portions of the one document in this presentation.[2]

Abbreviations:

Aegyptus = *Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia*, Milan 1920 ff.
APF = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1901 ff.
Berger, *Strafklauseln* = Adolf Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911
CdE = *Chronique d'Egypte*, Brussels 1925 ff.
Ferrari = Giannino Ferrari, *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell' Italia meridionale*, Leipzig 1910, reprint Aalen 1974
JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London 1914 ff.
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London 1880 ff.
JJP = *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Warsaw 1952 ff.
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*, London 1911 ff.
Kircher = Rudolf Kircher, "Zur Geschichte des ravennatischen Kaufvertrags," *ZSS* 32 (1911) 100–128
MB = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Munich 1915 ff.
MPER = *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Vienna 1887 ff.
Num.Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1921 ff.
Pringsheim, *Sale* = *Fritz Pringsheim, The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimer 1950
Recueil = *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J.-F. Champollion*, Paris 1922
Schwarz, *Urkunde* = Andreas Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1920
Steinwenter, *Fundus* = Artur Steinwenter, *Fundus cum instrumento. Eine agrar- und rechtsgeschichtliche Studie.* Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wissens. Phil.-hist. Kl. 221. Bd., 1. Abh., Vienna 1942
Steinwenter, *Recht* = Artur Steinwenter, *Das Recht der koptischen Urkunden*, Munich 1955
TAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Lancaster 1869 ff.
Taubenschlag, *Law* = Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, Warsaw 1955[2]
von Woess, *Urkundenwesen* = Friedrich von Woess, "Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten," *MB* 6, Munich 1924
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn 1967 ff.
ZSS = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte.* Romanistische Abteilung, Weimar 1880 ff.

Papyri:

P. Bad. = *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*, Heidelberg 1923 ff.
BGU = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin 1895 ff.
P. Col. VII = R. Bagnall and N. Lewis, *Columbia Papyri* VII, *Fourth Century Documents from Karanis*, Missoula 1979
P. Flor. = *Papyrologica Florentina* VII. *Miscellanea Papyrologica a cura di R. Pintaudi*, Florence 1980
P. Köln = *Kölner Papyri, Papyrologica Coloniensia*, vol. 7 ff., Opladen 1976 ff.
P. Lond. = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1893 ff.
P. Mich. = *Michigan Papyri*, Ann Arbor 1931 ff.
P. Michael. = *The Greek Papyri in the Collection of* Mr. G.A. *Michailidis*, ed. D.S. Crawford, London 1955
P. Monac. = *Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrussammlung der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München: Byzantinische Papyri*, ed. A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger, Leipzig-Berlin 1914
P. Oxy. = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898 ff.
P. Par. = *Notices et textes des papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, J. Letronne, W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger, Paris 1865
PSI = *Papyri greci e latini* (Pubblicazione della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto), Florence 1912 ff.
P. Tor. = "Papyri graeci Musei Taurinensis Aegyptii" in *Reale Accademia di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Memorie* 31 (1827) 9–188 and 33 (1829)
SB = *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Straßburg 1915ff.
SPP = *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, Leipzig 1901 ff.
Tjäder = Jan-Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1, Lund 1955

Symbols:

αβγ̣δ̣	uncertain letters
[ ]	lacuna
⟨ ⟩	omission in the original
{ }	superfluous letters
( )	expanded abbreviations
\ /	supralinear addition

1. Provenance and date of find are unknown.

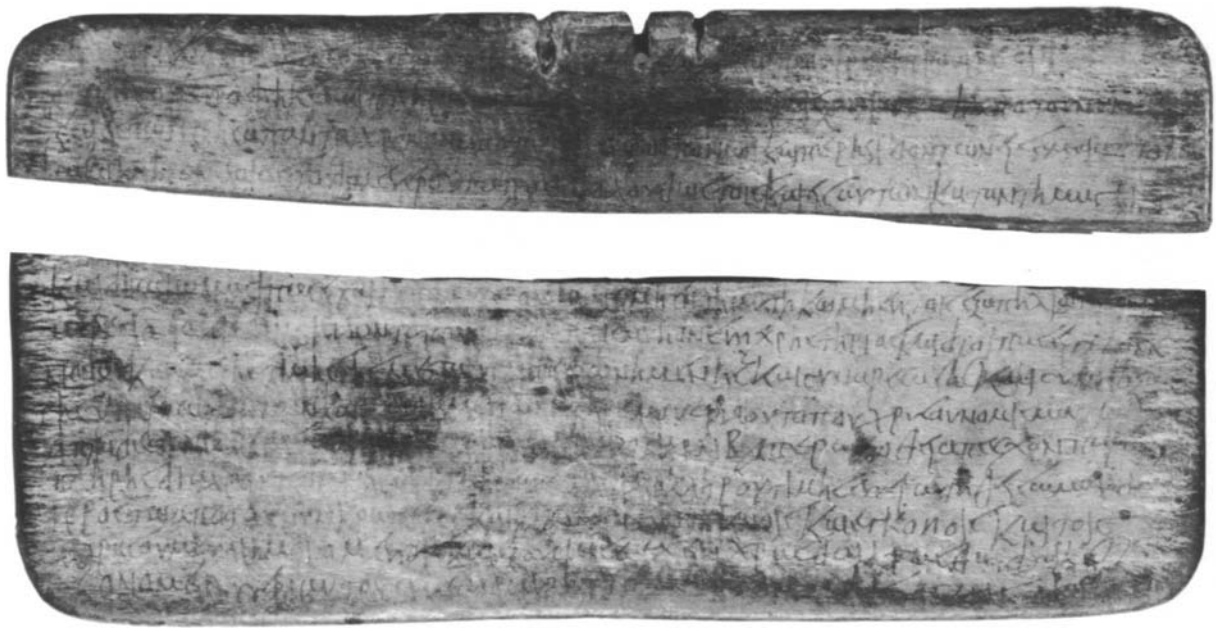


Figure 1. Byzantine wooden tablet, obverse. Top: Würzburg; bottom: Malibu 82.AI.76.

Intact, the board in question would have measured 12 x 27 x 0.7 cm. Three holes have been drilled in the upper long side. Two of them pierce the board, whereas the third was left unfinished. One of the holes still contains a section of cord. On one side of the board furrows have been cut between the holes and edge of the board while notches are likewise cut into the edge of the board adjacent to the holes—all this so that the cord which would have bound this board to others would fit flush with the surfaces and edge of the board (*v.* C. Römer, *P.Köln* IV 173 introd.). The board is otherwise unadorned.

It has been prepared for writing with a white-wash[3] which in most places is well preserved. The margins are as follows: to the left, 1 cm.; along the top, 0.8 cm.; at the bottom of the front side, 0.7 cm.; and 4 cm. on the back.

Although land sale contracts on papyrus from Byzantine Egypt are well-attested (*v. infra*) contracts of any type on wood are relatively scarce, e.g. *SB* I 5941 (didactic exercise); 5139 = *MPER* V, pp. 18–19, are to my knowledge the only published ones. R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 97 mentions contracts on wooden boards in the Vatican collection. In the collection of the papyrological institute in Leiden there is also an unpublished contract on wood (inv. no. V 12—S. Vleeming, letter November 18, 1982). More often boards bear school exercises (*ZPE* 6 [1970] 133ff.; *v. infra* note 3); private accounts (*SB* V 7451, X 10551; *ZPE* 6 [1970] 149); and liturgical texts (*P. Bad.* 60,65; *P. Köln* IV 173; *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 58f.). Magical texts, testaments, edicts, and letters have also been found written on wood.

The script, written in black ink, bears strong resemblance to the writing on the tablet pictured in *Aegyptus* 9 (1928) 121 of the fifth century A.D. However, we are not dependent upon paleographical considerations alone for dating the text. According to the information in line 16, we can determine that it was written in A.D. 474, thus making it one of the few documents available to us from that century and the only one so far from that year—*v.* R. Bagnall and K. Worp, "Papyrus Documentation in Egypt from Constantine to Justinian," *P. Flor.* VII, pp. 13–23, whose graphs vividly show the enormous and still unexplained drop in the documentation from A.D. 400 to 500.[4]

Although the upper half of the board which was bought in Sheik Ibada, the site of the ancient city of Antinoopolis,[5] would be expected to contain formulae typical of the Antinoopolite documents, this is not the case. The formulae of this contract are exactly those characteristic for documents drawn up in the Oxyrhynchite nome—*v.*

2. I would also like to thank Naphtali Lewis for reading a first draft of this article.

3. Sometimes the boards are coated with wax and intended for repeated usage, especially in the schools (e.g. *JHS* 13 (1893) 293 ff; 29 (1909) 31 ff.), sometimes with plaster as the case is here (*v. ZPE* 48 (1982) 98,4; *CdE* 20 (1935) 361,2; *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 223). *JRS* 46 (1956) 115 lists objects where the writing was done directly on the wood.

4. R. Rémondon, "L'Egypte au 5e siècle de notre ère," *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milan 1966, pp. 135–149, is the precursor study of the evidence which is brought up to date by Bagnall and Worp.

5. For a general description of the city, its founding and institutions, see H. I. Bell, *JRS* 30 (1940) 133–147; H. Braunert, *JJP* 14 (1962) 73–88; H. Kühn, *Antinoopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im*

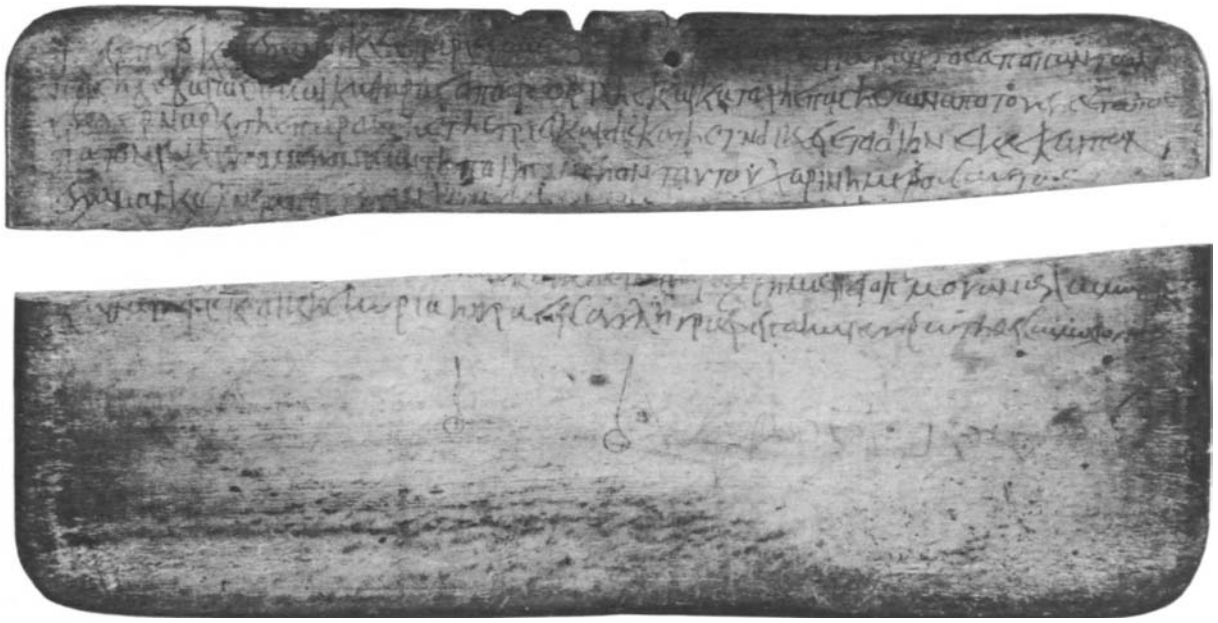


Figure 2. Reverse of figure 1. Top: Würzburg; bottom: Malibu 82.AI.76.

A.B. Schwarz, *Urkunde* 175ff., who compares the formulae used in various locales. A possible explanation for this apparent anomaly is as follows: The sale contract was evidently drawn up by an Oxyrhynchite scribe who employed the local, standard idiom. The seller, who was either an Oxyrhynchite or an Antinoopolite owning land in the Oxyrhynchite nome,[6] took his copy of the document home with him to Antinoopolis, some sixty miles away, where it lay 1500 years awaiting the day of its discovery.

Preserved is the body of a land sale contract. Missing are the heading, with possibly the date and certainly the names and origins of the parties to the contract, and at the end, a list of the witnesses to the transaction. The contract is couched in such stereotypic, formulaic phraseology that the only bits of information specific to this sale that can be gleaned are that the sale object was a piece of walled-in, bare land (l. 6) belonging to the seller through inheritance (l. 4) which he was selling to a sibling (l. 4) for two gold *solidi* (l. 9).

The size of the property, its location, and the surrounding properties are all omitted entirely or glossed over with the laconic καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς "etc." (l. 7). The notoriously wordy Byzantine contracts (v. ll. 2–3 n.) usually describe in great detail the size and location of the land in question. Exceptions are rare, e.g. *SB* III 6612.15 (= *Recueil*, pp. 261ff.): ἀρούρας δώδεκα . . . ἐφ' αἷς ἔχουσιν κατ' ἀγρὸν γειτνίαις καὶ τοποθεσίαις (Oxyrhynchite nome, A.D. 365); *P. Lond.* V 1686.15: ἀκολούθως ταῖς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐκεῖνον γετινίαις αὐτῶν (Aphrodito, A.D. 565) "according to the boundaries and divisions which they have on the spot." Whereas *SB* III 6612 is a copy[7] of the original, written in one script and devoid of witnesses' signatures, the London papyrus is an original document which nonetheless presumes that the boundaries of the land in question are known.

The criteria for considering the document on this board to be a copy are the lack of a dating formula and the absence of the witnesses' signatures. The writer furthermore considered it unnecessary to describe the bordering properties and simply glossed over them with the expression τὰ ἑξῆς. In a legally valid document, i.e. the original text, the boundaries would probably be indicated, and a date and witnesses' statements were *de rigueur.*

The evidence for the board being an original text is the presence of a line at the end of the document in a different, but as yet undeciphered script—a signature? Furthermore, there is a second board which may include the same contract; however, it is in a very slap-dash manner with

römischen Ägypten, diss. Leipzig-Göttingen 1913. G. Rouillard, *La vie rurale dans l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1928; H. I. Bell, *Recueil* 261 ff., and "An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian," *JHS* 64 (1944) 21–36; E. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York 1931 (repr. 1968) all describe the life and times in which our document was written.

6. For Antinoopolites owning land in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see *P. Oxy.* 42.3046, 45.3242.

7. 1.1 ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ἀ(ντίγραφον). The statement in 1.18 κυρία ἡ ἀντίπρασις ἁπλῆ γραφ(εῖσα) "this sale is irrefutable and exists in one copy" means that one original deed was drawn up. Any number of copies such as *SB* III 6612 could be produced. This would not change the fact that the original contract with subscriptions and signatures existed in one sole copy.

various additions and corrections.[8] Is this the first draft of the contract which was later written correctly and more carefully onto the board under consideration?

Originally the contract would have contained the following sections:

A. Head
   1) date of writing
   2) place of writing
   3) names of parties to the contract

B. Body
   1) declaration of sale and conveyance (l. 1–5: ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι και καταγεγραφηκέναι)
   2) description of sale object (l. 5–9: ἐν τοῖς ἔξ . . . νο(μισμάτια) β)
   3) receipt (l. 9–10: ἀπέσχον . . . ὡμολόγησα)
   4) expression of conveyance (l. 11–13: κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν . . . ἀνεμποδίστως)
   5) release of claims (l. 14–16: ἄσπερ παρέξομαι βεβαίας . . . διηνεκές)
   6) guarantee of protection (l. 16–19: καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπιλευσόμενον κτλ.)
   7) κυρία-clause (l. 19)

C. Conclusion
   1) signatures of the parties to the contract
   2) witnesses' signatures

As stated above, only the substance proper of the contract has been preserved (section B). The head and conclusion may have been on different boards which are now separated from the central board and lost. Together the three boards would have formed a triptych of which the present board was the central part. The first board would have served as an outer cover bearing the head of the document on its inner surface. The third board would have contained the signatures of the witnesses and the parties to the contract on its inner surface. Its outer surface would have been bare and served as a protective cover. But this is mere speculation. In all probability the text we have on the board is complete. Someone simply removed an individual board from a "book" and used it for his copy of the contract.

Parallel documents are listed in *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 12–19 and Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Turin 1973, p. 210, e.g. *P. Par.* 21, 21 b; *P. Monac.* 13; *P. Mich.* XIII 662, 664; *P. Oxy.* IX 1200, 1276; *PSI* VI 698; *P. Michael.* 40; *P. Lond.* III, p. 231f. The literature on the theory and practice of sales as evinced by Greek papyri from Egypt is vast. The interested reader will find pertinent discussion and bibliography in F. Pringsheim, *Sale*; Berger, *Strafklauseln* 124ff.; J. Herrmann, "Zum Eigentumserwerb beim Mobiliarkauf nach griechischem Recht," in D. Medicus, H. Seiler, *Festschr. f. Max Kaser*, Munich 1976, pp. 615–627; M.-J. Bry, *Essai sur la vente dans les papyrus gréco-égyptiens*, Paris 1909; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *La compravendita in diritto romano* I, Naples 1961, II, 1954; L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, II.1, Leipzig 1912, repr. Hildesheim 1963, 167ff.; Taubenschlag, *Law* 317ff.

Various scholars have investigated the strikingly uniform style of contemporary and even much more recent documents from Constantinople, Asia Minor and southern Italy, e.g. Ferrari; Tjäder; Steinwenter, *Fundus* 53; Kircher; Segrè, *Aegyptus* 11 (1930) 134ff.; von Druffel, *MB* 1, 50–51; Ehrhardt, *ZSS* 51 (1931) 126ff.; Steinacker, *Die antiken Grundlagen der frühmittelalterlichen Privaturkunden*, Leipzig 1927. Only sporadically have I quoted some of the parallels from these sources for the convenience of the reader.

Also Coptic deeds of sale from three centuries later, for example, W. C. Till, "Eine Verkaufsurkunde aus Dschême," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 5 (1939) 43ff.; J. Krall, "Zwei koptische Verkaufsurkunden," *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* 2 (1888) 25–36; A. Schiller, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts*, New York 1932, no. 7, show practically word-for-word translations of the Greek formulae—s. A. Steinwenter, *Recht* 24–25. Here is a section of a Coptic deed of sale from Jeme of about 750 A.D. (adapted from Schiller, *op. cit.*):

> I covenant regarding [this sale] and I enter with fixed writing into this matter; I wish and I [request] without any deceit or fear or duress or fraud or artifice or ruse or any restraint placed upon me, but of my own resolution, I sell to you from today on, which I have named above, all legal ownership, having been satisfied according to the laws of sale. Accordingly, I write that from now on unto all time forever after, therefore, the whole room which is below the staircase, which is ours (?), in the house of Paham Sōch (?), shall be (yours), that which came to us as the inheritance of my late mother Elisabet, which had been declared as her portion. No other legal rights are left to me in the whole of that room by any other inheritance or by written or unwritten intention.
>
> So now to you, you, Sevēros, the son of the late Samuēl, and Daniēl, the son of the late Shenute, those whom I have named above, you shall enter and you shall take possession of and you shall be owners and you shall be the masters of the whole of that room which is south of the staircase, which is ours (?), in that house, and you shall acquire it for yourselves and you shall administer it and you shall manage it and you shall keep it and it shall be considered as surrendered (so that you may) make a gift of it,

8. Preserved are in line 1 τα. . . [, 2 καὶ τὰ ἓξῆς τιμῆς [, 3 καὶ πεπραμένων / παρ' ἐμοῦ/ψιλοῦ τόπου χρυσ[οῦ ± 37]. ἀριθμῷ and from there on continuously to ἀνεμποδίστως, the only variant reading being ὁλόκληρα instead of ὁλοκλήρου in the phrase τῆς ὁλοκλήρου τιμῆς.

you. In the same fashion they shall take possession and they shall own and they shall be masters and they shall possess all ownership and all title and possession forever, validly and faultlessly. The price which was agreeable to me and agreed upon between us was three *holokottinos* of pure gold, of good weight, less a *trimēsion*, and paid in full, i.e., gold *nomismata* 2⅔, so that from now on, at once (you have) the administration of all that room for yourselves and those succeeding you.

No man acting for me, whether I or brother of mine or near relative or distant relative, shall be able to dispute with you in any fashion about any matter concerning that room, whether against you, you, Sevēros and Daniēl, or your children or your grandchildren, or your near relatives or your distant relatives, whether stranger or servant or any one of us on any cause or pretext. Nor shall he be able surrender it, leave it to your children and those succeeding to sue you in court or out of court, either in city or out of district, because I took and received from you the full price as payment in the manner in which I had agreed with you about it. If one should dare at any time or season, whether through us or through another acting as my agent, to dispute, namely, to sue, about any matter which concerns that room and controverts this deed of sale or any part of it, in the first place he shall not benefit in any way thereby, but he shall be estranged from the holy oath by which he is served. Afterwards he shall pay the fixed penalty of six *holokottinos* of pure gold and it shall be taken from his own property by the hand of the esteemed magistrate who is acting at that future date. After the payment of the penalty he shall be produced and he shall acknowledge and declare the validity of this binding sale, this which I drew up.

Side A

Kiseleff
Ꝑ[±4]ρον ὁμολογῶ ση.....τι[±7 ἀδό]λῳ προαιρέσι {προαιρέσι} πε̣[πρακέναι]
καὶ καταγεγραφηκέναι πληρεστάτῳ δεσπ[οτείας δι]καίῳ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ πάσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
καὶ εἰς τὼν ἑξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν διαφερόντων μοι καὶ περιελ̣'θόντων εἰς ἐμοῖς ἀπὸ δι-
καίῳ κληρονομίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς ἀκολούθως τοῖς καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν καταντήμασιν

Getty
καὶ δικαιώμασι πᾶσει καὶ τῇ πολυχρονίῳ νομῇ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ ἐν τοῖς ἔξ ἀπηλιωτικ̣οῖς
μέρεσι ὁλόκλ̣ηρον ψιλὸν τόπον περιτ̣ε̣..χισμένον σὺν χρηστηριος καὶ δι⟨καί⟩οι⟨ς⟩ πᾶσει γίτονες
νότου καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τιμῆς τῆς μεταξὺ .. πεφωνημένης καὶ συναρεσάσης καὶ συνδοξά-
σης ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ πεπραμένων παρ' ἐμοῦ ψιλοῦ τόπου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια
ἁπλᾶ δεσποτικὰ [δόκιμα εὔσταθμα ἀριθμῷ] δύο γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β ἅπερ αὐτόθει ἀπέσχον παρὰ [σοῦ]
πλήρης διὰ χειρός. πε̣ρὶ ἧ̣ς ἀ̣ριθμήσε̣ως τῆ̣ς ὁλοκλήρου τιμῆς ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα
πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατῖν σὲ καὶ κ̣υ̣ρι̣ε̣ύ̣ε̣ι̣ν σὺν τέκνοις καὶ ἐγκόνοις καὶ τοῖς
παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημψομένοις καὶ ἐξουσίαν σὲ ἔχειν χρᾶσθαι κτᾶσθαι διοικεῖν οἰ-
κονομεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐὰν α̣ἱ̣ρῇ̣ [παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀνεμπο]δίστως Ꝑ

Side B

Kiseleff
\+ ἅσπερ καὶ ἐπάναγκες παρέξομα[ι] . . . [. .] βεβαίας διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ πάντων
πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπό τε ὀφιλῆς καὶ κατοχῆς πάσης τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ἔτους $\overline{\text{ρνα}}$ $\overline{\text{ρκ}}$ τῆς παρούσης τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς καὶ πάν-
τα τὸν ἐπιλευσόμενον ἢ ἀντηποιησόμενον τούτου χάριν ἢ μέρους αὐτοῦ

Getty
ἐπάναγκέ⟨ς⟩ με ἀποστήσιν καὶ ἐκδικήσιν παραχρῆμ' εἰδίοις μου ἀναλώμασιν
καθάπερ ἐκ δικῆς. κυρία ἡ πρᾶσεις ἁπλῆ γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησ . . .

(m.2) δ δ.....

3 εἰς τόν, εἰς ἡμᾶς, εἰς ἐμέ 4 δικαίου, αὐτούς 5 πᾶσι 6 χρηστηρίοις, πᾶσι, γείτονες
8 ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πεπραμένου 11 πρὸς τό, κρατεῖν, ἐγγόνοις 14 ὄνπερ, βέβαιον 15 καθαρόν 17 ἢ ἀντιποιησόμενον
18 ἀποστήσειν, ἐκδικήσειν, ἰδίοις 19 πρᾶσις

1–2 πε̣[πρακέναι] καὶ καταγεγραφηκέναι: What were formerly two individual acts—the sale and the transfer of title—by now have become in Byzantine Egypt part and parcel of the one document—see A. Schwarz, "Katagraphe-Lehre", Actes du Ve congrès international de papyrologie, Brussels 1938, p. 449; A. Steinwenter, *Fundus* 33; Taubenschlag, *Law* 327f.; Pringsheim, *Sale* 145ff. The first occurrence of the word pair is from A.D. 330; by 350 it is prevalent (H.J. Wolff, *Aegyptus* 28 [1948] 95,5).

1].ον: ἀντίγραφον ("a transcript") is too large for the lacuna; ἴσον ("a second, legally valid copy") does not fit the traces: the letter before omicron appears to be rho. (B. Kübler, *ZSS* 53 [1933] 64–98 discusses the distinction between the two terms). Χαίρειν, which often concludes the heading in these sale contracts and appears just before the verb ὁμολογῶ, is out of the question.

ὁμολογῶ: v. H. von Soden, *Untersuchungen zur Homologie in den griechischen Papyri*, Cologne 1973.

2–3 Cf. Ferrari, p. 29: ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑξῆς ἅπαντας καὶ διηνεκεῖς χρόνους (in an Italian document of the 11th c.). H. Zilliacus, *Vierzehn Berliner Griechische Papyri*, Helsingfors 1941, 4.13 n. commenting on the redundancy of the phrase says ἀεί would have sufficed!

3 διαφερόντων: Cf. *SB* VI 9193.9 = *JEA* 23 (1937) 217: τὰ διαφέροντά μοι (Hermupolite nome, A.D. 527–565) Other documents have τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι καὶ περιελθόντα μοι *aut sim.*

περιελ'θόντων: E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1971, 13, discusses the use of the apostrophe to divide syllables.

Cf. Ferrari, p. 51: τὸ περιελθόν τι ἡμῖν ἐκ πατρικῆς καὶ μητρικῆς κληρονομίας (Sicily, 1185 A.D.).

4 1. δικαίου: E. Visser, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 276, notes that the expression ἀπὸ δικαίου is succeeded by the word designating the form of contract in the genitive, e.g. *SB* VI 9193.9: ἀπό δικαίου ἀντικαταλλαγῆς; V 8007.3: ἀπὸ δικ[αί]ου ὠνῆς. *P. Mich.* XIII 662.17 and *P. Monac.* 13.23 show the form ἀπὸ δικαίας κληρονομίας, where δίκαιος modifies the word following it.

κληρονομίας: v. H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der gräko-ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden*, Leipzig 1919 (repr. Aalen 1970), and M. Amelotti, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale*, Florence 1966.

τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός: Since the rest of the contract is couched in verbs of the first person singular, evidently buyer and seller were siblings.

καταντήμασιν: The word is rarely attested, so far in the papyri only in *PSI* VI 698.5 and 705.6 in the same phrasing as here.

5 τῇ πολυχρονίῳ νομῇ: This phrase is otherwise unattested in the parallel documents. It appears in *SB* V 8246.21,52 = *TAPA* 68 (1937) 357–387 = *P. Col.* VII 175.40, 71–2,74, in the minutes of a hearing about the disputed ownership of some property, where it is a direct translation of the Latin legal terminus "possessio longi temporis", corresponding in Anglo-American law to "adverse possession" or "prescriptive rights". By the provisions of this law, promulgated by Constantine somewhere between 325 and 333, forty years' possession gave uncontested ownership no matter what the origin of the possession was. Heretofore one had been required to produce evidence "of a lawful beginning of possession in order for length of time to confer uncontested possession on a landholder" (Bagnall, *P.Col.* VII, p. 175).

Here the owner and seller of the land clinches the point by citing the law: if hereditary and other rights are not enough to establish his claim to possession he throws in at the end his title by prescription.

6 ψιλὸν τόπον τετειχισμένον is expected. R. Rossi, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 42–56, discusses these so-called bare or empty plots which are sometimes entirely or partially walled in. They apparently sometimes even contained buildings and orchards and were not so empty as one would think. It is, however, difficult to imagine what the contract intends here with σὺν χρηστηρίοις "with appurtenances". One cannot help but think that the writer included the phrase by force of habit without considering the logic of the context.

χρηστηρίο⟨ι⟩ς: A. Steinwenter, *Fundus* 50–1 defines χρηστήρια in the first analysis as "Geräte", i.e. movable objects which were useful for whatever was being produced on the plot of land in question. By extension the word came to include also canalisation, cisterns, barns, sheds, etc., not, however, animals, seed, grain, or workers.

1. δικαίοις: Steinwenter, *Fundus* 56ff., notes the rarity of this word as it is used here in pre-Byzantine papyri. After Diocletian (284–305) it is widely attested, especially in the translation of the Latin phrase "cum omni jure suo" = μετὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ δικαίου (The plural δίκαια is not exactly the correct translation for the Latin singular "jus", but Steinwenter 56,6 attributes it to the attraction of the plural χρηστήρια). Cf. Tjäder no. 20.17: "omnique iure proprietateque" (Ravenna ca. A.D. 600). The literature on this subject includes P. Rasi, "La formula di pertinenza", *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz* II, Naples 1953, 105ff.; K. Durst, *Zubehör und Unternehmen im Rechte der Papyri*, Diss. Gießen 1938; F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten*, Diss. Gießen 1914, 85f.; R. Taubenschlag, *Law* 243,16.

7 νότου: That the list of bordering properties commences with the southern one is a long-standing tradition beginning in Ptolemaic times and still holding on here 700 years later—see F. Luckhard, *op. cit.* 3ff. When Luckhard wrote his dissertation, he could cite only three exceptions. W. Clarysse, *De Petrie-Testamenten*, diss. Louvain 1975, No. 1. 44–47 n. lists 16 exceptions. So far, no exceptions have been attested from Demotic documents (Clarysse, *ibid.*). See also G. Posener, *Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Egyptiens.* Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissens. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1965, 69–78.

7–9 τιμῆς κτλ.: Cf. Segrè, *Aegyptus* 11 (1930–31) 139 = Kircher, p. 103, 116: "pretium inter eosdem placitum et definitum . . . auri solidos dominicos obriziacos optimos pesantes numero etc." (Ravenna, A.D. 591).

1. μεταξὺ ἡμῶν συμπεφωνημένης.

8 νομισμάτια: *Nomisma*tion is the Greek translation for the Roman *solidus* coin which was introduced by Constantine I early in his reign. The coin weighed 1/72 of the Roman pound or 4.55 g. It continued to be minted for centuries, and its weight and gold content (980/000) remained relatively constant (G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich*, Helsingfors 1932, repr. Amster-

dam 1965, p. 77; Milne, "The Currency of Egypt in the 5th c. A.D.", *Num. Chron.* 6 (1926) 43–92 (non vidi); M.-R. Alföldi, *Antike Numismatik* I, Mainz 1978, p. 158; A. Johnson and L. West, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton 1944, repr. Amsterdam 1967, p. 137).

Since no indication of land measurements is given, any discussion of land value and price is speculative. By chance, one land sale document from fifth century Hermupolis also concerns a plot of bare land whose measurements are given as 2 *hammata* = 86 square meters and costing 3 gold *solidi* (*SPP* XX 110). All things being equal, one can reasonably deduce that our land tract was somewhat smaller.

9 The restoration is based on *P. Oxy.* VIII 1130.10 (A.D. 484), *SPP* XX 110.13 (fifth c. A.D.) and on the second board in the Kiseleff collection which preserves the reading]. ἀριθμῷ δύο κτλ. This is one of the few places where the xerox copy is illegible. The writing on the board is damaged here. An examination of the original might produce a few, but not many, more letters.

11 πρὸς τὼ "for πρὸς τό; but the error was so common . . . that it is probable that it is not a mere slip of the pen, but that the dative was thought to be correct. There was of course no difference in pronunciation between τω and τό in the (fifth) century"—Crawford, *P. Michael.* 40.29 n.

1. κρατεῖν σὲ καὶ κυριεύειν: This phrase enjoyed particular longevity. Forerunners are attested in Ptolemaic documents, e.g. *P. Tor.* I,VII,16: κράτησιν καὶ κυριείαν (118 B.C.). It appears full-fledged in Alexandrian documents of Augustan date in *BGU* IV and is even translated into Coptic in documents of the eighth c. A.D.—Steinwenter, *Recht* 24. Taubenschlag, *Law* 230–231 cites relevant bibliography, e.g. Mitteis, *APF* I (1901) 188; Schwarz, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 243ff.

Cf. Ferrari 53: καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦ ἔχειν αὐτὸ ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑξῆς καὶ διηνεκαὶς ἅπαντας χρόνους κτᾶσθαι, χρᾶσθαι, νέμεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔστιν πουλεῖν, χαρίζειν, ἀνταλλάττειν κτλ. (Italian document of A.D. 1110); Tjäder no. 20.32: "habeant, teneant, possedeant, juri dominioque more, quo voluerit, im perpetuo vindicent atque defendant" (Ravenna, ca. A.D. 600). Typically Byzantine is the accumulation of synonymous terms. *SB* VI 8987.26ff. (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 644–5) contains no less than eighteen different verbs delineating the rights of the buyer.

14 διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ πάντων: Cf. *BGU* IV 1130.19: ἐξακολουθεῖν . . . τὴν βεβαίωσιν διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ πάντων (Alexandria, 4 B.C.).

15 βεβαιώσει: v. Woess, *Urkundenwesen* 278ff., in an analysis of this word, differentiates between complete and limited *bebaiosis*. Here we have a case of complete *bebaiosis* (βεβαίωσις πᾶσα) which comprises two main guarantees: the seller relinquishes all his rights and claims to the property, the sale object is immune from claims made by others. Contracts from the second century B.C. up to the fourth century A.D. contain clauses specifying the fines the seller was obliged to pay if he should renege on his guarantees. After the Constitutio Antoniniana (A.D. 212), i.e. under increasing influence of Roman law, they gradually disappear (Berger, *Strafklauseln* 36,97). For general discussion see Taubenschlag, "Geschichte der Rezeption des römischen Privatrechts in Ägypten", *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante* I, Milan 1930, 367–440=*Opera minora* I, Warsaw-Paris 1959, 181–289; E. Schönbauer, "Untersuchungen über die Rechtsentwicklung i.d. Kaiserzeit", *JJP* 9–10 (1955–6) 15–96; *JJP* 7–8 (1953–4) *passim*; H.J. Wolff, *ZSS* 73 (1956) 1ff.

κατοχῆς: A. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, 146–7, briefly discusses the legal implications of this term meaning "confiscation, lien".

16 ἔτους $\overline{\rho\nu\alpha}\ \overline{\rho\kappa}$ = A.D. 474. The two numbers 151 and 120 refer to the regnal years of Constantius II and Julianus, which for reasons unknown were still counted centuries after their deaths. See Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Zutphen 1978, 36ff.

19 κυρία: See M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden. Berliner Juristische Abhandlungen* 3 (1960). H. J. Wolff, *ZSS* 90 (1973) 373, criticizes the traditional translation of this word as "valid". Since the clause imparts to the document "absolute Beweiskraft" a better translation would be "irrefutable".

ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα: E. Seidl, "Die 'Stipulatio' im ägyptischen Provinzialrecht", *Studi in onore de Gaetano Scherillo* II, Milan 1972, 627–633, summarizes the results of juridical research to date: classical Roman law contained a "stipulatio" which consisted of a formal question and answer, e.g. "centum mihi dari spondesne? spondeo." The person giving his assent was then obliged to produce what he had promised. Seidl cites Egyptian New Kingdom precedents, but notes, however, that Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt have nothing comparable. Not until A.D. 170 does the clause first appear in a papyrus document (*P. Oxy.* VI 905). By 220, at which point in time the lack of such a verbal stipulation in Egyptian contracts was keenly felt, its inclusion at the end of a contract became common. In this type of contract, however, Seidl regards the clause not as a "stipulatio" but as an "acceptilatio", corresponding to the formal question and answer "Acceptum habesne? habeo," and indicating that the transaction has been completed. Literature on the subject is vast. D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel*=*MB* 48, Munich 1964, is the latest, most comprehensive study citing earlier literature.

TRANSLATION

I agree . . . with honest intention (to having sold) and conveyed with the most complete right of ownership and every authority, from now on for all subsequent time from what belongs to me and has come down to us by lawful inheritance from our father according to the way (the property division) resulted for us, according to all legal claims and to the right of long-standing possession in the same village, the entire, walled-in, bare plot in the eastern six parts, with appurtenances and all rights, the neighbors being to the south, etc., the price agreed upon between us as fitting and jointly approved for the bare plot bought from me for two (in number) pure, imperial (genuine, full-weight) gold *nomismatia*, i.e. two gold *nomismatia*, which I have forthwith received from (you) in full from hand (to hand).

Having been asked the formal question with regard to the payment of the entire price, I have agreed, so that from now on you may possess and own together with your children and descendants and your successors and have the power to use, to possess, to manage and exploit it however you wish (in every way) unhindered. Which (property) I shall necessarily guarantee (to you) always against all claims with every guarantee and free from every debt and lien, from the present 151st and 120th year of the current thirteenth indiction forever. I shall necessarily ward off and defend you immediately at my own expense against anyone who shall attack you or take proceedings against you on account of this (land) or a part of it, as one does when bringing a *dike* (court procedure). This sale written in one copy is irrefutable. In answer to the formal question I have agreed (to everything).

West Berlin

A Silver Phylactery for Pain

Roy Kotansky

The silver *lamella* presented here is of the conventional sort; it represents a type of amulet apparently in widespread use throughout the Roman empire.[1] Such phylacteries[2] usually served to protect the bearer from a specified disease or, more generally, from harm, evil, or demonic influences. Generally, these amulets engraved on slips of precious metal were worn or put in a prescribed place to secure victory, improve business, or gain favor and popularity. Usually rolled up or folded and then inserted into a tubular case for suspension around the neck, the phylacteries often accompanied the wearer to the grave, from whence archaeologists have retrieved them over the years.[3] Though scholars in the past have typically referred to these and the cognate magical gemstones as "Gnostic amulets"—a misleading expression best done away with—most now recognize them as the product of a widely diffused belief in syncretistic magic, a magic whose *Blütezeit* stretched from approximately the second century to the fifth[4] and whose lucrative industry probably centered in Egypt.[4a] Despite the hybrid nature of popular magic, from the papyri, *lamellae*, and gemstones we can detect how greatly infused with Egyptian elements this magic proved to be; nevertheless, we recognize that the content of an individual spell or that a gemstone motif may often betray a distinctively Jewish, Greek, or Christian influence.

The surface of the *lamella* shows traces of about a dozen creases running horizontally as well as a single fold extending vertically down the tablet's center, a fact which suggests that the slip of silver was tightly folded and then inserted into an amuletic case.[5] The more severe creases oc-

1. Thanks are due to Jiří Frel who kindly made the piece available for me to study. Also I gratefully acknowledge the help of Robert K. Ritner on Egyptian matters and the helpful suggestions offered by David Jordan and A.W.H. Adkins; none of them can be held responsible for any shortcomings in this article. Magical *lamellae* have been found from Northern Britain to Nubia; from Spain to Luristan. In addition to the evidence of the phylacteries themselves, we have the testimonies of medical writers, magical handbooks, and the evidence of their use by the Egyptian populace around the Fayum: see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), Tafeln 17,1; 50, 1,2; cf. also, idem, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto greco-romano*, ed. A. Adriani, Ser. B vol. I, II, and III (Palermo, 1969), which picture the telltale amuletic cases.

2. As scholars usually refer to these; cf., for instance, P. J. Sijpesteijn, "A Syrian Phylactery on a Silver Plate," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 59–60 (1978–1979), 189–192 (Pl. 37); D. R. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul," *ZPE* 28 (1978), 84–86. Properly, φυλακτήριον is simply a "protective charm"; a phylactery by English definition refers to a "pagan" amulet as well as to the Jewish *tefillin*. In the magical papyri and in contemporary sources *phylaktērion* may be made of any substance or material, engraved or otherwise, and it does not automatically refer to a splint of metal unless designated as such. In the Greek magical papyri (see K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols; 2nd ed. [Stuttgart, 1973–1974]—hereafter cited *PGM* by papyrus number and line) special terms are used to describe phylacteries and charms made of metal: λᾶμνα (Lat. *lamina, lamella*)—*PGM* III. 15, 297, 299; IV. 2153, 2154, 2166, 2177, 2208, 2226, 2238; IV. 3014 (λαμνίον); VII. 398, 459, 462; IX. 8; X. 26, 36; XXXVI. 1, 37f., 231, 234; LVIII. 6; πέταλον—*PGM* III. [58], 66; IV. 330, 1218, 1255, 1813, 1824, 1847, 2705; V. 306, 359; VII. 216, 382, 417, 487, 581, 743; IX. 14, X. ⟨36⟩, 39: XII. 197, 197f., 199; XIII. 889, 898, 903, 1008, 1052; λεπίς—*PGM* III. 410, 411, 417; IV. 258, 1828, 2160, 2161, 2216, 2228; VII. 271, 919, 925: XIII, 1001; XXXVI. 278; LXXVIII. 3; πλάξ—*PGM* IV. 2187, 2194, 2212; VII. 432; πλάτυμμα—*PGM* IV. 329, 407; VII. 438; πτύχιον—*PGM* VII. 740, 741. Cf. also *P. Vars.* 4, line 2f.; *P. Ant.* II. 66, line 37.

3. As with this piece, many *lamellae* are acquired without an exact knowledge of their original provenance; indeed, of the published pieces, few scholars give details as to their discovery or provenance.

4. It seems that in the Byzantine period amulets of this kind fell out of use as they were replaced by talismans in the shape of coins or medallions usually worn by a suspension ring attached directly to the metal; however, the use of phylacteries of gold and silver foil is still recorded by late medical writers such as Marcellus Empiricus, Alexander of Tralles, as well as in Byzantine handbooks and late Medieval *grimoires*; cf. also, for instance, the Byzantine necklace (VI—VII^{p}) with the cylindrical amuletic cases in W. Rudolph and E. Rudolph, *Ancient Jewelry from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry* (Bloomington, 1973), no. 153. Previous scholars' early dating of some magical *lamellae* must be accepted with caution (see, e.g., M. Siebourg, *BonnJbb* 118 [1909], 158–175); however, very early examples of Punic/Egyptian *lamellae* with magical inscriptions date as early as VII^{a}—see the literature in Jean Leclant, *Oriental Studies presented to Benedikt S. J. Isserlin . . .* (Leiden, 1980), edd. R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, 100–107. On the importance of the dates of the preserved magical formularies, see the discussion in K. Preisendanz, "Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten," *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, N.S. V. Folge (Wien, 1956) 111–125; A. D. Nock, "Greek Magical Papyri," *JEA* 15 (1929), 219–235. Recently, fragments of a formulary on papyrus dating to I^{a} have come to light: P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini in A. Carlini, et al., *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Pisa, 1978), 237–266 (=*P.Mon.Gr. Inv.* 216). The dating of the many published gemstones is difficult to determine. For a comprehensive introduction to the magic of this period, see D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980), 1507–1557, with bibliography.

4a. Amulets were also produced extensively in Syria and Palestine; see Louis Robert, "Amulettes greques," *Journal des Savants*, 1981, 4f.

5. The case has not survived.

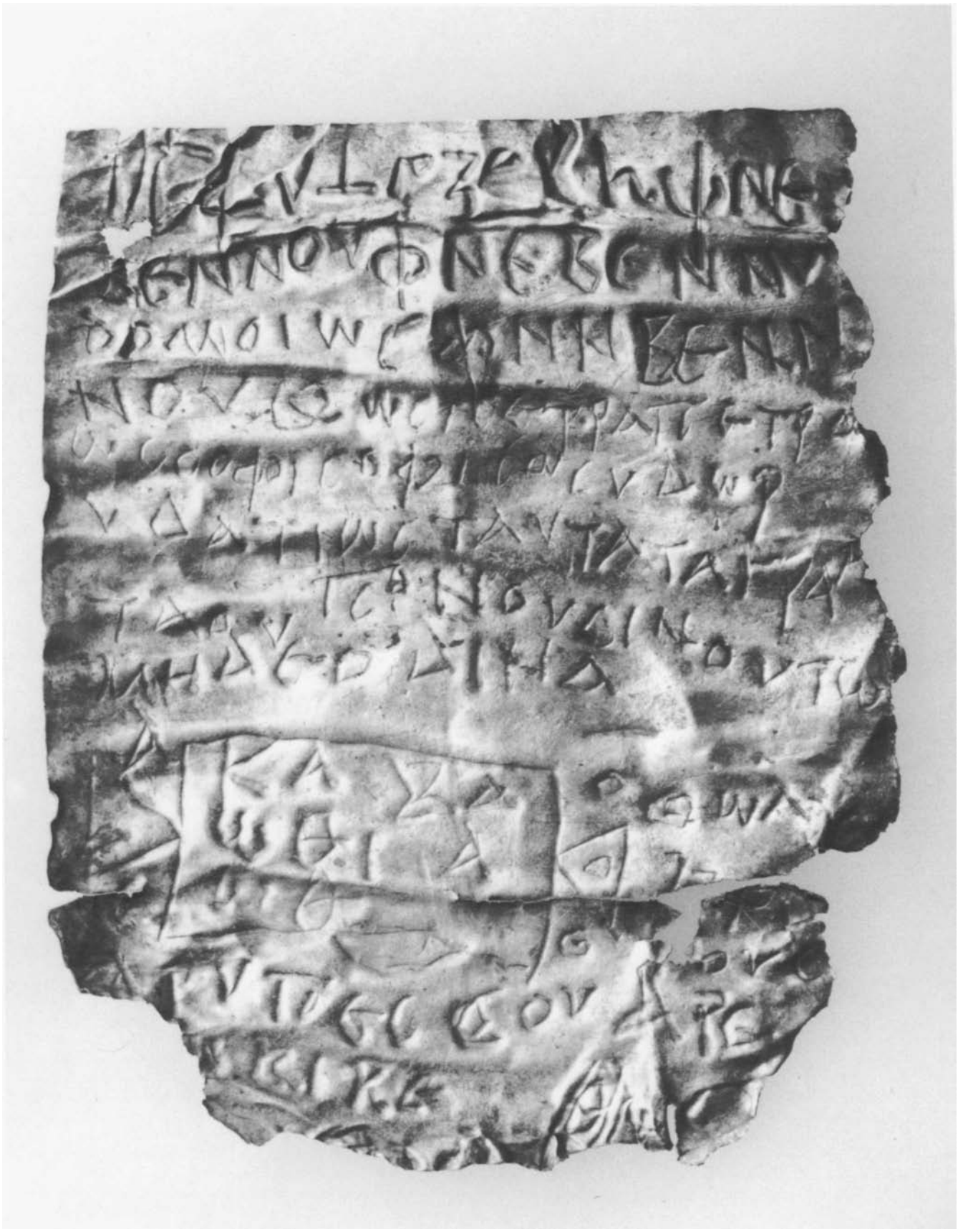


Figure 1. Silver *lamella*. 4.5 x 3.4 cm (enlarged). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AI.56.

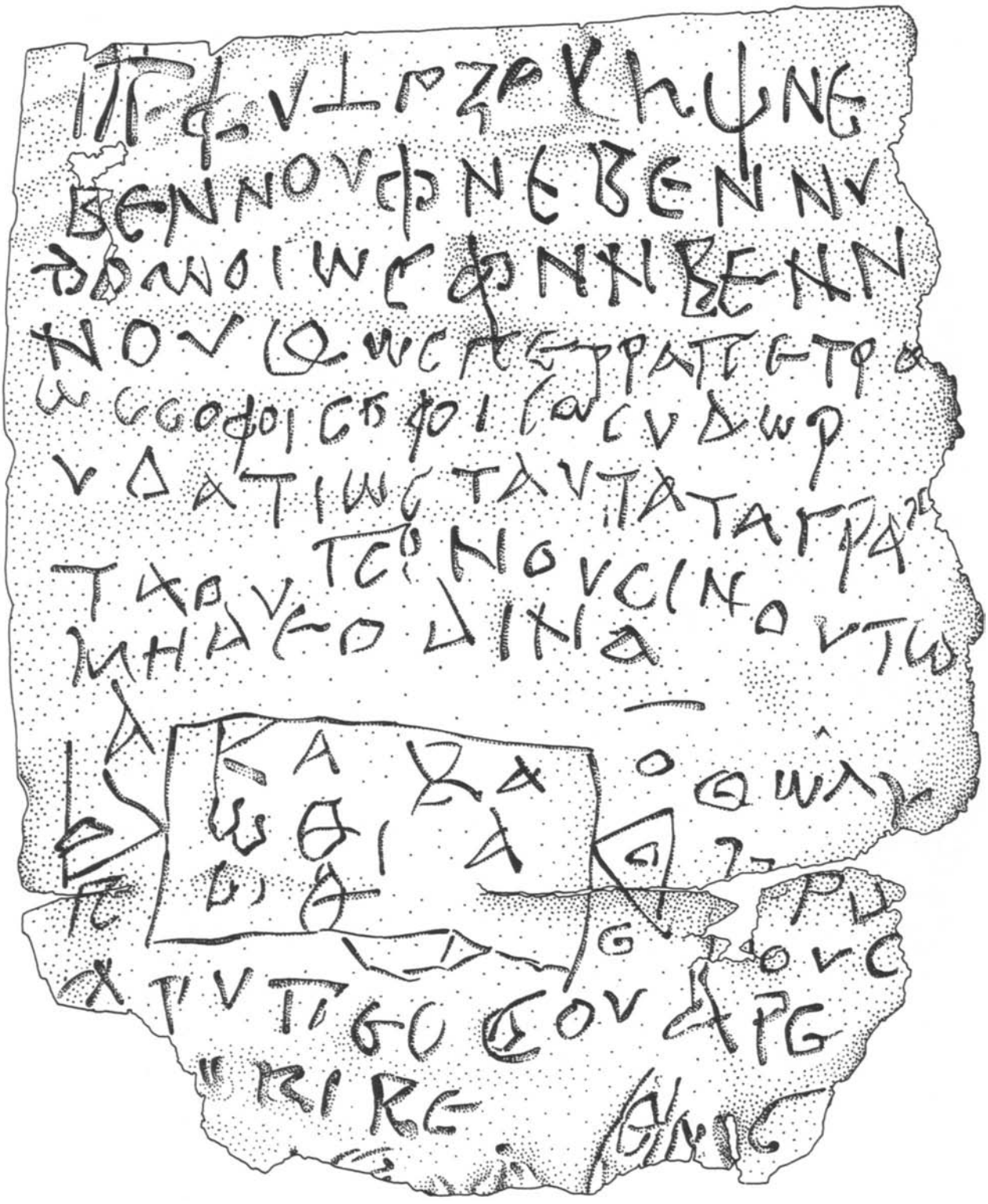


Figure 2. Drawing of figure 1 by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.

cur towards the top, which suggests that the plaque was folded from top to bottom; it appears that the upper left-hand corner was folded over or pinched back. Towards the bottom a sharp fold has caused the brittle metal to crack about half-way across the foil's surface. Furthermore, the right and bottom edges look frayed and broken off. Although the damaged left side probably results in no loss to the text, the lower left corner, the bottom edge, and a portion of the lower right side appear lost; however, as the continuity of the deciphered text shows, the main part of the spell seems preserved, with only traces of letters and possibly a *figura magica* (or additional "characters") missing; vestiges of etched figures run along the bottom edge. The left margin and top look unevenly cut. It seems likely that the tab of metal was torn by hand or rudely cut out of the upper left corner of a larger sheet of hammered foil, perhaps after the copyist had engraved it.[6]

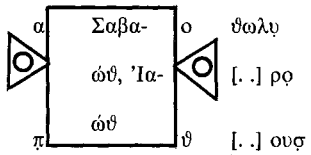
The tablet's inner surface contains about thirteen lines of a Greek text engraved with a somewhat blunt instrument. The thickness of the metal forced the engraver to shape some letters irregularly, especially the circular forms such as *omicron* and *theta*. Some careless slips, stray marks, and retracings are also evident. *Alpha's* for the most part look sharply angular, though some round forms occur; *theta's* are engraved both with a separate cross-bar (extending well to the right) and with a single stroke leaving the top open. The *upsilon's* are simple, with no elongated downstrokes; *omicron's* look smallish. Though less carefully drawn due to the medium used, the hand is not dissimilar to *P.Oxy.* 3161, 2690, and 1075, all of which date to the third century A.D.

The bottom portion of the *lamella* pictures a *tabula ansata* enclosing a pair of magical names. The text of the spell proper uses stereotypical formulae, as found in a number of spells in the Greek magical papyri, but presents a peculiar tripartite association effected between pairs of like components to express a belief in the efficacy of sympathetic magic. Though this belief in the power of *similia similibus* is not uncommon, the manner of expression seems unique.

SILVER PHYLACTERY
Acc. no. 80.AI.56
Height: 4.5 cm.
Length: 3.4 cm.
Provenance unknown
III^{p}

TEXT

(Characters), Ψνε-
βεννου, Φνεβεννυ-
θ, ὁμοίως Φνηβενν-
4 νουθ· ὡς πέτρα πέτρᾳ,
ὡς σοφοὶ σοφοῖς, ὡς ὕδωρ
ὕδατι, ὡς ταῦτα τὰ γραπ-
τὰ οὐ πονοῦσιν οὕτω
8 μηδὲ ὁ δῖνα.



12 α ρ υ τ ο σ σου αρε

[. .]ω β ι κ ε (?).

TRANSLATION

[*Characters*]. PSNEBENNOU(TH), PHNEBENNYTH (similarly, PHNĒBENNNOUTH). As rock with rock, as philosophers with philosophers, as water with water. As these written things do not feel pain, so also may *NN* not. . . .

(In *tabula ansata*):
SABAŌTH, IAŌTH.

COMMENTS

1. *Magical "characters"*: The first eight or nine letter-forms represent so-called magical χαρακτῆρες, symbols and cryptic letter-forms that occur frequently in magical texts and on gemstones. Although the *charactēres* have never been catalogued or analyzed carefully, one can recognize certain recurring forms, and it seems plausible that some systems were in use, e.g., a number of magical texts employ a system of characters resembling Greek majuscules with tiny ringlets at the points. The series used here resembles inverted letters or shows uncharacteristic serifs and additional strokes. Comparable examples of this type can be found in *PGM* II. 155, 298; IV. 2707; VII. 202–209, 400, 416f., 420f., 465, 588f., 860, 923, 935; XII. 398. Of the series of characters in line 1, the first resembles a *pi/rho* combination; the second, a *psi* or *phi*; the third, an *upsilon*; the fourth, an upside-down *tau*; the fifth, a looped *gamma*. The remaining four look like the Greek letters, ζ ε υ η. The final three letters of the line begin the magical name, which is

6. Details on how sheet metal was produced and cut in antiquity are described by W. Theobald, *Die Herstellung des Blattmetalls in Altertum und Neuzeit*, published in separate fascicles of *Glasers Annalen für Gewerbe und Bauwesen* 70–71 (1912), 91ff.

written three times in lines 1–4. On magical *charactēres* in general, see Th. Hopfner, art. "χαρακτῆρες," *PW Suppl.* IV (1924) 1183–1188; H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), who makes insightful observations and analyses throughout; G. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu capita duo dissertatio inauguralis . . .* (Gryphiae, 1907); see also A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), 360f. for the use of characters on magical gemstones. An early cataloguing and attempted decipherment of the magical characters can be found in Athanasius Kircher's monumental *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Romae, 1653), Tom. II, p. 105.

1–2. Ψνε|βεννου: This represents the first occurrence of a magical name apparently written out with three variant spellings and/or pronunciations, *viz.*, *"Psnebennou, Phnebennyth,* equally (rendered) *Phnebennouth."* It seems the variations may represent phonetic spellings of the different ways the practitioner heard the foreign name pronounced or saw it written. On the other hand, one can recognize an underlying Egyptian epithet in this word and those that follow, an epithet which distinguishes this one from the other two. What is more, the third in the series is probably a scribal variation of the second which the copyist has found written in another manuscript. On these matters see the discussion below.

Psnebennou should probably be read with a final *theta*, as in the examples which follow, i.e. Ψνεβεννου(θ). If so, the magical word is equivalent to *p3 s3 nb n(tr.w)*, "the son (of) (the) lord (of) the gods,"[6a] an interpretation which is borne out by the examples and discussion of the related terms, given below. Although it seems likely that the letters preceding this epithet represent cryptic symbols, one may also suggest that the character immediately preceding the *psi* stands for the Greek letter *eta*, a letter which may serve for the Old Coptic equivalent, "Hail!" See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939 [1979]), s.v. "*HI*," p. 66b. Against this view, though, one could argue that the proposed *eta* has a letter-form different from those of the rest of the tablet, which shows *eta's* written as majuscules.

2. Φνεβεννυ|θ: The name should probably be read Φνεβεννουθ, as the variant which follows suggests; cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan, 1976), 214 for the interchange of ου and υ. An equivalent of this magical name occurs on a gold *lamella* unearthed at York (ancient Eboracum) around 1839–1840. The tiny phylactery contains only a series of magical "characters" (similar to those of our tablet) followed by the name ΦΝΕΒΕΝΝΟΥΘ. W. E. Crum identified the representative Coptic of this word as "The lord of the gods." See R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain,* I (Oxford, 1965), no. 706, 236f., where a slightly different interpretation is also given; cf. also [Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England], *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York,* I: *Eboracum, Roman York* (London, 1962), no. 139, 133, pl. 65 which provides earlier literature on the interpretation of this word. R. K. Ritner kindly provided the Demotic Egyptian equivalent to this name as with the preceding and following examples: *p3 nb (n) n3 ntr.w*, "The lord (of) the gods." The name seems unattested in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and on gemstones, although in *PGM* XXXVI. 43f. a similar form occurs in the series of *voces magicae* πεφθα φωζα φνεβεννουνι, equivalent to Egyptian, "he is Ptah, the heavenly (one), *the lord of the Abyss."* Gemstone inscriptions preserve only the words βιενυθ, βιεννουθ (*vel sim.*); see A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *op. cit.*, nos. 77, 78, 81.

3–4. ὁμοίως Φνηβενν|νουθ: The phrase probably preserves another manuscript tradition on the spelling of the name, although a variant spelling of the preceding word only. The *eta* looks rather like a *nu*, which may have been carelessly written as such; however, the orthography of the name, especially with the triple *nu's*, probably preserves best the correct approximation of the Demotic: *p3 nb n n3 ntr.w*, "the lord of the gods," accurately retains the genitive and the articles.

Although lexically speaking ὁμοίως means "similarly," or "equally," several reasons favor the view that we have an equivalent to the frequently used scribal gloss found in magical handbooks and formularies to indicate variant readings. In the Greek magical papyri this expression is usually introduced by ἄλλως, followed by the slightly different reading of a formula or magical name; cf. for instance *PGM* IV. 29, 463, 465, 1106, 1300, 2666; V. 13; VII. 427; XIII. 563. Similar glosses are found in the Demotic magical papyri as well; cf. for example, *DMP* VI, 20 (recto): *"Esex Poe Ef-khe-ton,* (otherwise said *'Khet-on'*);"[7] see also *DMP* V, 15, 17 (verso). The occurrence of the variant spelling of the second name on our *lamella* indicates the copyist drew his material from a papyrus manuscript, probably a collection of recipes such as we find preserved throughout the *PGM* corpus and in later Byzantine handbooks. The fact that our scribe also wrote ὁ δ(ε)ῖνα, "so-and-so" (NN) in line 7, instead of the required name of the suffering patient, indicates the scribe copied instructions for

6a. Communicated to me by R. K. Ritner; see n. 1 above.

7. For text and translation, see F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Leyden Papyrus; An Egyptian Magical Book* (New York, 1974 [1904]) 54, 55.

engraving a silver *lamella*. In his caution to copy the spell accurately, the engraver inadvertently transcribed portions of the instructions not intended to form a part of the invocation.

4. ὡς πέτρα πέτρᾳ: These words begin the recognizable portion of the invocation—a summoning of the harmonious condition existing between natural elements and among philosophers with the aim of mending the sufferer's disintegrated health. The first pair of elements aims to present a description of harmony between like and like; however, the causal relationship proposed by ὡς ταῦτα τὰ γραπ|τὰ οὐ πονοῦσιν in lines 6f., which intends to refer to the philosophers and water as well, seems difficult to comprehend when applied to the patient who is introduced οὕτω | μηδὲ ὁ δ(ε)ῖνα. The correlation anticipates that lines 7–8 would say, ". . . so may NN not suffer *with* (or conflict *against*) NN"; however, the text indicates otherwise, and it seems that the sentence ends with ὁ δεῖνα. We shall propose that a correct interpretation of this apparently enigmatic expression rests in the principle of like-to-like, as expressed in some Greek theories of sense-perception, theories which imply that pain is avoided by the proper balance between unlike and like materials. For the moment it seems best to treat each pair of like terms individually and then to address the problem of interpretation.

Each pair, beginning with this one, is composed of an anarthrous noun followed immediately by the same word in the dative case, best understood as a dative of association or of relationship. "Rock" here is probably abstract and to be distinguished from *lithos*, an individual rock or stone: *petra* is a crag or the *material* of stone itself. In this sense it seems to refer to a kind of primary element, in contrast perhaps to the element water, in lines 5–6. The choice of this term and the importance of the sequence rock-philosophers-water, as examples of consonant elements, defies ready interpretation. The Greek magical papyri prove of little help in explaining the significance of the "rock." Several passages do mention water (or bodies of water) with rock, but they cannot substantially elucidate the sense of this spell: in *PGM* IV. 360 rivers and rocks (αἱ πέτραι) "burst asunder" at the utterance of a magical name (cf. also *PGM* IV. 1023, 2673; XII. 242; XIII. 874; XXXVI. 263), and in *PGM* XXIIb symbols representative of a certain mantic response are labelled "water and rock" (. . . δ[ε]ῖξόν [μ]οι ὕδωρ καὶ πέτραν).

5. ὡς σοφοὶ σοφοῖς: The *sigma* of the first σοφός is almost closed, and the *phi* of the second shows only the left side of the loop, with the following *omicron* faintly engraved on the left side; nevertheless, all the letters represent sure readings. The pair of anarthrous nouns follows the same pattern as the preceding, although here the nouns are in the plural. Are the *sophoi* "wise men" or a special group of philosophers? The context determines very little in this regard, but since we wish to interpret this saying on the basis of some Greek philosophical concepts, we understand the *sophoi* as philosophers. On this, see the discussion to follow with relevant passages.

5–6. ὡς ὕδωρ ὕδατι: *Upsilon* at the beginning of line 6 looks short on the right side and the *delta* irregularly shaped. As mentioned above, this third element can be seen in contrast to the reference to rock: rock is an earthy element; water may represent the primordial ocean.

6–7. ὡς . . . οὕτω: The correlation, "*as such and such* occurs, *so also* may such and such take place with NN," represents the typical way to express sympathetic magic in the Greek magical papyri and on magical inscriptions. Usually the condition stated or implied by the ὡς-clause refers to an actual rite or act which the practitioner executes with the hope that the model will prove effective for his concrete situation; see *PGM* IV. 1540–43; XXXIIa. 1–5; XXXVI. 80f., 231–255, 340f.,; X. 40f.; LXI. 45–47; LXVIII.1–5; see also Eric G. Turner, "The Marrow of Hermes," in *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Studia Gerardo Verbeke ab amicis et collegis dicata* (Louvain, 1976) 170f. The reference to *PGM* X. 40f. parallels our text; the spell describes a lead tablet which the practitioner is to place in his sandal and trample on: ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα πατεῖται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ δεῖνα (κοινόν), ὁ ἐπέχων, "as these holy names are trampled on, so also (may) he, NN, (add the usual), my opponent" (*PGM* X. 40f.). As is the case with our silver *lamella*, ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα refers to the actual words written on the tablet and not to an imitative rite that is carried out. The second part of the phrase has no verb, though πατεῖται is inferred; so also in lines 7–8 of the silver piece, the verbless clause depends on the condition implied by the dative constructions in the preceding lines, a condition of ἀπονία, as it were. On the view that the writer of our spell is summoning the harmonious condition implied by the named elements, consult the excursus which follows the comments.

The use of the ὡς/οὕτω formula in reference to the actual words written on a tablet can also be aptly illustrated by a leaden curse-tablet found in Athens. The entire text is not worth citing in full, only the section relevant to our study. The noteworthy feature of the curse is that the entire spell is written backwards, the first part containing the name of the victims cursed, the second the correlative formula which invokes the reversed condition exemplified by the backward letters—letters to be applied to the very deeds of the victims: [ὥσπερ] ταῦτα ἐναντίον γέγραπται, ἐναντί[α] | [αὐτοῖ]ς τὰς π[ρά]ξεις . . . (*lines* 5f.); E. Ziebarth, "Neue attische Fluchtafeln," *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft*

der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl. (1899), no. 14, 112f. Ziebarth's conjectured readings here and throughout the text remain open to question,[8] since one would probably expect at the beginning of line 5 and line 6 the standard formula [ὥσπερ] . . . [οὕτω]ς; nevertheless, the point to emphasize is that what is written refers not to content but to the manner which the actual words are written: "Just as these letters are written in reverse, so also reverse NN's affairs."

6–7. ταῦτα τὰ γραπ|τά: The *pi* is uncertain and looks rather like a *rho* or *phi*. The use of ταῦτα with a form or cognate of γράφω, as the preceding examples show, suggests that in the phrase τὰ γραπτὰ οὐ πονοῦσιν we have reference to the actual words themselves, (qua *engraved letters*) not suffering pain. They seem cold and mute, and hence passionless and painless. Such an interpretation might also be supported by the strict requirements of syntax and word meaning. The phrase τὰ γραπτά, by definition, refers to "rescripts," "legal documents," or "bonds" (so *LSJ* s.v., def. II); the additional lexical meaning is "painting," the opposite of γλυπτά (cf. *LSJ* s.v. γραπτός, def. I). But the definition "painting" seems inappropriate here unless it has in mind the engraved picture of the *tabula ansata* or an assumed drawing of a *figura magica* on a lost portion of the tablet; however, the use of the stock formula elsewhere, as argued above, favors the view that the ταῦτα τὰ γραπτά refers to the words immediately preceding. It would seem that only by implication could the expression refer to the content or condition of the series of nouns with dative cases mentioned above. But a begging question remains: Why this citation of *similia similibus* if only the lifeless letters themselves were being referred to? They would have to have been copied as meaningless words, no more important than gibberish, and this seems unlikely. Rather, it seems probable that the condition implied by the like-with-like is foremost in the mind of the practitioner.

7. οὐ πονοῦσιν: The *pi* shows a protracted upper bar, with the right leg looped like one of the *sigma's*. A teardrop shaped *omicron* hangs from the upper bar.

As with the preceding discussion, difficulties arise if we attempt to apply the verb πονέω to the nouns with their datives. In what sense can rock be said to suffer *with* (?) rock, philosophers with philosophers, water with water? If the verb were intended to modify or refer to the dative cases, a more appropriate verb would have been chosen. And as mentioned earlier, the person, ὁ δεῖνα, stands alone and does not have a corresponding dative. Rather it seems οὐ πονοῦσιν is used absolutely in reference to the condition imagined for the elements, and this is applied to the improvement of the patient. The verb probably refers to suffering from πόνος, that is, pain of a physical sort (less likely the "pain" of love); cf. *LSJ* s.v. πόνος, def. II, 2; idem, s.v. πονέω, πονέομαι, B.I.a: *abs. "labour under sickness, suffer . . . suffer pain,"* 1447.

8. ὁ δῖνα (1. ὁ δεῖνα) is the unnamed patient for whom the spell was engraved. As mentioned above in the case of ὁμοίως, the use of this formula (at which place the patient usually inserts his own name) suggests that the copyist transcribed the material directly from a magical manual. On the other hand, it seems possible that those who plied their magical trade for profit may have produced amulets such as this in quantity and then simply sold them as impersonal charms to "nameless" customers. The mention of an unspecified pain also supports such a view, as the customer could have used the phylactery for whatever pain he or she suffered from; no specific disease seems mentioned.

Tabula ansata: The use of the *tabula ansata* on magical texts is attested elsewhere; see, for example, Wm. Brashear, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 28 (=P. Berol. 21165); R. Egger, *RLÖ* 16 (1926), 135ff. (a lead tablet); Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*,[9] 112f. (see also nos. 268, 267, 395); Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols, III: Illustrations*,[10] no. 1045 (p. xxxii) with reference to vol. II, 236; see also no. 1123 (II, 260); no. 1177 (II, 280); F. M. Schwartz and J. H. Schwartz, *ANSMus-Notes* 24 (1979), no. 34; C. H. Smith and C. A. Hutton, *Cook Collection*,[11] no. 234. The exact significance of the use of this relatively common shape in magic is not clear, except it bears noting that in some gemstone depictions the *tabula* is drawn instead of a cartouche, the cartouche upon which a deity is typically shown standing. The *tabula ansata* in a funerary context is well established; however, the use of this shape for a number of gold *lamella* that are not magical also seems noteworthy: funerary plaques with inscriptions cut out in the shape of a *tabula ansata* are known, and these may be somehow related to the figure on the silver leaf, although the one type is cut out in the shape of the *tabula ansata*, the other simply drawn in. See, for instance, P. Benoit, *RevBibl* 59 (1952), 253ff.; M. Sie-

8. See, for instance, R. Wünsch, *RhM* 55 (1900), 64 and Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* . . . (Paris, 1904), no. 67, 94f. who question his restorations. This example is representative of a number of instances of the formula on lead pieces; for a general bibliography of the lead *defixiones* with many insightful observations, see David Jordan, *AthMitt* 95 (1980), 225–239.

9. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

10. E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, III (New York, 1953).

11. C. H. Smith and C. Amy Hutton, *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the Collection of the Late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre.* (London, 1908).

bourg, *ARW* 8 (1908), 390ff.; idem, *ARW* 10 (1907), 395f. (additional literature cited in Benoit, *loc. cit.*). Not all of the gold leaves still have the handles of the tablet; most do have the common formula, "Take courage, NN, nobody's immortal." Two gold *lamellae* cut in the shape of the *tabula ansata* from Tyre were donated to the New York Public Library around 1906 but are apparently only available in old sepia photographs.

The *tabula ansata* of our tablet contains a pair of magical names, Σαβαώθ, Ἰαώθ. The *sigma* of *Sabaōth* looks like a *kappa*, but it seems the vertical stroke in front of the angularly drawn *sigma* represents an erroneously drawn, or stray, mark. Alternatively, one may read Καβαώθ, perhaps a variant of a rare magical name, preserved in *PGM* LXII.46 as Καρβαώθ and in Marcellus Empiricus XXVI.43 as Καραβραωθ. What seems peculiar about our pairing of words is the order: normally we find *Iaō, Sabaōth*, and not *Sabaōth, Iaō(th)*. In any event, both names are very widely attested in magical literature. For *Iaōth Ovriēl* to be written on a tin tablet treating pain for infants see *TestSol* XVIII 27P.

At the four points of the *tabula ansata* appear four letters; reading from the upper left down then to the right side we have: Α, Ϻ, Ο, Ϙ. The significance of these letters is not clear, and indeed it is difficult to make out any recognizable words in the rest of the text.[11a] Furthermore, we point out that the bottom of the *tabula ansata* seems to have been redrawn, and one can also detect ringlets (or *omicron's*) drawn in each of the handles, with the one on the left drawn carelessly.

Above the *omicron* and right below the *alpha* of δῖνα (line 8) there is a short horizontal mark. It is not known whether the mark was drawn intentionally or what purpose it served; however, from the point of view of visual effect, it seems to divide the section with the *tabula ansata* from what precedes. Could this have been a division-marker such as is found in the great magical handbooks, paragraph markers designed to separate one spell from another? If so, the copyist, as we have proposed above, may have in fact copied from his source the beginning of an entirely different spell. Unfortunately, since what remains is scrappy and incomplete, the proposal can only remain a hypothetical suggestion.

9–12. The letters drawn below the *tabula* and to the right make no sense as read. Line 12 seems to begin with an *alpha*, and the pointed *tau* and *epsilon* may also be a *pi*, written as in πονοῦσιν above. The eighth letter of the line shows a *sigma/omicron* drawn overlapped. The remaining letters and the apparent etchings along the tablet's bottom edge warrant no comment. Having discussed details of the text, we turn now to some general observations on its philosophical setting and to a note on meter.

"LIKE WITH LIKE" AND SENSE-PERCEPTION

In this brief excursus we introduce some citations from Greek philosophers that may shed some light on the text of our phylactery. An alternative suggestion, mentioned earlier, posits that certain pre-Socratic theories of cognition, applied especially to the problem of pain and pleasure, provide a possible solution to a better understanding of the peculiar reference in lines 4–7. Compared with a few fragments of Anaxagoras and Empedocles, preserved for the most part in Theophrastus' *de Sensu*,[12] the text of the silver leaf can be shown to share the view that like with like occasions a condition of painlessness. Although it seems the presuppositions of our spell may agree more with Anaxagoras' theory of pain, statements from either philosopher about sense perception in general provide close parallels with the formula found on our text.[13]

The theories of cognition which Theophrastus discusses offer only an incomplete, and perhaps misunderstood, account of the pre-Socratic teaching on the matter.[14] The philosopher divides the theorists of sense perception into two distinct groups. The one—including Parmenides, Empedocles, and Plato—believes sense perception arises by the action of similars (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιοῦσιν); the other, whose principal exponents he names as Anaxagoras and Heraclitus, suggests it arises from the interaction of

11a. Reading instead from left to right and from bottom to top, one may suggest the word πάθο(ς), "suffering", a suggestion which implies that the rest of the surrounding letters could have made sense.

12. Following the text and translation of G. M. Stratton, *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle* (Amsterdam, 1964; repr. of 1917 ed.). Consult also his introductory comments, "Pleasure and Pain," 48–50. On the whole matter, J. I. Beare's *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition* (Oxford, 1906) is invaluable.

13. We need not concern ourselves unduly with the problem of who influenced whom concerning the theories of sense-perception. G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1957), 394, find Anaxagoras' theory of pain novel and in concious opposition to that of Empedocles; conversely, D. O'Brien, "The relation of Anaxagoras and Empedocles," *JHS* 88 (1968), 93–113 argues that Empedocles was influenced by Anaxagoras. It seems, however, that some confusion exists concerning the philosophers' statements of cognition which go beyond the general theory of vision. Note in particular M. R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven and London, 1981), 234: "E.'s theory of pleasure is difficult to reconstruct. . . . Pleasure occurs with the action of like on like and the replenishment of the deficiency by a similar mixture; pain is caused by contraries, for dissimilar compounds are hostile to each other, Aetius 5.28.1, Theophrastus *Sens.* 9 and 16 quoting 25 (22). 6–7." Although Wright does not discuss Anaxagoras in detail on his commentary here on fr. 77 (109 D-K), Theophrastus, *Sens.* 29 (see the citations in the discussion) commenting on Anaxagoras, shares a view very

unlike elements (οἱ δὲ τῷ ἐναντίῳ; *de Sensu* 1). Although the two groups maintain a clear distinction when it comes to theories of vision, their separate views on the perception of touch are less fully explained in the surviving testimonies and thus seem somewhat blurred. First we take up statements by Anaxagoras, the foremost representative of the second group.

Early in his essay, Theophrastus describes a view of Anaxagoras' which summarizes the thesis of the second group: "Like is unaffected by like, but opposites are affected by each other" (καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον ἀπαθὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμοίου, τὸ δ'ἐναντίον παθητικόν, *de Sens.* 2; cf. 27). Although the statement probably has general perception in mind, the terms ἀπαθές and παθητικόν can readily apply to conditions of physical suffering, as *de Sensu* 9 suggests: ἥδεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὁμοίοις . . . λυπεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις, "Pleasure is excited by things that are similar ⟨to our organs⟩, . . . pain by their opposites" (cf. *de Sens.* 16). One can surmise that the reference to like with like in the tablet is adducing a condition such as suggested by these statements; the like with like sympathetically exemplifies the absence of pain (οὐ πονοῦσιν). Indeed, an important reference to pain (πόνον) occurs in a summary statement of Anaxagoras in Theophrastus' *de Sensu* 29: "All sense perception, he holds, is fraught with pain . . . for unlike when brought in contact ⟨with our organs⟩ always brings distress" (ἅπασαν δ'αἴσθησιν μετὰ λύπης . . . πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀνόμοιον ἁπτόμενον πόνον πάρεχει).

Fragments of Empedocles and statements by Theophrastus show close parallels to the dative constructions of our text. Theophrastus, referring specifically to the cognition of understanding versus ignorance, concludes "we recognize each element by its like" (ὡς ἕκαστον ἑκαστῳ γνωρίζομεν; *de Sens.* 10: cf. also 15). Such nouns with dative counterparts occur in the very fragments of Empedocles, one of which shows that the philosopher is speaking of implications broader than those of the mere theories of vision and cognition:[15]

γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ'ὕδωρ,
αἰθέρι δ' αἰθέρα δῖον, ἀτὰρ πυρὶ πῦρ ἀΐδηλον,
στοργὴν δὲ στοργῇ, νεῖκος δέ τε νείκεϊ λυγρῷ,
(Aristotle, *Met.* B4, 1000b 6 = *DK* 31 B109).

Empedocles cites four pairs of elements having cognate datives: earth with earth, water with water (as on the silver table), aether with aether, and fire with fire; all of these are made visible (ὀπώπαμεν = "we see") by the presence of the matching like element; however, a broader sense of ὀπώπαμεν, viz. "we *recognize*,"[16] must be understood in the final pairs of "materials" cited: "Love," and "Strife." A similar pairing of like materials occurs in fr. 90, in which we find "sweet with sweet" (ὥς γλυκὺ μὲν [ἐπὶ] γλυκὺ μάρπτε) contrasted, as well as other qualities of touch and taste: bitterness with bitterness, sharpness with sharpness, and heat with heat (DK 31 B90; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* VII. 5, 17, *scimus autem similibus similia nutriri* . . .).[17]

The philosophical backdrop to this apparently popular interpretation of pain and pleasure by the sympathetic interaction of unlike (or like) elements is not only demonstrated in the use of the terms "rock" and "water" but also by the use of σοφοί. But the whole also seems subsumed under what Müller terms "*Freundschaft der Gleichen*".[18] Here two fragments are cited which bear a particularly close resemblance to ὡς σοφοὶ σοφοῖς (*1.5*) and which set the context of our saying within the realm of popular, if not proverbial, parlance:

Aeschylus, *fr.* 164 N (599M):
σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς . . . ἐστὶ κηδεία
(Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4.16).

Tragic *adespotum*, *fr.* 422N:
σοφοὶ σοφοὺς σῴζουσιν, ἣν ὦσιν σοφοὶ
(Plut. *v. Anton.* c. 80).

In the final analysis, we do not suggest that any citation of a lyric poet or an allusion to real theories of pre-Socratic philosophy is preserved on our tablet, although the verses do scan, as shown below. Rather, it seems that the magically sympathetic correlation proposed by the statement in lines 6–8 of the tablet preserves an incantation written by some unknown drafter of charms who passed off his apo-

similar to Wright's statement on Empedocles. The writer of our tablet was probably not versed in any "theories" of cognition but simply adhered to a popular belief, thus it would probably be unwise to play off one viewpoint against the other in interpreting our text. A keen analysis of the subtle distinction between Anaxagoras and Empedocles is also given in C. W. Müller's, *Gleiches zu Gleichem. Ein Prinzip frühgriechischen Denkens* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 72f. and n. 145. Müller's serviceable and detailed study should be applied to the concept of magic as well.

14. Cf., for instance, Wright, *Empedocles*, 249f. and 235: "Theophrastus says that E. explained pain by contraries, but pain relates to perception, which is by likes, *Sens.* 16. E.'s meaning, however, is likely to be less sophisticated than Theophrastus expects."

15. Wright, fr. 77 (109) and fr. 78 (107) go together; see Wright, *Empedocles*, 72, no. 60 and 233f. Here the fragments, read together, are translated by Wright as follows: "With earth we perceive earth, with water water, with air divine air, with fire destructive fire, with love love, and strife with baneful strife. All things are fitted together and constructed out of these, and by means of them they think and feel pleasure and pain." On the sense of perception of this much discussed passage, see D. O'Brien, "The Effect of Simile: Empedocles' Theories of Seeing and Breathing," *JHS* 90 (1970), 140–179, esp. 157f. for a survey of previous literature. D. Z. Andriopoulos's "Empedocles' Theory of Perception," *Platon* 24 (1972), 290–298 does not deal with the concept of like with like. O'Brien emphasizes here, "But fr. 109 need not, and probably does not, refer exclusively to vision" (164f.), and he translates ὀπώπαμεν, "recognise."

tropaic formula to needy patients. The view that like with like constitutes harmony, absence of pain, and overall health probably remained current with medical writers and magicians alike at the time when this silver phylactery was believed capable of delivering its bearer from harm.

THE INCANTATION'S METRICAL STRUCTURE

A more careful inspection of lines 4–6 of the silver *lamella* shows that the combination of long and short syllables yields a neat series of three hypodochmiacs (an 'anaclastic' dochmiac having the first two elements inverted), with a final resolution in the last element:

ὡς πέτρα πέτρᾳ – ∪ – ∪ –
ὡς σοφοὶ σοφοῖς – ∪ – ∪ –
ὡς ὕδωρ ὕδατι. – ∪ – ∪ ⏑⏑.

Several details reinforce the view that these lines were purposively (and not accidentally) composed with this scansion. For one, as N. C. Conomis[19] notes, "lengthening before mute + liquid is very rare in dochmiacs" (p. 38), which helps explain the usually acceptable short syllable in the two citations of πέτρα.[20] Secondly, the colarion – ∪ – ∪ – occurs often in series of two or three, with a common occurrence of resolved forms.[21] Here the resolution in ὕδατι forms an apt ending and makes more explicative the sequence of rock—sage—water (A–B–A form). Finally, although the first three lines containing the variants of PHNEBENNOUTH represent no meaningful Greek sense (except for ὁμοίως), the syllabic combination scans as four bacchiacs (either a tetrameter or a pair of dimeters), appropriate forms in dochmiac contexts:[22]

Ψνεβεννου, Φνεβεννουθ, ∪ – –⏑ ∪ – –
ὁμοίως Φνηβενννουθ. ∪ – –⏑ ∪ – –

All this seems rather unique on a magical tablet haphazardly engraved on a rough chip of silver; however, when one turns to the texts of the leaden *defixiones* or to many of the papyrus sheets of the Greek Magical Papyri, the frequency of verse hymns and citations preserved from sources now lost seems remarkably common, although this phenomenon remains largely unstudied and not fully appreciated.

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16. *Supra* note 15.

17. Wright, fr. 75 (90), with commentary on pp. 231f. For the sake of the parallel to our text it might do well to introduce the theory of attraction of like to like, found in Democritus, fr. 164 (trans. G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* [Cambridge, 1957], 413, n. 569; see also 383f., 411, 413, n.2, 419f., and 441f.):

"For creatures (he says) flock together with their kind, *doves with doves, cranes with cranes* (ὡς περιστεραὶ περιστεραῖς καὶ γέρανοι γεράνοις) and so on. And the same happens even with inanimate objects, as can be seen with seeds in a sieve and pebbles on the sea-shore. . . ." Here the mention of pebbles reminds us of the 'rock with rock' on the silver tablet, just as the ὡς περιστεραὶ περιστεραῖς shares the same linguistic construction and social "flocking together" as ὡς σοφοὶ σοφοῖς. On the pairing of *sophoi*, see the discussion to follow.

18. See C. W. Müller, *Gleiches zu Gleichem* (*supra* note 13) 155–167, esp. 161 and n. 31. On the social sphere of this concept, see also K. Thraede, art. "Gleichheit," *RAC* (Lieferung 81–82) 122–164 [1979], sec. B.

19. N. C. Conomis, "The Dochmiacs of Greek Drama," *Hermes* 92 (1964), 23–50.

20. See J. W. Halporn, et al., *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry. Revised Edition* (University of Oklahoma, 1980), 5, for an appropriate example with *petros*.

21. See A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge, 1968), 114.

22. Prof. A. W. H. Adkins pointed out to me that the first few lines can scan as bacchiacs; we allow, of course, for an *eta* transcribed for *epsilon* in the last word. Also, note E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 1960²), 198, 223 and *passim*, for bacchiacs with dochmiacs.

A Mid-Byzantine Bronze Stamp in the Getty Museum

John W. Nesbitt

Recently Mr. George Zacos called my attention to a Byzantine bronze stamp of unusual design in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[1] We shall want to consider its place in the typology of this genre of object, but it is necessary that we begin with a description of the piece and consideration of its date.

The specimen, of rectangular form, measures 22 cm. in length and 7.5 cm. in width. An inscription of eight lines, in relief, fills the surface of the obverse (fig. 1). The letters are retrograde, a clear indication of the object's employment as a stamp. Curiously, the reverse (fig. 2) bears no handle, but areas of discoloration in the upper and lower zones may indicate that originally the specimen carried a strap handle. The name Ἰω(άννης), in abbreviation, appears along the right edge.

The specimen's date can be approximated on the basis of letter forms appearing in the inscription of the obverse as well as internal evidence. The inscription is reproduced below, with transcription and translation.

K̄EBOH	K(ύρι)ε βοή-
ΘTÓCÓ	θ(ει) τ(ῷ) σ(ῷ)
ΔOV́ΛO	δούλ(ῳ)
NHKHĀ	Ν(ι)κήτᾳ
KOVBŎ	κουβου-
KΛHCḢ	κλησ(ι)-
WA	ῳ ἀ-
MHN†	μήν†

"Lord, help your servant Nicetas, *koubouklesios*, amen".

The term *koubouklesios* refers to an ecclesiastical title. A more precise definition is difficult, since the origins and meaning of the term are unclear. Seemingly, the word derives from κουβούκλιον (from the Latin *cubiculum*: "chamber"). The term is first attested at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, but Laurent believes that the title existed in the early Byzantine period and suggests that it denoted an ecclesiastical chamberlain, a functionary of the patriarchal household.[2] This definition gains support from a passage in Philotheos' treatise (899) on place of precedence at imperial banquets, where "the *koubouklesioi* of the patriarch" are ranked third among the *spatharioi*, directly after the chamberlains (*koubikoularioi*) of the imperial bedchamber and living quarters.[3] However, Darrouzès argues that from a canonical viewpoint the duties of chamberlain were too servile and lowly to be exercised by priests.[4] In my opinion, Darrouzès's objection is convincing; still, the above passage from Philotheos' treatise is suggestive. In the early Byzantine period the term *koubikoularios* denoted a functionary, a eunuch of the imperial *cubiculum*. All that the *koubikoularioi* and *koubouklesioi* seem to have in common is a similar title. It is improbable that ecclesiastics discharged the duties of servants, and there is no evidence that the title *koubouklesios* involved the performance of administrative tasks. On balance, the title *koubouklesios* appears not to have been a function but an honorific. It is interesting to note that as early as the seventh century the title *koubikoularios* ceased to be a function and became an honorific.[5] It may be that we find *koubikoularioi* and *koubouklesioi* mentioned together in Philotheos' rank list because the two titles had a similar meaning and, after 600, an analagous character. Both denoted "attachment" to a *cubiculum* but only in a nominal sense, as both titles were honorific. The latest appearance of the title *koubouklesios* is on seals of the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.[6] The Getty stamp dates, then, no later than 1150.

The inscription on the obverse features several distinctive letter forms. Lunate *eta* and *sigma* are marked by an exaggerated curling of their ends; a space separates the upper and lower loops of the *beta* in line five, and short cross bars decorate the vertical and horizontal shafts of *tau* and

1. Inventory no. 80.AC.134.2; presented by Jane Cody.
2. V. Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V/1 (1963), 119.
3. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siecles* (1972), 151.
4. J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les* ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ *de l'église byzantine* (1970), 40.
5. Oikonomidès, *Les listes*, 301.
6. See, for example, Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux*, 145–147.

Figure 1. Byzantine bronze stamp. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AC.134.2.

Figure 2. Reverse of figure 1.

theta in line two. No one letter provides an indication of date; but as a group (and here I refer specifically to inscriptions in stone or on metal), they point more to the later, than earlier, centuries of the middle Byzantine period. The lettering of the specimen compares favorably, for example, with a stone inscription of 1166, a concilar edict of Manuel I, and, among metallic objects, the inscribed border of a twelfth century silver reliquary, the so-called *staurothèque* of Philotheos at the Hermitage.[7] Finally, we note that the inscription is accompanied by accent marks. On seals, a related genre, accent marks are first employed for decorative purposes during the second half of the eleventh century. From all appearances, the Getty stamp dates from the later eleventh century or the first half of the twelfth century.

The Getty specimen differs in several regards from the vast majority of extant bronze stamps. The Getty stamp is inscribed with a devotional formula, a name, and a title; most specimens bear only simple names or pietistic slogans. For example, the Menil Foundation Collection (Houston, Texas) possesses nearly two hundred bronze stamps. Typically, their inscriptions read either as private names, such as "Meliton," "Hemerios," and "Michael," or good wishes: in particular "Health," "Life," and "Good Fortune."[8] The Getty specimen represents a rare example of a middle Byzantine bronze stamp. A high percentage of known specimens date from the early Byzantine era; and such stamps, although they display a wide variety of shapes, such as crosses, crescents, and feet, share a common feature. Characteristically, the stamping surface is enclosed by a thick ridge, so that when a stamp was applied, its contours were clearly outlined. The flush borders of the Getty stamp reveal an innovation in design and, one might add, establish a criterion for the identification of middle Byzantine stamps.

There are, to my knowledge, only three specimens which are comparable to the Getty stamp in form, inscription, and date. All three objects are rectangular, bear a retrograde inscription, and date from the middle Byzantine era. One specimen, from the Benaki Museum Collection, has no handle.[9] On the obverse appears an inscription in the form of a complex cruciform monogram, with the letters *sigma, nu, alpha, pi,* and *rho* in the four angles. The inscription's meaning is unclear, but it is likely that the monogram contains an invocation, joined with a Christian name; the letters in the quadrants probably represent, in abbreviation, a family name. The second object (formerly in the Roper Collection) carries three cruciform monograms—two in the upper zone and one in the middle —and the phrase "amen" in the linear inscription at the bottom.[10] The monogram at the upper left undoubtly resolves into a devotional formula since its companion at the right may be read as "your servant" and the whole concludes with an expression of prayer. The monogram in the middle zone should resolve as a name or name and title. In this instance, a stump handle is attached to the reverse. The last example is at the Cabinet des Médailles.[11] Like the Getty stamp, its reverse bears no handle, and its sealing surface is decorated with a linear inscription (six lines). It translates: "Lord, help your servant Kosmas, *hegumenos.*"

The Getty specimen, then, belongs to a group of high-quality, rectangular stamps, featuring inscriptions patterned on a devotional formula. Within this group, however, certain variances in design and technique are to be observed. The Roper stamp has a handle; its three companion specimens are (at least presently) without handles. The inscription on the Getty stamp is in relief, while the Benaki piece, for example, is inscribed in intaglio. Doubtlessly, their stamping surfaces were impressed into wax or clay, but their precise use is problematic. Certainly they were not employed for the stamping of eucharistic bread since they bear personalized inscriptions. But on two objects we find mention of titles, suggesting strongly that the Getty and Paris specimens at least were used for official purposes. Such a mode of employment is consistent with the elegant letter forms and careful workmanship that the Getty stamp exhibits.

The Gennadion
Athens

7. C. Mango, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), plates 3 and 4; A. Banck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (1966), no. 195. I wish to thank Mr. George Zacos for bringing the first citation to my notice.

8. Bronze stamps from the Menil Foundation Collection are discussed and illustrated in G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, and Weighing* [Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection. Publications, No. 2] (1980), 25–29. For other examples of bronze stamps, see O. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (1901), 98–99. One specimen, however, is to be found in the Menil Foundation Collection (II,F143) which bears the more lengthy inscription: "Lord, help your servant Niketas." This stamp probably dates from the sixth or seventh centuries.

9. Inv. no. 11475. The presence of an open *beta* indicates that the specimen dates after the middle of the ninth century, but it is possible that it may date as late as the thirteenth century.

10. Roper no. 617 (now at the British Museum?). I note that I have only viewed the specimen in photograph.

11. Dr. Gary Vikan very kindly communicated to me knowledge of the existence of this stamp and supplied a drawing of the specimen's letter forms. Again, the presence of an open *beta* shows that the specimen is no earlier in date than the middle of the ninth century. The stamp has the inventory number S47.

A Parisian Triptych Reconstituted

Burton B. Fredericksen

It is of more than the usual interest to be able to publish for the first time a French triptych from the mid-fifteenth century, which will certainly in the course of time serve to enlarge much upon what we know about painting in Paris during that period. Its links with existing works are not many, but this is true of almost any painting from fifteenth-century France.

The first portion of the triptych in question came to light at an auction in Versailles in 1978 (figs. 1–5).[1] It was sold as a work of the "École flamande de XVe siècle (entourage de Van der Weyden)" and was bought by the dealer François Heim, who in turn sold it to the Getty Museum the following year.[2] It is a depiction of the Crucifixion painted on an oak panel, 48 x 71.5 cm. (18-7/8 in. x 28-1/8 in.), which is remarkably well preserved.[3] There is a strong craquelure in some places, especially on the left and in the sky, indicating that the artist has reworked those areas, but otherwise the painting has both the surface and intensity of color that it must have had when it was painted. It still retains its unpainted margins and has not been cradled. All of this implies that the panel has not been moved about very much and is likely to have been in primarily one place for a long period of time, with little change in temperature and humidity. Nothing is known about its earlier history.

The depiction of the *Crucifixion* is for the most part traditional, including also the crosses with the good and the bad thieves, the swooning Mary at the foot of Christ's cross being held by John and another woman, and three soldiers playing dice on Christ's robe nearby. On the left is the procession to Calvary with Veronica holding her sudarium to give to Christ while he carries the cross. The right side of the painting, however, contains a scene of Christ's descent into Limbo, with a view of Hell in the background with a horrific Lucifer seated upon a kind of cage that towers over a tub full of burning souls. The inclusion of this latter scene in a Crucifixion is unusual and is the most original aspect of the composition.

As mentioned in the auction catalogue of 1978, the style of the painting is clearly related to that of Rogier van der Weyden. The facial features of all the principal figures, with the possible exception of the two thieves on their crosses, are unmistakably Rogierian. The figure of Christ is perhaps the most obviously like those found in Rogier's works, and his fluttering loin cloth is first seen in Rogier's *Crucifixion* triptych in Vienna. The group of John, Mary, and the woman holding Mary is found with considerable variation in the Rogierian *Deposition* in Munich. The brocaded robe worn by the man on horseback is also much like those found in paintings such as Rogier's Columba altarpiece in Munich. However, none of the figures comes directly from known works by Rogier, and the relationship must be described in terms of Rogier's influence rather than Rogier's intervention or supervision. The artist who painted the Getty *Crucifixion* must have been trained by Rogier, but the present painting would seem to have been done some time after the connection had been severed.

In the same auction catalogue mentioned above, the compilers suggested also a further stylistic similarity that is more telling than the one with Rogier's work: "Ce superbe tableau est à rapprocher du 'Christ en croix' du palais de Justice de Paris, conservé au Musée du Louvre." This is the famous Retable du Parlement de Paris which has obvious parallels to the Getty panel and which can certainly be placed in direct proximity to it. But we shall return to this question later.

It was presumed by the author at the time of purchase and by everyone else with whom he discussed the painting that it was originally an independent work complete in the form it now has. Not long afterwards, however. a further work was noticed that clearly had some connection with our own, and it is now apparent that it is the right wing from the triptych of which the Getty panel is the center.[4] That painting is the *Resurrection of Christ* in the Musée

1. Palais des Congres, Étude Chapelle, Perrin, Fromantin, November 19, 1978, No. 88.

2. Accession No. 79.PB.177

3. The painting was cleaned and restored before it was acquired by the museum. The panel itself is cut with the grain running vertically instead of horizontally, and this has produced a split in the center. Andrea Rothe of the museum staff has recently reduced the warping by shellacking the reverse, and the split is now hardly visible. There is no loss of paint.

Figure 1. Master of the Parlement de Paris (attr.), *Crucifixion*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.PB.177.

Fabre in Montpellier (fig. 6), catalogued there also as an anonymous French work of the fifteenth century.[5] Although it has not been much discussed in the literature, the Montpellier panel is of very fine quality and certainly deserves more attention than it has so far received.[6]

The *Resurrection* panel depicts Christ standing before his tomb upon which the lid is still firmly laid. Two soldiers in the foreground recoil from their view of him. Behind the tomb another guard shields his eyes from the light as he gazes upward at one of the angels who hovers over the scene. On the right side of the composition is a female saint holding a sword and presenting three female donors who kneel on the ground next to the figure of Christ. The saint is probably St. Catherine, seen in a pose similar to that of the figure in the painting in Vienna where she also holds a sword out in front of her with the point to the ground. The Vienna figure also has a wheel, of course, making the identification in that case more certain. But a female figure with no other attribute than a sword is most often meant to be Catherine.

The stylistic comparisons between the two panels are not difficult to make. The two soldiers in the foreground of the Montpellier composition are similar in character to the dice players in the Getty painting, with grotesque faces and contorted poses. The robes of the angels in the sky blow in the wind in concert with Christ's loin cloth in the

4. The painting was found by the present author while visiting a record store in Los Angeles. It is reproduced in color on the dust jacket of an album of Gregorian Chants called Masses for Easter, performed by the choir of monks of the Abbey of St. Perre de Solesmes, Peters International, PLE 031. Later, when the author contacted Charles Sterling about the *Crucifixion*, he learned that Sterling had already noticed the stylistic connection, although without recognizing that it was in fact the wing of our panel.

5. *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures exposées dans les galeries du Musée Fabre*, 1914, p. 272, no. 964, as anonymous Flemish school. It was a gift of François Sabatier in 1892, and the measurements are given there as 48 x 31 cm.

6. The Montpellier panel was exhibited in the Royal Academy exhibition of Flemish art in 1927; see *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art*, a memorial volume edited by Sir Martin Conway, 1927, p. 17, no. 34, as anonymous Franco-Flemish school. It was subsequently published by Paul Jamot in the *Burlington Magazine*, 51, July 1927, pp. 20–25, as by the Master of St. Giles.

Figure 2. Detail of figure 1, left side of composition.

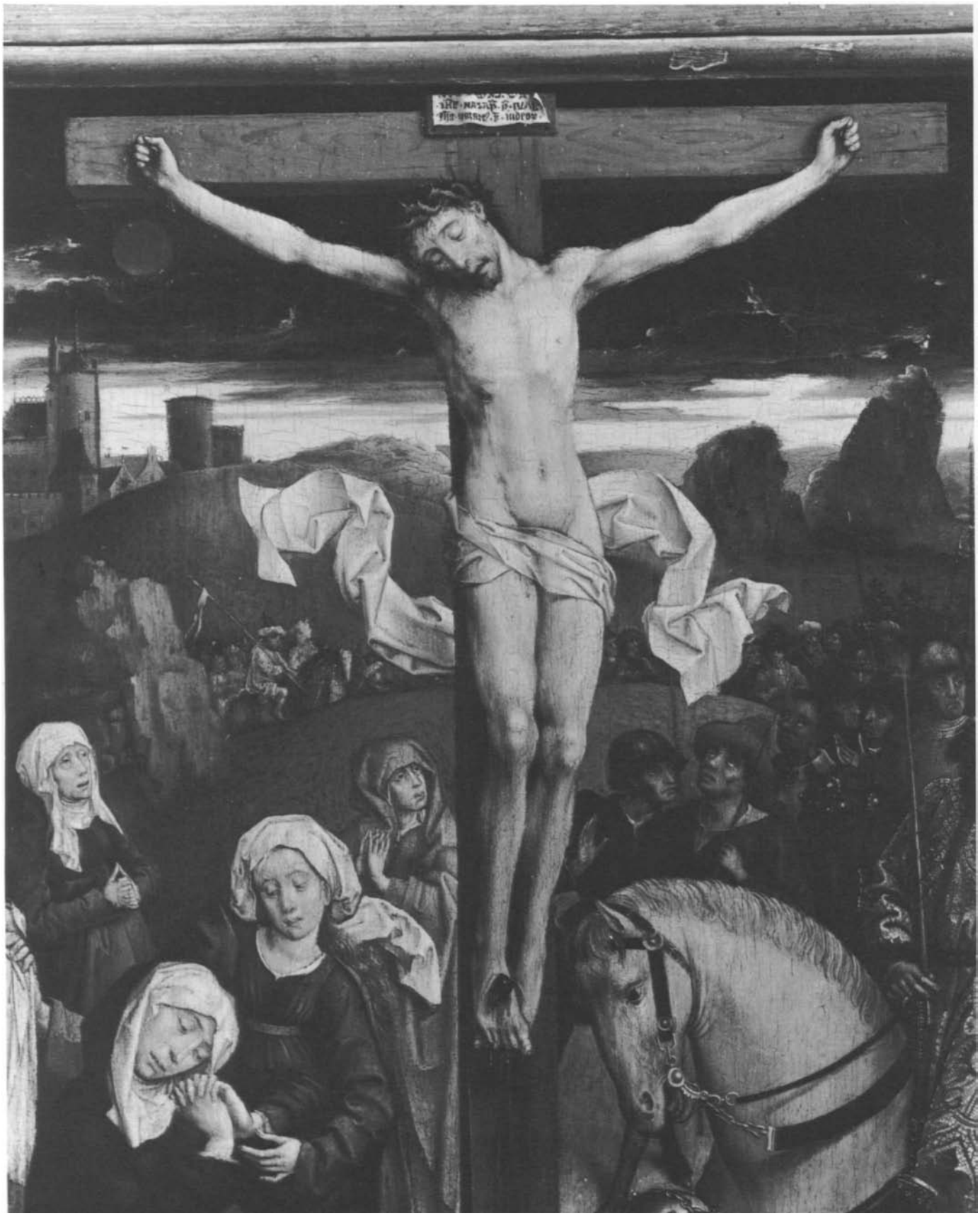


Figure 3. Detail of figure 1, figure of Christ on the cross.

Figure 4. Detail of figure 1, soldiers playing dice at foot of the cross.

central panel. And the facial types are consistent, as the artist normally emphasizes the lids of the eyes as well as the bags below. The eyes and mouths—the latter are often bent in a curious way with a prominent lower lip—are two of the artist's idiosyncrasies. However, the detail that is perhaps just as telling in this case is the presence of the same unusual craquelure in many parts of the upper half of the painting. The artist's technique would seem to have involved a rather liberal amount of medium that has produced a web of fine cracks that are not of the same pattern found in other Rogierian works. They might also be the result of peculiar climatic conditions to which both panels may once have been subjected.

Finally, the dimensions are the same. The height of the Montpellier panel is 48 cm., just the same as that of the Getty panel.[7] Since I have not been able to look at the painting, I cannot say anything about its margins or the character of the wood, etc. But a comparison of the photographs leaves no doubt in mind that they were originally joined as parts of a triptych. (The stylistic connections have been noticed by Charles Sterling as well.[8]) And the subject of the *Resurrection* is appropriate to follow that of the *Crucifixion.*

Having established, I hope, that the two panels are related, it is easier to see the Rogierian flavor of the Montpellier panel, something that has not been remarked before. The figure of St. Catherine, already mentioned, is the most obviously Rogierian in tradition. The angels are somewhat less so. Previously the Montpellier painting had been attributed to a student of Bouts, or even to Dieric

7. The dimensions given for the painting in the 1927 Royal Academy exhibition (see note 6) are 46 x 28 cm. Since I have not been able to measure the panel, I have taken the dimensions given in the 1914 catalogue.

8. I am especially grateful to Prof. Sterling for discussing the two paintings with me on various occasions and for giving me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the work of this period.

Figure 5. Detail of figure 1, Christ in Limbo.

Bouts.[9] Later, at the time of the 1927 exhibition of Flemish painting at the Royal Academy in London, the painting was given simply to the Franco-Flemish school, with a note by Hulin de Loo that although the artist appeared to be of Flemish birth, the panel must have executed in France; he dated it to the third quarter of the century.[10] Subsequently it was attributed by Paul Jamot to the Master of St. Giles, likewise an artist who was Flemish but active in Paris, though probably closer to the end of the century.[11] This attribution has not been accepted and does not seem to be correct. In spite of what may have been parallel careers, the style of the artist who did the Getty/Montpellier panels does not appear to much resemble that of the St. Giles panels in the London National Gallery, and the identification has not, to my knowledge, been taken up by any scholar.

The existence of the central panel and its right wing allowed one to suppose that a left wing might also be found. Its dimensions would correspond to those of the Montpellier panel, and the subject would have to be one that preceded the *Crucifixion.* The presence of the three female donors on the right wing would imply that their male counterparts would be found on the missing wing. One could anticipate a depiction of *Christ at Gethsemane* with perhaps two or three male donors. By good fortune, this author came accidently across a photograph of the missing wing in the Phototeca of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich in 1982. The present location of the painting in question was not given on the photograph, but with a further bit of good luck, he found the painting itself in the Netherlands and confirmed that it was indeed the left wing of the dismembered triptych. The panel is now in the possession of Hans Cramer Gallery in The Hague and comes from the collection of Hans Becker, Dortmund (fig. 7). It supposedly measures 46.9 x 29.1 cm. and is therefore ostensibly about one centimeter shorter than the Getty panel, but this is no doubt owing to inaccurate measuring.[12] Stylistically and thematically, there can be no question that it is the missing left wing.

But instead of depicting Christ at Gethsemane, it shows instead the *Arrest of Christ.* Christ is being kissed by Judas in the center of the painting, while behind them stretches a procession of soldiers, again rendered with grotesque and ugly features, filing between two hills. They carry torches and lanterns while the night sky is illuminated with stars and a crescent moon. In the foreground is Malchus holding his hand over the wound on his head where he just lost his ear. On the ground next to him is an extinguished lantern. To the left of Christ is Peter who is just sheathing his knife. Christ lays his hand almost absent-mindedly on the knife as if to ask Peter to put it away. Further to the left is the figure of St. Christopher holding the Child on his shoulders; he presents two male donors as witnesses to this unpleasant scene.

The Cramer panel is much more poorly preserved than the other two, and the paint is now very thin and somewhat restored. Nevertheless, one can still see the same unusual craquelure in the sky, on the robe of Peter, and on the soldier at the right. Stylistically, the same gaunt faces are seen on the donors who are clearly the parallels to the ladies on the opposite wing. Present is the father, with a sash over his shoulder, and one son (as opposed to the mother and two daughters on the right wing). The soldiers have the same features as seen before, especially the soldier looking into the lantern behind Peter. And many of them have the same short spiky fingers that are prevalent on the right wing.

The history of the Cramer wing is brief. It apparently first appeared on the art market in 1953. The photograph in Munich, which comes from the archive of Alfred Stange, is marked with the statement that the painting had been in the possession of F.T. Sabin in London and that his photograph came from Malmede, Cologne. I take this to mean that Sabin had it first, perhaps from an auction, and that he sold it to Malmede, from whom Becker evidently bought it ca. 1953–54. It was published by George Isarlo in 1953 as the work of Jan Joest, and this was confirmed by Stange in the following year.[13] Although the editors of the second edition of Friedländer's work on *Early Netherlandish Painting* acknowledged Stange's attribution to Jan Joest, the painting has not otherwise succeeded in entering Joest's oeuvre with any substantial degree of acceptance; and the attribution is certainly incorrect.[14] The idea is no doubt based upon the very similar depiction of the same subject by Joest in the church of St. Nicolai in Kalkar. That painting shows a night scene with the figures composed as in the Cramer painting, with St. Peter on the left and Malchus in the foreground. These similarities are strong enough to cause one to postulate some connection between the artists of the two panels. But the panel in

9. This attribution is mentioned in the text of the 1914 Montpellier catalogue.

10. *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian* Art, 1927, p. 17, no. 34.

11. See note 6.

12. The dimensions given on the photograph in Munich are 46.9 x 29.1 cm. The dimensions given by Cramer in his *Catalogue XXI*, 1979, no. 19, are only 44.5 x 27.5 cm. The latter must be incorrect.

13. Georges Isarlo in *Combat-art*, May 3, 1954. Stange's opinion appeared in his *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, v. 6, 1954, p. 67.

14. M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*. v. 9, pt. 2, 1973, pp. 12 and 135, note 104. They do not express an opinion, however.

Figure 6. Master of the Parlement de Paris (attr.), *Resurrection of Christ.* Montpellier, Musée Fabre.

Figure 7. Master of the Parlement de Paris (attr.), *Arrest of Christ.* The Hague, Cramer Gallery.

Kalkar was executed after the turn of the century; and the Getty/Montpellier panels, as well as the Cramer panel, must be considerably earlier. The compositional similarities between the two paintings are probably therefore just the result of a Flemish tradition, because if our artist was indeed a Fleming, perhaps trained in Tournai or Brussels but active in France, his work could not easily have been seen by Joest, who was working in the lower Rhine area. Since Joest is thought to have had his training in Brussels, it is likely that both artists had their inspiration from a common source in that city. No Rogierian prototype is known, but it may eventually be possible to identify the origin of the composition in the oeuvre of some other artist. One possibility is the panel in Munich by Dieric Bouts, normally dated ca. 1460.

The provenance of the three panels does not help us much in tracing the originals of the triptych. The Getty panel is first found in Paris. The Montpellier panel was donated to that museum by François Sabatier in 1892 and cannot be traced any earlier. The Cramer panel seems to have first appeared in London. Unfortunately this evidence leads us nowhere.

If one accepts the Franco-Flemish origins of the triptych, as suggested already by Hulin de Loo and the compilers of the Versailles catalogue of 1978, one would be led to suggest that the triptych was probably from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, painted probably in Paris for a family that contained three children and whose father was named Christopher and whose mother was named Catherine. The present author will not further pursue here this aspect of the triptych because, once more through good fortune, Prof. Charles Sterling has uncovered further evidence which conclusively gives us the circumstances of the triptych's origins. Suffice it to say that his evidence, which it is hoped can be published in the next issue of this journal, proves that the triptych was indeed painted in Paris, and even at mid-century rather than later, as was previously thought. The name of the artist is not to be found as yet among this evidence. In the meantime, one must still speculate about whom he might have been.

At this point we must reintroduce the Retable du Parlement de Paris, the only painting which has so far been successfully connected with any of the three parts of the triptych and to which it is certainly related. It is not my intention here to present an exhaustive discussion of the artist as seen in these two paintings, because Prof. Sterling will be in a better position to do this. But it seems nevertheless desirable to attempt to outline what can be verified so far. The Louvre altarpiece (figs. 8–10), much larger in scale and correspondingly finer than our triptych, has a well-known history that establishes fairly conclusively its Parisian origins.[15] Briefly recounted, there are a variety of drawings, prints, and even paintings that depict the Grand Chambre (or Chambre Dorée) of the Paris Parlement and which are sufficiently detailed to show the Louvre painting on the wall surrounded by stucco and mural decorations.[16] This has allowed the painting to be identified in the records of the Parlement as the one commissioned by the executors of the estate of Jehan Paillart, formerly a *conseiller* at the court of the Parlement, and already in the course of being painted in 1454. From a series of documents, it can be shown that the painting had been commissioned in 1452 and must have been finished no later than 1455. It is not described in these documents, nor is the name of the artist given, but it has been justifiably connected with the painting still found in the Parlement two and one half centuries later; it did not leave that building to come to the Louvre until 1904.

The Louvre panel, as luck would have it, also depicts the *Crucifixion.* In the center is the single cross with Christ upon it with the figure of God the Father in a pointed arch at the top. To the left of the cross is the weeping Mary assisted by another woman. On the right of the cross is John. In the left "wing" of the painting are seen St. Louis of France and St. John the Baptist. St. Louis has been shown to have the features of King Charles VII, who died in 1461. St. John is presumably there because of Jehan Paillart. On the right are Sts. Denis and Charlemagne. The former is the patron saint of Paris, and the latter, one of the saints favored by the French monarchy during the fifteenth century. He was also identifed with French justice. The *Crucifixion* as a theme is perhaps not so much to be expected in such a courtroom as might be the *Last Judgment,* but neither is it inappropriate. And in the background are buildings identified as the Palais du Louvre, as it appeared in the fifteenth century, and the Palais du Parlement itself.

Although clearly painted in Paris, the panel has always been recognized as the work of a Fleming and specifically one working under the influence of Rogier van der Weyden. As pointed out by other authors, the figure of Christ in the Paris retable is very similar to the figure in the Vienna triptych of Rogier mentioned above. The form of the painting, with its raised center, is one found in Rogier's

15. The bibliography of the painting is fairly extensive. The best summary is by Albert Châtelet, "Le retable du Parlement de Paris," *Art de France,* IV, 1964, pp. 60–69.

16. An engraving after a drawing of 1715 is illustrated by Châtelet, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

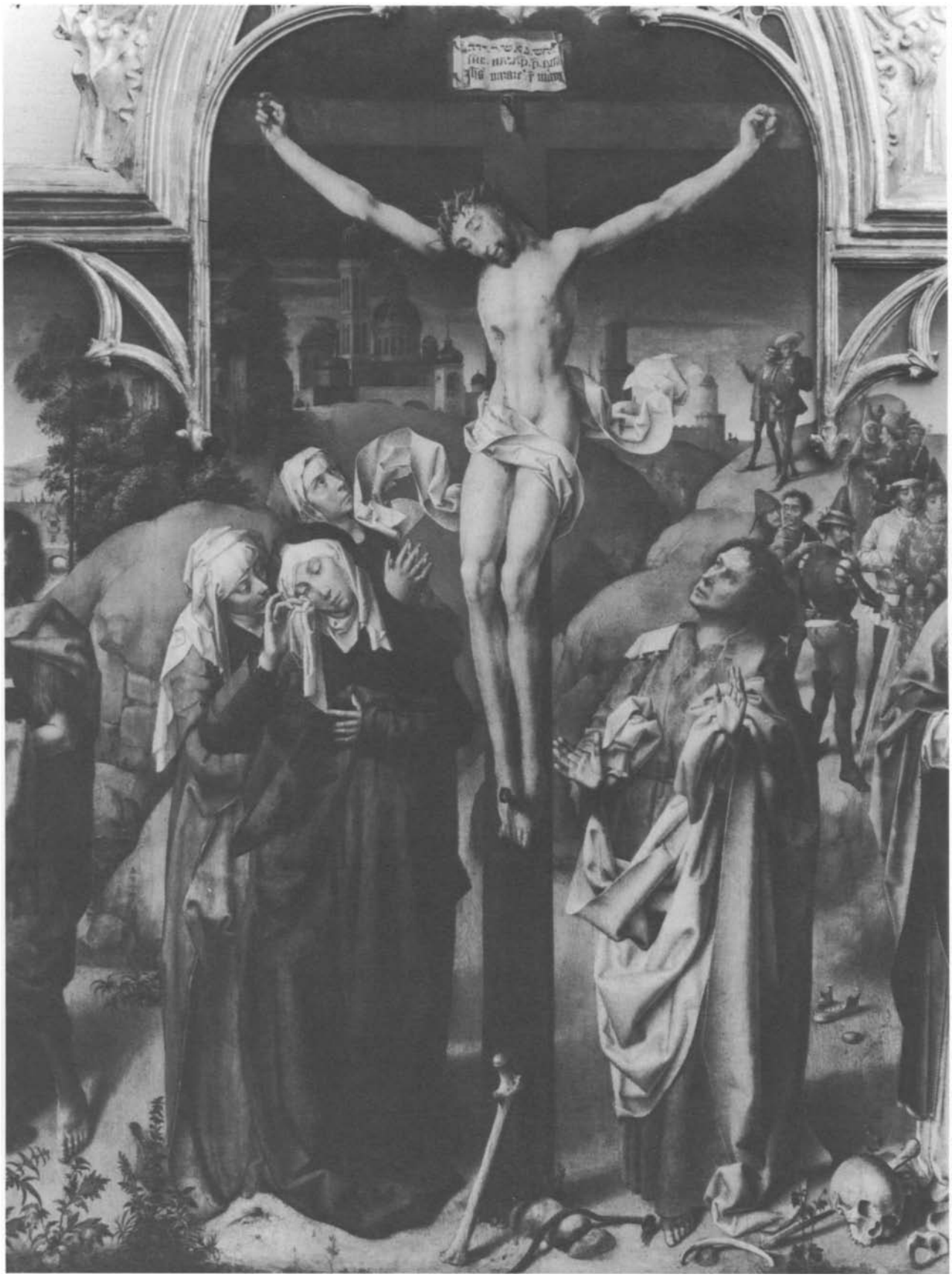


Figure 8. Master of the Parlement de Paris, *Crucifixion* (detail).

Figure 9. Detail of figure 8, the weeping Mary.

Figure 10. Detail of figure 8, St. John the Evangelist.

oeuvre, and the facial types are clearly Rogierian, without being direct imitations. The technique, very crisp and with considerable strength of modeling, is just like that of Rogier. The composition, with the saints lined up in the foreground on either side of the cross, is also like Rogier's, although the artist does not indulge in Rogier's occasional urge to do without the landscape and enclose the figures in a shallow box. Altogether, the connection wth Rogier is readily apparent.

If one then compares the Louvre painting with the Getty panel of the same subject, there are only a few clear similarities. The figure of Christ, less monumental than in the large painting, is very close, and this is true especially of the head. The figure of the swooning Mary is also similarly designed, although her pose is changed. Also similar is the character of the architecture seen prominently on the left of the Getty panel and smaller in the background of the Paris panel.

But there are also differences: the artist of the Getty panel does not compose with the same spareness as seen in the larger panel. In spite of its smaller size, the Getty *Crucifixion* is filled with dozens of small figures, and none of the figures has the monumental and cleanly rendered character of the larger work. This has led at least two scholars who have seen both paintings to suggest that the Getty panel was painted by an artist who was tangentially connected with the artist of the Retable du Parlement de Paris, perhaps an associate or even an assistant.[17] This may be so. But there is some reason to argue that they are by the same hand. First it would be odd that the Louvre painting should remain the only work so far successfully connected with that hand. It does not seem likely that a work so important and so beautiful should stand so completely alone. Even if its artist should prove to have been a miniaturist, as suggested by Châtelet,[18] he must have painted other panel paintings to have become so skilled. And the same is true for the Getty triptych which, at least so far, is the only work that one can connect with his

17. This opinion was given verbally by Lorne Campbell in 1980 when he visited the museum. It is also the opinion of Prof. Sterling.

18. A. Châtelet, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff. See also above.

19. Prof. Sterling will publish an additional painting that is also clearly by his hand.

20. It should also be remarked that the date of the Getty triptych, as

Figure 11. Detail of figure 8, soldier from background.

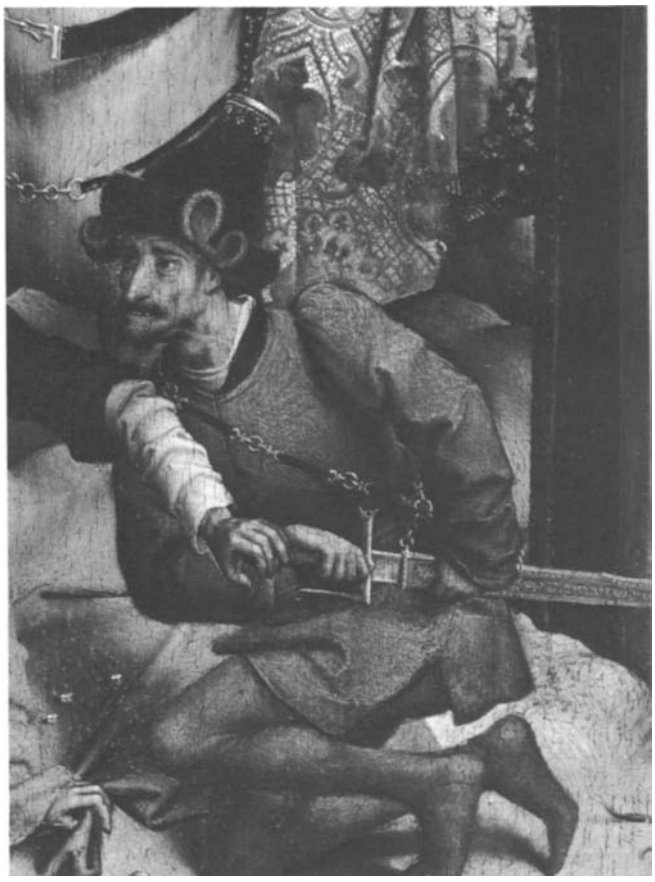


Figure 12. Detail of figure 1, soldier playing dice.

hand.[19] It is, of course, feasible, that only one work by both artists exists, but in my opinion the differences between the two paintings are explained mostly by the differences in their scale, not their artists.

As proof of this, I can offer only the suggestion that the smallest figures of the Paris retable, the soldiers in the background, should be compared to the larger soldiers in the Getty panel, those in the foreground to the right of the central cross. Indeed, the soldier seen to the right of St. John the Evangelist in the Paris painting, the one who rests his sword on the ground (fig. 11)—as did the figure of St. Catherine in the Montpellier wing—is very nearly the same man seen drawing his sword in the Getty panel (fig. 12). The form of his head is the same; he has the same beard and moustache, an odd hat, the same leggings, and altogether the same style. The figure of the man to his left in the Paris panel has the same slightly grotesque quality, with the same flattened features, as seen on the background figures in the Getty panel. I do not claim to have proved this point, but a comparison of black and white photographs of the two paintings that does not take into account the very great difference in scale would produce an erroneous result. The predellas of Italian altarpieces, if they were not still intact, would often fail to be attributed to the artist of the main panel. I believe it is more likely that we have, in the Getty painting, a lesser work by the same artist who produced the Retable du Parlement de Paris.[20]

As for Châtelet's suggestion that this artist could be the same as Philippe de Mazerolles, the Flemish miniaturist who is also thought to have been in Paris during the 1450's, there is some uncertainty as to whether this man is the same as the painter of the same name who is only documented in Flanders. But, even more important, there are no longer any manuscripts which can be confidently attributed to him. What was considered once to be an acceptable tradition concerning his oeuvre has recently melted away, now waiting reconstruction.[21] And, just as

will be shown by Prof. Sterling in his forthcoming article, is approximately the same as that of the retable in Paris. This is an argument against its having been produced by a follower.

21. See especially the commentary by F. Unterkircher to the facsimile edition of the *Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund*, 1969, pp. 24 ff., and *La Miniature flamande*, exhibition Brussels, 1959, p. 102.

important, none of the manuscripts that have traditionally been connected with his name shows any strong resemblance with the painting in the Louvre, or the Getty painting for that matter. So the name of Philippe de Mazerolles must be set aside, at least for the time being.[22]

The investigations of Charles Sterling will extend the conclusions reached above and introduce some new material. Perhaps as a result, some new paintings will be noticed. In the meantime the oeuvre of the artist of the Retable du Parlement de Paris has either been doubled in size or the number of artists in his entourage has multiplied. Either way, our view of the state of affairs in Paris at mid-century has improved, and this always holds out the hope for other discoveries.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

22. The present author has explored the possibility of identifying the painter of the Getty triptych with Lieven van Lathem, the artist who has recently been identified as the painter in part of the manuscripts formerly identified as the work of Philippe de Mazerolles. So far this has proved to be unsatisfactory. See J. Duverger, "Hofschilder Lieven van Latham," *Jaarboek van het Koniklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, 1969, pp. 97 ff.

Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen

Gary Schwartz

Jan van der Heyden's country scene in the Getty Museum is not as unassuming as it looks (fig. 1).[1] The small riverside inn where gentlemen pass the time of day while maidservants scrub the wash in a canal is not simply a pretty view on the Vecht River. The inn displays the sign of the black pig, the arms of Maarsseveen, and it was there that the local sheriff, aldermen, and secretary met to dispense justice, law, and administration in the name of the lord of Maarsseveen and Neerdijk. When van der Heyden painted his panel in the latter half of the 1660's, the lordship was occupied by the second Joan Huydecoper (1625–1704), whose father had acquired the title in 1641 and the land on which the inn stood in 1649.

The Huydecopers were a powerful Amsterdam family. Joan Huydecoper father and son served nineteen terms between them as burgomaster of Amsterdam, from 1651 to 1693. It was thanks to Joan the elder's political influence in the city that he was able to get and keep the lordship of Maarsseveen, which in turn lent him added distinction among the burgher fathers of Amsterdam. Both Huydecopers worked hard to turn Maarsseveen from a backward farming area into a sophisticated country paradise for the Amsterdam elite, especially the members of their widely extended family. The place was important to them for status and profits—but also for the pleasure it added to their lives. The Huydecopers' own estate of Goudestein on the Vecht became a Dutch byword for gracious country living.

From the 1620's on, Joan Huydecoper I was aware of what art could contribute to Maarsseveen: architecture to beautify it, mapmaking to advertise it, and poetry to immortalize it. He used the patronage he wielded in Amsterdam to put artists, scholars, and publishers to work for him in Maarsseveen. Joan II, a less vigorous figure than his father, had clients of his own among the artists of Amsterdam. One of them was Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712). Between 1666 and 1674, van der Heyden painted fourteen views in Maarssen and Maarsseveen. (No other Dutch painter of the seventeenth century is know to have worked there at all.) In return, Joan II bestowed protection to van der Heyden in Amsterdam in the artist's public career, which was much more lucrative than his art, as head of the firefighting and street lighting services in Amsterdam.

Huydecoper and van der Heyden both cultivated the House of Orange as well as the city fathers of Amsterdam. At this, the artist was apparently more sucessful, and in the early 1690's, when Huydecoper was toppled from power, he seems to have used his relationship with van der Heyden in a vain attempt to regain the favor of the stadholder.

This article is a first attempt to reconstruct the unmapped paths of patronage linking two famous Amsterdamers over a period of twenty-five years. No documents concerning their relationship have yet been found. The known clues are paintings, prints, and suggestive coincidences. It is hoped that the broad lines laid down here can later be corrected and filled in.

With thanks to Burton Fredericksen of the Getty Museum, who, following a visit to Maarssen in 1979, sent me a photograph of the painting in figure 1, asking me to see if anything could be discovered about it. I am also indebted for indispensable help to D. Dekker, president of the Historische Kring of Maarssen, who identified the site depicted in the painting, to Wallie Smits, and to the staff of the Rijksarchief Utrecht. E.A.J. van der Wal was extremely generous in sharing with me his unequalled knowledge of Maarsseveen under the Huydecopers.

The manuscript of this article benefited from corrections by him and by K. Fremantle. I would also like to thank Derk Snoep for his help, and Lyckle de Vries for allowing me to read the manuscript of his forthcoming book on Jan van der Heyden.

1. Accession no. 78.PB.200. Oil on panel, 46.5 x 60.5 cm. Signed (on the upper wooden beam of the embankment, left center); *V Heyde* (V and H in monogram). This information is from B. Fredericksen's entry on the painting for a new edition of the catalogue of paintings in the Getty Museum.

For other views of Maarssen and Maarsseveen, see below, note 62. The works of Jan van der Heyden have been catalogued three times: by Smith (see text at note 9), Hofstede de Groot (see notes 7 and 8) and Helga Wagner, *Jan van der Heyden, 1637–1712,* Amsterdam-Haarlem, 1971. In the rest of the article we will refer to van der Heyden's paintings by their Wagner numbers, although Hofstede de Groot should always be consulted in addition.

Wagner's dating of the Getty painting to about 1668 (p. 61) is acceptable, and fits in with the conclusions of this article.

Figure 1. Jan van der Heyden, *The Inn of the Black Pig ('t Zwarte Varken)* or *The Arms of Maarsseveen ('t Wapen van Maarseveen).* Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.PB.200.

PROVENANCE

In the inventory of Jan van der Heyden's widow Sara ter Hiel, who died in 1712, days after her husband, the following painting is listed among the goods to be left to her son Samuel: "8. de Vegt met de Herberg vant Swarte Varke . . . 80" (No. 8. The Vecht with the Inn of the Black Pig. [Value] 80 guilders).[2] The title incontestably describes the subject of the Getty painting, as we shall see. Since no other representation of the subject by van der Heyden has ever been recorded, and since the quality of the existing painting, with its handsome staffage figures, justifies the high valuation, there is no reason to doubt that the painting in the Getty is the one that belonged to the painter's wife and their son Samuel.[3] The painting remained in the family for at least twenty-five, and possibly seventy, more years. When Samuel died in 1729, he left all his belongings to his sister Sara; and in the inventory of her goods, made after her death in 1738, the painting is still

2. A. Bredius, "De nalatenschap van Jan van der Heyden's weduwe," *Oud-Holland* 30 (1912), pp. 129–51, p. 135. The inventory was drawn up on May 18, 1712.

3. The staffage figures have been ascribed since 1812 to Adriaen van de Velde (1636–72) without anyone ever having cast doubt on the attribution. Only nine of the sixty-one evaluated paintings by van der Heyden in the inventory are appraised higher than 80 guilders.

4. I.H. van Eeghen, "De nakomelingen van Jan van der Heyden," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 60 (1973), pp. 128–34. In an appendix to her article, on p. 134, van Eeghen identifies the paintings in the inventory of Sara's goods (September 24, 1738) that were in her mother's estate. No. 9

Figure 2. The site of figure 1 in 1983: the junction of the Zandpad and Machinekade, Maarssen. Photo J.J. van Dijk.

listed under the same title. The forty-seven paintings in the estate, most of them by Jan van der Heyden, were evaluated by the painter Jan Maurits Quinkhard, who earned his fee easily by parroting the descriptions and valuations in the 1712 inventory. Sara's possessions were divided by lot between her late brother Jan's daughters and their husbands, Jan Brants and Minister Johannes Deknatel.[4]

The next known owner of the painting was the French expert, dealer, and collector Alexandre Paillet, after whose death it was auctioned in 1814.[5] During a long career that flourished under ancien régime, republic, consulate, and empire, Paillet made his most famous coup in 1783 with the purchase for Louis XVI of the van der Heyden view of the Dam now in the Louvre. In France the transaction was retailed as a legend: a wealthy descendant of the painter who had no intention of parting with his ancestor's supreme masterpiece was tricked on the floor of the exchange into selling at the kingly price of six thousand guilders. As Miss van Eeghen has shown, the Dutch records tells a different version of the story. Through a perfectly normal sale, brokered by Jan de Bosch Jerz., Jan Jacob Brants unloaded for an incredible six thousand guilders an Amsterdam view by his wife's grandfather that the broker's brother later called a run-of-the-mill piece.[6]

Each of the six issues of *Maandblad Amstelodamum* for 1973 contains an article by van Eeghen on Jan van der Heyden. The new archival information in those articles forms an indispensable supplement to that published of the 1738 inventory is identical to no. 8 in Samuel's share of the mother's estate.

by Joh. C. Breen in *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 11 (1913), pp. 29–92, 93–108, and 109–118.

5. *Catalogue des tableaux de feu Alex. Paillet*, par Ch. Paillet, fils, June 2, 1814, lot 8. F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques*, vol. 1, The Hague, 1938, no. 8531.

We know that Paillet sold another van der Heyden view in 1799 and traded several others in the early 1800's, in addition to the one that he kept.[7] It seems reasonable to assume that Jan Jacob Brants, the son of Jan Brants and a Sara van der Heyden of the third generation, had found an attractive market in France for parts of his inheritance and that the Getty painting was one of the works to go that route.

At the Paillet sale, the panel was knocked down to a colleague of Paillet's, A.J.E. Lerouge (1766–1833), for 672 francs.[8] Lerouge, who already owned van der Heyden's *View of Goudestein* now in Apsley House, of which Paillet was the former owner, sold that work, but not the *Zwarte Varken*, in an auction in 1818 after the death of his wife (Lugt 8797). The painting may well have remained in his hands until he died in 1833. In any case, it was in France for that long. In 1842 John Smith included it in the supplement to his *Catalogue raisonné*, saying that it had been brought to England by the London art dealer Chaplin.[9] Since Smith and Chaplin did business together, we may assume that the information was accurate. This adds significance to the fact that Smith did not know of the painting when he published his van der Heyden catalogue in 1834. It must have been between 1834 and 1842, then, that the painting entered the English art trade.

Having been able to construct a likely provenance for the painting, unbroken at that, from its creation down to the birth of modern art history, we might expect to have arrived on safe ground and be able to fill in the rest of the ownerships from the published literature. Unfortunately, this is not the case. We lose sight of the painting completely until 1928, when it was sold at auction in Brussels, as the property of Monsieur F., to the Amsterdam art dealer Nicolaas Beets.[10] In 1935 it was exhibited as his property in Brussels in *Cinq siècles d'art: exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles*, no. 735. By 1937 it had changed hands once more; the Hilversum firm of H.P. Doodeheefver submitted it in that year to the Jan van der Heyden commemorative exhibition in Amsterdam.[11]

According to a note on the copy of the Sotheby auction catalogue of June 24, 1959 at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, it was Doodeheefver who anonymously submitted the painting to that sale, where it was bought for Mr. Getty by Eric Estorick for £7,800.[12]

THE SITE

To verify the accuracy of the title, *The Vecht with the Inn of the Black Pig*, all one need do is follow the old towpath downstream from Maarssen for about a mile to where it joins the Diependaalse Dijk. At that point a small canal with a simple lock empties into the Vecht from the polder to the east. With a photograph of the painting in hand, one can easily identify the spot where Jan van der Heyden made his view (fig. 2). Not much has changed since then. The lock has been replaced with a new one at a slight angle to the road above, and the house has been rebuilt on the same foundations. The classical stone gate behind the left gentleman's hand, which once marked the entrance to the grounds of Otterspoor or Gansenhoef, no longer exists (compare fig. 7). At present an eighteenth-century gate is the only relic of Otterspoor. The house in the background of the photograph was built later than 1670.

"De Vegt": The Vecht River, the northernmost arm of the Rhine, flowed—when the locks at its source and mouth allowed—from Utrecht to the former Zuider Zee at Muiden. Van der Heyden's view cuts across a bend in the river at a point where the northern bank is firm and built up, and the southern so marshy that it could not, and still cannot, be farmed. If the scene could be set in motion, the barge under the inn sign would go off to the right, then come back into sight in front of the stone gate heading left, and disappear behind the grass shrubs above the projecting beam with the artist's signature: *VHeyde*. The

6. See van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 133, in combination with exhib. cat. *Le siècle de Rembrandt: tableaux hollandais des collections publiques françaises*, Paris (Petit Palais), 1970–71, pp. 98–99, no. 105 (Jacques Foucart). The story was published by Filhol in his *Galerie du Musée Napoléon*, vol. 6, Paris, 1809, livraison 61, pl. 5. Paillet's letter reporting the purchase to his principal, the French minister comte d'Angivillier, is self-congratulatory but not spectacular, and lacks the details in Filhol. See F. Engerand, *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des batiments du roi (1709–1792)*, Paris, 1901, p. 564. On another visit to Holland in 1785, Paillet paid the same price for Terborch's *Soldier and girl*, which had belonged to that artist's descendants until then (*ibid.*, p. 588).

7. C. Hofstede de Groot, *A catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch painters of the seventeenth century*, vol. 8, London, 1927 (reprint Teaneck and Cambridge 1976), nos. 65 (an unidentifiable view in Gouda sold by Paillet in 1799 for 1650 francs), 69 (bought by Paillet in 1804 for 3620 francs and sold (by him?) in 1811 for 4200; this is the view of Goudestein in Apsley House which will be discussed below) and 160 (sold by Paillet and his Dutch partner Coclers in 1811 for 8000 francs; a church exterior now in the Wallace Collection). The French dealer had been working with his Dutch colleague for at least a decade by then. On August 27, 1801 (9 fructidor an IX) there was a sale in Paris "de tableaux précieux des écoles flamande, hollandaise et allemande apportés de la Flandre et de la Hollande par les citoyens Paillet et Coclers" (Lugt 6305; cf. exhib. cat. *Le siècle de Rembrandt*, cited in note 6, p. 231, no. 224).

8. The price is mentioned by Hofstede de Groot in his entry on the Getty painting, under no. 319. Lerouge is identified as the buyer in the annotated copy of the catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague. The information on Lerouge is from F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 308, under no. 1706, Remy, and from the Lerouge sales catalogue.

9. John Smith, *Supplement* (vol. 9) *to the catalogue raisonné of the works*

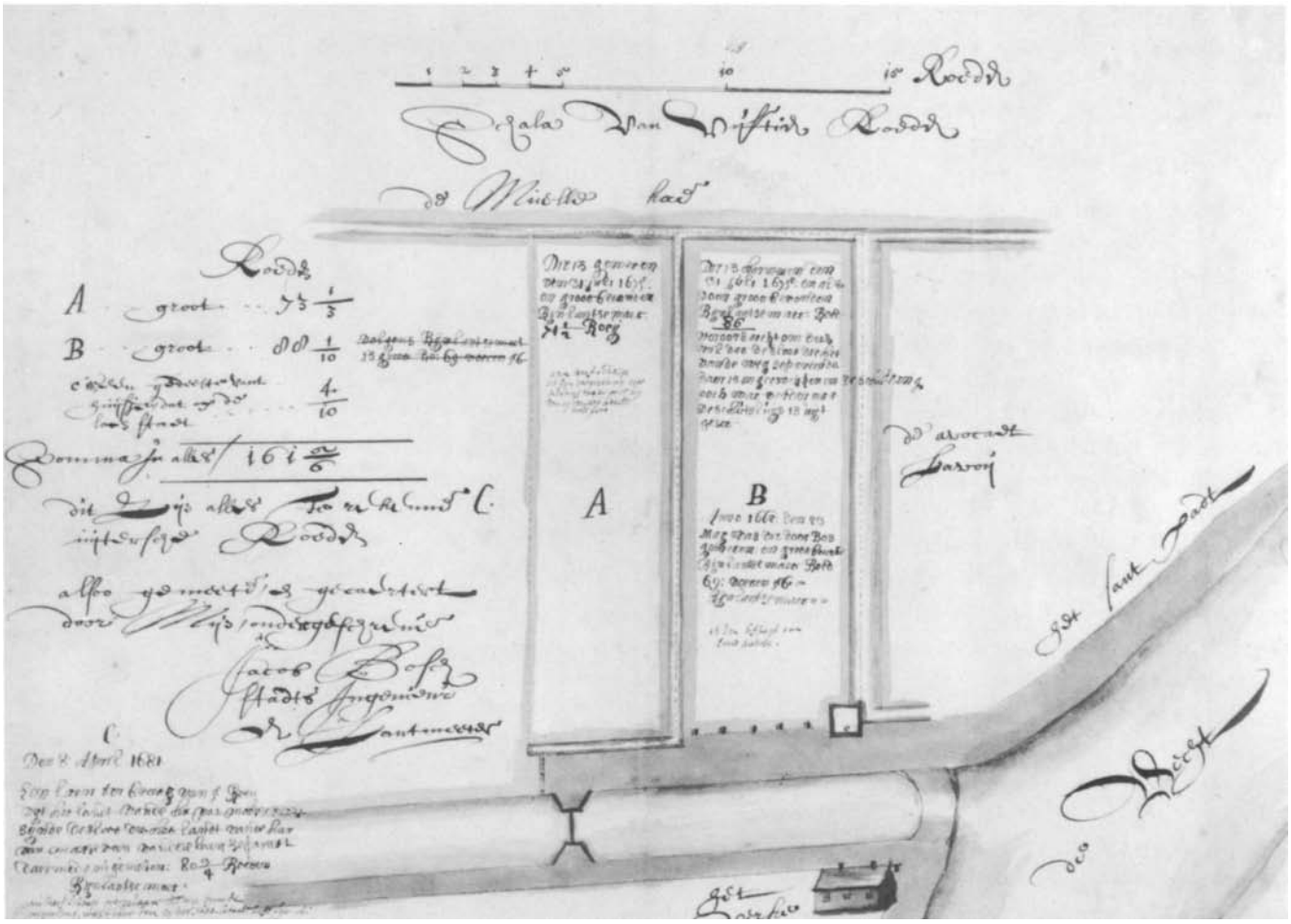


Figure 3. Jacob Bosch, city surveyor of Amsterdam, Map of the site in figure 1, based on measurements taken in 1662, 1675, and 1681. Ca. 29 x 41 cm. Rijksarchief Utrecht, Huydecoper archive, Steur no. 1941.

gate, thus, is on the near, not the far side of the river.

Thanks to a small dispute over dividing lines and to Joan Huydecoper's thoroughness, we have a groundplan of the site from the very years in which the painting was made. On three occasions, in 1662, 1675, and 1681, Huydecoper sent the Amsterdam city surveyor Jacob Bosch to Maarsseveen to map out parts of his holdings there. The groundplan in fig. 3, drawn by Bosch probably on the last of these visits, incorporates the results of all three surveys.[13]

The painter's viewpoint is near the square marked C in

of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters, London, 1842, p. 674, no. 19: "The Half-way House." The composition is described as if in reverse.

10. Brussels (Galerie Georges Petit), May 21–22, 1928, lot 25: "L'auberge au bord du canal."

11. Exhib. cat. *Jan van der Heyden: beschrijving van de tentoonstelling in het Amsterdamsch Historisch Museum*, Amsterdam (Sint Anthoniswaag), 1937, commemorating the painter's birth on March 5, 1637. Under no. 8 is "Het Rechthuis te Maarssen" — the Maarssen courthouse.

12. Sale London (Sotheby's), 24 June 1959, lot 82: "The Toll House at Maarssen." The title, description, and provenance in the sale catalogue are all inaccurate. The London newspapers published long articles on the sale, at which Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi* from the Westminster Collection established a world auction record of £275,000. Mr. Getty attended the sale with Estorick; they bid on the Rubens as well but did not succeed in buying it.

13. Rijksarchief Utrecht (office of the state archives for Utrecht province; henceforth RAU), Huydecoper archive, Steur no. 1941. Approx. 29.5 x 41 cm. The papers of the Huydecoper family, which produced noteworthy individuals from the sixteenth to the present century, were recovered in Goudestein, the family home in Maarssen, in 1945 by Henri A. Ett. The voluminous but incomplete archive was brought to the state archives in Utrecht, the provincial capital, above the protests of the Amsterdam municipal archives. There it was felt that, the Huydecopers being an Amsterdam family, the papers belonged in that city.

The present inventory of the Huydecoper archive by J. Steur, with over two thousand entries, is being replaced with an improved version by Menno Polak. Unfortunately, work has come to a halt for the moment, with the inventory and the renumbering midway, so that some dossiers have Steur numbers and some provisional Polak numbers. As a result, the material is not as accessible as it might be.

the lower right center, identified in the legend as "part of the small house standing on the lane: four-tenths of a rod." The house seems to have been occupied by a Huydecoper servant named Peter (van) Roosendael, who perhaps operated the lock.[14] The unimproved plots A and B had been sold by Huydecoper to Evert Pieterse and "Nephew" Schaap, whom he sometimes called "Secretary" Schaap—no doubt the town secretary of Amsterdam, Dirk Schaap, whose mother was a Huydecoper. Van der Heyden's painting shows the view that Pieterse or Schaap would enjoy from his front window if he were to build a house on his land.

"De Herberg vant Swarte Varke": The Inn of the Black Pig. It may be a bit rubbed by now, but the flag in the painting certainly shows the black pig of the arms of Maarsseveen. In fact, those were two ways of saying the same thing, and the inn was called 't Wapen van Maarsseveen as often as 't Zwarte Varken. Maarsseveen—more properly Oud- and Nieuw-Maarsseveen—was administratively distinct from the neighboring village of Maarssen but completely dependent on it for all services. The Zwarte Varken was in Nieuw-Maarsseveen, over which the Huydecopers held jurisdiction.)

Bosch shows the building in an unpretentious perspective sketch that departs in a number of features from the house in the painting: the door is in the end, on the road, the flagstaff projects from the roofbeam rather than the eaves, and neither of the two chimneys is built into the gable. Van der Heyden's version has an air of greater authority, but the artist was able to do that even for his imaginary architectural concoctions. He was famous for painting his buildings down to the mortar between the bricks and notorious for the liberties he took in manipulating their larger features, including their geographical location. These were habits in which Jacob Bosch did not indulge. Both depictions, however, agree on the basics: the Zwarte Varken had a ground floor and attic only and was not very large. In later years it underwent a modest expansion. If an undated drawing by Hendrik Spilman (1721–84), made for a print by Hermanus Schouten (active 1745–75), is at all accurate, the inn had a story added by the middle of the eighteenth century (fig. 3a).[14a] The positions of door and chimneys come closer to Bosch than to van der Heyden. By then, too, the bend in the Vecht had been rounded out near the bridge. Spilman's point of view was in the lower right of fig. 3, near the inscription *het sant padt.*

Figure 3a. Hendrik Spilman, *'t Zwarte Varken.* Pen and wash drawing, 11.5 x 17.7 cm. Mid-eighteenth century. Amersfoort, Flehite Museum, Atlas Coenen van 's Gravesloot, no. 14-139-1 (presently in care of the Rijksarchief Utrecht). Photo Rijksarchief Utrecht.

To see the site in a larger context, we can turn to a map of 1660 entitled "A small section of the seignory of Maarsseveen," drawn by Jacob Bosch and published by Jacob Colom for Joan Huydecoper I (fig. 4).[15] The inn does not appear on the map, but the spot where it was soon to rise is conveniently pointed out by the compass rose. Following the direction of the arrow north across a small triangular patch of ground, one arrives at the juncture of the towpath and the Diependaalse Dijk. The sharp point of ground beyond the juncture is the site of the Zwarte Varken.

The *vaart* (navigable canal) in the foreground of the painting runs northeast for a few hundred yards into the polder, where it intersects another small canal, the Zogwetering. There is a difference in elevation between the two of about a meter, which has to be overcome if water from the *wetering* is to be drained off via the *vaart* into the Vecht by a pump or bucket chain of the kind usually powered by a windmill.

The Diependaalse Dijk (Deep-dale Dike) and Zogwetering (Drainage Canal; a more picturesque cognate would be

14. RAU, Huydecoper archive, provisional no. 375, transcript of a letter of February 2, 1673, "aen mijn knecht Peter v Rosend:," with instructions concerning damage to the Zwarte Varken. In an appendix to the testament of Joan Huydecoper II and Sophia Coymans, dated April 9, 1693, there is an entry concerning a piece of property "on Sluyswijk farm, (leased) for eighteen guilders yearly," with the name Pieter Roosendaal in the margin. This description could well apply to the house marked C on Jacob Bosch's drawing.

14a. Spilman's wash drawing is in the Coenen van 's Gravesloot Atlas, Flehite Museum, Amersfoort, presently in the care of the Rijksarchief Utrecht, Topografische Atlas, no. 14-139-1. It measures 11.5 x 17.7 cm. In the Topografische Atlas are also two impressions of the print by Schouten. The better of the two is numbered Muller 877-2.

15. Coenen van 's Gravesloot Atlas, no. 14-135-2 (see note 14a). This is one of three similar maps of the same area made in 1660. The best of

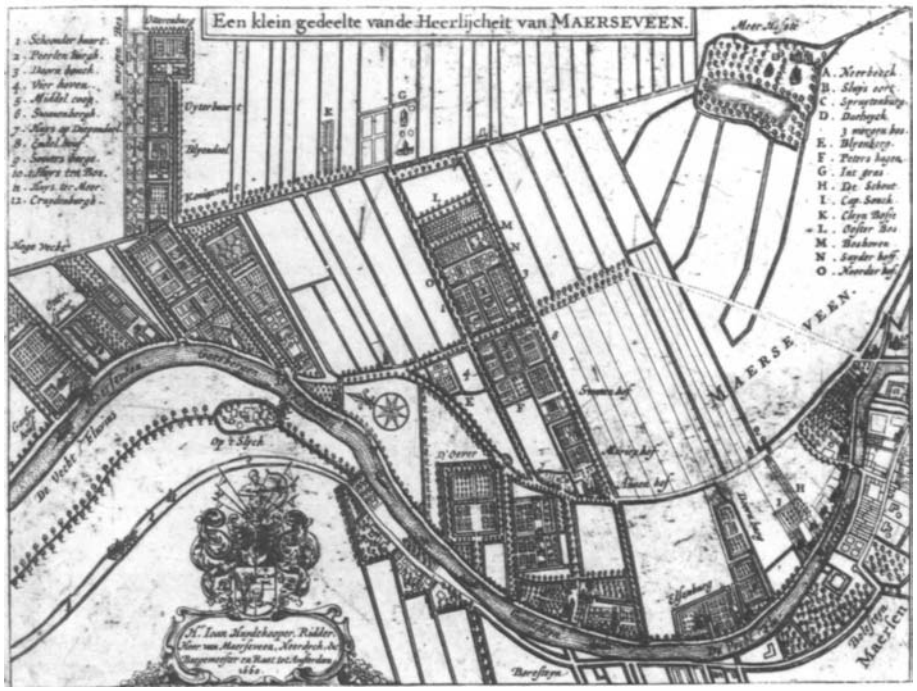


Figure 4. Unknown engraver after Jacob Bosch, Map of "A small section of the seignory of Maarsseveen," dated 1660. 19 x 22.5 cm. Published for Joan Huydecoper I by Jacob Colom, Amsterdam. Amersfoort, Flehite Museum, Atlas Coenen van 's Gravesloot, no. 14-135-2 (presently in care of the Rijksarchief Utrecht). Photo Rijksarchief Utrecht.

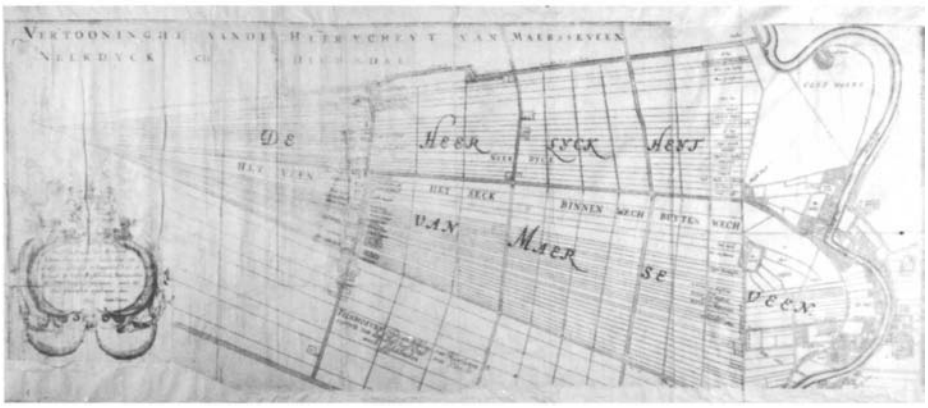


Figure 5. "Depiction of the seignory of Maarsseveen, Neerdyck, and Diependal," dated 1651. 54 x 100.8 cm. Published for Joan Huydecoper I by Jacob Colom, Amsterdam. Rijksarchief Utrecht, Topografische Atlas, Muller 168-2.

them is known to me only in an impression in the Laurens van der Hem Atlas in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, vol. 17, no. 14, and in an uncaptioned photograph in the RAU, Topografische Atlas, nr. 168-5. For the van der Hem Atlas, a Blaeu Atlas grangerized with hundreds of splendid seventeenth-century maps, see Karl Ausserer, "Der 'Atlas Blaeu' der Wiener National-Bibliothek," *Beitäge zur historischen Geographie,* Leipzig, 1929. The author is indebted to Kees Zandvliet of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, for acquainting him with this valuable source.

The van der Hem map, which seems to have served as the model for the other two, is inscribed *Meester Iacob Bos Lantmeeter fect. Iulius Mulhuijsen schulp. tot Amsterdam By Iacob Colom.* The city surveyor came to Maarsseveen fairly frequently. The second version is our fig. 4, and the third a smaller copy printed in a *Description of the Netherlands* by Jacob van Meurs (see note 46).

"Suckwatering") are important features in the historical topography of Maarsseveen. The liver-shaped area between the Vecht and the Diependaalse Dijk is alluvial land with clayey soil suitable for houses, orchards, and gardens, and has probably been inhabited, like the ground across the river, with the church and castle of Maarssen, since the end of the first millennium. The scarcity of hairlines in this part of the map means that the land could be kept dry with a minimum of drainage trenches. (On the other hand, lying outside the dike, it would be flooded when the Vecht overran its banks.) The frequency of such lines increases in the section between the Diependaalse Dijk and the Zogwetering, indicating that the land there was marshier and had to be reclaimed by digging parallel trenches and raising the ground between them. The serious reclamation begins at the Zogwetering. This fairly broad channel served to drain off water from the polder on both sides. Beyond the Zogwetering, as an earlier, larger, and more businesslike map by Colom shows (fig. 5), the polder extended for a considerable distance into the fens east of Maarssen.[16] Part of this polder too was drained into the Vecht at the Zwarte Varken. The spot in Jan van der Heyden's painting is not just a pretty view from an unbuilt country home—it is also the mouth of Maarsseveen and, as we shall see, its administrative heart as well.

Moreover, it was the focal point of a perennial battle between the owners of the claygrounds on the Vecht and the fens in the hinterland. In the seventeenth century the issue was aggravated when the Amsterdam merchants who owned the riverbanks were elevated in status nearly to the rank of the Utrecht aristocrats in possession of the polders.

THE HUYDECOPERS OF MAARSSEVEEN

In 1608, an Amsterdam merchant and city father named Jan Jacobsz. Bal, alias Huydecoper (pelt buyer; 1541–1624), began buying land in Maarsseveen. In that year he acquired a farm on the Vecht: Goudehoef (Golden Farm), soon to be renamed Goudestein (meaning the same). The farmhouse was converted into a modest country place which Jan Jacobsz. left to his son Joan (1599–1661).[17] The practice of building small "Sunday houses" on farms had originated, among the Amsterdammers who could afford it, in the sixteenth century, so there was nothing original about Jan Jacobsz.'s idea. The timing was important, though. In 1609 the Twelve Years Truce was concluded, and the Dutch could breathe freely after forty years of war with Spain. Renewed interest in the countryside was one of the social manifestations of the détente. On the Amstel and in the new polder in the Beemster, clusters of country homes arose.[18] In 1611 the country house was praised for the first time in Dutch poetry by Philibert van Borsselen, and in the same year Claes Jansz. Visscher's series of prints on the countryside of Haarlem gave a new impetus to the depiction of the inhabited landscape in art.[19] The location of Jan Jacobsz.'s houses was also significant: on the main passenger barge line from Amsterdam to Utrecht and nearly on the doorstep of that city.

Jan Jacobsz. had been in the city council of Amsterdam from the very day in 1578 the Catholic government was replaced by a Protestant one.[20] In Maarsseveen his son surrounded himself with other men of the first hour, by selling them and their families land for *buitenplaatsen* of their own. By mid-century the Cromhouts, Valkeniers, Pauws, Bakxes, Schaaps, and Ransts all owned land in Maarsseveen. With the Scotts, Servaeses, and van Vlooswijks joining them, the landowners of Maarsseveen came to form a redoubtable enclave of Amsterdam regents in the territory of the Utrecht patricians.

The mingling of interests so characteristic of the Dutch regents also extended to family connections and land holdings. The Huydecopers intermarried with Coymanses, Trips, Bickers, Reaels, Hinlopens, and other influential Amsterdam families. Children born of such marriages would inherit land and position from both sides, so that a clan network of Huydecopers and Huydecoper in-laws with related interests came into being.

Perhaps somewhat more than the average Amsterdam regent, Jan Jacobsz. had a knack for profiting from his position. In 1613, Amsterdam decided to carry out its first major extension plan beyond the mediaeval moat, and Jan Jacobsz. managed at the last moment to be appointed to the committee responsible for deciding exactly where to place the new walls, which enclosed pieces of his property.[21]

When he died in 1624, he left a sizeable fortune and large tracts of land in Amsterdam and Utrecht province to Joan. In the classic style of family sagas, Joan used the fam-

16. RAU, Topografisch Atlas, Muller 168-2. Dr. Marijke Donkerslootde Vrij, *Topografische kaarten van Nederland vóór 1750: handgetekende en gedrukte kaarten, aanwezig in de Nederlandse rijksarchieven*, Groningen, 1981, p. 92, no. 320.

17. Concerning Goudestein, see RAU, Huydecoper archive, Steur no. 1833.

18. R. Meischke, "De ontwikkeling van de buitenhuizen aan de Vecht," introduction to E. Munnig Schmidt and A.J.A.M. Lisman, *Plaatsen aan de Vecht en Angstel*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1982, pp. 7–23. For a study of aspects of the Dutch country house, see Jhr. Dr. H.W.M. van der Wijck, *De Nederlandse buitenplaats: aspecten van ontwikkeling, bescherming en herstel*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1982. The second chapter of the book, pp. 29–40, is devoted to Goudestein.

19. David Freedberg, *Dutch landscape prints of the seventeenth century*,

ily fortune for the acquisition of political power and social standing. In 1624 he married Maria Coymans, the daughter of Balthasar Coymans, a Flemish banker. It is a commonplace of Dutch sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history that the Hollanders were boors and the Flemings sophisticates, and Coymans was no exception. In 1625 he demonstrated impressive artistic insight by giving Jacob van Campen his first known commission, for the Coymans residence on the Keizersgracht. In 1628 another of Coymans's sons-in-law, the Fleming Pieter Belten, had van Campen build a small but striking house in Maarssen village—Huis ten Bosch (The House in the Woods), opposite the immemorial castle Huis ter Meer (The Manor on the Pond—not every Huis is merely a house). Huis ten Bosch was a few minutes from Goudestein, and Joan must have felt the prick of competition. At that very time, when the death of his father and mother-in-law had brought in large inheritances, Joan was engaged in an extensive restoration of Goudestein; but he was not ready for anything as radically classical as Huis ten Bosch. Still, he liked to think of Goudestein as a country house in the grand tradition. In 1627 he spent nine guilders on a book (one of his few) on *The Houses of Italy in Print*, and he seems to have consulted van Campen on the renovation of Goudestein.[22] Basically, however, he adopted an old-fashioned solution. With Dutch economy, he patched a new wing onto the front of the old farmhouse—asymmetrically at that—and applied smatterings of classical forms here and there. (For one of van der Heyden's depictions of the house, later in the century, see figs. 8–10.) Yet Joan achieved the success he desired. Goudestein was the first true *buitenplaats* (country estate) on the Vecht, and it became a symbol for a gracious style of life.

The map of Goudestein that Joan ordered from the distinguished cartographer Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode (fig. 6; Balthasar Florisz. had shortly before, in 1625, produced a splendid large map of Amsterdam which was reprinted in 1647 by Jacob Colom) shows the situation of 1629.[23] Goudestein was (excepting the present author's house, under the M of *Maersen*) still the only *hofstede* (country seat) on the Vecht. The grounds behind the house, to the Zogwetering and beyond, were still being farmed. It was exactly the kind of simple, industrious country place that appealed to Republicans of the old

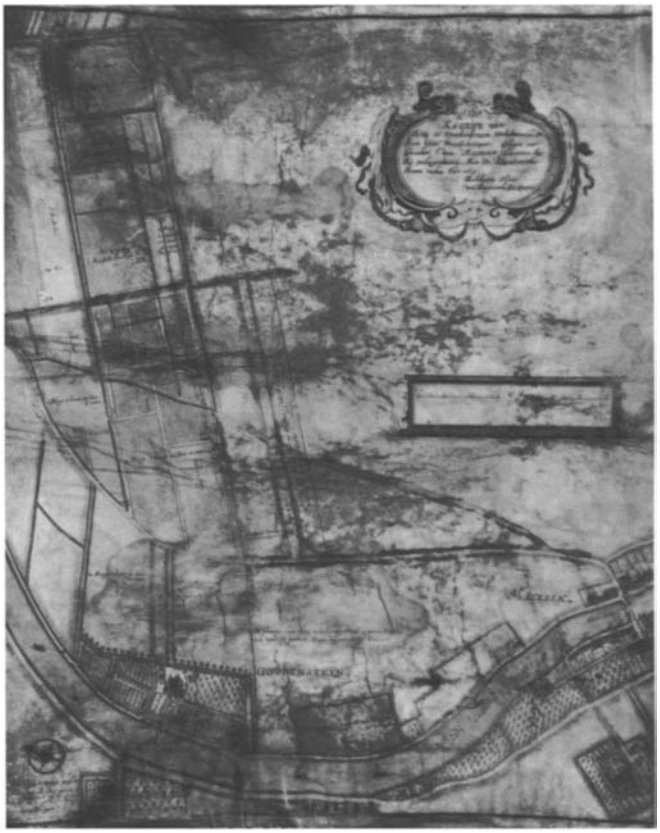


Figure 6. Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode, "Map of the house of Goudesteyn, belonging to Mr. Ioan Huydekooper," dated 1629. Pen and wash on vellum, 66 x 54 cm. Rijksarchief Utrecht, Topografische Atlas, van der Muelen archive, no. 66.

stamp in Rome, Holland, and, a century and a half later, America.

This was soon to change. Joan Huydecoper began splitting up his properties into small plots which he would either sell or rent undeveloped, or upon which he would build a house for sale or rental. Most of the plots were just large enough for a comfortable house with grounds. The farming function of the country estate was largely suppressed.

In 1637, Philips Vingboons (who in 1639–42 built a town house for Huydecoper on the Singel in Amsterdam) designed Elsenburg, the earliest classical *buitenplaats* in

London (British Museum), 1980, pp. 9–18. P.A.F. van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschapt met de boucken: het hofdicht als tak van een georgische litteratuur*, The Hague, 1960.

20. No family history of the Huydecopers has ever been written. The biographical information in this article is largely from J. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam*, 2 vols., Haarlem, 1903–05.

21. Ed Taverne, *In 'land van belofte, in de nieue stadt: ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republiek, 1580–1680*, Maarssen, 1978, pp. 158, 448.

22. R. Meischke, "De vroegste werken van Jacob van Campen," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 65 (1966), pp. 131–45, p. 136.

23. RAU, Van der Muelen archive, no. 66. Donkersloot, *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 92, no. 319.

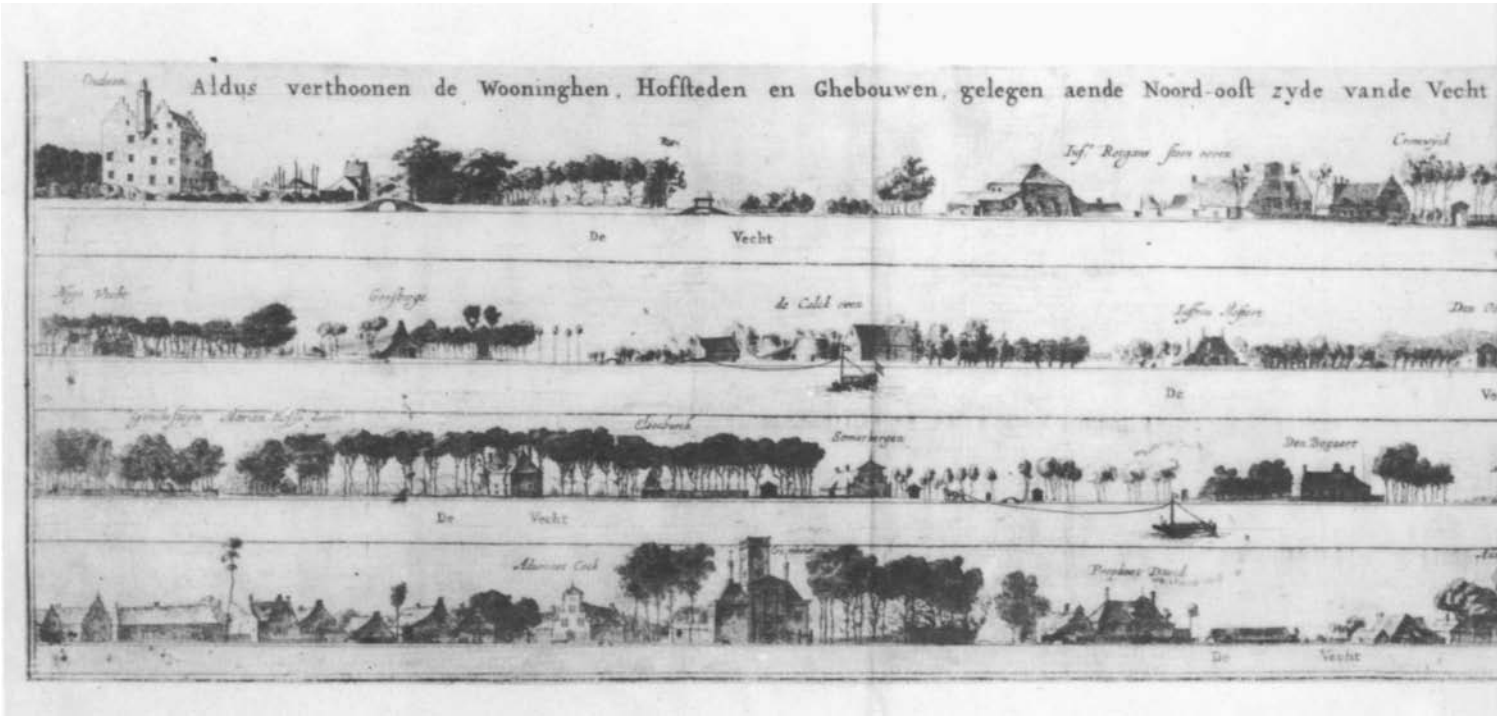


Figure 7. "The appearance of the dwellings, farmhouses, and buildings lying on the northeast bank of the Vecht, from Oudaen Manor via the seignory of Maarsseveen to Vechtestein." Anonymous etching, about 1650. Two plates, measuring 21.3 x 51.2 (left) and 21.3 x 51 cm. (right). Leiden University Library, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection, portfolio 335*N 20.

Maarsseveen, bordering Goudestein on the south. Other pieces of farmland were turned into orchards and gardens, and their former tenant farmers presumably driven back into the polder. By 1651 four new *buitenplaatsen* had been built in the area covered by the map of 1629. Huydecoper himself seems to have had ambitions as an architect. A drawing by him dated May 7, 1653, sketches a glorious country house—probably a revised Elsenburg—surrounded by a moat, with a cupola crowned by the Huydecoper emblem, a centaur shooting an arrow. In the courtyard is this quotation from Cicero: *Non dominus domo, sed domus domino honestanda est* (It is not the house that should adorn its owner, but the owner the house).[24] These were Huydecoper's great days as a *bouwheer* (building patron), not just in Maarsseveen but also in Amsterdam, where he was closely concerned with the building of Jacob van Campen's new town hall.

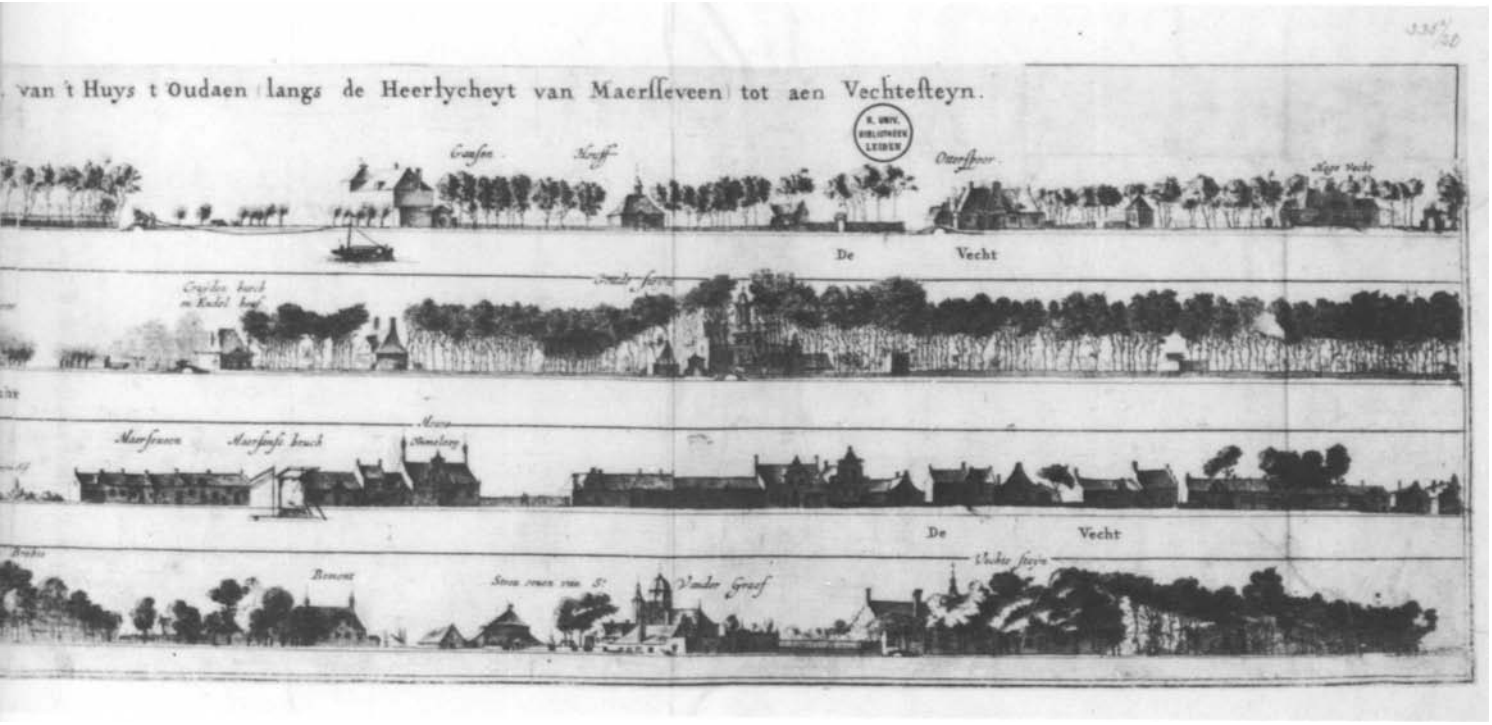
During the 1630's and '40's, the Huydecoper influence in Maarsseveen took on a political dimension as well, seemingly by accident. Much of Utrecht province still belonged to monasteries that had been taken over from the Catholic church in the Reformation. The chapters were kept alive, with all their holdings, as commercial enterprises behind an institutional façade. Members of the gentry from all over the country vied for, and paid well for, the prebends attached to some of these ecclesiastical offices.[25] One of the charms of this trade was that the chapters still controlled entire jurisdictions over which they exercised seigneurial rights. In 1637, Joan Huydecoper bought from the *Proosdij* of St. Jan in Utrecht the *heer-*

24. The drawing is among a sheaf by Pieter Post in the van Wassenaar van Catwijk archives in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. Meischke, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 9–12, with illustration. Van der Wijck, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 35, 38, 39, with illustration. Huydecoper also worked with Post and with his relative Daniel Stalpaert.

25. For a sketch of this uncharted area, see H.A. Hofman, *Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687): een christelijk-humanistisch bourgeois-gentilhomme in dienst van het Oranjehuis,* Utrecht, 1983, pp. 57–60. Huygens and his friend Jacques de Gheyn III both held Utrecht prebends.

26. The story of Huydecoper's investiture has never been fully told. A few details are to be found in I.H. van Eeeghen, "Wee het lant daer godtlose rechters sijn! Of Joan Huydecoper, heer van Tamen en Blockland," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 63 (1976), pp. 11–12. The title of her article quotes the inscription on Joan Huydecoper's file pertaining to the affair: "Woe the land with Godless judges."

The remarks here are based on oral information from E.A.J. van der Wal, who is engaged on a study of the Huydecoper archive.



lijkheid (seignory) of Tamen and Blockland, ownership of which brought with it the rights of lower nobility. The spectacle of a wealthy commoner buying himself into the first estate infuriated the established nobility, who were losing ground fast all over the country. They were able to have the sale invalidated as a violation of the acts of confiscation by which the *Proosdij* had first acquired Tamen and Blockland.

Now it was the turn of Huydecoper and his Amsterdam allies to be furious. As chance would have it, the *proost* of St. Jan was the count of Solms, brother of Amalia van Solms, consort of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik. Relations between Frederik Hendrik and Amsterdam were strained enough at the time, and Frederik Hendrik did not want to aggravate things further. He managed to placate Amsterdam by investing Huydecoper, between 1641 and 1646, with the *heerlijkheid* of Maarsseveen and Neerdijk, on ground that had belonged to the States of Utrecht.[26] On August 13, 1641, the population of Maarsseveen turned out to welcome its new lord and present him with a cup in token of their loyalty. On that day the black pig of Maarsseveen became the central bearing on Huydecoper's arms, and "van Maarsseveen" was added to his name.[27] At first Huydecoper was given only pieces of fen out back, but by 1646 all of Nieuw-Maarsseveen was his domain, including the lands he owned outright. From then on the *schout* (sheriff), who named the *schepenen* (alderman) and secretary, was appointed by Huydecoper and was answerable to him alone. The Utrecht patricians continued to harass the Huydecopers for half a century, but they

27. D.C. Meijer Jr., "De Amsterdamsche Schutters-stukken in en buiten het nieuwe Rijks-Museum, V" *Oud-Holland* 7 (1889), pp. 45–62, p. 53. Meijer writes that the scene was depicted in an etching by H. Winter, but gives no further details. According to Dick Dekker, the only Maarsseveeners to pay fealty to Huydecoper that day were his tenants.

As for the Huydecoper arms, Elias finds that they "provide the most interesting insight to be had into the development of burgher heraldry in Amsterdam from the end of the sixteenth century," *op. cit.* (note 20), vol. 2, p. 1087. One seventeenth-century expert on heraldry, the distinguished humanist Arnoldus Buchelius, was less charmed by these developments. In his journal for January 30, 1640, he wrote that Pieter Belten died in Utrecht while dining with Christiaen Petit and that his body was removed to Maarssen "cum signis" (with heraldic distinctions). "Sic mercatores nostri ludunt privilegiis nobilium" (This is how our merchants toy with the privileges of nobility). Mr. J.W.C. van Campen, *Notae quotidianae van Aernout van Buchell*, Utrecht, 1940, p. 102.

could not dislodge the well-connected newcomers. In Amsterdam, Burgomaster Huydecoper (Joan served his first term in 1651) may have had to be on guard against charges of conflict of interest. But on the Vecht, Joan Huydecoper, heer van Maarsseveen en Neerdijk, was lord of the manor.

THE MARKETING OF DUTCH COUNTRY LIFE

With the signing of the Treaty of Munster in 1648, the seal was put on the independence of the Dutch Republic. Ironically, the preceding eighty years of struggle were also the years of greatest vigor and prosperity for the Republic. By 1648 a downward economic trend had set in that was to bring about the end of the Golden Age.

The Huydecopers headed into the trough well enough padded to be able to hold onto Goudestein until the twentieth century. But even they felt the pinch. The easy gains in Maarsseveen had been made in the 1630's and '40's. About a mile of riverside frontage, from Elsenburg to Gansenhoef, had been bought and sold or rented, presumably at handsome profits. The reputation of Maarsseveen as a country paradise had been established. But there was a lot more land to be developed behind the Vecht, and that was to prove more difficult.

In 1649 Huydecoper bought Geesberge, a large estate north of Goudestein.[28] The moment was propitious. During the 1640's the Zogwetering drainage system had been brought up to snuff. A double lock was built at the mouth of the *vaart*, and a windmill was placed a bit inland to pump larger quantities of water out of the *wetering* and *vaart* into the Vecht. These expensive improvements were the focus of a bitter conflict between Huydecoper and the Utrecht landowners who held most of the polderland in Maarsseveen and Tienhoven. Huydecoper's own properties were above the level of the Vecht, so he had nothing to gain from an investment in improved waterworks. The polders, however, which lie one to three meters below Vecht level, were in bad need of better drainage, the machinery for which had to stand on ground belonging to Huydecoper. The *geërfden* (landowners) of Maarsseveen, who were horrified at the compromise that had been worked out at their expense between The Hague and Amsterdam, pushed Huydecoper hard. He retaliated with a suit before the court of Utrecht, on August 28, 1649. The decision was in his favor. The improvements came, but the *geërfden* had to pay for most of them.[29]

It was at this point that Huydecoper bought Geesberge, which of course also benefited from the new windmill and waterworks. In the 1650's he divided it into five separate properties, which show on the 1660 map complete with orchards and gardens. The Zwarte Varken, which went up at the southern extermity of Geesberge after the estates had been partitioned, was the only building put up by Huydecoper that can be considered a public facility.[30] It was a public house where travelers and local residents could refresh themselves, but it was also the closest approximation in Maarsseveen to a town hall. It was here that, a few times a month, Huydecoper's *schout* dispensed civil justice in his name (criminal cases were tried in Utrecht) and his *schepenen* law, while his secretary dealt with administrative matters.[31]

The Geesberge properties, like the ten others that were parceled out and constructed in the former farmland of Goudestein, were more expensive to develop and maintain than the riverside estates. They were less attractively located and, given the bad times, probably harder to sell. Huydecoper did not feel that it was beneath him to exert the additional effort. Colom's maps of Maarsseveen (1651 and 1660) were certainly made at his order, probably for the purpose of attracting new buyers. The most openly commercial of them is "A small section of the seignory of Maarsseveen," in which the main topographical feature is the garden.[32] Perhaps from an earlier stage of the same sales campaign is a remarkable print entitled "The appearance of the dwellings, farmhouses, and buildings lying on the northeast bank of the Vecht, from Oudaen Manor via the seignory of Maarsseveen to Vechtestein" (fig. 7).[33] Except for the telescoping of some of the interstices between *buitenplaatsen*, especially in the upper register, the print is a strikingly faithful group portrait of the houses on the

28. Munnig Schmidt and Lisman, *op. cit.* (note 18), p. 220.

29. This was only the start. One of the bulkiest folders in the Huydecoper archive, Steur no. 1727, with at least forty documents dating from 1648 to 1684, is described as "Documents pertaining to the conflicts between the lord of Maarsseveen and the landowners of Maarsseveen concerning the placing of the wind watermills and the draining of his estates such as Geesberge and Calckhoven." The summary account in this article is based on discussions with E.A.J. van der Wal and notes by W. Smits.

30. There are no documents concerning Huydecoper's ownership of the Zwarte Varken. However, a large manuscript map labeled as "Belonging to the large map of lands and successive owners in Maarsseveen" (RAU, Topografische atlas, no. 169-2), dated 1780, indicates that the lord of Maarsseveen turned the house over to a certain C. Hoog in 1692, implying that it was his until then. Evidence aside, who else but Huydecoper would have put up a semi-official building in Maarsseveen?

31. According to van der Wal, the earliest references to meetings in 't Wapen van Maarsseveen date from shortly after 1660.

32. Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, according to van der Wijck, pleasure gardens, as opposed to kitchen gardens, were practically unknown in Dutch country houses. *Op. cit.* (note 18), p. 29. Goudestein, he says, was one of the early exceptions. Even there, however, most of the ground was reserved for fruit trees and vegetable patches. The gentleman farmers of Holland were not the best customers

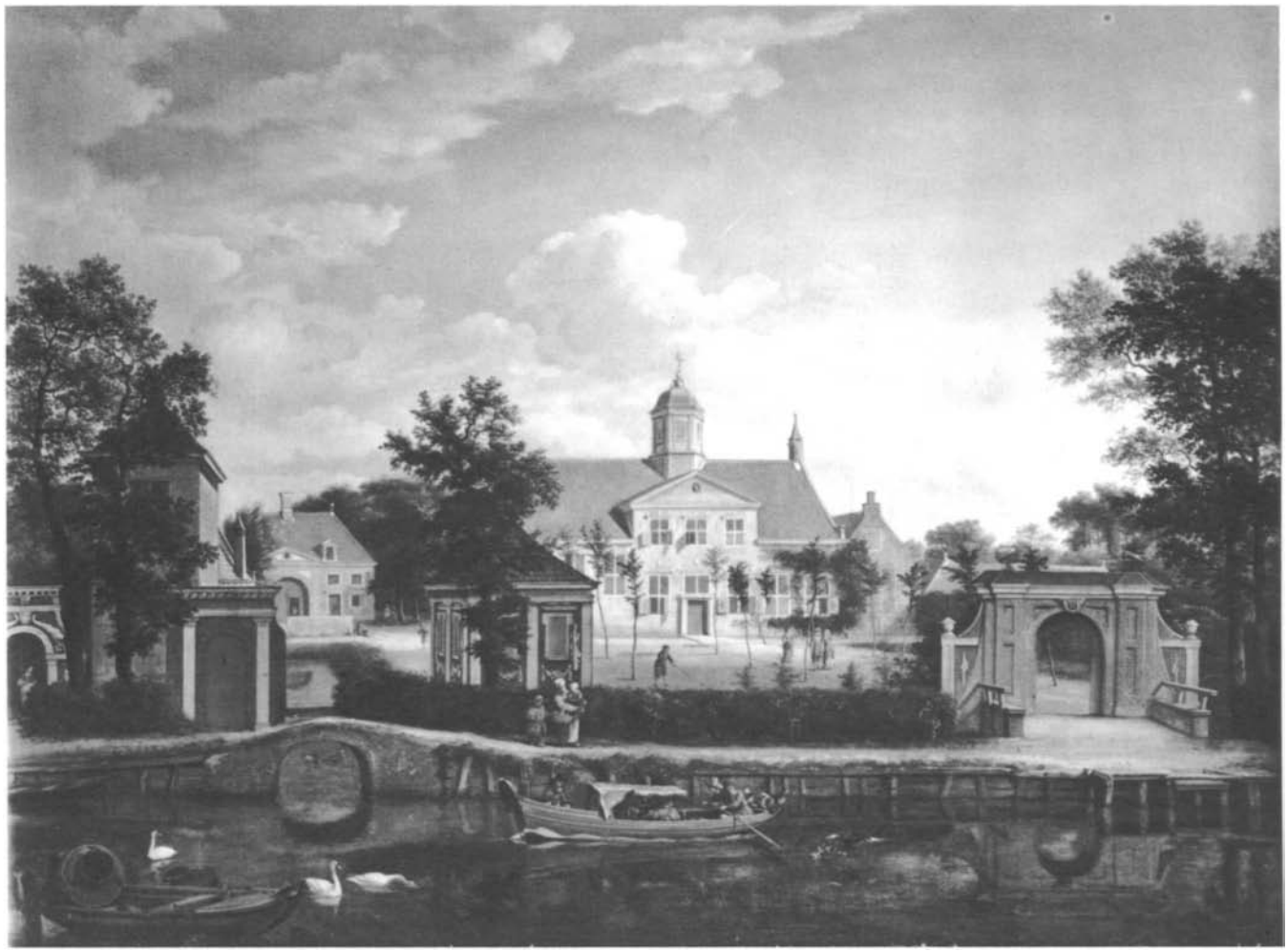


Figure 8. Jan van der Heyden, *Goudestein*. Signed and dated 1674. Canvas, 53 x 69.2 cm. London, Wellington Museum, Apsley House, no. 1501.

Huydecoper side of the Vecht around 1650. The Huydecoper interests extended from the middle of the upper register to the middle of the third one. Dominating this stretch of the Vecht is of course Goudestein, with its splendid stand of high trees and sprawling houses.

To place Jan van der Heyden's view once more, visually this time, and from a different angle, it was taken from the spot on the left side of the second register, across the little bridge between Geesberge and De Calckoven (the lime kiln), looking towards Gansenhoef and Otterspoor on the right side of the upper register.

Architecture, cartography, and printmaking were not the only arts that Huydecoper employed to glamorize Maarsseveen and himself. Poetry and painting also served

of the neighboring tenant farmers.

For more information on the map itself, see above, note 15, and below, at note 47.

33. "Aldus verthoonen de Wooninghen, Hoffsteden en Ghebouwen, gelegen aende Noord-oost zyde vande Vecht, van 't Huys t'Oudaen (langs de Heerlycheyt van Maersseveen) tot aen Vechtesteyn." Only two impressions are known to me: one in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection, Leiden University Library, portfolio 335*, no. 20, and another in the Laurens van der Hem atlas, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, vol. 17, no. 12. The former, first published by van der Wijck on the end papers of his book, cited in note 18, is mounted according to the apparent intentions of the designer of the four-plate etching. The one in Vienna is hand-colored and is cut and mounted on eight larger sheets, with more space between the registers.

There are two reasons for suggesting that Huydecoper took the initiative for having the print made: all the other topographical documents on this area through 1690—the maps of 1629, 1651, 1660 and 1690—were made for him, and the unnecessary reference to the seignory of Maarsseveen in the title seems to point in his direction.

34. Barlaeus's poem written in Goudestein on July 20, 1640, was published in his collected poetry, *Poemata. Editio IV, altera plus parte auctior*, Amsterdam 1645–46, p. 342.

Jan Vos dedicated his first play, *Aran en Titus*, to Barlaeus on October 27, 1641.

their turn. For a house poet, Huydecoper did not have to look far. Perhaps through Caspar Barlaeus, the famous humanist (and professor in the Amsterdam university, an appointment made by the city), who himself wrote an ode to Goudestein in July 1640, Huydecoper came into contact with Jan Vos (1615–67).[34] Vos was an uneducated glazier who prided himself on knowing only Dutch and who combined in one person the *enfant terrible* and the sycophant. He burst upon the Amsterdam scene in 1641 with *Aran en Titus*, a tragic history based in part on Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* that evoked some very shocked responses. In later years he adapted themes that had already been dramatized by Vondel and by Jan Zoet, who actually sued him for plagiarism.[35] The first edition of the collected works of Jan Vos (1662) is dedicated in its entirety to Joan Huydecoper, and contains no fewer than seventy-six individual poems on or for Jan Jacobsz., Joan I, Joan II, Maria, Leonora, Geertruid, Elizabet, Sophia, Constantia, and Jacoba Huydecoper, their houses in Amsterdam and Maarsseveen, their marriages and deaths, their gifts from foreign dignitaries, and the attentions they bestowed upon the poet.[36] Jan Vos was a better poet than one might think from the way he behaved, but no flattery was too lavish when it came to the Huydecopers. When he was not calling his patron a god ("They name you Maarsseveen, but your doughty self and your incomparably beautiful wife are better called Mars and Venus" is one of the least blasphemous of the genre[37]), he was praising him as a maecenas, an appellation which has since stuck. Vos himself certainly benefited from the favor of his patron, but largely at the expense of the city rather than of Huydecoper himself. From 1640 to 1650, years in which Joan Huydecoper was councilor and at times alderman and treasurer of Amsterdam, Jan Vos advanced from humble glazier and self-taught poet to municipal glazier and director of the town theater.

One of the most public of Vos's tributes was a painted poem on Govert Flinck's group portrait of Joan Huydecoper at the head of the Amsterdam civic guard celebrating the signing of the Treaty of Munster. Juxtaposing Joan at the end of the Eighty Years War to his father at its beginning, Vos established the Huydecopers as an Amsterdam legend by applying to them the old cliché "First in war, first in peace. . . ."[38]

From the 1640's on, Jan Vos circulated a number of poems on Goudestein, one of which deserves to be quoted here since it was written as a caption to the 1660 map. In a series of verses on sixteen works of art in Goudestein, from the family arms in wax to a row of particularly bloody Biblical and classical histories by painters identified only by their initials, there is a poem, "On the depiction of the seignory of Maarsseveen": "Behold the many houses and farms of Maarsseveen. Were Netherland one city, this would still be her pleasure dome. . . ."[39] Prophetic words. In other poetic trifles, Vos sang of Goudestein's artificial cave, fountain, menagerie, and a column formerly used in Amsterdam for the branding of convicts and now supporting a sundial in a garden "where no one even gets sunburned" (p. 460).

Less trifling praise came from Barlaeus,[40] Vondel,[41] and Constantijn Huygens. The latter spent three days in Goudestein in 1656 and thanked his host in three short, flattering poems that he published two years later in the first edition of his collected verse, *Korenbloemen* (pp. 768–69).[42] In the longest of the three, Huygens compares Maarsseveen favorably to Voorburg, where his own famous country house, Hofwijk, was built in 1641. He praises "Maarsseveen's palaces, neighborliness, pleasant air in all kinds of weather, the purity of its river, and the generous nature of its master." Goudestein had become a bucolic legend.

In 1659 Huydecoper and Vos reached the climax of their public careers together. A public pageant designed by Vos wound through the streets of Amsterdam in honor of visiting members of the House of Orange, who had been invited to the city by Huydecoper. Huygens, the intellectual servant of Orange, wrote a poem of "princely thanks" to the burgomasters.[43]

35. The strong reactions to Vos were not soon abated. The standard nineteenth-century Dutch biographical dictionary, van der Aa, calls *Aran en Titus* "the most misshapen monstrosity ever to be spawned by an overheated imagination." A more generous opinion was voiced by Balthasar Huydecoper (1695–1778), the great-grandson of Joan I and a distinguished writer and critic. For a modern edition of Vos's plays, with extensive historical and textual commentary, see Dr. W.J.C. Buitendijk, *Jan Vos, toneelwerken*, Assen, 1975.

36. *Alle de gedichten van den Poëet Jan Vos*, published by Jacob Lescaille in Amsterdam in 1662, the year after the death of Joan I and before Joan II came into his inheritance. The author's dedication is addressed to the memory of Joan I and the publisher's to Joan II.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

38. On loan from the city of Amsterdam to the Rijksmuseum, cat. 1976, p. 228, inv. no. C 1.

In his provisional catalogue of the pre-nineteenth-century paintings in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, 1975/1979, which includes more than one hundred group portraits, Albert Blankert remarks,

> It is striking that in Vos's poem honor and attention are bestowed only on Huydecoper van Maarsseveen and on none of the other sitters. Equally curious is that in the central background one sees Huydecoper's own house on the Singel, built for him by Philips Vingboons in 1639 . . . In my opinion, this indicates that the painting was made in the first place for Huydecoper and probably entirely at his expense.

Joan Huydecoper also manifested himself as a patron of the arts by having his portrait painted not only by Flinck but by Cornelis Jansen van Keulen, Bartholomeus van der Helst (twice; in one version with Goudestein in the background) and Jurriaen Ovens, and his bust carved by Artus Quellinus. What the five artists, with all their differences, had in common is that they were recipients of official and semi-official commissions from the city of Amsterdam during Huydecoper's tenure. Having observed the same of so many of the poets, architects, mapmakers, publishers, and even surveyors employed by Huydecoper, and the nature of their work for him, I think we may call Huydecoper an exploiter of artists rather than a maecenas. If love of art played a role in his relations with artists, this investigation has failed to detect it.

At the end of his life, Joan Huydecoper I brought Clio, the muse of history, under his wings as well. Two bibliographical curiosities of 1660 bear the mark of Huydecoper's influence and, quite unexpectedly, illustrate the importance of the Zwarte Varken.

In 1660, Jacob Aertsz. Colom (1599–1673) brought out a new edition of his well-known handbook on the provinces and cities of the southern and northern Netherlands, *De vyerighe colom* (The pillar of fire, a play on the name of the publisher-compiler).[44] The text was gleaned from the writings of Lodovico Guicciardini, Emanuel van Meteren, Reinier Telle, and several other authorities, with contributions by Colom as well. Since the first edition of the work appeared around 1635, Colom had acquired a considerable reputation for the accuracy of his maps and texts.

The 1660 edition, in oblong quarto, is undated; its year of publication was first determined thanks to a reference to the above-mentioned Amsterdam pageants of 1659, which the author says took place "last year" (p. 118).[45] The most striking piece of new information in the book, compared with the previous edition dated 1650, is a paragraph on the towns and castles of Utrecht province and a subchapter on Maarsseveen (pp. 176–78). "The foremost villages and seignories in the See of Utrecht" contains a dry listing of selected *ridderhofsteden*: knight's dwellings, ownership of which entailed certain privileges and tax exemptions. Special emphasis is placed upon the years during which the States of Utrecht confirmed the privileges of these houses, 1536 in the case of three of them, and 1582–83 for thirty more of a somewhat lower status. After a few details concerning some Utrecht castles, the section ends and the new one begins:

> But in order not to occupy the reader for too long with all the seignories subservient to the see, we shall end with that of Maarsseveen, before going on to the remaining countries and cities.
>
> The Seignory of Maarsseveen, lying on the Vecht River between Maarssen and Breukelen, is admirable in its present state both for its pleasant landscape and clear flowing streams as well as its splendid houses, lovely orchards, ponds full of fish, luxuriant lanes and copses. All of this has been laid out *comme il faut*, for enduring fame, by the Hon. Joan Huydecoper, knight, lord of Maarsseveen etc., burgomaster and councillor of Amsterdam, in a few years, at his orders, expense, and initiative.

A quotation from a seventeenth-century authority derives the etymology of Maarssen not from the vernacular "marshes" but from the ancient Martii. The middle ages are passed over with a single sentence establishing the fact that Tienhoven (for whose drainage Huydecoper did not feel himself responsible) was given away by Bishop Otto of Utrecht around the year 1200. What follows is the full text of a lengthy act issued in the name of Charles V on March 22, 1532, concerning the costs of maintaining a "waterway, channel, or watering" that drained the lands of Tienhoven and Westbroek. According to the terms of the act, the maintenance costs of the drainage system—specifically including locks and dams at its mouth—were to be prorated among the owners of *all* the bordering lands. The waterway in question was not the one that emptied at the Zwarte Varken; but the principle was clear, and the act must have been Huydecoper's trump in the 1649 lawsuit.

39. *Alle de gedichten*, cited in note 36, pp. 544–51. The poem is printed on the 1660 map in the van der Hem atlas (see above, note 15).

40. See above, note 34.

41. In the 1650's Vondel dedicated a number of poems and one play, his translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus*, to Joan I, wrote a poem on his marble bust by Quellinus and one on the wedding of Joan II (to whom he later dedicated the translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*).

42. J.A. Worp, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 6, 1656–1661, Groningen, 1896, pp. 63–64. Huygens stayed in Goudestein on August 19, 20, and 21, 1656, in the company of (Willem?) Piso and (Marcus de?) Vogelaar. J.H.W. Unger, *Dagboek van Constantyn Huygens*, Amsterdam, 1884, p. 59: "19 Aug. Cum Maerssevenio, Vogelario et Pisone Maersseveniae cubo."

43. D.P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1975, pp. 83–86.

44. *De vyerighe colom: klaer vertoonende in vyftich onderscheydene curieuse caarten de XVII Nederlantsce provincien . . .*, Amsterdam n.d. The copy consulted is in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, no. 357 F4.

45. P.A.M. Boele van Hensbroek, "Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*: de oudste beschrijving der Nederlanden, in hare verschillende uitgaven en vertalingen beschouwd," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 1 (1877), pp. 199–287, p. 264, note 1.

The rest of the chapter consists of various other exhibits from Huydecoper's case against the Utrecht corporations, e.g.: "As a result [of the 1532 act], in the year 1535 His Imperial Majesty granted the seignory of Maarsseveen letters of inspection and liberties that are today in the custody of the court of Maarsseveen." The reader is left with the misleading impression that Maarsseveen is older as a seat of nobility than the famous *ridderhofsteden* named in the previous section. Thanks to Huydecoper, moreover, it had far surpassed those estates in glory. "In my opinion," writes Colom, "a search of our Netherlands for a pleasanter place will fail to discover a more delightful or comfortable spot; which is what led the discerning Mr. Constantijn Huygens to break out in these words." This is followed by the texts of all three poems by Huygens.

The map of the See of Utrecht opposite p. 153 was also revised for the new edition. The waterways of Maarsseveen are shown in greater detail than any others on the map, and Huis ten Bosch has been replaced as the local landmark by Goudestein. Colom's map of Maarsseveen (fig. 4), also dated 1660, is the same size as the maps in the *Vyerighe colom*, but it was not put into the book.

In the same year, the text of the new edition of the *Vyerighe colom* was used by another Amsterdam publisher, Jacob van Meurs, for a two-volume *Description of the Netherlands* in duodecimo.[46] This publication, dedicated to Joan Huydecoper, joins Colom's text to the plates from the duodecimo Latin editions of Guicciardini's *Description*, first brought out by Blaeu in 1634.[47] Three new plates are added, one of them being "A small section of the seignory of Maarsseveen," in a reduced version of fig. 4.

If Joan Huydecoper was responsible for the insertion of the text and map concerned (and who else could have been?), one can only conclude that the sixty-year-old patrician had lost whatever sense of proportion he may have once possessed.[47a] Apparently others shared this impression. The copy of the book catalogued by Boele van Hensbroek (see note 47) lacked the map of Maarsseveen. And in 1662, the year of the interregnum between Joan Huydecoper I and II, van Meurs brought out yet another edition of his book, with no dedication. Vol. 1 is identical to that in the 1660 edition, but in vol. 2 there is one change: the map of Maarsseveen is gone. That volume is moreover predated 1660, apparently so that it could be used to replace the original second volume.

This is the decade during which Jan van der Heyden painted *The Zwarte Varken, or The Arms of Maarsseveen.* We know now that the court that met here was a custodian of the imperial charter on which the oldest of Joan Huydecoper's seigneurial rights was based, and that the waterway in the foreground of the painting represented Huydecoper's triumph over the hated Utrecht chapters. No artist working for a Huydecoper could perceive this to be merely incidental information. Yet one cannot say exactly what role it played in van der Heyden's decision to portray the Zwarte Varken, whether the painting itself was intended to convey any but visual information, or why the panel remained in the hands of the artist.

There is a strong presumption that van der Heyden's relation to the Huydecopers dates from the lifetime of Joan I. The artist was born and raised in the town of Gorcum (Gorinchem), and two other Gorcum artists before him had won the favor of the Huydecopers in the 1650's. One of them was Jacob van der Ulft (1627–80), who is thought to have been van der Heyden's master. Starting in 1653, van der Ulft produced a series of drawings, paintings, and prints of the Dam in Amsterdam as it was going to look when the new town hall and the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk were completed. In order to do so, he would have needed permission from the burgomasters and access to the wooden models on which the views were based. (The tower of the Nieuwe Kerk was in fact never built, and the town hall was changed during construction.) In practice this meant that he needed the cooperation of Joan Huydecoper I. Not only was he the most active of the burgomasters in matters pertaining to the new town hall but he was also the cousin of the town architect, Daniel Stalpaert, van Campen's collaborator on the project.

Van der Ulft's composition (which was reproduced in Jacob van Meur's *Description of the Netherlands* in the editions of 1660 and 1662, with due acknowledgment in the text of Huydecoper as the chief *bouwheer*) was the

46. *Beschrywingh der Nederlanden; soo uyt Louis Guiccardyn als andere vermaerde Schrijvers kortelijk voorgestelt, en met nieuwe Bysonderheeden, 't zedert haerer tijdt voorgevallen, doorgaens verrijkt. Hierbenevens sijn d'aenmerkelijkste Steden met haere Aftekeningen verçiert,* Amsterdam (Jacob van Meurs), 1660.

47. Boele van Hensbroek, *op. cit.* (note 45), pp. 262–65, no. XXIV. There is a complete copy in the Rijksmusuem Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, no. M 103 J 29.

47a. It could not have been Joan II who took the initiative. In those years he hardly ever visited Maarsseveen. On October 26, 1660, he wrote to his father to thank him for "the two volumes in duodecimo of the *Description of the Netherlands*" (RAU, Huyd.coper archives, no. 374), which he had received the day before, together with another book, a rattan cane, and some drawings. In his journal for the 25th, he speaks simply of "some books," not identifying the *Description* by title. On the 26th, by the way, Joan's wife gave birth to a daughter. His father presented him with a pot of pickles.

48. For the models of the town hall and Nieuwe Kerk, and van der Ulft's use of them, see exhib. cat. *Het kleine bouwen: vier eeuwen maquettes in Nederland,* Utrecht (Centraal Museum), 1983, pp. 36–44. Houbraken's life of van der Ulft follows that of Verschuring and his son in volume 2 of the *Groote Schouburgh.*

semi-official rendering of the Dam before Jan van der Heyden began painting his views in the 1660s. These too are based in part on the town hall model rather than the existing situation, implying that Jan van der Heyden was the successor to van der Ulft as 'official portraitist of the new Dam.' In 1660, the very year when van der Heyden's career as a painter began, according to Houbraken, Jacob van der Ulft served the first of his twenty terms as burgomaster of Gorcum.

A second Gorcum painter, Hendrick Verschuring (1627–90), was also close to the Huydecopers. Houbraken tells that on his way back from Italy, Verschuring ran into Joan Huydecoper II in Paris and let himself be persuaded to return to Italy with him. Astonishingly, Verschuring too became a burgomaster of Gorcum. Whether the Huydecopers had special ties to Gorcum and whether they had anything to do with the appointment of their favorite painters as burgomaster there I do not know but hope to find out. In any case, it seems safe to assume that Jan van der Heyden became a Huydecoper protégé in the footsteps of van der Ulft and Verschuring as early as 1660, when he was twenty-three years old.[48]

On September 26, 1661, the first Joan Huydecoper died, and his oldest son, also named Joan (1625–1704), became lord of Maarsseveen and Neerdijk. His father's estate was divided on April 26, 1663, and he then came into the town house on the Singel and Goudestein.[49] Joan II has always been regarded as a lesser man than his father, and no maecenas. In 1662 he was appointed to the Amsterdam town council. Four years later he became a director of the East India Company, a public office that he used as a base for patronage, sending out a stream of cousins, nephews, and in-laws to Company trading posts in the Indies and Ceylon. That office, important as it was for Huydecoper's fortunes, was less vital to his long-range interest than his elevation to burgomaster in 1673. The appointment was anything but a simple case of not being able to keep a good man down. Huydecoper belonged to a clique around Gillis Valkenier when the latter committed a putsch in the Amsterdam city government during the national crisis of 1672, the *rampjaar*. The French invasion and uprisings all over the country climaxed in the lynching of Pensionary Jan de Witt in The Hague. One consequence of the crisis was the return to power, after a stadholderless period of twenty-two years, of the House of Orange, in the person of Willem III. The Orangist Valkenier ejected the Bickers and de Graafs from the Amsterdam burgomastership and replaced them with men of his own, including van Oudtshoorn, Hudde and, in 1673 for the first of thirteen terms, Huydecoper. Until his death in 1680, Valkenier exercised more arbitrary power in Amsterdam, according to an English emissary, than the Grand Turk in Constantinople.[50] And Huydecoper was his man.

In Maarsseveen, Huydecoper did no worse. While large stretches of countryside in Utrecht province were being devastated, he managed to protect his property and that of his associates. He and his brother-in-law Everard Scott assembled the Amsterdam owners of houses on the Vecht and persuaded them to accept the enemy's offer (a standard feature of seventeenth-century warfare) to spare their estates in exchange for a large sum of money. He and Scott had a row about the relative value of their houses, on which the premium was based. (Huydecoper tried to gain exemption from the French for his share of the ransom and almost succeeded.[51]) The system was so effective that Huydecoper was able to claim and receive reimbursement from the French commander whose soldiers cut trees on his grounds for firewood. At the same time, Huydecoper petitioned the Dutch political and military leaders high and low neither to attack the French on his lands or to quarter Dutch troops there. Privately he admitted that he was more afraid of the States troops than of the French.[52]

To lend a bit of backbone to these arrangements, Huydecoper hired his own Swiss guards, two or three of whom were posted in the Zwarte Varken. An attempt by Huydecoper to charge the guardsmen's salaries to the French failed.

When the dust had lifted, Huydecoper was able to write contentedly to his kinsman Minister Westerhof (a Maarsseveen landowner and Huydecoper's candidate for the Maarssen pulpit after the death of its former occupant, who was also a family member), "I found the contributing

49. I.H. van Eeghen, "Een burgemeestershuis in de Jordaan," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 62 (1975), pp. 127–30.

50. Elias, *op. cit.* (note 20), introduction, pp. CXII-CXXX.

51. J. den Tex, *Onder vreemde heren: de republiek der Nederlanden, 1672–1674*, Zutphen, 1982, p. 70. The French foreign minister Louvois, according to an old story, gave Huydecoper a letter to his commander in Utrecht, the duke of Luxembourg, but sent another directly to that officer contravening his own orders. Huydecoper's journal, however, leaves no room for the supposition that he was in Paris in 1672. In 1668, I am told by E.A.J. van der Wal, Huydecoper sent Louvois a map of Maarsseveen.

52. Transcripts of letters by Joan Huydecoper II, RAU, Huydecoper archive, provisional number 375, under the dates August 1, 3 ("To my *schout* . . . The troops of [Willem III] carry on worse than the French"), 20, 25, October 7 ("To nephew Servaes . . . I know for a fact that Schot won't pay more more than *f*2500 for both his houses . . ., while his large house alone is worth more than both of mine"), 12, 30, 1672, March 1, 6, 1673. Of course there are other letters and entries from these years with relevant information. See also Wallie Smits, "Maarssen 1672: de dans ontsprongen," [Orgaan van de] *Historisch Kring Maarssen* 9 (1983), pp. 70–74.

estates in Maarsseveen totally undamaged" (7 December 1673). To his "nephew" Bax in India (as the Dutch called their East Indies), he wrote more revealingly:

> Praise be to merciful God, who not only miraculously delivered our dear fatherland, but moreover forced the enemy to leave Utrecht province. The same God also spared as if by a wonder all my houses, most of my plantations, the village of Maarssen, and all the *hofstedes* except for those of Miss Sonck [and several others who had not paid off the enemy and were therefore not helped by the merciful God]. I myself, praise God, have been quite well, and despite the ejection of a good many gentlemen from the government, I have not only been maintained but actually elected burgomaster, in spite of those who, on account of India, would sooner have seen me dead.

Finally, to his brother-in-law Balthasar Coymans, on June 13, 1674:

> My appointment as burgomaster puts me in a position to appoint not only a lot of strangers but also some of my friends to lucrative and honorable offices. And so I immediately helped our brother Scott [Everard Scott, the mutual brother-in-law of Huydecoper and Coymans] to be promoted to alderman and councilor.

JOAN HUYDECOPER II AND THE VAN DER HEYDEN BROTHERS

Whether Huydecoper considered the van der Heyden brothers friends or strangers we do not know, but Jan van der Heyden and his brother Nicolaas (1640–82) were certainly among those he raised to lucrative and honorable offices. During his first term as burgomaster, in July 1673, Nicolaas was appointed supervisor of locks and of fortifications, with the rank of lieutenant in the artillery paying a yearly wage of 1500 guilders. Around the same time Nicolaas also worked for the city as a surveyor, calling the house where he lived De Landmeter after this function.[53] On November 15, 1673, Nicolaas and Jan were named supervisors of the city fire pumps, for which they eventually received a yearly salary of 315 guilders. Far more important to their livelihood than their salary was the fact that the city began purchasing all of its fire fighting equipment from the brothers, for amounts that went into the tens of thousands of guilders. Since 1669, Jan had been supervisor of streetlighting, and supplier of the equipment and personnel to keep Amsterdam lit at night, at two thousand guilders a year. These positions and the orders they brought in provided Jan van der Heyden a basis upon which he was able to build up a considerable fortune.

In the literature on the van der Heydens as inventors, their protector in the city government is identified as Johannes Hudde (1628–1704), the mathematician who served twenty-one terms as burgomaster of Amsterdam from 1672 on. (Amsterdam had four burgomasters at a time, named by co-optation for terms of one year.) There is evidence that Huydecoper also worked closely with the brothers. A number of entries from Joan's unpublished journal, for example, show that Nicolaas van der Heyden cultivated the burgomaster with favors in kind, rendered in Maarsseveen, for which he was repaid in Amsterdam with official commissions.[54]

From April 26 to 29, 1674, Nicolaas was staying in Maarsseveen with Huydecoper, helping to plant in the forecourt of Goudestein trees received from a fellow burgomaster. On the 26th van der Heyden presented Huydecoper with "some crabs and shrimps," and Huydecoper passed them on, with twelve pipes, to "Mons. van Hoven." (Hardly a day in Burgomaster Huydecoper's life passed without him receiving a gift—usually of fish—from a colleague or protégé.)

On July 5, 1674, van der Heyden assisted Huydecoper in Breukelen, near Maarsseveen, on an errand that combined official and private business.

From December 2 to 5 of the same year, "Surveyor van der Heyden" visited in Maarsseveen with Huydecoper, helping him to survey the surrounding lanes of Goudestein. During the course of the year, they also met three times in Amsterdam, twice in the company of Hudde, in order to work on a dredging project in the IJ River and to inspect the harbor. This should not be interpreted as mere routine. It meant that the burgomasters were taking van der Heyden's new position seriously and were upgrading his prestige in the city.

Considering that in the preceding year the van der Heyden brothers had been appointed jointly to supervise fire fighting in Amsterdam, one might be inclined to assume that the favors paid by Nicolaas van der Heyden to Huydecoper benefited his brother as well. Sadly, this was not the case. They were bitter rivals at that time, in the midst of a conflict over the rights to some of their inventions. Jan declared that Nicolaas was undermining their partnership by experimenting with fire hoses on his own. In April 1673 a notarial statement quotes him as saying

53. I.H. van Eeghen, "Jan en Nicolaas van der Heyden als uitvinders," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 60 (1973), pp. 99–106, pp. 100–01.

54. All the following entries are from RAU, Huydecoper archive, provisional no. 375.

55. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 53), pp. 101–03.

56. Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London, inv. no. 1501. See also above, note 7 and text there. Wagner 125. For the print, see below, note 67. If the young trees in the forecourt are the ones that Nicolaas helped to plant, the painting must date from after April.

about Nicolaas: "I assure him he will be sorry if he continues this work alone. I will see to it that it hurts him badly. I have a lot of credit in high places."[55]

Jan was forced to make his own friends in high places, and he had one way to do it which trumped the best efforts of Nicolaas: art. In 1674, the year in which Huydecoper received and passed on some crabs and shrimps from Nicolaas, Jan painted a splendid view of Goudestein (fig. 8) that Huydecoper was still proud to publish in an engraving seventeen years later (fig. 10).[56] Whether or not Jan actually gave the painting to his patron is a moot point. It does not appear in the inventory of his widow's goods in 1712, nor can it be traced in the records of Huydecoper's possessions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was painted and displayed to glorify the lord of Maarsseveen. (We know from Huydecoper's journal that he spent all of 1674 fixing up Goudestein, after two years of abandonment during the French invasion. He and his family stayed in the neighboring Silverstein when they were in Maarsseveen. It was not a bad period, after all the damage the French had done in Utrecht province, to show Goudestein to the world looking better than ever.)

By 1674, Jan van der Heyden had been painting Goudestein and its surroundings for at least eight years, as we shall see. His relationship with Huydecoper, in other words, dates from long before the latter's first term as burgomaster. Both men arrived together. If they did not become acquainted through Joan's father, as suggested above, they could have met on the Vecht. Around 1664, Jan twice painted Nijenrode Castle, three miles north of Maarssen, and in 1666, in a painting of Dusseldorf, he inserted the chapel of Zuilen Castle, two miles south.[57] Both these places are *ridderhofsteden* whose inhabitants, moreover, were van Reedes, members of an old aristocratic clan that was more than holding its own in the Republic.[58] By bringing van der Heyden to work in Goudestein, the new nobleman Huydecoper was following the example of old aristocrats, the van Reedes.

Until the mid-1660's, Jan van der Heyden was struggling to make a living as a merchant, a hired worker, and an artist. His need to earn money from art led him in 1664 to sell paintings through a semi-legal auctioneer.[59] As his bond with Huydecoper developed, his tactics changed. He continued to paint, but devoted more and more time to his inventions. On August 27, 1669, when presenting to the township his plan for lighting the streets and canals of Amsterdam, he declared that he had been forced "entirely to neglect my usual occupation, and shall be obliged to abandon it altogether once I take on this function, which will place such heavy demands on me."[60] The council, of which Huydecoper was by then a member, would have considered this argument when fixing van der Heyden's annual budget of two thousand guilders. Indeed, in 1672 Jan actually declined with a feeble excuse an order from Cosimo de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, for a painting of the Dam in Amsterdam to match another one he had bought from the painter in 1668.[61]

There can be no doubt, though, that van der Heyden was not telling the truth. The years around 1670 were his most productive period as an artist, and no one knew this better than Joan Huydecoper. Between 1666 and 1674, van der Heyden painted no fewer than fourteen different views of five different places in Maarssen and Maarsseveen: four of Herteveld, Everard Scott's *buitenplaats*; two of Huis ten Bosch, then belonging to the Cromhouts; one of the Zwarte Varken; one of the village church, "with pigs among the staffage"; and six of Huydecoper's own Goudestein.[62] Moreover, Huydecoper and his friends would certainly have been aware of and interested in van der Heyden's Amsterdam paintings of the same period: views of the new town hall, for whose construction Joan I took much of the credit; composite canal views on which the houses of Huydecoper in-laws like Bartolotti van der Heuvel and Coymans keep popping up in odd places; and of the Westerkerk, where the Huydecopers had their pew.

What *was* true is that Jan no longer had a burning need to sell his paintings. In addition to his refusal of Cosimo's order, there is harder evidence. Despite the demand for his work, he retained no fewer than seventy-three of his own paintings to bequeath his wife and children.[63] Among them are eight of the paintings from Maarssen and Maarsseveen, including several of Goudestein, Herteveld, and Huis ten Bosch. The Getty painting, which we have called a family heirloom, is another. This contradicts the general opinion that the *buitenplaats* paintings were commissions and leaves one wondering what their function was.

One likelihood is that van der Heyden used his paintings to adorn the offices where he received potential buyers of his inventions from all over the country and even from Germany and Switzerland. If artists and collectors were impressed by van der Heyden's achievements as a technician and an organizer, his business clients would

57. Wagner 141, 142, and 38.

58. Munnig Schmidt and Lisman, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp. 228, 239.

59. I.H. van Eeghen, "Jan van der Heyden als schilder," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 60 (1973), pp. 73–79, p. 74.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

61. Nicolaas maintained his own contact with Cosimo. On September 15, 1670, he sent the grand duke a chemical treatise with a letter in Latin. Dr. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de'Medici prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667–1669)*, Amsterdam, 1919, pp. 388–90.

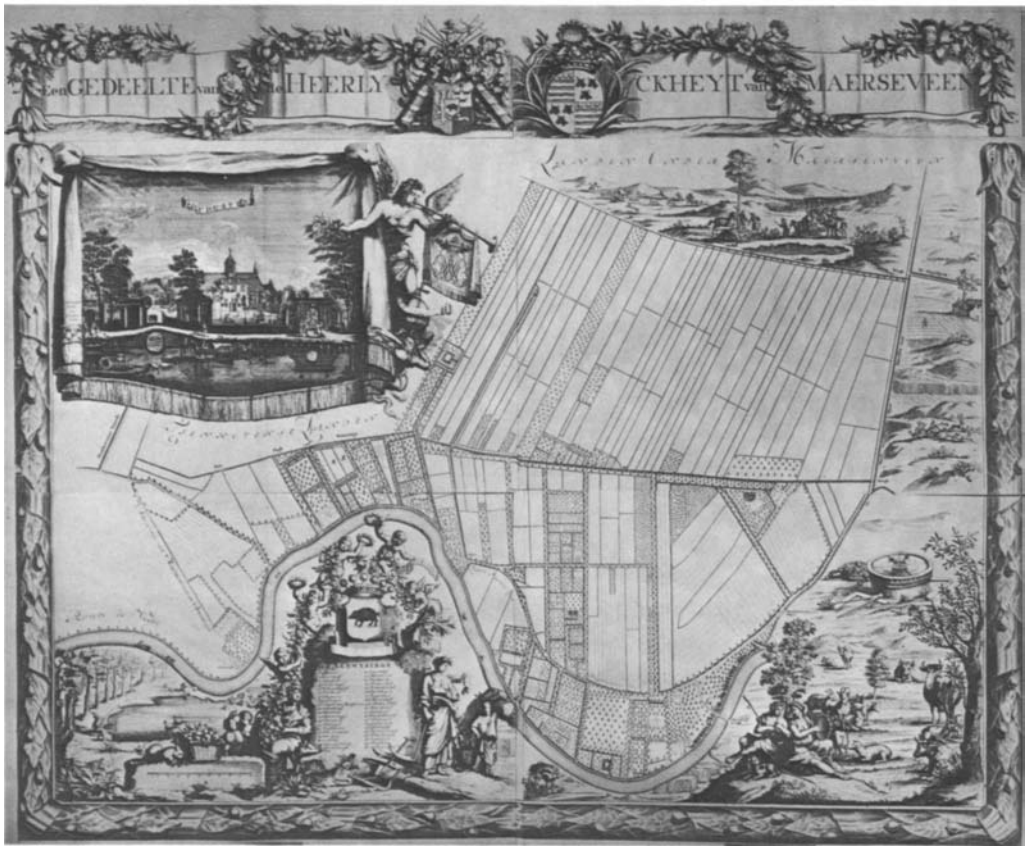


Figure 9. "A section of the seignory of Maarsseveen," engraved by Philibertus Bouttats after a map presumably by Jacob Bosch and a painting by Jan van der Heyden. Five plates, the four lower ones measuring ca. 45 x 65 cm. each, and the upper one, designed to be cut horizontally through the middle, 31.7 x 65.8 cm. Reproduced from a photomontage made for Jhr. Dr. H.W.M. van der Wijck, with whose kind permission it is reproduced here.

have been equally impressed by his skill as a painter.

Another function of the painted views would have been to flatter the owners of the houses depicted, an effect that would be reinforced by the painter's refusal to sell the works. In the case of the Maarssen group of paintings, the owners were burgomasters, councilmen, and treasurers of Amsterdam who were well worth flattering.

There was another, more direct, way in which Jan van der Heyden used his art to sell his inventions, though this has nothing to do with paintings. In 1690 he published, as General Fire Chief of Amsterdam, his famous book on the fire pump (dedicated to the burgomasters, including Joan Huydecoper), illustrated with prints after his own drawings of fires in Amsterdam. The publication was a success

62. *Herteveld* (4)

In the testament of Jan van der Heyden's widow (see above, note 2), two paintings of Herteveld are mentioned:

—"De plaats van Everhard Scott. 100" (no. 29 of the share of Jan Jr.)

—"De Plaats van Everhard Scott int Klyn. 20" (no. 19 in the share of Samuel).

The former may be either of the three existing paintings of the house: Wagner 131 in the Louvre, Wagner 132 in Drumlanrig Castle, and Wagner 148, in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, which Wagner identifies as Vechtvliet. The second entry, referring to a small painting worth only twenty guilders, must pertain to a fourth work as yet unidentified.

Huis ten Bosch (2)

The testament contains these entries:

—"De plaats van Kromhout op zy. 80" (no. 27 in the share of Jan Jr.)

—"Dito van Voore, zonder lyst. 75" (the following entry)

The former description corresponds with the painting in Cincinnati (Wagner 67), the latter to a painting auctioned in Paris at the d'Aoust sale on June 5, 1924, lot 43. Wagner considers this a copy, but in any case it can be taken to depict that composition. A reproduction in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie confirms the subject, if not the authorship.

't Zwarte Varken (1)

The Getty painting, whose provenance, going back to the widow's inventory, has been given above.

The village church of Maarssen (1)

Listed in the testament:

—"de kerk van Maarse onder andere met Verkens gestoffeerd.45" (no. 20 in the share of Sara). Corresponds with Wagner 66 in Polesden Lacey.

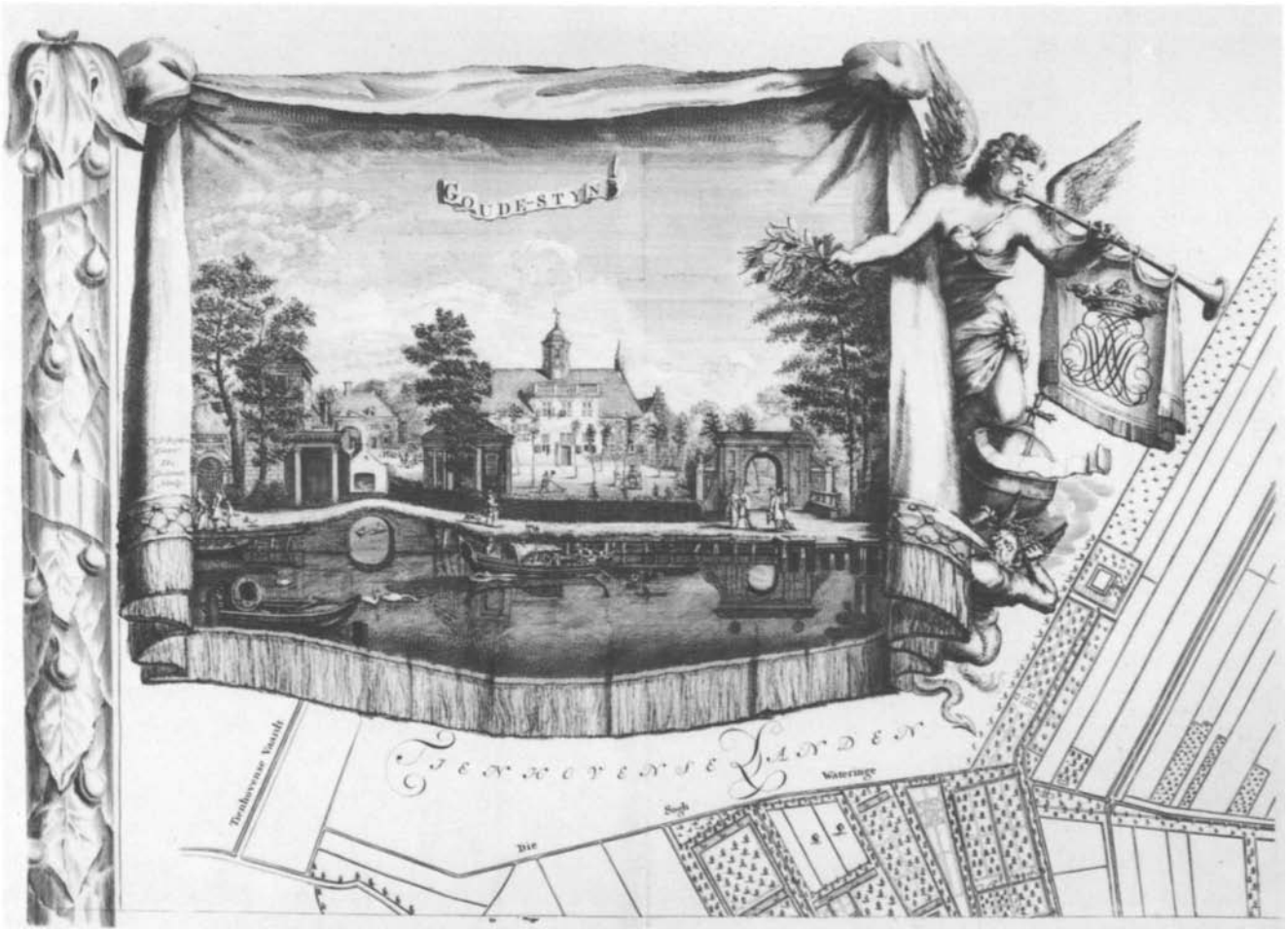


Figure 10. Middle left of map reproduced in figure 9. 45 x 65.3 cm. Rijksarchief Utrecht, Topografische Atlas, Muller 169.

on its own; it was reprinted in the eighteenth century with new plates and in our century in facsimile.[64]

In one case van der Heyden made similar use of one of his views in the country, and that did concern a painting. Together with his son Jan (and therefore after March 1682, when Nicolaas died and Jan Junior took his place), van der Heyden patented a small version of his fire pump, advertising it in a broadsheet that he illustrated with a view of Goudestein captioned "Depiction of the small patented hose pump for fire and garden; suitable for saving country houses in case of fire; and moreover fit to spray gardens, plantations and trees when it is dry."[65] The print shows Goudestein with a small fire in the tower being extinguished by a man on the roof, while gardeners spray the

Goudestein (6)

Listed in the testament:

—"De plaats Goudenstein, van voore klyn. 20" (no. 34 in the share of Jan Jr.)

—"Dito van achteren, klein, met leist. 30" (no. 35, idem)

These entries can be cancelled against Wagner 126 (formerly Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam) and 128 (Arthur Grenfell sale, London, 26 June 1914, lot 16).

Four additional depictions of Goudenstein are known:

—Wagner 125, Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London

—Wagner 127, Bührle collection, Zürich

—Wagner 129, sold by Mensing, Amsterdam, November 15, 1938, lot 48

—Wagner 130, Leningrad, Hermitage

Not all of the topographical information in the paintings, especially those of Herteveld and Goudestein, is unimpeachable.

63. Wagner, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 16.

64. *Beschryving der nieuwlijks uitgevonden en geoctrojeerde slang-brand-spuiten en haare wijze van brand-blussen, tegenwoordig binnen Amsterdam in gebruik zijnde,* door derzelver Inventor Jan van der Heide en Jan vander Heide de Jonge, Generaale Brandmeesters der Stad Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1690. In 1677 Jan brought out an unillustrated booklet with Nicolaas, accompanied by a single print after his design.

65. The broadsheet itself is titled *Beericht en instructie op 't gebruik der kleine slang-brand en tuin-spuitjes, zo in ongeval van brand als om de plantagien te sproeijen.* There is an impression bound into the copy of the 1690 book at the Amsterdam University Library, 2002 A19. In 1677 the brothers recommended the small pump for use by small businesses with a high fire risk.

lawn and the trees. The house is seen frontally, from a spot further right than in the Apsley House painting. Van der Heyden certainly had to obtain permission from Huydecoper to depict his well-known country house in this way. One can see in the advertisement an advantage for Huydecoper as well. The small pump was a great boon to owners of *buitenplaatsen*, especially in times of war. And the Nine Years War with France was about to break out, in 1688.

The regents of Amsterdam were used to buying and selling their influence and prestige and were even unembarrassed about committing such deals to paper. The patronage that Huydecoper bestowed on van der Heyden was more informal, and we need not be surprised that it is not confirmed by document. But it seems clear from the evidence presented here that there was a lively give-and-take between the two from 1666 through 1690, and that art played a vital role in it. His brother Nicolaas was not Jan van der Heyden's only rival. In the 1660's there were competing fire fighting systems being presented to the city, and there were always imitators attempting to undermine his position.[66] Van der Heyden needed running "credit in high places," and he acquired it, at least in part, with the prestige of his art.

A REGENT PROFITING FROM A PAINTER'S STATUS?

When Huydecoper had the 1674 view of Goudestein published in a print, it was under very special circumstances. In 1690 or 1691 Philibertus Bouttats (ca. 1654-after 1700) engraved a vast map in five plates—"A section of the seignory of Maarsseveen" (fig. 9)—containing an inset of Goudestein on a curtain in the upper left (fig. 10). The view is based on the painting in Apsley House, with the pediment above the door unaccountably replaced by a balustrade like the one that Vingboons designed for Elsenburg.[67]

One's attention is drawn by the horn-blowing angel holding a laurel branch over Goudestein and trampling an imperial orb and an allegorical figure of Envy. Ordinarily, one would be inclined to see this as a conventional adornment, like the goddesses, nymphs, shepherds, and putti that fill the areas of the map that were not part of the seignory. However, in the year when the map was probably begun, 1690, the poet Lucas Rotgans (1645–1710) published a *Gezang op Goudestein* (Ode to Goudestein) containing the following lines: "Slander may besiege your virtue, as it has so many times before, but the untarnished conscience of one who has acquitted himself faithfully of his duty to city and nation can stare Envy in the face."[68] Seen against the background of the great events in Huydecoper's life that year, in which slander and envy played a prominent role, the print and the poem cannot be dismissed as mere politeness.

It was always difficult for an Amsterdam regent to remain on good terms with the House of Orange, and those difficulties, in 1690, became too much for Joan. His father had come into his title and his lands in Maarsseveen thanks to Frederik Hendrik; he himself had risen to power in Amsterdam on the coattails of Willem III, but now he was about to be toppled by his former patron. Holland was again at war with France, and once more Amsterdam was pressured by the stadholder to subordinate its commercial interests to his militaristic ones. Huydecoper, perhaps because of his own financial ties to France, was one of the last of the city fathers to submit. But this time Valkenier was gone, and the emerging strong man, Joan Corver, who was practically an agent of Willem III, was not inclined to protect Huydecoper. In February 1690 Huydecoper backed a proposal to keep the city out of the States of Holland until a former resolution, limiting certain political prerogatives of the stadholder in Amsterdam, was passed or defeated. The historian of the Amsterdam regents, J.E. Elias, calls it "pricking a lion with a needle." Willem III was at the height of his power when in 1689 he had become king of England, and was not to be trifled with. Between February 16 and March 2, 1690, Joan repented of his rashness, and thenceforth voted the Orange party line in the town government. But Willem was in no mood to be forgiving. In December 1690 he refused to name Joan Huydecoper's son Joseph as keeper of Muiden Castle. The Huydecopers were on their way out.[69]

The map of 1690–91 appeared in the jubilee year of the Huydecoper accession to Maarsseveen, but no mention of this is made on the map. It was certainly not the right moment to remind people of the circumstances under which the apotheosis of the Huydecopers had taken place, and the role played by Willem's grandfather and great-uncle, Frederik Hendrik and the count of Solms, respectively. This would defeat what seems to be Huydecoper's purpose in publishing the map: reingratiating himself with Willem. The frame is dripping with pearl-shaped tears, a heraldic symbol for pardon from high. Moreover, the stylistic and

66. Van Eeghen, *op. cit.* (note 53), p. 100, mentions a system for which three Amsterdamers received a patent from the States of Holland in 1664.

67. Donkersloot, *op. cit.* (note 16), no. 318. There are two impressions of the map in the RAU, one mounted (Huydecoper archive, Steur no. 1749) and one in plates (Topografische Atlas, Muller 169), lacking the upper sheet, with the coats of arms. In the Bodel Nijenhiis Collection, Leiden University Library, is a complete impression in loose plates (portfolio 41, no. 143). Two of the five copper plates were found in Goudestein in 1945 and are now in a private collection in the Netherlands.

Figure 11. Romein de Hooghe, title print of Govert Bidloo, *Komste van Koning Willem in Holland*, The Hague, 1691. Utrecht University Library.

iconographical vocabulary of the print is borrowed outright from Romein de Hooghe's prints glorifying Willem, especially the series illustrating Govert Bidloo's book on Willem's triumphal entry into The Hague in February 1691 (fig. 11). Huydecoper even used an engraver who was working on that project, the Fleming Bouttats.

And the painter? Jan van der Heyden, if he was not personally acquainted with Willem III, would have been known to him for his devoted interest in the House of Orange. It cannot be coincidence that van der Heyden's work includes two paintings of the Oude Kerk in Delft, where the House of Orange has its family tomb; five of the Orange marquisate of Veere; two of Johan Maurits van Nassau's capital of Kleve;[70] and seven of the Orange palace and shrine of Huis ten Bosch. Even more interesting are the nine paintings of the Nassau Palace in Brussels. It was here that, a century before, William the Silent, Willem III's great-grandfather and the *pater patriae*, had been lord lieutenant of the southern and northern Netherlands in their last years as one country. His descendant would have given a lot to move back in. These twenty-eight paintings make Jan van der Heyden as much a painter to Willem III as to Joan Huydecoper. It certainly looks as though the city father was speculating on the painter's good will with the prince in order to save his own skin.

Another intriguing aspect of the map is that the four lower plates of the main section contain not a single reference to Huydecoper. There is no cartouche with a centaur, as in the maps of 1651 and 1660. The heraldic emblem employed is the black pig of Maarsseveen. Only in the uppermost fifth plate, with the inscription, is there place for Huydecoper, in the rather personal form of the alliance arms of Joan and his wife. It would have been relatively simple to reprint the map with someone else's arms—Willem's, for example. Unless appearances deceive, the initial on the horn of fame is not an H but a crowned WH (for Willem Hendrik), of a type that was used constantly in Orange regalia and Orangist propaganda. Could the map be an unspoken offer of the lordship of Maarsseveen to Willem in exchange for being "maintained . . . despite the ejection of a good many gentlemen" from the government of Amsterdam?

Mapmaking, printmaking, painting, poetry: Joan II had after all inherited his father's interest in the arts. But the typical Huydecoper style of exploitative patronage was now complicated by the overwhelming presence of the stadholder-king. Lucas Rotgans was a nephew of Huydecoper's living in Cromwijk who published his Ode to Goudestein "in payment of a debt of honor to [its] lord, for such excessive tokens of friendship." Rotgans took his own steps not to be compromised by his excessively friendly uncle. Between 1698 and 1700 he published, in eight books, the first profane epic in Dutch literature, *Wilhem de Derde*, glorifying Willem III.

Two Latin poets working in Amsterdam positions they had acquired under Huydecoper also balanced their praise of him with poems to Orange. Janus Broukhusius—captain of an Amsterdam guard company, cousin of Johannes

68. Quoted from the collected works, *Poëzy, van verscheide mengelstoffen*, n.p. 1715, p. 262: "Laat Lastering uw Deugde belaagen, Dat moetze menigwerf verdraagen; . . . Een ongekrenkt, en rein geweten Braveert de Nydt in 't aangezicht; wanneer men zich in zyner pligt, Voor Stadt en Landt, heeft trou gequeeten."

69. Elias, *op. cit.* (note 20), vol. 1, pp. CXXXII-CXXIV.

70. The artist may have had more personal reasons for painting Kleve. His in-laws came from the neighborhood, and he depicted other places in that part of Germany.

Hudde, and soldier-poet whose career began when he won an all-Amsterdam school competition for the best ode on the election of Gillis Valkenier to burgomaster—composed an elegy "Ad villam Marseveniam."[71] His friend Petrus Francius, a protégé of Huydecoper, while professor of history and Latin at the university, wrote what he too called an elegy, of about the same length as that by Broukhusius, and with nearly the same title: "In villam Marseveniam, Guldestein dictam."[72] In 1695 both men wrote sensitive eulogies on the death of Mary Stuart, the wife of Willem III.

In 1694, after Corver squeezed him once and for all out of the burgomaster's chamber (not until 1739 did a Huydecoper reenter it), Joan Huydecoper retired to Goudestein. Hudde had been quicker to see the writing on the wall, and he was able to stay on as burgomaster under the Corver regime. The old mathematician and his equally learned colleague Nicolaas Witsen lent an air of scholarly distinction to the Amsterdam government, and they always voted as directed.

This was fortunate for Jan van der Heyden, who was able through Hudde and Witsen to retain his valuable contracts with the city.[73] He was even able to maintain favor with Willem III. In the mid-1690's he sold a fire pump to the Orange castle at Dieren.[74] It was one of the few items bought in Holland for the refurbishing of the palace and certainly would not have been purchased if Willem had taken umbrage at van der Heyden's role in the Huydecoper affair. There were always more suppliers in the market for fire pumps, as for art, and purchases were not always guided exclusively by considerations of quality.

Maarssen

71. *Jani Broukhusii Carmina,* Utrecht, 1684, dedicated in its whole to Huydecoper. The elegy on Goudestein is on pp. 21–24.

72. *Petri Francii Poëmata. Editio altera,* Amsterdam, 1697, pp. 241–42.

73. Van der Heyden had a bad moment in 1685 when he petitioned the burgomasters for a raise in salary for himself and his son. In that year Hudde and Witsen were burgomasters, and Huydecoper was not. In the written request, van der Heyden struck an injured tone, accusing the burgomasters of underestimating the value of his inventions. This was particularly irritating to Hudde, to whom van der Heyden wrote a subsequent letter of apology and explanation. In the end the inventor-artist was happy to accept, for his son and himself, less than half the raise he had requested, while relinquishing all future claims against the city. See Breen, *op. cit.* (note 4), Appendix I.

74. S.W.A. Drossaers and Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567–1795,* vol. 1, The Hague, 1974, p. 597.