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Nine Fragments of Early Cycladic Sculpture in Southern California

Pat Getz-Preziosi

At various points during the recent past, and since Georgiou's initial publication of four works, a number of fragments of Early Cycladic figurative sculpture have been donated to the antiquities collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum. These eight pieces, as well as another in a Southern California private collection, share a common background, having belonged to the huge group of objects, now largely dispersed, known as the Keros hoard.

Elsewhere I have discussed in some detail the likelihood of this group's integrity and the probability that it was indeed unearthed on Keros, a small rocky, currently uninhabited island lying between Naxos and Amorgos. A brief description of the hoard and a review of the reasons for believing its provenance to be Keros should be sufficient for our present purpose, which is to introduce the California fragments (only one of which has been previously published) along with some related material from the hoard.

The original assemblage, which came to light over twenty-five years ago, consisted of more than 350 pieces of sculpture. The great majority of these sculptures were fragmentary figures of the folded-arm type, ranging from the early Spedos through the Chalandriani varieties. There were also several complete schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type contemporaneous with the folded-arm figures. The other objects included a few complete, and several fragmentary, marble and clay vases, as well as obsidian blades, an incised bone tube, and several stone and shell polishers. Like the figures, these belonged to the second (Keros-Syros) phase of the Early Cycladic culture, and in fact the material from the hoard seems nearly to span this period. In chronological terms this would cover roughly four hundred years, from about 2600 to about 2200 B.C. Among the folded-arm varieties, only the very earliest—the Kapsala—is perhaps missing, represented at most by an example or two.

Several facts strongly suggest that the hoard was the fruit of unauthorized activity at the site on the southwest coast of Keros—opposite the islet of Daskaleio—where Doumas began systematic exploration in 1963. First, the type of the finds from the hoard, as well as their state of preservation, is virtually identical to that of the fragments discovered in the investigations of the Greek authorities. Moreover, the work of at least three well-known sculptors is present in both sets of material. Two of these—the Goulandris and Schuster Masters—are represented in the California group. The authorized excavators at the site opposite Daskaleio observed that clandestine activity had occurred there well before their own investigations began, and indeed I have been told by people from nearby islands that large quantities of sculpture, mostly fragmentary, had been collected and removed from the site many years ago.

All controlled excavations of Early Cycladic sites yielding stone objects have produced a greater number of vases than...
figures; therefore, the disparity in the ratio of vases to figures observable in the two groups of material under consideration is perhaps the single most significant factor linking them. Whereas the hoard contained pieces of figurative sculpture almost exclusively, the systematic excavations yielded a preponderance of marble vase fragments. That the hoard contained only a few vase fragments is easily understood in terms of market values. The looters were seeking salable items: complete objects and fragmentary figures. The removal of large numbers of the latter from the site would explain why relatively few were subsequently found in the sanctioned investigations, while hundreds, if not thousands, of vase fragments, as well as a number of heavy stone mortars and much pottery (including coarse ware), were collected.\(^5\)

The original purpose of the hillside site opposite Daskaleio is by no means clear. The fact that with the possible exception of one vessel type all the marble objects recovered there are of the sort normally found only in graves would suggest that it was the site of a large cemetery.\(^6\) From the ravaged appearance of the terrain, it would appear that such a graveyard may have been destroyed at a later date by a landslide. This would have had the effect of breaking up most, but not all, of the grave goods and scattering them. Those scattered on the surface would have attracted attention and prompted looting and perhaps even iconoclastic acts. Skeletal remains would have disintegrated for the most part, while the slabs conventionally used for the construction of individual tombs would have been salvaged as building materials or ballast by later inhabitants or visitors (pirates?) to the island.

Recently, at a colloquium on Cycladic sculpture, Renfrew put forward the attractive idea that the site may have served instead as a large open-air sanctuary. Among the scholars present at the colloquium, there was unanimous agreement on only one point: the urgent need for a complete systematic investigation of the site (both in geological and archaeological terms), as well as of the settlement site on Daskaleio Islet, before any reliable conclusions could be formulated.\(^7\)

This is neither the time nor the place, therefore, to do more than mention the intriguing problems that are raised by the Keros finds, whether they are considered separately or in combination with the hoard. In addition to the problem of identifying the basic character of the site, there is also the difficulty of accounting for the presence of so many marble items on such a small, and for the most part, barren island, a locale apparently incapable of supporting a substantial population, let alone large numbers of craft specialists. While it is likely that some of the many marble objects found there were made by local craftsmen, possibly from imported stones, the existing evidence would tend to favor a non-Kerian origin for the majority of them; but this does not explain whether they were imported by the Kerians themselves or were acquired through trade or whether the site, whatever its purpose, served other islanders from the southeastern Cyclades in addition to the Kerians.\(^8\)

1. HEAD AND PART OF THE NECK OF AN EARLY SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 1a–c)
White marble, preserved length: 7.1 cm. Breaks old. Face partly weathered; back of head heavily encrusted with calcium carbonate.
Accession number 83.AA.316.1

This classic lyre-shaped head with a well-placed and well-

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5. Even today marble bowl and palette sherds litter the area, no doubt brought to the surface by further erosion of the hillside that has taken place since the clearing of the site by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
8. Antidoron, 41–43; Sculptors, ch. 7.
Figure 1b. Back of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Left profile of figure 1a.

Figure 2. Eighteen heads from Spedos variety figures. Preserved lengths: 6.9-10.4 cm. Keros hoard. Private collection. Photo: Courtesy of the collector.
defined nose carved in relief belonged to a carefully worked and harmoniously conceived figure measuring about 36-40 cm. A lovely example of its type, the head was perhaps carved by the same sculptor who carved a figure with abundant remains of painted detail on its face and head that is in the Paul and Marianne Steiner collection (AC, no. 2).

Apart from very slight vestiges of what appears to be red paint on the left cheek and the right side of the back of the Getty head and its neck, evidence for painted details in the form of either actual pigment or paint ghosts is unclear.

Inasmuch as the neck was one of the most vulnerable parts of all types and varieties of Cycladic sculpture, it is not surprising that a great many heads survive separately. Among the fragments of the Keros hoard, there are a large number of heads, including, for example, the eighteen illustrated in figure 2 and that described in entry No. 2 below.

2. PART OF THE HEAD AND NECK OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 3a-d)

Due to its poor state of preservation, it is difficult to appreciate the fact that this head belonged to a carefully worked figure, most probably a mature work of the Goulandris Master (see No. 5). The unusually large figure would have measured 60 cm or more (cf. Goulandris, no. 46).

In its present condition, the head is interesting chiefly for the paint ghosts indicating hair that are clearly visible on the sides and back (figs. 3c-d). These include a solid area, which commences at the slanted ridge at the back of the head, and four curly locks of hair that depend from it—two on the back that extend onto the neck and one on each side.

9. On the phenomenon of the paint ghost see Preziosi/Weinberg, esp. 8.
The pigment (long since vanished) had the effect, at least on the back and sides, of protecting the places it covered; as a result, they are smooth, lighter in color, and raised above the surrounding areas whose epidermis has weathered away.

A number of heads from the Keros hoard have well-preserved paint ghosts (see for example Preziosi/Weinberg, pls. 4:5:6, 5:2:3, 6:2:3; ACC, nos. 204, 206, 207); a few even retain actual pigment (e.g., ACC, nos. 171, 177, both from the hand of the Goulandris Master, and nos. 205, 206). A number of works, including several from the hoard and several attributable to the Goulandris Master, have paint ghosts for curls (e.g., Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 6:6 and fig. 10; ACC, no. 177; Antidoron, fig. 5b; Goulandris, no. 144). The use of paint by the Goulandris Master will be treated in some detail in Sculptors.

3. RIGHT CALF AND FOOT OF AN EARLY SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 4a-c)
White marble, preserved length: 13.8 cm (preserved to just above knee groove). Breaks old. Finished surfaces somewhat worn. Some recent chipping.
Accession number 79.AA.11, anonymous donation

This leg belonged to a carefully worked, rather large figure of about 54 cm. It exhibits graceful curves and a keen attention to detail. Note the five well-spaced toe incisions.

The fragmentary state of the piece does not, of course, allow more than a hint of the quality of the whole, but the fact that it is detached from its mate does provide an opportunity for an unobstructed view of the configuration of the leg-cleft on a typical example (fig. 4c). The smooth inner surface of the upper part of the calf indicates that the cleft was perforated, while the rough triangular area below this shows the shape of the membrane which originally connected the lower calves and heels. Characteristically, the cleft was considerably deeper on the front than on the rear. Abrasive tool marks are visible along the worked inner surface.

A large number of similarly preserved early Spedos variety leg-foot fragments exist from the hoard, among them ACC, nos. 211a,b, and the two examples illustrated in figures 5, 6.
It is of interest to note that among Spedos variety figures, single legs are normally found only for early examples, whose perforated cleft and delicate membrane made them susceptible to separation from their mates as a consequence of rough treatment. These same features may also have subjected the legs to the risk of fracture during the actual carving process.\textsuperscript{10}

4. FRAGMENTARY LEGS AND FEET OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE  
(figs. 7a–c)  
White marble, preserved length: 19 cm (lower thighs to end of feet). Toes chipped. Breaks old. Calcium carbonate encrustation primarily along right side. Recent chipping on back of left leg.  
Accession number 83.AA.318

This beautifully preserved fragment belonged to a carefully formed, rather large figure of about 54 cm—that is, about the same size as the figure to which No. 3 belonged. The contours show the graceful, subtle curvature typical of the late Spedos variety style. The toes were grooved with care, as were the ankle incisions, which "wrap" around the figure.

\textsuperscript{10} On the perforation of the leg-cleft and attendant risks see P. Getz-Preziosi, "Risk and Repair in Early Cycladic Sculpture," MMAJ 16 (1981), 25.
The knee incisions, though carefully cut, were less meticulously placed, being at slightly different levels. They are also of unequal length on the front.

Because of the break across the thighs, it is possible to examine the leg-cleft from both front and back simultaneously by looking down at the cross-section provided by the break (fig. 7c). Thus one sees that the two furrows are not precisely aligned, with the result that the left leg is somewhat wider in front than the right, while the right leg is wider in back. Asymmetries such as the unequal knee grooves or the misalignment of the leg-cleft are actually quite common among Cycladic figures and are not infrequently found on works carved by accomplished sculptors.

Fine horizontal, abrasive tool marks are visible on the legs, while longitudinal marks can be seen inside and at the edges of the cleft.

In contrast to the legs of the early Spedos variety figures, which tend to break off individually (see No. 3), those of the late Spedos variety images, whose clefts were normally neither perforated nor as deeply furrowed, almost invariably break off in pairs, most often at the knees. A number of examples are known from the hoard, including ACC, no. 213, and the two illustrated in figure 8.

5. TORSO OF A LATE SPEDOS VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 9a–b)
White marble, preserved length: 18.5 cm (base of neck to upper thighs). Breaks old. Front somewhat worn with
Figures 7a-c. Left, fragmentary legs and feet of a late Spedos variety figure (No. 4). Center, back view. Right, cross section at break (drawing by Eugenia Joyce Fayen). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.318.

Figure 8. Calves and feet of late Spedos variety figures. Preserved lengths: 11.6 cm, 11.4 cm. Keros hoard, Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.
Figures 9a-h. Left, torso of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master (No. 5). Right, back view. Southern California, private collection.


Figure 11. Torso of a late Spedos variety figure attributable to the Goulandris Master. Preserved length: 15.6 cm. Keros hoard. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Photo: Courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum Bildarchiv.
This torso belonged to a harmoniously conceived, carefully carved, and rather large figure of about 50 cm that is attributable to the Goulandris Master. Characteristic features of this sculptor's classic style observable on this fragment include markedly sloping shoulders; small widely spaced breasts; rather narrow arms; a horizontal abdominal groove to which slanting inguinal lines are connected, forming a small pubic triangle; rounded profile contours; a convex back with oblique grooves at the neck that do not meet; and the absence of any indication of the spine.

The piece may be assigned to a late middle phase of the sculptor's development. It is larger and better balanced in its proportions and more carefully worked than his earlier figures (e.g., Goulandris, no. 42; ACC, nos. 169, 180; Antidoron, fig. 1) yet not as refined as his most mature works, which are larger and more detailed, as well as having arms rendered in relief (e.g., Goulandris, no. 46; ACC, no. 167; Addenda, fig. 5).

11. Because the Goulandris Master normally made the shoulder breadth of his figures one quarter of their overall length, it is possible to calculate the original dimension of fragmentary figures from his hand with a reasonable degree of accuracy if the shoulders are well preserved.

12. Since a number of joins have been found among the hoard finds—e.g., the head of ACC, no. 178, was recently identified—it is reasonable to suppose that not all of the many fragments attributable to the Goulandris Master actually belonged to different figures. With the pieces dispersed, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find additional joins and even more difficult, if not impossible (except perhaps through stable isotope analysis), to identify two or more nonadjacent pieces as belonging to the same figure. Published examples of the Goulandris Master’s
Whitew marble, preserved length: 7.3 cm (lower right upper arm to mid-thighs). Upper break quite fresh; lower break older but not ancient. Surface weathered. Chip on back of left recent.

Accession number 83.AA.317.1

This fragment belonged to a carefully executed work of average size measuring 25 cm or perhaps less. It can be attributed to the Schuster Master, a talented sculptor who combined the graceful curves of the Spedos variety with the severe angles and often exaggerated shoulder breadth of the Dokathismata variety style. Characteristic features of his style observable on the piece include narrow arms; a rather large pubic triangle bisected at its apex by the beginning of the superficially incised leg-cleft; and on the back a very lightly incised spine, upper arms indicated in a lower plane, and an angular buttock profile. Unlike the other works from the Schuster Master's hand, however, the arms of this fragment are rendered solely by incision without any attempt at round modeling or relief. This is perhaps a sign that it belonged to a fairly early phase of the sculptor's development.

Some of the figures attributable to the Schuster Master show the female form in a clearly pregnant state (e.g., fig. 13b). Here the sculptor was somewhat tentative in his depiction: in profile the abdomen is only slightly rounded. Several other fragments from the hoard can be ascribed to the hand of the Schuster Master, including the two illustrated in figures 13 and 14, and at least one other was found in the sanctioned investigations on Keros.

7. TORSO AND LEGS OF A LATE SPELOS/DOKATHISMATA VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 15a–b)

White marble, preserved length: 17.2 cm (base of neck to lower calves). Breaks old. Heavy calcium carbonate work from the hoard include: ACC, nos. 171, 175–178; Antidon, fig. 1; Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 6:5.6. See also the head of ACC, no. 6; this has been incorrectly attached to a torso carved by another sculptor. On the Goulandris Master see P. Getz-Preziosi, “The Goulandris Master,” in Goulandris, 25–27. A detailed discussion and a complete list of figures known to the writer that are from the hand of the Schuster Master will appear in Sculptors.

13. Addenda, 5–7 with figs. 7–9. A detailed discussion and a complete list of figures known to the writer that are from the hand of the Schuster Master will appear in Sculptors.

14. Archaiologikon Deltion, Chronika 23 (1968), 5, pl. 334b (photograph taken at a poor angle, making it difficult to recognize the piece as a work of the Schuster Master).
Figure 15a. Torso and legs of a late Spedos/Dokathismata variety figure (No. 7). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.317.2.
Figure 15b. Back of figure 15a.
Figures 16a–b. Left, upper torso of a Dokathismata variety figure (No. 8). Right, back view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.201.

Although the encrustation obscures its detail and reduces its attractiveness, this fragment belonged to a rather carefully carved work of about average size measuring circa 33 cm. Stylistically it is close to the work of the Schuster Master (see No. 6) and could conceivably also be from his hand.

Characteristic features of this sculptor’s approach observable on this piece include a neckline that is curved in front; widely spaced breasts; narrow, lightly modeled arms that curve above a slightly rounded abdomen to reinforce the notion of pregnancy; a pubic triangle which is bisected at its apex by the beginning of the leg-cleft; lightly flexed knees; and on the back, broad upper arms carved in a lower plane. Unlike the works that can without hesitation be attributed to the Schuster Master, this piece has an unusually large, broad pubic triangle. Furthermore, the profile lacks crisp definition, and on the back the spine is rather deeply grooved and merges with the leg-cleft instead of terminating at the shelflike boundary of the buttocks.

8. Upper torso of a Dokathismata variety figure (figs. 16a-b)
White marble, preserved length: 7.9 cm (lower part of neck to bottom of right forearm). Breaks old. Front pitted; edge chipped along shoulders and right upper arm. Most of this damage old.
Accession number 83.AA.201

This fragment belonged to a work of slightly greater than average size measuring between 30 and 40 cm. The workmanship is undistinguished, an impression only reinforced by the poor state of its preservation.

Features quite typical of the Dokathismata variety observable here are the flatness of the front and rear surfaces and the distinct contrast of the more three-dimensional, almost pyramidal, neck, framed at its point of origin on the chest by a V-shaped groove. Other details worthy of mention are the small widely spaced breasts positioned at slightly different levels, the broad upper arms, and the “dropped” left elbow. The last is a convention not infrequently used to convey an
impression of symmetry. (The device is used rather more subtly on Nos. 6, 7.) On the back the spine is superficially incised, and the sculptor did not bother to define the upper arms.

The fragment is similar in a number of respects to another more completely preserved piece from the hoard (figs. 17a–b). Note, for example, the similarly uneven breasts; the weak, albeit finer, incision work; the noticeably dropped elbow; and the absence of any marking of the upper arms on the back. It is possible that the two works are from the same rather careless hand.

9. TORSO OF A CHALANDRIANI VARIETY FIGURE
(figs. 18a–b)
White marble with dark mottling (visible on rear), preserved length: 9.2 cm (lower part of neck to apex of pubic triangle). Breaks old. Front covered with calcium carbonate encrustation, obscuring unusual character of stone.
Accession number 78.AA.407, anonymous donation

This fragment belonged to a work of average size measuring about 20 cm. The execution can be described as hasty and rather poor, both with respect to form and to detail. Not only does the outline lack the crisp angularity normally associated with the Chalandriani variety, but no effort was made to “raise” the breasts from the flat chest or to locate appropriately the abdominal bulge denoting pregnancy. (In profile the buttocks are higher than the belly.)

In the incision work there is a lack of definition of the neck V, as well as an absence of extension in the lines forming the pubic triangle, the forearms, and the upper arms on the back. Indeed, the canonical right-below-left folded-arm arrangement, so strictly observed by Cycladic sculptors for several centuries (and seen on all the other examples illustrated here—Nos. 5–8), seems on this piece to have either been misunderstood or ignored. One forearm is missing altogether, and because both upper arm lines extend to about the same level, it is impossible to say whether the existing forearm is the right one or, as it should be, the left. Such ambiguity and/or incompleteness in the rendering of the arms was not uncommon toward the end of the period of production of Cycladic sculpture,\textsuperscript{15} the time to which this piece belongs. It is seen on at least two other examples from the hoard (\textit{ACC}, nos. 224, 243) and on at least one unpublished example from the excavations on Keros.

The fragments of the Keros hoard, of which the California group is a small but quite representative selection, provide an excellent study collection for the serious student of Cycladic sculpture. Not only are all figure parts and several varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure represented, but the quality of the workmanship ranges from quite poor to extremely fine. Precisely because of their broken state, one is prompted to focus more closely on the remaining forms and details than one perhaps would if in each case the figure were preserved in its entirety. As we have seen in the case of the leg fragments (Nos. 3, 4), there are examples for which the fragmentary condition actually facilitates close scrutiny.

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\textsuperscript{15}. Such figures have been called “postcanonical.” See \textit{Antidoron}, n. 11. Although they are uncanonical in the depiction of the arms, they are not necessarily later in date than Chalandriani variety figures with arms rendered in the usual fashion.
An Early Cypriote Sculpture

Pat Getz-Preziosi

With the recent acquisition of the imposing sculpture illustrated in figure 1, the Getty Museum has added to its antiquities collection an early work of major importance for the history of prehistoric art and religion. First exhibited in Karlsruhe in 1976, the piece has already been described and discussed in some detail and illustrated, albeit only in front view. It remains for me here merely to reintroduce the work, illustrate it fully, and bring to the reader's attention two previously unpublished works of a related nature (figs. 2, 3).

The Getty figure is at once the largest and most impressive prehistoric stone sculpture unearthed to date in Cyprus. It is carved in the appealing, warm, tan-colored limestone preferred by Cypriote sculptors of the archaic period, because it was at once easily available, easy to work, and capable of sharp definition. The Getty piece is beautifully preserved, a fact which allows for an undiluted appreciation of both its highly stylized, carefully conceived design and its superb workmanship. The sculpture, which unfortunately lacks a precise provenance or certified find-context, belongs to the cruciform type localized in the Paphos district of southwestern Cyprus and produced during the Chalcolithic I period (circa 3000–2500 B.C.).

More than a hundred examples of the basic type are known. With one exception that is clearly intended to be a male, these figures seem to represent a semi-squatting (birth-giving?) female with broad hips and arms outstretched (in a welcoming gesture?). We sense the femaleness of these figures even though their breasts are only sometimes indicated, their genitalia almost never. On the Getty sculpture, however, where the viewer's gaze is directed by the ornamentation of the arms to focus on the breasts, it is quite possible that here, in a striking double entendre, the breasts are meant to serve not merely as breasts but also as genitalia. For while the single angular form raised in low relief and bisected by a deep groove (closely resembling that dividing the legs) is clearly supposed to represent pendent breasts, in shape it is actually more appropriate to the pubis with vulva. Even the placement of the bisected V—low for breasts, high for pubis—seems a deliberate and effective compromise. The only other major limestone figure of the period known at present, the slightly smaller and rather dumpy “Lemba Lady,” shows a remarkably similar depiction of the breasts, but just below them is a nearly identical—one might say redundant—bisected V representing the pubic area (fig. 4). It is precisely the economy and boldness of design, combined with an amleness and clarity of individual forms, that set the Getty sculpture apart, imbuing it with a monumental presence unsurpassed in early Aegean sculpture.

The detailed rendering of the face is also of considerable interest. The penetrating, open-eyed expression, found also on certain clay figures of the period, which are otherwise apparently dissimilar, has a riveting effect on the viewer. The Getty piece also shares with the contemporaneous clay figures, but only a few stone ones (e.g., fig. 3), the presence of a mouth. It is possible that the presence or absence of the mouth had to do, to some extent at least, with a difference in the function and use of the figures, for the noncruciform clay figures with mouths are found in domestic contexts, whereas the smaller stone figurines have been unearthed in tombs. The symbolic sealing of the lips, translated into sculpture as

I would like to thank Jiří Frel for asking me to write this article and Joan Mertens for offering several excellent suggestions for improving it.

Abbreviations
V. Karageorghis: V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus: 7000 Years of Art and Archaeology (Baton Rouge, 1981).
—. Vagnetti, pi. 4:1.2.4.
—. Vagnetti, pi. 4:2.
—. Vagnetti, pl. 4:1.2.4.
Figure 1a. Cypriote cruciform figure of limestone. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.38.
Figure 1b. Right profile of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Left profile of figure 1a.

Figure 1d. Back of figure 1a.
an absence of the mouth, is a widespread iconographic feature among figures destined for sepulchral use.7

The figure from Lemba, on whose compressed bulbous face there seems to be little space for a mouth, was, on the other hand, also found inside a settlement, in an unusual circular building that, according to its excavator, "may...best be interpreted as a sacred place."8 The implication is that the

8. Peltenburg, 1977, 141. See also V. Karageorghis, 15.
9. It is not entirely clear whether the arm was simply reattached or whether it was actually recarved from another piece of limestone. The present left arm is a slightly different color and rather differently preserved than the rest of the figure, which may mean merely that it was subjected to slightly different conditions of dampness, having become separated from the body when the organic bonds which secured it broke or disintegrated. The break surface appears not to have been smoothed, as one would expect if a new piece had been fitted to the body. It is the opinion of the Getty Museum's conservator of antiquities, Zdravko Barov, who did not, however, actually remove the arm (now attached with adhesive) or conduct elaborate tests, that the present arm is the original one. It is worth noting, though, that the relief ornamentation of this arm differs slightly from that of the right one.
10. In the case of similar repairs made on stone sculptures from other areas of the Aegean—the Cyclades and Sardinia in particular—I would normally not rule out the possibility that the figures tended to break and were repaired during their actual manufacture, since the fractures invariably occurred at the most vulnerable points and marble is a friable
sculpture served as a cult figure; by analogy, the Getty piece must have done so as well. The fact that the Getty figure's left arm broke off at some point and was meticulously restored suggests that the image (which is not self-supporting) had been propped up in a shrine— as an object of veneration of prime importance to a community—and had suffered damage there as a result of a mishap (perhaps an earthquake).
Figure 5a. Cycladic Plastiras-type figure of marble. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.128.

Figure 5b. Back of figure 5a.
That the Lemba and Getty figures were part of the apparatus of a special cult place devoted to the worship of a deity of life and of life-in-death, rather than being simple dedications or the "icons" of private house shrines, is suggested by what appears to be a strict and very tidy hierarchical structure among the Cypriote cruciform figures, a phenomenon not paralleled elsewhere in the Aegean. At the top of this structure, as we have seen, are the cult figures themselves. These extremely rare sculptures are fashioned in limestone on an unusually large scale for prehistoric Cyprus—the Lemba Lady has a height of 36 cm, the Getty figure 39.5 cm. They have a strong visual impact but do not invite handling. Moreover, the Lemba sculpture is known to have been found inside a special building within a settlement.

Into a second group fall a large number of figurines that, with only one exception known at present (fig. 2), are carved in striking blue, green, gray, or brown Paphian soapstone, or steatite (e.g., fig. 3). Often polished to a high sheen, these works, which vary in the amount of detail depicted, range in size from 4 or 5 cm to 15 cm. The combination of surface polish, smooth raised ornament, and a size appropriate for holding in the hand gives these figures considerable tactile appeal, which in itself suggests a personal rather than a ceremonial function. These figures are found in tombs, where
they were apparently viewed as protecting the dead and ensuring the renewal of life in the world beyond. They occur in a number of variations, including double and triple combinations.11

Most numerous of all, however, are the often tiny (1–2 cm), and still more schematic, steatite and shell amuletic replicas of the cult image that were pierced for use as pendants—the larger ones (e.g., fig. 6) were used singly, the smallest ones were strung in multiples, along with beads, on necklaces.12 These, too, are found in tombs.

Just how similar in concept the smaller iconic figures are to the "mother" image, as represented by the Getty sculpture, may be seen in the two examples illustrated here in figures 2 and 3. The statuette carved in a curious marble with blue mottling resembling Roquefort cheese has a height of only 6.6 cm (fig. 2). Although somewhat worn and to some extent obscured by the dark inclusions in the stone, a similar, albeit simplified, diagonal pattern can be seen in relief on the arms. The breasts, though indicated separately, have the same pendant V shape. A number of the steatite statuettes and even a few of the pendants show similar patterns incised or raised in relief on the arms, but these are, with the exception of the larger (13.5 cm) figurine illustrated in figure 8,13 horizontally oriented, filling the entire height of the narrow arms.14 An excellent example is the small (7.6 cm) figurine illustrated in figure 3 (see also fig. 6, height 7 cm). Carved in typical light apple-green steatite and highly polished, this piece closely imitates the angular form and proportions of the Getty figure, as well as reproducing such details as the hair parted in the middle and the toes, here boldly incised on clownlike splayed feet.15

The symbolic significance of the arm decoration and, most importantly, of the basic cross form itself is lost to us, but these peculiarly Cypriote motifs appear to go back as early as the Neolithic I period (sixth millennium B.C.) where, for example, the two are found in combination on the walls of an anesite basin from Khirokitia.16 It was not until the Chalcolithic period, however, that in the hands of skilled sculptors attuned to the needs of a developing religious consciousness, these abstract magical signs17 were transformed into explicit and powerful images of the life force.

There is of course much still to be learned about the religious art of Chalcolithic Cyprus. Among other things, one might hope that further excavation would reveal whether small settlements tended to have their own cult images and, if so, whether it was the particular image of a given place that served for the most part as the model for the figurines and pendants disposed in its associated cemetery. One would not expect in any case to find that one of these mother images would have differed in any extreme fashion from another, given the highly conventional, formulaic nature of the sculptural tradition. On the other hand, minor differences, such as the treatment of facial features and other details, would have been likely, as a comparison of the Getty and Lembah figures clearly shows and as we see reflected in the small figures illustrated here. In the absence of many examples, we can only suppose at this juncture that the Getty sculpture was a cult figure of cardinal importance both as an object of communal worship in southwestern Cyprus and as a prototype for smaller, more personal images. Despite its apparent uniqueness, however, it is also in its material, form, and details particularly Cypriote in character and spirit.

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11. For example, J. Karageorghis, pls. 8–9a. c. d. and 10a; Crouwel, pls. 4:11, 5a; Vagnetti, pls. 5:1, 3.6, 6:2.3.
12. J. Karageorghis, pls. 9b, 10b. Crouwel, pl. 4:1–8.10. In some cases (e.g., Vagnetti, pl. 5:4.5) steatite figurines not originally intended for use as pendants were perhaps perforated for suspension; other unperforated figurines may have been worn by the living and/or the dead in the manner depicted on the well-known figure—the largest of these images at 15.3 cm—that has a tiny replica of herself carved in such a way that it seems to be held against her neck by a ribbon rather than suspended from it (fig. 7). See Mertens, 8; J. Karageorghis, 26–28.
13. The two works illustrated in figures 2 and 8 are also closely similar to each other in the treatment of the face with its large bulging eyes and with the end of the nose forming its abrupt lower boundary.
14. See also, for example, J. Karageorghis, pl. 8c; Mertens, fig. 4; Christie's, London, April 27, 1976, lot 86, pl. 5a. c. with J. Karageorghis, 22, n. 43.
15. Compare figure 3 and Vagnetti, pl. 5.5 in this regard. See also Sotheby's, London, July 9–10, 1984, lots 135 and 136.
17. The cross and diagonal motifs are also found, sometimes in combination, on Chalcolithic painted pottery. See, for example, V. Karageorghis, The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus (Athens, 1976), fig. 17.
The study of ancient costume is beset with difficulty. Cloth does not easily survive the ages, and what few remnants of textiles have come down to us from Greece or related territories are useful at best to reveal weaves and materials, certainly not fashions. We are therefore left almost solely with representations of dress on artifacts and in sculpture in the round, which are obviously conditioned by a variety of external factors, including difficulties and limitations of the medium, artistic license, iconographic conservatism, and regional preferences. Under the last category we need to consider not only possible variations in actual costume, whether determined by climate or by foreign influences, but also favored means of artistic expression. Most of our information on seventh-century costume, for instance, comes from Crete for the simple reason that other areas have not provided as many representations in relief or in the round, while Attic vase painting is overwhelmingly used to illustrate our accounts of sixth- and fifth-century costumes, because other contemporary Greek wares did not favor the type of figured scenes useful for studying fashions.

One further difficulty concerns nomenclature. Although literary sources and temple inventories have preserved the names of many garments, few can be identified with certainty in extant representations. For the most part the ancient names have been applied to those costumes that best seemed to suit them and that were most often depicted in ancient art; such equations have by now been codified by over a century of scholarly usage. Yet no assurance exists that our assumptions are correct, and the possible dichotomy between the ancient names and our visualizations should always be kept in mind in dealing with this difficult subject.

Ancient costume is too important a topic to be neglected. Dress and fashion are always indicative of certain aspects of contemporary society, but in the case of ancient Greece, since we are forced to focus on artistic representations, additional considerations come into play. Differences in the rendering of the same costume are indicative of changes in style that often correspond to changes in chronology, thus allowing us to date specific monuments almost to the decade. Disappearance and reappearance of certain forms of dress in art could have historical reasons or symbolic meanings that need not reflect actual daily practices. An item of clothing that could be considered old-fashioned by the contemporary artistic standards might carry ritual and iconographic connotations. For all these reasons, proper understanding of ancient costume could considerably enrich our knowledge of the past, as many scholars have recognized. Nonetheless, specialized studies on Greek dress have been few and far apart; they have also enjoyed little popularity among students and scarce agreement among scholars and in general have failed to generate...

On December 2, 1976, I spoke at the J. Paul Getty Museum on the fashion of the Elgin Kore (accession number 70.AA.114) and was invited to present my comments in writing for publication by the Museum. It has taken me a long time to fulfill my obligation, but the intervening years have been spent in researching the topic and have also given me the advantage of consulting important works on related subjects that have been published since my Getty lecture.

In citing bibliographical references, I have followed the guidelines and abbreviations set forth in AJA 82 (1978) 3-10 and AJA 84 (1980) 3. I have also used the following:


For ease in reference and to avoid lengthy bibliographical citation, I have often used my own books as a source of illustrations and brief commentary.
sufficient interest in the subject. As a result, Greek sculpture today can be taught (and learned) with full appreciation of the stylistic subtleties in the rendering of textures and modeling of drapery but, paradoxically, with little or no attention to the reality of the costume itself.

If my interest in Greek costume has been sustained, my research through the years has alerted me to the complexity of the subject and the uncertainties in interpretation of the evidence. I have therefore attempted to obtain a better understanding of the Elgin Kore by following the development of the peplos from its earliest artistic appearance; and I shall present here a tentative outline of this development, as I see it, by stylistic and chronological phases.

THE PEPLOS

In her first publication on early classical peplophoroi, Renate Tolle-Kastenbein has promised a future study on the ancient uses of the term and its philological cognates while admitting that what we call a peplos may not correspond to the classical costume by that name. It would therefore seem useless to anticipate what will be a much more thorough treatment of the subject, but a few preliminary comments are necessary to establish my premises.

It has been suggested that peplos (in reduplicate form) may belong to the proto-Indo-European root accounting for the Latin palla, the root in turn possibly being related to plat- (flat; flat layer) and to the Greek πλατύς. Etymologically, therefore, the term would imply the simplest of garments, draped around the body and belted or pinned in position. In ancient usage the term can be found to refer to covering for furniture and carts or even for corpses, like a blanket, and seems to have Persian connections, since it is mentioned by Xenophon in the Cyropaedia, usually with reference to men. Its earliest occurrences are in Homer, although the passage in the Iliad (6.303), in which Hekabe places a peplos on the knees of the statue of Athena, is suspect as a possible later Athenian interpolation. The verses could still be used to argue a link between the garment and the goddess, at least by the archaic period, but stronger evidence that the peplos is appropriate for Athena is provided by the use of the term to indicate the garment woven and offered on the Akropolis at the Great Panathenaia.

Iconographically, the most famous representations of the goddess—the Parthenos by Pheidias (fig. 1) and the Athena

2. FKP I, 1 and 239.
3. This information is derived from E. W. Barber, “The PIE Notion of Cloth and Clothing,” Journal of Indo-European Studies 3.4 (1975, published 1977) 294–320, especially 314. The entire article is important for its analysis of the forms of clothing and their uses through the centuries.
5. On the Parthenos by Pheidias, see N. Leipen, Athena Parthenos, A

Figure 1. Athena Parthenos, copy after the fifth-century original. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Classical Department Exchange Fund 1980.196.
on Panathenaic amphorae—wear the costume we have come to know as the peplos: a rectangular piece of heavy cloth folded over at the top and pinned over the shoulders, often gathered around the waist with a belt worn either above or below the overfold (apoptygma). Our equation would therefore seem supported by independent evidence, yet our iconographic basis may be faulty. The Parthenos is not the ancient idol that received the woven garment at the Panathenaia, and even the depictions of the prize amphorae, for all their conservatism, change according to the conventions of vase painting. The Pheidian Athena, moreover, is described by Pausanias (1.24.7) as wearing a *chiton poderes*. In addition, by the second half of the fifth century B.C., the time when the ritual of the festival is safely attested, some statues of Athena wear a different costume. Although the belted peplos is never abandoned, the goddess is occasionally depicted wearing chiton and himation, as for instance on the Nike Balustrade (fig. 2) and in original statuettes that repeat, at smaller scale, types otherwise known to us only through monumental Roman copies. This new iconography may

![Figure 2. Athena on the Nike Balustrade. Photo: Courtesy DAI, Athens.](image)


As for Pausanias’ description, to be sure, the periegetes may be speaking as a Greek of Roman times who did not know classical Greek costume, or the statue may have been altered after Lachares removed its gold in 297/96 B.C. Yet the Varvakeion replica is Antonine, so Pausanias saw that costume.
suggest a change in the conception of the goddess from a woman of action needing tightly belted, unencumbering clothing to a more feminine figure no longer actively engaged in warlike pursuits. Therefore, although the iconographic change need have no bearing on the identification of the peplos, it should be kept in mind if such an identification is made largely on iconographic grounds.

An additional consideration is the fact that the Panathenaic peplos, in order to be "worn" by a statue, and one that was perhaps seated, had to be as untailored as possible. It is in fact recorded that the peplos was strung up as a sail on the Panathenaic ship carried in procession from the Pompaeion to the foot of the Akropolis. We also know that the Gigantomachy was woven into the garment by the ergastinai, yet the folding over of the apopytyma in a decorated fabric implies that figures, which appear upright on the main face of the cloth, will be upside down and seen from the interior in the bent-over section. This consideration will also apply to the discussion of archaic dress, but I anticipate it here because of its relevance to the issue of terminology; it is unlikely, in fact, that the Panathenaic peplos was cut and sewn from separate pieces, or woven in two directions, to remedy the effect of the folding-over, especially given its mode of transport before being placed on the statue.

Not all peploi need have been so elaborately decorated; in fact Aelian (Var.Hist. 7.9) mentions that Phokion and his wife owned only one garment between them, the man wearing it as a himation, the woman as a peplos. Obviously no shaping of any sort was necessary to allow for the different sizes of the wearers. That male and female garments could occasionally be interchangeable is also shown by a reference—admittedly as late as the second century B.C.—in the Delian archives, noting that since the Athenians had donated a dress to Artemis, the gift was put on the goddess, and the garment she wore before was put on Dionysos. The record does not state, however, what type of costume was involved, and a chiton is the most likely assumption.

In this connection, it may be of some significance that the inventories of Artemis Brauronia from the Athenian Akropolis list a variety of garment types dedicated to the goddess at Brauron, yet not once is the term peplos employed. The types listed are himation, chiton, chitoniskos, chitonion, chlamys, chlaniskion, tarantinon, halourgis, enkyklon, batrachis, krokotos, ledion, tryphema, trichapton, kandys, epiblema, ampechonon, and kekryphalos. Some items are occasionally defined further as being specifically for men. Since not all clothes given to Artemis Brauronia were made ad hoc to be put on one of the three statues of the sanctuary, and some had been previously worn by child-bearing women, it is logical to wonder whether the peplos was no longer a garment in common use by the second half of the fourth century B.C., when the inventories were compiled. Yet what we call a peplos still appears in fourth-century sculpture. The Brauronian accounts allow one final observation: several garments are qualified as "unfinished" or even "half-woven," yet their type is mentioned. If the difference between a chiton and a chitoniskos, for instance, consisted solely in the length of the finished dress, how could a half-woven cloth be securely identified by the inventory takers? Linders concludes that the different fabrics used for each type of costume would have allowed distinctions. In artistic representations, indication of texture is relative and varies with time and style; we therefore lack one of the most important criteria for our assessment.

In view of all these difficulties, we should establish what shall be called a peplos in the present article, although I make no claim to absolute, objective validity in my terminology or even to general agreement. To be sure, the history of Greek costume in its artistic representations is not monolithic but subject to change from time to time and from style to style. Indeed, I shall argue that "peplos" has been used by modern scholars to define not one type of dress but many, which therefore need to be given separate identities and perhaps names. I am forced, however, to review all previous identifications of peploi and peplopophoroi to reach an understanding of the costume involved.

Standard handbook definitions distinguish between an archaic and a classical form of the peplos as a one-piece garment with optional overfold, the main differences being the relative width of the dress and perhaps the position of the openings for neck and arms. In her book on karyatid mirrors, Congdon defines the archaic form as "a snug wool gar-

7. The appearance of the ancient idol is highly debated. For a standing image, see, most recently, J. H. Kroll, in Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography presented to Homer A. Thompson (Hesperia Suppl. 20, 1982) 65–76. For a seated image, see E. Simon, Festivals of Attica (Madison, Wis., 1983) 66. Some scholars have also suggested that the peplos of the Panathenaia was given to the Pheidian Parthenos; see, most recently, D. M. Lewis, "Athena's Robe," Scripta Classica Insularia 5 (1979/80) 28–29.

8. Ref. Bieber, Griechische Kleidung, 13. For other ancient references clearly indicating that the peplos was a well-established form of male attire, see E. L. Brown, HSCP 85 (1981) 91, n. 154 and his ref. to H. Lloyd-Jones, CR 66 (1952) 134.


10. These names are derived not only from Linders' index but also from a reading of her basic text; for male garments, see her comment on p. 17.

That a peplos could be given to statues other than Athena's is suggested by Pausanias 5.16.2 (Hera at Olympia, peplos woven every four years).

11. Linders (supra, note 9) 18–19.

ment with a little jacket" (my emphasis), for which she reserves the term peplos. The classical version, which she calls the "Doric chiton," would consist of "a loose wool robe clasped shut on either side of the neck, sometimes fastened at the sides and girt." E. B. Harrison has, however, advanced the hypothesis that even seventh- and sixth-century representations of tight-fitting costumes should be understood to show garments as ample as the classical versions and that the apparent snugness is a form of artistic stylization.

I visualize the peplos as made of one rectangular piece of wool, which can be sewn along the vertical edges to form a tube or may be left open and which is folded over and held in place by fastenings over both shoulders. It may be worn with or without a belt, and such girding may occur either above or below the overfold or even in more than one place. When the garment is pulled over the belt in order to allow greater freedom of arm movement to the wearer, the slack may form pouches of cloth on either side of the center that curve over the stomach and dip down over the hips, thus creating a kolpos. The curvature of the kolpos, at first minimal, and the richness of the draping increase with the passing of time. The apoptygma may be of varying length (indeed, it may have been adjusted to suit the height of the wearer, as implied by Aelian); it may totally cover the kolpos, run parallel to it, or be completely independent.

The peplos, emphatically, does not have tailored sleeves; if tight-fitting sleeves are depicted, I believe that the garment shown should not be called a peplos. The ample folds created by the shoulder pinning, however, which may extend as low as the elbows, can be pulled forward over the arms, thus affording some protection to the bare-armed wearer. Alternatively, the peplos can be worn over a sleeved chiton or under a mantle.

DAEDALIC DRESS (seventh century B.C.)

Daedalic dress would seem to fall outside our consideration, since female garments depicted on seventh-century statuary and other artifacts do not fit the above definition of a peplos and are perhaps more correctly called tunics, to use a generic term. In particular, Cretan dress has been traditionally understood as a two-piece costume: the "tunic" and a short cape around the shoulders that is fastened at the front. Harrison has, however, argued that artistic conventions of the period are misleading and that a single tubular garment is depicted, the rear part of it pulled forward and pinned over the chest, as described in Homer. Since this definition corresponds closely to the later peplos, the issue is relevant in this context.

Harrison's reconstruction of Daedalic dress has not met with universal approval. In publishing a wooden statuette from Samos, H. Kyrieleis describes it as wearing a two-piece costume, on the basis of which he argues a Cretan provenience for this and for other Samian finds; he therefore outlines the development of the fashion from Minoan times, citing numerous parallels. I agree with Harrison's explanation of the costume worn by the women on the Thermon metope and the ivory group in New York, which to my mind carries complete conviction. Yet I also believe in the Cretan cape. Since the issue of an additional covering also arises in connection with archaic renderings, it can be usefully reviewed here with reference to the Daedalic forms.

Many of the monuments cited by Harrison could be open to either interpretation: her one-piece pin-up garment or Kyrieleis' cape. The statue from Astritis, the Dreros sphyrellata, and the Prinias seated figures, as well as the standing lady carved in relief on the underside of the lintel, present enough ambiguities of rendering to allow for either explanation. Even the wooden statuette from Samos—to judge from published photographs—has no clear indication of the lower edge of a cape across her back, although a definite line can be seen on the back of her arms. Advocates of the cape could maintain that the edge across the back coincides with the belt line or even that the cape is tucked into it; advocates of the one-piece costume could counter with the statement that such an arrangement has "inherent improbability" and that the apparent sleeves over the arms are the edges of the material of the back part of the tubular dress brought forward and forming pouches hanging outside the fastenings. The latter explanation relies therefore on the true sleevelessness of the single garment (despite all admissible artistic conventions) and, if a belt is used, on the fact that the presumed pouches should extend to waist level or even below. No tips


14. Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," especially p. 48, for a historical summary according to Herodotean terminology. Harrison does not state that the Daedalic dress is a peplos but that it shared with the classical peplos both the type of fabric (wool) and the possibility of minor adjustments through pinning and belting (p. 47). See, however, her description of the Dame d'Auxerre's dress as a "closed peplos or woollen chiton" (p. 39).


16. Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," figs. 6 and 5 respectively, on pp. 44-45; in both cases probably the daughters of Proitos are depicted.

17. All these monuments, with full bibliographical references, are cited in Harrison, "Daedalic Dress."

18. For these comments, see Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," 38-39 and n. 7. Her explanation of the sleeves is given in connection with the Dame d'Auxerre.
of rectangular panels or corner tassels can exist, since the garment is tubular.\textsuperscript{19}

That this is not always the case can be shown by some terracotta plaques from Gortyn (fig. 3).\textsuperscript{20} The female figure depicted in these reliefs raises both arms to her head, a movement that should produce the falling back of the "pouches" were the garment tubular. On the contrary, a raised edge along the biceps, almost down to the elbow, marks the upper border of a cape on each arm; the lower border is rendered flat against the plaque, clearly above the level of the belt, so that the stretched-out cape forms a backdrop for the tightly clad torso.\textsuperscript{21}

Other relief renderings—in forms therefore that need not take into account the possibilities for breakage inherent in plaque, also cited by Kyrieleis, n. 44, see A. Lembessi, \textit{Psephika} 1972, pl. 190b; see also \textit{AthMitt} 77 (1962) pl. 22.4, and the drawing in J. Boardman, \textit{Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period} (London, 1978) fig. 27.

\textsuperscript{21} Levi (supra, note 20), who usually considers the costume as being provided with a cape (e.g., his p. 249 and n. 1), interprets the Gortyn plaque as showing a woman raising a veil to her head (p. 253). I do not see, however, how the portion over the head can be reconciled with the straight edge over the upper arm. More plausibly, G. Rizza opts for a dish or small basket being placed over the head: G. Rizza and V. Santa Mattia Scrimari, \textit{Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina} (Rome, 1968) no. 167a-e, p. 176 and pl. 26; for a general description of the Cretan costume (peplos and "pelerine"), see p. 247.

Although the color plate in Levi's article clearly differentiates between the material over and behind the arms and the material of the lower garment, I do not argue that they are separate entities on grounds of color, because Harrison has convincingly explained that anomaly on the Thermon metope: "Daedalic Dress," p. 43.

\textsuperscript{22} J. Marcadé, \textit{BCH} 73 (1949) 421-436; for a description of the costume as including a "pelerine", see p. 430. Cf. also E. Hoffmann, \textit{Early Cretan Armorers} (Mainz, 1972) pl. 46.2.

\textsuperscript{19} Harrison, "Daedalic Dress," 45. On p. 39, Harrison explains the cutting between the arms and the upper torso of the Dame d'Auxerre as reluctance on the part of the early sculptor "to break or falsify outlines of the solid body by more or less accidental projections of insubstantial clothing." Since the upper torso could have been shown against the background of a screen of cloth (as in other instances), I am not sure that this intent applies here. I would, however, accept Harrison’s theory that the uneven length of the "sleeves" behind the arms of the Dame is conditioned by their different positions, one straight and one bent at the elbow; the sculptor probably feared having a thin strip of stone hanging from the bent arm. Conversely, the originally lengthy right "sleeve" might have broken off during manufacture, thus forcing the carver to shorten his rendering.

\textsuperscript{20} D. Levi, \textit{ASAtene} 33-34, n.s. 17-18 (1955-1956) 207-288, fig. 65 and pl. 1c. Another type of Cretan plaque, known both from Axos and from Symi, shows an Aphrodite revealing her sex organs by opening her skirt, which hangs behind her legs as a backdrop, from the belt at the waist. The upper torso shows the typical flaps of the "cape," which is therefore to be considered separate from the lower garment. For the
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stone sculpture in the round—indicate similar corners, even accentuated by tassels. A bronze helmet, found in Delphi but probably Cretan, has on either side a female figure riding a bull, who may or may not be Europa. The woman wears a garment with a tight-fitting bodice, but behind her arms two triangular pieces of cloth ending in tassels can be seen. A fragmentary mitra from Olympia, depicting an enigmatic myth, shows a woman seated on a throne (fig. 4); her costume includes long tips that begin at the front and hang behind her back, ending in decorative tassels that differ from other weights indicated, for instance, in the skirt. In this case the item can be less safely identified as a cape; it is, however, distinct from a possible tubular costume.

This enthroned lady may provide a parallel for the “sleeves” of the Dame d’Auxerre (fig. 5), thus invalidating possible interpretations of a one-piece dress; but another detail of internal evidence could also be relevant. As described by Harrison, the statuette in the Louvre wears a sleeveless costume, yet on both its wrists faint traces of an engraved meander pattern match the border at the neckline and the hem. It would seem logical to assume that on the arms the motif is also used to indicate a terminal point of the same costume and that therefore the Dame d’Auxerre is wearing wrist-length sleeves.

Conceivably, the meander design around the wrists could indicate bracelets, but it would then be difficult to explain why they were not rendered in relief, since the metal (?) belt is given a clear projecting outline against the body. It is more likely that through such engraving, obviously enhanced by paint, the sculptor wished to differentiate an underlying layer of cloth from the raised edges of an overgarment that should then truly represent a separate cape. Color would originally have made each rendering clearer.

In summary, seventh-century costume seems to include both a tubular and a more tailored garment, with or without sleeves and often accompanied by a cape. That other

*Cretan Armourers* (Mainz, 1972) 22 and pl. 18, especially drawing fig. 4.

23. Hoffmann (*supra*, note 22) 31, pls. 46.2, 47.2. Tips and tassels may also be shown on some of the Prinias stele: A. K. Lembessi, *Oi Stelai tou Prinias* (Deltion Suppl. 22, 1976) pls. 2-5; cf. p. 21, where the women are described as wearing a long chiton with an epiblema. These stele also date from the late seventh century B.C. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Harriet B. Watrous who checked the Cretan monuments for me and made very helpful sketches.

24. The wrist patterns on the Dame d’Auxerre can be seen in good photographs, including the one published in Harrison, “Daedalic Dress.” See also the drawings of the costume in *RA* 1908, pp. 154-155, figs. 1–2 and in *MonPiot* 20 (1912) 13, figs. 6–7. The painted cast in Cambridge, illustrated in Boardman, *Archaic Period* (*supra*, note 20) fig. 128, is, however, misleading because it omits the meander pattern between the rings while increasing their number.

That tight-fitting sleeves could exist together with a tailored, tight-fitting bodice as part of a female costume is shown by an incised cuirass from Olympia, the so-called Crowe Corset: Hoffmann (*supra*, note 22) pl. 25c, Leto and Themis behind Apollo. See his Appendix II, p. 50.
variations were possible, such as apronlike skirts worn backward and wraparound tops, is suggested by vase painting, pithoi, terracottas, and reliefs. Whether any of these disparate garments should be called a peplos must remain uncertain, especially in the light of our own definition.

ARCHAIC DRESS (sixth century B.C.)

Primary evidence for this period is provided by Attic black-figure vases and by sculpture—in relief and in the round—from various proveniences and in different media. The overfolded peplos as we have defined it can seldom be isolated with certainty, but most examples of costume from the early sixth century have been called peploi and must therefore be examined.

In vase painting, the most extensive display of female fashions occurs on the Francois vase, where Kleitias rendered even the long pins fastening some dresses at the shoulders (fig. 6). Yet what is shown may be a two-piece costume: a belted “tunic” accompanied by a short top of the same material. The tunic was probably sewn together at the shoulders, and the pins may have served only to tighten the tubular top around the neck or to secure two flaps comparable to those of a linen corselet. That the apparent apoptygma is in fact a separate garment may be defended on two grounds: (1) the band around the neck, which must reflect a true border and often breaks across a pattern in the cloth, indicates a cut, not a folded fabric; (2) the decoration of the lower part of the costume cannot match the upper part if the latter has been simply folded over, since the inside of the cloth would then become the outside and any figured motif would appear reversed and upside down—yet Kleitias repeatedly paints elaborate garments with matching tops and bottoms. Since all such dresses seem to be worn without an underlying chiton, the mantle often added to the outfit is not de trop as is also evident from some Akropolis statues clad in chiton, “peplos,” and himation (e.g., Ark. 593, the Pomegranate Kore).

where the cuirass is considered Peloponnesian, approximately contemporary with the Cretan armor around 630-610 B.C.

For an archaic bronze wearing a cape with pendent tips, see the statuette of Artemis from Lousoi in Frankfort, W. Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes (London, 1929) pl. 30b.

25. Note, e.g., a stele from Prinias, Lembessi (supra, note 23) pls. 32-33; Levi (supra, note 20) 249, speaks of aprons. See also the important article by Barber (supra, note 3).

The Mykonos pithos displays an impressive variety of sleeves, aprons, and decorated costumes, including the elaborate garment worn by Helen (shawl), himation, and peplos, which resembles that on the mitra in Olympia cited supra, note 23): M. Ervin, Deltion 18 (1963) 37-75, pls. 17-30, esp. 21-28 for female costumes, pl. 22 and p. 48 for Helen. For a rare instance of East Greek figured scenes, see the women on a hydria from Samos dated to the second half of the seventh century: AthMitt 95 (1980) pl. 54 and color pl. I. M. C. Sturgeon has found important traces of color on the female figures of the Isthmia perirrhanterion, which suggest more complex garments than presently known; AJA 88 (1984) 262. A detailed drawing and description will appear in her forthcoming volume on the Isthmia sculptures.

The Francois vase also depicts tops that do not encircle the body but seem to be formed by two separate panels with corresponding corners, a rendering which also occurs on later vases by other painters. In sculpture in the round, this open top is exemplified by a bronze mirror support in Thasos.

26. Details of the Francois Vase can be found in many publications, but for particular reference to costumes, see G. M. A. Richter, Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens (London, 1968) pl. Xll-a, opposite p. 45. The elaborate pins may, of course, have also been an item of jewelry and adornment.

It may be significant that these archaic renderings show the rear overlapping the front, while the classical peplos quite often has the front part of the dress overlapping the back; cf., e.g., the Nike from Paros, Ridgway, “Peplos Kore.” 52, fig. 3.

27. For opening my eyes on these points, I am greatly indebted to Laura B. Robinson of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

28. Akr. 593: Richter, Korai (supra, note 26) figs. 147-150.

29. Francois Vase, Atalante: see, e.g., M. A. Tiverios, Ho Lydos kai to
Figure 7. Leda, detail from a neck amphora signed by Exekias. Vatican 344.

Figure 8. Peplos Kore. Athens, Akropolis Museum 679.
karyatid raises both arms to the disc, thus stretching out both the front and back panels of her "apopygma." From the sides, the tight-fitting undergarment is plainly visible around her torso; the upper garment has four distinct corners and is bordered all around by an incised zigzag line that continues across front and back and clearly defines the extent of this separate item.\(^{18}\)

Conversely, a tubular top may have existed without pins and with tailored armholes, as suggested by the Leda on the famous Vatican amphora by Exekias (fig. 7). Since a separate border of a different color surrounds the opening for the arm, it is clear that the garment has been cut and trimmed to fit, not simply folded over and pinned. Yet the Leda is the standard parallel for the Peplos Kore, Akr. 679.\(^{31}\)

As I have argued elsewhere, I do not believe that the Leda and the Peplos Kore (fig. 8) wear the same type of costume, but neither do I accept that the Akropolis statue is depicted with the standard, overlapped pelops. I see the latter as clad in a chiton, a tunic, and not an apopygma but a cape in one piece, open only over the left arm. A detailed rebuttal of my theory has convinced me neither that a second opening for the presumed overlap lies unmarked amidst the folds over the right arm nor that the lack of interruption of the pattern at the bottom edge should be attributed to "artistic convenience."\(^{32}\) What has been brought forth as a decisive argument in favor of the overlapped peplos—the pair of holes drilled on the shoulders in a position appropriate for the pinning of that garment—is invalidated by the lack of any hint of overlapping flaps, which apparently were not even rendered in paint. Even on the Siphnian frieze—therefore in a many-figured relief of relatively small scale intended to be seen only at a distance from ground level—the sculptor of the Gigantomachy indicated not only the slight salience of the flap but also two aligned holes corresponding to the points of entry and exit of a single fastening device comparable to the long pins of the François vase.\(^{33}\) To be sure, the cape of the Peplos Kore does not resemble the Cretan garment fastened in the center of the chest, but over a century separated the master of Akr. 679 from the Daedalic renderings, which he may have known only by tradition. In this connection, it may be relevant to repeat that the Europa on the back of the Zeus/Bull on a metope from Selinous wears a similar cape. Both the Europa of the Selinous metope and the Peplos Kore may have been given a cape to suggest earlier fashions.\(^{34}\)

Does the peplos exist in the sixth century b.c.? If by the term we mean a heavy costume different from the light chiton, the answer is relatively easy and in the affirmative, since in a few instances the two garments appear in combination, as on the already cited Akr. 593. A group of korai with tight-fitting costumes belted at the waist and occasionally ornamented in the center with a meander stripe could be separated from similar statues on which the garment is rendered as buttoned (rather than sewn) along the upper arm and therefore as thinner in appearance. But other

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\(^{32}\) The rebuttal is by R. M. Cook, JWalt (supra, note 13); the quotation is from his p. 85. In reply, it could be pointed out that at least the painter made an effort to suggest the continuous course of the border pattern through the ins and outs of a pleated but uninterrupted hem; cf. W. Lermann, Altgriechische Plastik (Munich, 1907) pl. 18, detail of the right side of the torso.

\(^{33}\) This point was already mentioned in my "Peplos Kore," JWalt 54, n. 11; cf. my fig. 4 on p. 53. On the Siphnian Treasury frieze, see also Mary B. Moore on the "Peplos Kore," JWalt (supra, note 29).

\(^{34}\) On the Europa of the Selinous metope, see Ridgway, "Peplos Kore," n. 24. To the examples there cited, add also a bronze kore in the British Museum, most recently illustrated by E. Langlotz, Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst (Mainz, 1975) 165 and pl. 59.3. The Selinous metope is mentioned as a comparison in connection with a funerary relief in Delphi: M.-A. Zagdoun, FID 4.6 (Paris, 1977) 104, cat. no. 27, inv. 4451. The author suggests that the figure is female because it is wearing a "very rare form of peplos" like that of the Sicilian Europa. More convincingly, to my mind, W.-H. Schuchhardt has interpreted the Delphi figure as male, a groom holding a horse's bridle: AntT 17 (1978) 81, n. 14, fig. 22, where the relief is considered Hellenistic or even Roman rather than fourth century b.c. The Europa of the metope is again cited in connection with an Etruscan relief from Chiusi of the mid-sixth century b.c. L. Bonfante, Etruskische Kultur (supra, note 12) 47, fig. 98, sees it as an example of Greek influence, perhaps mediated by M. Grazia, on Etruscan art, since the "Cretan capelet" was not worn in Etruria.
Figure 9. Phrasiklea. Athens, National Museum. Photo from E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* 5.2 (1972) pl. III.

Figure 10. Athena from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.
groupings have been advocated on grounds of style, which cross over these textural lines, and may therefore invalidate the distinction in costume.\textsuperscript{35} Be that as it may, we can still acknowledge that the Phrasikleia (fig. 9) differs from both the Peplos Kore and the standard Akropolis dedications in chiton and diagonal himation and that our terminology should be expanded to include other attires.

If, however, we ask whether the peplos as previously defined exists during the sixth century, the answer must be more cautiously phrased. The evidence consists primarily of small bronzes, which in general reflect a much greater—and more bizarre—variety of clothing than contemporary monumental sculpture. A form of the smooth peplos with very short overfold, leaving both arms clearly free, is shown on a bronze statuette of Artemis from Mazi in the Peloponnesos; another bronze Artemis, in a running pose, from Dodona, wears a similar outfit.\textsuperscript{36} An architectural terracotta in the shape of a female bust, presumably from the Basilica in Paestum, has a scalloped top that may represent an overfold but could also be a separately sewn ruffle independent from the main costume with its apparently tailored sleeves.\textsuperscript{37} A bronze mirror karyatid in London has been described as wearing a peplos with a short overfold pulled over the arms and revealing the pleated kolpos above the belt, but the rendering could also be interpreted as peplos and overfold (the scalloped “kolpos”) with overlying cape (the presumed apoptygma).

Since this statuette is also from South Italy, local fashions or misunderstandings are possible.\textsuperscript{38} Chronology is an added difficulty, since secure dates are lacking, and the mirror support could be early classical rather than archaic.

There is also the indirect evidence of late archaic figures wearing chiton and diagonal himation as if these were peplons and overfold. The typical example is the Athena from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, whose himation has been given a straight hem rather than a swallow-tailed one (fig. 10); over this almost rectangular expanse of cloth, gathers of folds correspond to the salience of the breasts, anticipating the modeling possibilities of a true apoptygma.\textsuperscript{39} Euthydikos’ Kore suggests somewhat the same enveloping costume in the severe verticality of her himation and the smoothness of her chiton over the left shoulder.\textsuperscript{40} We might also consider the ambivalent renderings of some small bronzes. A mirror karyatid from Corinth, dated to the end of the sixth century, has been described in one publication as wearing an Ionic chiton with buttoned sleeves under a thin shawl in two semicircular panels clasped over each shoulder\textsuperscript{41} and in another as wearing a peplos with elaborate apoptygma.\textsuperscript{42} Other examples could be mentioned.

The question as to whether these artistic renderings can be considered true reflections of contemporary fashions should finally be addressed. I am no longer sure that I know the answer. Chiton and himation are too often mentioned in the sources as being worn by humans not to have formed part of the daily wardrobe of sixth-century Greeks, both men and women, but we cannot be sure how they were worn or what they looked like. In art the figures represented are usually divine or heroic, even when the context, without labels, may seem to us to suggest daily life or contemporary battles.\textsuperscript{43} Costume offers such endless possibilities for ornamentation and variety that both sculptor and painter probably exploited its potential. Yet neither is likely to have “fabricated garments out of whole cloth,” if I may be allowed the pun, nor to have portrayed purely imaginary costumes that would have provided no frame of reference for the viewer. I am convinced that most depictions of garments on statues and on vases are either ritualistic or “old-fashioned” and most certainly symbolic, although the allusions may escape us today. Perhaps the archaic “peplos,” in its tuniclike, short-sleeved form without overfold, comes closest to a contemporary dress, but I am no longer certain that the peplos of our definition, with overfold and possibly kolpos, is shown in art and worn in the life of the sixth century.

SEVERE DRESS (circa 480–450 B.C.)

This is the period par excellence of the canonical peplos, a garment which seems virtually devised to hide the body rather than to reveal it. Many Greek originals, both in the round and in relief and almost exclusively in marble, repre-
sent the dress in monumental sculpture. In the realm of original statuettes, both small bronzes and terracottas provide abundant evidence of the fashion. In the sphere of Roman copies, several types are popular and can be safely traced back to Greek prototypes. This is now dangerous ground, however, since we have come to realize that this stylistic phase was particularly appealing to the sculptors of the Roman period, who created figures in severe style to symbolize concepts of their own, as we shall explore later.

It is traditionally believed that the *artistic rendering* of the peplos originated in the Peloponnesos, perhaps because the basic simplicity of the garment recalls Doric frugality, while chiton and himation are firmly associated with Ionica. Our assessment is also partly influenced by the overwhelming evidence of the spectacular sculptures from Olympia, both metopes and pediments of the Temple of Zeus, firmly dated between 470 and 456 B.C. Yet some early examples of the peplos come from Athens, and it has even been suggested that the Olympia sculptures might have been carved by masters coming from the Attic city. Certainly Boiotia presents a distinctive series of peplophoroi, even if in terracotta, and the fact that marble statues in peplophoroi have been found in the Cyclades, Rhodes, and Thrace—areas traditionally under Ionic influence—as well as in non-Greek areas such as Lycia, attests to the wide diffusion of the garment. To pinpoint a single place of origin for the fashion seems impossible, especially at the present stage of our knowledge and considering the approximate contemporaneity of renderings, even in Magna Graecia, which is traditionally accused of being "*retardataire.""

That Athens may have played a major role in establishing the artistic predominance of the peplos is a possibility but not the only one and not even, to my mind, the best one, despite some convincing arguments advanced by R. Töll-Kastenbein. She bases her theory on the specific forms of the peplos that she considers Attic: not only the version worn by Athena, belted over the apoptygma, but also the more common form with loose overlap and kolpos. In fact, the appearance of a kolpos under the apoptygma, albeit minimal at first, is held to be a distinctive Athenian trait. Yet the statistical table presented to support the theory could be read differently by noting the large role played in it by the Olympia sculptures—whose Attic connection is only hypothetical, *par* Pausanias—and by several peplophoroi of uncertain provenience or with exotic findspots, such as the bronze statue from Guelta now in Algiers. Some of the attributed pieces, moreover, may no longer belong within the severe period. This is not the place for an in-depth critique of a valuable book, but the point is of some importance because the Elgin/Getty Peplophoros is there considered Attic and made to add to the statistical weight.

This beautiful Greek original collected by Lord Elgin has received but little attention despite its high quality and its relative rarity as a freestanding marble type (figs. 11a–c). Since Lord Elgin's name is most closely associated with the Parthenon sculptures, it would be plausible to assume that the peplophoros also comes from Athens; but the English diplomat traveled to other countries, resided for a time in Turkey, and collected antiquities from a variety of places. Since the marble of the Getty Kore is grayish and large grained, it is definitely not Pentelic and probably not even Parian, as might be expected in an Attic work of the severe period. The wide expanse of the overlap with little modeling, the reminiscence of earlier fashions in the way in which the skirt is held aside as if in a chiton, the simplicity of the kolpos itself, and the layered rendering of the sharp-edged folds are not, to my eyes, comparable to such definitely Attic pieces as Angelitos' dedication or the relief of the "Mourning Athena." That the difference in the pleating cannot be attributed solely to the manner of belting the peplos is evident in a comparison of the Elgin Kore with a marble statuette from Brauron, which, because of the old-fashioned hairstyle, loose and long down the back, may be as early as the Getty Peplophoros. Here the folds are rounded, the apoptygma is articulated, and the distinction between free and weight leg is clearly marked, despite the relatively opaque treatment of the cloth.

Among the "Attic" peplophoroi grouped by

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50.7 (circa 480 B.C.), which Congdon (p. 151, no. 33, pl. 29) describes as wearing an Ionic chiton over which a "false apoptygma" has been fastened by two large shoulder fibulae. I would, however, agree with FKP I, 136–137, no. 19c, pls. 89–90, that the figure wears a peplos with overlap open on the right side, as well as a chiton underneath; her peplos is, however, described as "chitonähnlicher."


44. FKP I, 271–282, especially p. 280.

45. On the distribution of the peplophoroi type, see, e.g., *Severe Style*, passim and p. 37, n. 5. For a peplophoros from Rhodes, see J. A. Papastolou, *AA* 44 (1971), 19–29.

46. FKP I, 60–75, esp. p. 75.

47. Yet she dates Akr. 140 (Angelitos' Athena, in FKP I called Eueonor's Athena, after the sculptor rather than after the dedicant) "not before the middle of the Severe style," as contrasted with the more traditional dating shortly after 480 B.C.: FKP I, 54–56, no. 9e, pls. 42–44; see also p. 65.

48. FKP I, 244 and table "Kolpos" on same page.

49. Statuette from Guelta, now in Algiers: FKP I, pi. 31, no. 7a; Stuttgart statuette, pl. 32, no. 7b; and, to my mind, also the wooden statuette from Brauron, 7d, which has the opulence of truly classical, late fifth-century pieces: cf. *BCH* 87 (1963) 706 and fig. 13 on p. 708.

50. Elgin Peplophoros (height: 0.71m), The J. Paul Getty Museum accession number 70.AA.114; FKP I, 52–53, no. 9a, pls. 37–38; on p. 284 it is acknowledged that an Athenian provenience can be suggested on the basis of Lord Elgin's ownership. For a brief history of the statue, see Ridgway, "Two Peplophoroi."

51. FKP I, 53, no. 9b, pl. 39.
Figure 11a. Elgin Kore. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.114.
Figure 11b. Back of figure 11a.
Tolle-Kastenbein, the Getty Kore strikes a different note that seems to me due to its different geographical affiliation. I had previously commented on its similarity to the severe statues from the akropolis of Xanthos, and now J. A. Papapostolou has also recognized it as “Ionic.” He nonetheless acknowledges an Attic component in its style but attributes it to the strong artistic links between East and West during the severe period. I subscribe to this assessment.

In terms of costume, the Elgin Kore wears what can be finally considered a traditional peplos. Worn open on the proper right side, the cloth is folded over; fastened at the shoulders, the material from the back being pulled forward over that of the front; and girt at the waist with some slack left above the belt to form a straight kolpos. The right hand held the skirt aside, “korelike,” and it is therefore impossible to tell, in the present broken state, whether the peplos was shown entirely open along the right flank or sewn in the lower part. The total effect is one of cubic simplicity, of heavy drapery concealing the body while at the same time articulating its projecting points. The figure as intuited under the peplos is full, muscular, and massive. Note especially the powerful thigh of the advanced right leg and the outline of the glutei, which results plausibly from the pulling forward of the skirt.

If this is an immediately identifiable peplos, other forms of the costume exist, which can be briefly reviewed here, without too much emphasis being placed on regional trends. The severe peplos can be entirely open along one side, and the edges can zigzag in parallel or in opposing course; occasionally the edges separate, revealing a leg or, in younger wearers and children, a greater portion of the body. This open peplos can be worn either with or without a belt; when the overfold comes down low over the torso, the belt may no longer be visible and can only be surmised. Occasionally the peplos is closed—some renderings clearly indicate a tubular

52. Papapostolou (supra, note 45) 25.
53. _FKP I_, 53, describes it as a “closed peplos,” but I am not sure the distinction can now be made.
54. This interest in revealing the rear of the body under the skirt seems to be an early trait: cf., e.g., the back view of Angelitos’ Athena, _FKP I_, pl. 43a. Later peplophoroi are treated so that only the front of the skirt reveals the difference between free and weight leg. The Xanthos peplophoroi, which remain a plausible parallel for the Elgin Kore, do not match it in the treatment of bodily forms, since they appear virtually undifferentiated under the not-too-doughy peplos; for new illustrations, see _FKP I_, pls. 59–63, nos. 13a–c.
55. See the table in _FKP I_, 240–241.
56. See, e.g., _FKP I_, 242, nos. 30a, 31c, 34b, etc.
57. Athens NM 6456, _FKP I_, 242, no. 8a, pl. 34.
58. See, e.g., _FKP I_, pls. 20 (4f), 26 (5e), and passim.
59. Arkadian figures: see, e.g., the seated peplophoros from Tegea, _FKP I_, 150, no. 22a, pl. 98.
60. Thessalian figures: _FKP I_, 118; cf. no. 15i, pl. 71, and no. 16d, pl. 74, where the loose material has been pinned together to form virtual sleeves. I cannot accept, however, that the same version is indicated on a
skirt—but the overfold remains open on one side. More rarely, the lower part of the garment is open but the overfold is closed. This rendering has been noted on a bronze Athena statuette from the Akropolis, where the seam stitching the edges of the overfold on the proper right side is clearly rendered, but the form seems unusual.

The entirely tubular peplos also exists and actually may be the dominant fashion in small bronzes, but it is worn with the apoptygma running under the arms, in canonical form, thus leaving them uncovered. Yet the voluminous pouches formed on either side can be pulled forward and provide some cover. This rendering has been considered especially typical of Arkadian and Thessalian peplophoroi, regional climate being a possible contributing factor to the fashion. Note, however, that even a Cycladic work, as the Giustiniani Stele is generally classified, exhibits a comparable form: the farther arm of the girl on the gravestone is bent at the elbow and wrapped in the voluminous folds almost down to the wrist, although her type of peplos is the one open on the right side. It is obvious that the overfolded peplos, especially the tubular version, cannot be too ornate or serve too many purposes; the relative plainness of the material is reflected in some red-figure vase representations, which indicate only borders or repetitive, non-figural patterns at the edges. The length of the costume can be regulated through the length of the overfold, which is seen to vary from piece to piece: the overbelted variety usually reaches to the beginning of the thighs or slightly above; the most common unbelted form falls at mid-torso. The peplos can also be shortened by means of belts and kolpoi.

Early in the severe period the kolpos is seldom rendered in art and seems to run parallel to the waist belt in a horizontal line; it changes gradually, dipping over the hips, but this form is more typical of the later fifth century. Yet in the severe period a deep kolpos also exists, perhaps in imitation of the low kolpos of a chiton in archaic sculpture. Deep kolpoi and overfolds may indicate a young person who has yet to “grow into” her full-length peplos; they are also found, however, on divinities, perhaps to suggest extra richness or youthful age. A double kolpos (or double-belted peplos) has been postulated, primarily on the basis of vase painting and one replacement figure on the west pediment at Olympia. The form is attested for the end of the fifth century and could therefore have appeared as early as the severe period; but the few bronze statuettes that have been cited as examples of the fashion do not seem true peplophoroi, and in vase painting a chiton may possibly be depicted. The conflation between the two garments, which is unmistakable in classical times, could have its roots in the severe period, but I feel less confident on this point.

In the overfolded peplos, necklines vary from a simple boat- to a V-shape, probably depending on the amount of slack allowed the cloth and on the desire of the artist to model the breasts; but no chronological or regional distinction seems to attach to either form. Perhaps some regional distinction could be implied by the presence of a chiton under the peplos, which looks different from the standard crinkly chiton and is certainly shorter, but perhaps its smooth surface corresponds to the treatment on Euthydikos’ Kore and should not be taken as a conventional indication of texture. On the west pediment at Olympia, the Bride (Figure O) may be wearing chiton and himation as a ritual costume primarily intended to differentiate her from the other women (fig. 12), but an element of modesty and decorum may also have intruded, since her garment holds up under the attack of the centaur. Her companions wear loose peploi without undergarments, candelabrum figureine, Athens NM 16406, FKP I, no. 16c, pl. 73, since the sleeves there appear tailored, surrounding the arm and separate from the bodice; they therefore cannot belong to a continuous apoptygma of a peplos.

For comments on the climate, see, e.g., FKP I, 118, n. 229, and H. Biesantz, Die thessalischen Grabreliefs (Mainz, 1965) 70.

60. Giustiniani Stele: FKP I, no. 11b, pl. 53; but on p. 87 the author notes that the rendering is unusual and found only on Thessalian stele. For early examples of red-figure vessels showing various forms of the peplos, see FKP I, 246–248, figs. 21–32. I am not convinced, however, that fig. 25—a detail of a bell-krater by the Altamura Painter, Ferrara, Mus. Arch. T 311—depicts a regular peplos with overfold. The upper garment could be a separate poncho, especially given the presence of a neck border. Were this neckline to be understood as part of the undergarment, the peplos-apoptygma combination would be equally impossible. Note that the shawl held on the woman’s left arm has the same border decoration as both garment and overgarment, whatever they may be, showing that one-piece costumes cannot be defended on the basis of decoration alone.

62. Cf. Severe Style, 116, n. 5; also cf. E. B. Harrison, AJA 81 (1977) 629 and Hesperia, Suppl. 20 (1982) 41 and n. 4, although in both these instances she is referring to a chiton with a low kolpos. If the wearer is not young, the amount of material may suggest a particularly rich dress.

63. Double-belted peplos at Olympia: B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, Olympia. The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus (London, 1967), west pediment, Figure B, figs. 64 and 69. Note also Figure O on the east pediment, Ashmole and Yalouris, figs. 22–24. In both these examples the peplos is belted both above and below the overfold. For the bronze examples, see FKP I, 222–225, group no. 39, pl. 152. On vases, see FKP I, 246, fig. 24, cup from the circle of the Penthesileia Painter, showing an overbelted apoptygma and a deep kolpos; I suspect that fig. 23 shows a chiton.

64. The table in FKP I, 245, does not indicate all figures with undergarments mentioned in the catalogue: 25d, 38a, 42f; a bronze peplophoros from the Pindos region, Athens NM Car. 450, is not included in the book. See my review of FKP I in BonnJb 182 (1982) 626–631.

65. Olympia Bride: Ashmole and Yalouris (supra, note 63) figs. 92 and 98. Figure O has usually been considered a bridesmaid, but the position of the central groups on the west pediment has recently been clarified by P. Grunauer, JdI 89 (1974) 1–49, especially pp. 45-48.
and the shoulder fastenings give way in the struggle, thus exposing their bodies and providing one of the earliest examples of sculptural female nudity under plausible circumstances.

Some form of overgarment may also be used together with the peplos, especially a back mantle, which becomes more popular in the next stylistic phase. Given the basic simplicity and practicality of these items, it is legitimate to ask whether regional distinctions correspond to real-life usages, which would be influenced by a more or less rigorous climate. But any answer must involve the determination of the identity of the various peplophoros types.

Tölle-Kastenbein has considered this problem of identity in some depth, in particular with regards to the many mirror karyatids dressed in peploi, but has left the issue open, for understandable reasons. Although some peplophoroi can undoubtedly be recognized as divinities, either through attributes or, in the case of vase painting and inscribed statues, through labels and dedicatory formulas, the great majority of extant examples remains uncharacterized and unidentifiable. Only the deliberate imitation of the severe form of the peplos in later times may suggest that the costume (or the style) carried a meaning that could be considered symbolic at least by the time of the revival. It is therefore impossible to know whether the peplos was actually worn by the Greeks of the early fifth century B.C., since even representations on grave-stones may carry heroizing connotations. Only one male figure, to my knowledge, is shown wearing the peplos during the severe period: a bronze statuette from Euboia of the river god Acheloos, who appears fully human, clad in a chiton and a peplos with kolpos and overfold.

CLASSICAL DRESS (circa 450–400 B.C.)

The previous stylistic phase saw the use of the peplos in art to the virtual elimination of other forms of costume. The later fifth-century sculptors preferred to clothe female figures in chiton and long himation but still produced some of the most famous peplophoroi in Greek art: the Athena Parthenos, the Promachos, and the Karyatids of the Erechtheion. The number of mirror karyatids dwindles considerably, however, and isolated bronze statuettes are also much rarer, so that our evidence changes in nature.

66. Cf., e.g., FKP I, 225–228, for a discussion of the type; see also her pls. 40–41 (no. 9d, from Rhamnous), and pls. 153–155.
67. FKP I, 296–303; see also Biesantz (supra, note 59) 91–98 and pp. 69–74 for specific discussion on female costume. See finally Congdon, 16–18, although she is concerned primarily with mirror supports in any form of garment.
68. R. A. Gais, AJA 82 (1978) 359, fig. 8, after Pråmka 1912, 133, fig. 15. The river god is dated to circa 460 and is shown as fully human, bearded, standing with a cornucopia; he wears a chiton and a peplos with overfold and kolpos.
The peplos of this classical phase continues to hide the body to some extent, but its system of skirt folds is consistently used to differentiate between the weight and the free leg, a practice that had begun in severe monumental sculpture and is clearly exemplified at Olympia. In addition, the central panel of the apoptygma may twist toward the side of the weight leg, as in the Erechtheion Karyatids, thus providing further indication of movement and balance. The classical peplos is also unabashedly opulent, much more voluminous than the severe rendering of the costume, falling in ample skirts and bouffant kolpoi around female bodies that seem correspondingly more feminine or even simply more robust. In keeping with the stylistic discoveries of the time, the curves of kolpos and apoptygma are increasingly utilized to convey the roundness of the abdomen, while the many folds between the breasts model the upper torso in much greater detail than previously. Yet some of the inner coherence of the costume is lost in the rendering; the apoptygma occasionally appears almost transparent, or at least thinner than the underlying layers; it also clings to the body in a manner that belies the presence of such layers.

Chitons and peploi are difficult to distinguish—a difficulty increased by the fact that chitons are also given over-folds, although usually shorter than in the peplos. The basic difference remains the presence of sleeves (usually buttoned) in the chiton, but even this distinction is missing in the chitoniskos, as depicted for instance on Amazons—sleeveless and with more than one belt. Texture, which used to be the main criterion, can now be confusing, because of the transparency mentioned above.

Peplophoroi are occasionally shown together with figures wearing chiton/himation combinations in order to create some kind of iconographic distinction, the peplos probably symbolizing a more matronly person and therefore being worn by Demeter when paired with Kore. Yet this explanation does not always apply, and a desire for contrast and

69. Vase painters, however, continued to depict the archaic chiton/himation combination and seem in general to have preferred the transparent texture of the chiton because of its potential for pictorial effects. But beyond the standard chiton worn with a long mantle, which seems almost the primary classical attire, many other costumes that do not fall into the familiar categories are also shown on vases.

70. For an analysis of the drapery of the Erechtheion Karyatids see, e.g., Fifth Century, 105–108, with bibliography, and figs. 82–83.

71. See, e.g., Fifth Century, figs. 37 (Agora akroterion), 68 (Nike Balsu stride), 84 (Nike of Paionios).

72. Amazons' costume: see, e.g., M. Bieber, "Der Chiton der ephesischen Amazonen," Jdl 33 (1918) 49–75. See also the Amazons on the Bassai frieze, e.g., Fifth Century, fig. 65. For a sculptor's confusion on the Parthenon east pediment, see Figures E and F and comments in Fifth Century, 49–50 and n. 17, fig. 22.

73. On the iconography of Demeter and Kore, see, e.g., A. Peschlow-Bindokat, Jdl 87 (1972) 60–157; note in particular the juxtaposition of costumes on the Great Eleusinian Relief: L. Schneider, AntP 12 (1973) 103–124; Fifth Century, 138–141.
artistic variety may also be the underlying reason for the choice. Record reliefs juxtapose overbelted and underbelted peplophoroi, perhaps to make Athena more easily identifiable next to another goddess, but apparently also to allude to specific, and recognizable, statues. On the other hand, as already noted, Athena's costume becomes more varied and less of a distinguishing criterion, while the overbelted apoptygma may be shown on different individuals, even on gravestones.

The chiton worn under the peplos occurs less frequently, but some of the women in the procession on the east frieze of the Parthenon still wear it. Conversely, the back mantle is seen more often: on the Erechtheion Caryatids, for instance; on the very similar Prokne with Itys that may derive from the same workshop; and especially on the already mentioned peplophoroi of the Parthenon east frieze, which almost epitomize the fifth-century version of the costume (fig. 13).

There the neckline, whenever visible, is V-shaped, the overfold unbelted, the kolpos occasionally quite low, the pouches around the arms wide and full. Another form of mantle, worn over the head like a veil and then flung across the chest, is exemplified by one of the Grimani statuettes in Venice, which is still datable within the fifth century and may reproduce a cult image of larger scale. This particular fashion of the shawl recurs in the early Hellenistic period, perhaps again as an iconographic allusion. In rare occasions, instead of a separate veil or mantle, the overfold of the peplos in the back can be brought up over the head for added protection in a manner that suggests ritual—or in certain contexts—sudden threat and fear.

Rapid movement and violent action continue to be motivations for disarray, and the open peplos lends itself well to the new effects of female nudity sought by classical sculptors. An early example is Figure G on the Parthenon east pediment who, unusually, wears her peplos open on her left side rather than the more traditional right, perhaps better to provide a glimpse of her body, given the direction of her running and her fixed position on the gable. Exposure of the female body is greater in more dramatic contexts: the Wounded

![Figure 14. Nike of Paionios. Olympia Museum.](image)

74. Record reliefs with peplophoroi have been analyzed by H. Jung, "Jdl 91 (1976) 97-134; for identifiable statues on reliefs, see G. Neumann, "Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs" (Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 3, Tübingen, 1979) ch. 4, passim.

75. See, e.g., the Stele of Krito and Timarista in Rhodes, *Fifth Century*, fig. 109, and some Thessalian stelai, e.g., Biesantz (*infra*, note 59) pl. 7, see also his comments on pp. 69-74 on the difficulty of distinguishing types of costume according to Bieber's classification.

76. Of the Parthenon east frieze, slabs II and III are damaged; therefore the costume worn by the women is unclear, and at least in some cases the chiton is worn under a heavy mantle rather than the peplos. Yet at least three women are undoubtedly wearing the latter: F. Brommer, "Der Parthenonfries—Katalog und Untersuchung" (Mainz, 1977) pls. 166-168, and detail on pl. 170. It may be significant that the women moving from (viewer's) left to right wear the chiton/peplos combination, while those moving from right to left wear only the peplos, as shown by their bare arms, in combination with the back mantle (Brommer, pl. 186-189). Whatever distinction may be implied, however, both right- and left-hand groups include women wearing chiton and himation without the peplos.


79. Ritual: Stele of Polyxena, from Boiotia, *Fifth Century*, 148-149, fig. 108; see also a bronze statuette in the Louvre, *FKP* I, no. 40a, pl. 154, pp. 225-226, and discussion of the form on p. 227 (c). For a South Italian bronze statuette in the same pose, see also *FKP* I, pls. 134-135, no. 31f, but there the garment is less clear. I would still consider classifying the prototype of the marble Gardner Peplophoros in Boston and of the bronze replica among the Herculanenum Dancers: *Severe Style*, 144-145, no. 9, fig. 170; see also *infra*, note 109. By the same criteria, I would hesitate to see a Greek original of circa 450 or soon after as the model for the Roman marble peplophoros in Berlin, which lifts the rear of the overfold and bunches it mantle-fashion over the proper right shoulder front: K. Vierneisel, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 15 (1973) 5-37; see especially p. 25 and n. 26 where the gesture is discussed with possible
Niobid in the Terme has so far lost control of her garment in her death struggle that it is difficult to tell whether she wore a peplos or a mantle; since a himation without undergarment would be an unusual fashion for a fifth-century sculpture, a peplos is the more likely theory, and the rendering reminds us how truly amorphous the costume can be once pins and belts are removed. The same comments apply to the Leda/Nemesis with the Swan in Boston, possibly an akroterion figure, whose entire right side is revealed to enhance the erotic allusions of the myth. No satisfactory explanation is, however, at hand for the wide open peplos of the seated figure from the Sounion pediment, whose crumpled peplos has lost all traces of the cubic cast of its severe predecessors.

Nikai may wear the peplos out of tradition or perhaps because the open garment allows greater freedom of motion. Yet the Nike of Paionios (fig. 14) increases her mobility by lifting her skirt on the side opposite the opening and tucking it under her belt. Her peplos is belted over the apoptygma, but the cloth under the belt is pushed aside by the wind, while one of her shoulder pins is missing, thus letting the material drop to uncover her left breast. Actual nudity and transparency of cloth are so clearly exploited that the use of the peplos can only be attributed to conservatism. That Paionios took advantage of the form to contrast the heaviness of the material when off the body with its thinness when over it is a sign of his virtuoso ability as a marble carver and of his imagination as a sculptor, not of his coherence as an imitator of natural forms. At the peak of the “Rich style,” at the turn into the fourth century, another Nike, perhaps an akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora, wears such an elaborate and transparent garment that only the rendering of the selvedge ensures identification as a peplos. It is double-belted over a long apoptygma, with one fastening point slipping down the shoulder and the material clinging closely to the full breasts; a full-length opening runs along on the right side.

By the end of the fifth century two basic variants of the peplos in art seem to coexist, not in terms of fashions but in terms of rendering for iconographic purposes: (1) the heavy, often tubular type, whether belted above or below the overfold, which continues the tradition of the severe peplos simply with added richness, and (2) the flamboyant, open, transparent type appropriate for Nikai, a subform of which can be considered the “collapsing” peplos used as a foil for the naked female body. But two more uses of the garment should be mentioned: the archaistic version and the male costume.

The phenomenon of archaistic sculpture is too complex to be discussed in this context; suffice it here to note that during the period under review a special form of the peplos begins a long artistic life well down into Roman times. It first appears on Hekataia and on figures of Athena connected with the Panathenaic festival or with record reliefs. Its most famous display is on Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth century or later. In this version, the belted overfold does not end in a more or less straight line but is treated as if it were the hem of a diagonal, archaic himation forming a swallow-tail with zigzag edges. The inherent simplicity of the peplos is therefore transformed by this decorative addition, the tips of the apoptygma eventually flaring out as if made of a rigid material or as if in motion. We could speculate that the peplos was used because of its traditional connection with Athena, yet the earliest examples of the archaistic form may occur on the triple-bodied Hekate. We might again assume that a primitive idol was clothed with a true garment, which therefore could plausibly be a peplos because of its adaptability. On the other hand, it is also conceivable that the unlikely appearance of a triplicate creature demanded a rendering as removed as possible from contemporary fashions and clearly recalling statues of an earlier period. That the peplos was chosen, rather than the truly archaic costume, may have some significance for the use of the peplos in “real life.” Given the still disputed meaning of the Parthenon frieze, as well as the

82. On Nikai in general, many useful comments occur in the dissertation by Gulaki (supra, note 79). On the Nike of Paionios and its costume, see Fifth Century, 108–111, fig. 84, with additional bibliography.
83. Nike akroterion from the Athenian Agora: Fifth Century, 62–63, fig. 37.
84. An account of the rendering of the peplos in the fifth century has been given by Jung (supra, note 74) as part of his analysis of the Erechtheum and Ploutos by Kephisodotos, esp. pp. 118–121, but he does not consider our type 2 and less traditional renderings.
85. Archaistic costume is discussed by E. B. Harrison in The Athenian Agora, vol. 11, Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, ASCSA (Princeton, 1965). See also Archai Style, ch. 11, and, most recently, M. D. Fullerton, Archaistic Draped Statuary in the Round of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1982), where the issue of the Hekataia is specifically discussed.
undoubted mythological or heroizing context of all other examples, the issue must remain open.

The peplos worn by men is again quite rare, and some examples may be debatable.\(^8^6\) Yet at least one charioteer on the north frieze of the Parthenon wears a long costume, apparently open along the right (further) side, with the overfold held in place by both a belt and straps across the chest. The material seems clearly pinned over the shoulders and therefore corresponds to our definition of the peplos.\(^8^7\)

Charioteers, musicians, and actors by tradition wear a long costume reaching to the feet that is often sleeved, but it cannot be considered a peplos. Whether the length of such a costume lent itself to conflation with the peplos or whether a special meaning was implied in the Parthenon iconography, is at present impossible to determine.\(^8^8\)

HIGH CLASSICAL DRESS (circa 400–331 B.C.)

The beginning of this period seems strangely devoid of peplophoroi—especially the type with the unbelted overfold—either from our lack of understanding what might by then have been rendered as a fully transparent and light garment or for iconographic and stylistic reasons.\(^8^9\) Grave monuments of the first half of the fourth century display women in chiton and himation more often than peplophoroi, and the few extant examples\(^8^9\) may have been made under the influence of a famous work erected in 374–370 B.C.: the Eirene with the child Pluto, by Kephisosotos.\(^9^1\)

86. An apparent Orpheus peplophoros on one of the metopes from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai has now been shown to have had a non-pertinent head on which the male identification was based: C. A. Picón, BSA 76 (1981) 323–328. Some musicians on the north frieze of the Parthenon have been drawn by Carrey as if wearing the peplos, but the actual carvings have not survived to allow verification: Brommer, Fries (supra, note 76), pls. 48–49 slab VIII.

87. Parthenon, north frieze, slab XII, Brommer, Fries (supra, note 76), pl. 67. I am indebted to E. B. Harrison for calling my attention to this example. Note that the female charioteer from the east pediment of the Parthenon, Figure N (Selene?) wears a possible peplos fastened by cross-straps around the breasts; the figure is rendered almost as a bust, because of the intended effect of a sinking chariot, and therefore the lower edge of the overfold is not preserved to verify the identification of the costume: F. Brommer, Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel (Mainz, 1963) pls. 52–55.

88. For the dress of the kitharoids, see Stephani, CRAI 1875, 95–160 (ref. Thompson, ArchEph [infra, note 97] p. 40, n. 3).

A peculiar form of short peplos for men, worn over a thin chitoniskos, appears on an Attic red-figure volute krater in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 10.600, not attributed to a specific painter but dated circa 450–440 B.C. The main scene shows the Dioskouroi kidnapping the daughters of Leukippos. The youths are dressed as travelers with petasoi and short mantles hanging from their arms; over the chitons they wear heavier belted costumes forming short kolpoi at the waist and with “yokes” in contrasting patterns over the shoulders, as if the areas on either side of the neck had been given extra protection for the wearing of straps or baldric; J. M. Hemelrijk, Mededelingenblad 27 (April 1983) 6, fig. 13, technical data and bibliography on p. 7, detail of the Dioskouroi on p. 16, fig. 39.

89. For a similar comment, see Jung (supra, note 74) 123. The nereids from the funerary monument in Xanthos, now in the British Museum, have been related to after the turn into the fourth century B.C. and provide good examples of transparent chitons and peplos; that the latter costume is used may be due to the conservative art of the area: Fifth Century, 225, figs. 142–144, with bibliography.

90. See, e.g., a headless peplophoros of the first half of the century, from a burial terrace and family plot at 61 Marathon Street, Athens, which can be dated to the second and third quarter of the fourth century: A.A.A 2 (1969) 257–264, with English summary on pp. 265–266, and fig. 4. Note the peplophoros’ left arm, wrapped in the “sleeve.” Other stelai of this period show women wearing the peplos over a chiton and under a mantle, so that the heavier dress is often difficult to distinguish, being between the inner and outer garment; see, e.g., a stele in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence, R.L. Ridgway, Classical Sculpture (Catalogue of the RISD Collection, Providence, 1972) 49–51, no. 17.

91. For the latest discussion, see B. Vierneisel-Schörch, Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen vol. 2, Munich, 1979) 255–266, no. 25; to her references on the Panathenaic amphora under the archonship of Kalimedes, add Prokiba 1979 (publ. 1981) pls. 35–39, especially pl. 36, where the statue atop the column seems slightly different from the version seen, e.g., on another amphora, J. Frel, A.A.A 2 (1969) 414–415, figs. 4–5. The type is discussed extensively in terms of its costume by H. Jung (supra, note 74).

92. Note also that the Eirene seems wider in proportions (or in artistic conception, as a group) than even the stout Prokne or the massive Erechtheion Karyatids, and this effect might have been stronger in the original, when the back mantle was in full play.
Figure 15. Eirene and Ploutos, Roman copy after the early fourth-century B.C. original by Kephisodotos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen.

Figure 16. Apollo Patroos. Athens, Agora Museum.
look quite different from the typical garment. An example of the latter is the Peiraieus Athena, a bronze statue of heroic size, which has been, if not universally, at least generally accepted as a Greek original of the fourth century. Her peplos is belted under the overfold but so high above the waist that the primary emphasis is on the long vertical folds of the skirt, which seem almost to originate from her right shoulder. The loose apoptygma has been pulled up in the back so that one of the tips of the open garment has shifted toward the left leg, but the arrangement is not immediately understandable, at least not until the figure has been viewed from all sides. In addition, the diagonal aegis functions almost as a belt, since the material is caught in it below the left breast, as if for a kolpos. No apparent reason exists for the pulling up of the apoptygma, which could not have been meant as a head covering, since Athena wears her customary helmet. The sculptor may have been primarily interested in creating a compositional effect or in revealing the high belt of his figure, perhaps in order to enrich her exposed back view.

The more traditional group of peplophoroi after the schema of the Athena Parthenos can be exemplified by a three-quarter life-size marble statuette from Paros, which has been dated around 360 B.C. It depicts the Delian Artemis (as attested by the dedicatory inscription) with a high polos and a long back mantle hanging from it; the himation was probably held by the goddess with both hands so that when entirely preserved, it would have almost formed a niche around the figure. The peplos is tightly belted at the waist, and the lengthy overfold has a slightly V-shaped edge, more obvious from the side views and hinting at archaistic renderings. That the hint is intentional is shown further by the heavy folds of the skirt, which entirely cover the expanse and allow no distinction between weight and free leg as traditional in peplophoroi since the severe period. The Parian statuette has been correctly described as a fourth-century work with archaistic overtones.

The schema of the Athena Parthenos has been retained also in a statue that, far from archaizing, shows instead the most advanced technique in textural rendering and in chiaroscuro effects through deep carving of folds: the Apollo Patroos from the Athenian Agora (fig. 16). Since this peplophoros is male, it is more important to discuss the specific use of the costume than its stylistic appearance. The kitharoides, generally attributed to Euphranor, has been described as wearing a chiton, a peplos belted over the overfold, and a back mantle, although the chiton is no longer visible because the arms of the statue are missing. Several renderings of the type exist, however, both on reliefs and in statuette format, to allow the integration. H. A. Thompson has pointed out that the standard iconography of the musician involves a cloak and a chiton, usually long sleeved, and that the sudden appearance of the peplos in the fourth century is unclear, unless taken as an assimilation of Apollo to his sister Artemis. A more recent study has instead implied that even the Patroos wears a sleeved chiton with long overfold, obviously interpreting the "pepos" as the more traditional costume. The study centers on a fragmentary torso of a kitharoides from the pediment of the fourth-century Temple of Apollo at Delphi and explores the conflaction between Dionysos and Apollo that takes place at the time, giving each god traits and attributes of the other. The torso in Delphi is identified as Dionysos despite the kithara, which is more traditionally associated with Apollo, because of the tainia worn around the forehead; costume and demeanor are otherwise considered standard for a kitharoides.

Literary sources mention both Apollo and Dionysos as wearing a chiton pederes, yet Pausanias uses the same term to describe the Athena Parthenos, so that the similarity may be
justified iconographically while showing that we are using the term peplos incorrectly. If, however, for the purposes of this article, we follow the definition established initially, then Apollo and Dionysos as well should be classed as peplophoroi. In addition, I fail to see how a chiton could simultaneously have long, tight-fitting sleeves and an overfold limited to the torso. When the latter feature is present, therefore, three garments rather than two must be intended: a long-sleeved chiton, a peplos with belted overfold, and a cloak, representing the costume not only of the Patroos but of other similar images. Yet a word of caution is necessary here. It has been convincingly pointed out that the Barberini Apollo in Munich, although iconographically similar to the Apollo Patroos, differs in several important details that mark it as a classicizing rather than a truly classical creation. Since the Apollo Patroos itself follows fifth-century schemata in its costume, chronological assessments become increasingly difficult, especially since the Romans patterned most of their divine images after classical formulas, even when such images could be considered bona fide creations independent from specific prototypes.

We are therefore brought back to the initial question: why is the Apollo Patroos wearing a peplos if the adoption of this costume requires an iconographic shift from tradition? I can only surmise that an antiquarian tone was deliberately sought after, as in the case of the Delian Artemis. Since archaistic renderings of Apollo usually show him virtually nude (or simply with a "shawl"), in keeping with his youthfulness and with the standard kouros type, only the addition of an unfamiliar garment in a traditional form could have achieved the intent, especially since the peplos as we defined it had been occasionally used for men in earlier artistic periods.

Not many other examples of the peplos can be cited for...
Figure 18a. Peplophoros in black marble, Roman creation in the severe style. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.4.

Figure 18b. Back of figure 18a.
Figure 18c. Right profile of figure 18a.

Figure 18d. Left profile of figure 18a.
the fourth century, at least for major monuments in the round. In votive and record reliefs, both the rich peplos tied under kolpos and overfold and the more sober type belted over the apoptygma are used to characterize divinities; the former version is usually worn over a chiton and with a back mantle, which appears increasingly light and lively. In funerary monuments, whether truly in the round or in very high relief within the frame of a separately added naissos, both children and young women can be shown with the over-belted peplos to which diagonal straps have been added. They may suggest the need for mobility, as in the Parthenon charioteer, and therefore be a useful form of the costume for young persons or servants. The fluttering mantle behind the figures, recalling depictions of Artemis, may add a touch of heroization.\footnote{Ridgway, RISD Catalogue (supra, note 90) 43–44, no. 15.}

HELENISTIC AND GRAECO-ROMAN DRESS (circa 331 B.C.–Roman imperial period)

Our last stylistic phase may seem to require too sweeping an overview, but the history of the peplos can be brought to a close within a period that sees both the demise and the revival of all previous forms of the costume, thus adding to our chronological difficulties. On the one hand, the peplos appears to have ceased totally as a fashion in Hellenistic times, and indeed Bieber considers it supplanted by the peronatris, a sleeved costume pinned over the shoulders without overfold and worn over a chiton.\footnote{Bieber, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 35.} On the other hand, a deliberate use of the peplos on certain sculptural figures must have emphasized their venerability and created iconographic allusions. Among these works, two versions of the costume can be distinguished. One type reflects the stylistic achievements of its time, including the exploitation of textural effects, the play of light and shadow in the rendering of folds, and the dramatic contrast of diagonals and verticals. The second type recalls earlier styles and imitates definite works but with some variations that betray a later date and Hellenistic conception.

Roman period: cf. Fullerton (supra, note 85).

The Romans also created some statues of Apollo kitharoidos in classicizing style, which can, however, be recognized because of stylistic features: for an Apollo wearing a double-belted peplos in the Vatican, see Gulaki (supra, note 79) 182 and fig. 138. Another Apollo, in Copenhagen, seems to wear a thin chiton and a knee-length overgarment of different material, which may be attributed to a classicizing conception, as convincingly argued by Gulaki, 183, figs. 139, 140, 142.

For the currency of the peplos in the fourth century, see the comments by R. Horn, Samos 12, Hellenistische Bildwerke auf Samos (Bonn, 1972) 78.

For funerary monuments, see two peplophoroi with crossed straps over the belted overfold, found on the same family plot from which another peplophoros was also recovered: supra, note 90, AAA, figs. 2–3. They are compared to two peplophoroi, virtually in the round and presumably from a funerary naissos, in New York: G. M. A. Richter, Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cambridge, Mass., 1954) 62–64, no. 94, pis. 76–77.

Among examples of the first type, we can mention the Hera from Samos that finds a counterpart in a statue from a choregic monument in Thasos. The small mantle flung diagonally across the chest had already been used in the late fifth-century Grimanis statuette and will be found again in a Dionysiac context within the Bema of Phaidros in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens.\footnote{Hesperia, Suppl. 20 (1982) 34–39.} Although iconographically the type may have been established earlier, the silky richness of the costume, the proportions of the figures, and the emphatic slashing of the cloak across the body make these peplophoroi truly daughters of their stylistic time. Other renderings of Hellenistic peploi occur on the Gigantomachy of the Pergamon Altar, where the underlying schemata, of course, go back to fifth-century prototypes; but the actual renderings are pure baroque. Note, however, that peploi are worn there by traditional, matronly goddesses or by the conservative Athena.\footnote{Hesperia, Suppl. 20 (1982) 34–39.}

Somewhat astride the two categories stands the colossal Athena from the Pergamon Library. Insofar as the statue is meant as a deliberate imitation of the Phidian Parthenos, it should be considered a "copy" of a fifth-century monument; yet its appearance has been subtly altered according to the stylistic tenets of the Hellenistic period and in keeping with a new conception of the goddess as patroness of wisdom and learning. The Pergamon Athena has been sensitively analyzed by M. Germand together with several other peplophoroi dating from the second century B.C. at the earliest but imitating modes of the severe and classical styles: an Athena with a crossed aegis from Samos, so convincing in its retardataire traits that it was once attributed to Myron; a peplophoros from Pergamon that recalls the Athenian Prokne but from which Itys has been "removed" to turn her into a Hera; and an "Eirene" from Delos, without Ploutos and with a different identity.\footnote{Bieber, Entwicklungsgeschichte, 35.}

All these works have a validity of their own as representatives of their own times and can be recognized as such with relatively little hesitation. Only now, however, are we begin-
ning to recognize a third group of works, probably to be attributed entirely to masters active under Roman patron-age, that imitate so closely the peplos of the severe period as to have escaped proper definition and attribution. Some stat-
ues, like the bronze “Dancers” from Herculaneum (fig. 17), so beautifully recreated for the Getty Museum, where they are restored to their original inner-courtyard setting, have finally been accepted as Graeco-Roman creations in severizing style.\textsuperscript{109} Others, like the fleeing Leto with her two chil-
dren, are still traditionally dated to the classical period, albeit variously, and will require special pleading for reclassification.\textsuperscript{110} For our purposes it is not essential to isolate all examples of Roman peplophoroi created in imitation of classical styles; it is rather more important to ask the reasons for this revival, especially as concerns the severe style.

I suspect that the same motivations which stood behind the creation of archaistic works may be responsible for those in severizing style: not only iconographic meanings of venerability and antiquity but perhaps also the appeal of the quaintness of the attire, which by Roman times was certainly not part of the daily wardrobe.\textsuperscript{111} In fact some Roman cre-
ations can be detected as such because of misunderstandings in the rendering. A case in point is the lovely peplophoros in black marble, also at the Getty Museum (fig. 18a-d).\textsuperscript{112}

The front part of the figure recalls definite severe examples of relatively early date, since no true differentiation is made between weight and free leg in terms of balance, and the regular zigzags of the overfold betray their archaic ancestry. Yet the apoptygma rises too high over the rigid kolpos, the figure is too elongated for the severe period, and the rear view shows no clear edge to the overfold. It could be surmised that the arms, deeply wrapped in the lateral pouches, have pulled the apoptygma forward like a shawl; but this interpretation, if supported by the side views, is not reflected in frontal tension. The nestling of the arms into the folds of the garment is well attested for the classical period but not in this partic-
ular form. Yet what an attractive piece the statue must have been when the fleshy parts of the figure—head, arms, and feet separately added in white stone—would have contrasted with the black color of the costume! The limited range of painted Greek patterns has been replaced by the more thorough darkening of the entire dress, and the combination of materials is typically Roman in both preference and possi-
blility, given the many quarries of colored stone under imperial control.

Yet the Roman patron seems to have understood the entire range of allusions inherent in a Greek peplophoros. If the severe style was used for decorative works or for youthful figures, the richer classical form was employed for images of Athena, Artemis, or Demeter, while a compromise form, partly severe and partly Hellenistic, could serve for personifi-
cations of cities and provinces on the Great Antonine Altar at Ephesos as late as circa 168 after Christ.\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{Figure 19.} U.S. ten-cent postage stamp, designed by Walter Brooks after a detail of the statue of the Contemplation of Justice by James Earl Fraser.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{stamp.jpg}
\caption{U.S. ten-cent postage stamp, designed by Walter Brooks after a detail of the statue of the Contemplation of Justice by James Earl Fraser.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{108} M. Germand, \textit{ArhMitt} 90 (1975) 1-47.
\textsuperscript{110} For the accepted, classical dating, see Palagia, \textit{Euphphanor}, 36-39, figs. 58-60. The classicizing identification was made by Gulaki (supra, note 79) 100-102 and nn. 386-387; see her figs. 49-50 showing two large-scale replicas of the type from Asia Minor. A more complete dis-
cussion of the type appears in my \textit{Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture, The Problem of the Originals} (Ann Arbor, 1984) 87 and nn. 40-43, and an article on the topic is forthcoming.
\textsuperscript{111} At a symposium organized by the University of Cincinnati, E. B. Harrison delivered a paper on April 2, 1982, in which she suggested that severizing works carried a connotation of purity and innocence, as typical of young age, for the Romans. Her paper will be published in \textit{Greek Art: Archaic into Classical} by F. J. Brill, Leiden, forthcoming.
\textsuperscript{112} The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, accession number 73.AA.4; Roman work probably of the first century after Christ; preserved height 0.935 m, unpublished. I owe to the kindness of Prof. J. Fris permission to mention the statue in this context.

113. On classicizing or “classical” divinities created during the Roman period, see Gulaki (supra, note 79) passim; Ridgway, \textit{Fifth Century}, ch. 9; Roccos (supra, note 102) mentions an Athena in the Capitoline, the Artemis from Ariccia in the Terme, and the Demeter in the Vatican Rotunda. These stylistic analyses, because of their subjective nature, are always subject to controversy.

On the Great Antonine Altar in Ephesos, see C. C. Vermeule, \textit{Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor} (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 95-123, although his reconstruction, identifications, and dating have been disputed. For peplophoroi, see p. 112 and fig. 44, p. 115 and fig. 45, p. 117 and fig. 47.
Should we still doubt that these allusions could indeed be caught by the contemporary Roman, a more recent example can be cited. On November 17, 1977, a ten-cent postage stamp was issued by the United States to commemorate the right of the people to petition the government for redress of grievances. The designer, Walter Brooks of Norwalk, Connecticut, took his inspiration from a statue of the Contemplation of Justice by James Earl Fraser, which stands by the great staircase to the Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C. On the stamp Brooks showed only the upper part of the statue: a veiled head of a solemn woman who with her right hand holds aloft a statuette of blind-folded Justice (fig. 19). It is the latter that unmistakably reproduces a classical peplophoros type. Users of the stamp, as well as the viewers of the original monument in Washington, must have caught the allusion to antiquity in the symbol, although few of them might have been aware of the complex history behind this intriguing costume.

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Die geschweiften ansae der tabula sind eine Besonderheit, die sich auf vergleichbare Steiße nicht findet, und zwar weder in Rom noch in einer der Provinzen. Derartige ansae sind in Rom überhaupt recht selten, weisen aber auch nicht eindeutig in eine der Provinzen. Denn sie begegnen nur in Kleinasien häufig, aber auch dort nicht auf derartigen Steiße.

Da sich das Stück früher in Rom befunden hat und weder die handwerkliche Ausführung noch der Marmor auf den Osten weisen, darf man wohl davon ausgehen, daß es dort auch hergestellt worden ist, und zwar in einer Werkstatt, die gewisse provinzielle Eigenarten hatte.

Für die zeitliche Einordnung des Reliefs gibt es keine äußeren Anhaltspunkte. Die Buchstaben der Inschrift sind leicht geschweift; das könnte auf die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. hinweisen.
Auf dem Relief sind nun aber in der Nische nicht eine oder mehrere menschliche Figuren, ganzfiguriger,12 als Brustbilder13 oder als Büsten,14 wiedergegeben, sondern es sitzt dort eine dicke Hündin, ein canis Melitaeus, ein Malteser.15 Die Inschrift ist verhältnismäßig kurz. Sie lautet:

HELENAE ALVMNAE
ANIMAE
INCOMPARABILI ET
BENE MEROENTI

Die Inschrift gibt keinen eindeutigen Hinweis, ob mit "Helena alumna" und den weiteren lobenden Worten die Hündin gemeint ist, andererseits ist sie aber auch nicht so gefaßt, daß man unbedingt auf ein Mädchen mit dem Namen Helena schließen muß. Der allein stehende Name "Helena," ohne die Angabe der Mutter, des Vaters, der Eltern oder einen weiteren Zusatz, ferner ohne Angabe des Alters, könnte für ein Mädchen oder eine Hündin in Anspruch genommen werden. Wenn man die für Tiere bestimmten Grabinschriften durchsieht,16 läßt sich nun aber feststellen, daß sich die Bezeichnung "alumna" und die weiteren lobenden Zusätze bei ihnen nicht finden. Bei Menschen sind sie hingegen geläufig.17 Bei allen Inschriften für Tiere wird an den Formulierungen deutlich, daß es sich um ein Tier handelt; niemals wird ein solches in die menschliche Sphäre erhoben.18 Neues Material, das diese Schlüsse berücksichtigt oder in Frage stellt, ist nicht bekannt geworden. Für das Grabrelief der Helena ergibt sich schon allein aus der Inschrift, daß einige Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht, in "Helena" ein Mädchen zu sehen.

Um größere Sicherheit zu gewinnen, sollen andere Grabmonumente, und zwar griechischer und römischer Zeit, herangezogen werden, auf denen Tiere wiedergegeben sind.19 Dabei haben diejenigen besonderes Gewicht, auf denen die Tiere in hervorgehobener und betonter Weise dargestellt sind, so daß ein Hinweis auf die Namen der Beigesetzten oder den von ihnen ausgeübten Beruf hinweisen; als dritte sind schließlich Stücke anzuführen, auf denen die Tiere als Grabeswächter dienen, die hervorgehobenen Lieblinge waren oder auch auf eine bestimmte Tugend der oder des Töten anspielen sollen.

Die Grabdenkmäler für Tiere bilden eine kleine Gruppe. Auf einem bescheidenen Relief aus Lesbos in Istanbul (Abb. 2)20 liegt die Schößhündin "Parthenope," eine Melitäerin, auf einer Kline. Auf einem anderen aus Bergamon in Oslo (Abb. 3)21 steht der viel zu dick geratene Jagdhund "Philo-kynegos" in dem Reliefbild. Ob es sich bei ihm um einen Melitäer oder eine andere Rasse handelt, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Die Inschriften weisen bei beiden Figuren eindeutig darauf hin, daß die Reliefs für Tiere bestimmt sind. Auch ein kleiner Grabpfeiler mit einem Melitäer in Rhodos (Abb. 4),22 der keine Inschrift trägt, dürfte für einen Hund gesetzt worden sein. Das ist wohl auch der Fall bei einem kleinen marmornen Kasten in Athen, Nationalmuseum,23 bei dem ein Hund auf dem Deckel liegt; er ist eine Sonderanfertigung innerhalb der attischen Produktion und dürfte als Sarkophag für ein Hündchen gedient haben. Von zwei weiteren Reliefs sind keine Abbildungen nachzuweisen; das eine zeigt unter dem Bild eines Hundes die Beischrift "Aminnaracus";24 bei dem anderen findet man über dem Epigramm die Abbildung eines Pferdes.25 Beide sind für Tiere gearbeitet worden; beim zweiten wird in den Epigramm ausdrücklich darauf hingewiesen. Diese kleine Gruppe von Monumenten kann durch den hübschen Grabaltar erweitert werden, der für eine Hündin bestimmt war und sich in Gallicano bei Rom befindet (Abb. 5).26 In der Inschrift wird ausdrücklich die

13. z.B. Altmann (1905) 214, no. 276, fig. 173; Väinönen a.O. (s. oben Anm. 3) pl. 20.
20. Pfuhl-Möbius (1977–1979) 529, no. 2196, pl. 313 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).
23. H. Wiegartz wies auf ihn hin, A. Staurides gestattete 1979, ihn kurz anzusehen.
24. Herrlinger (1930) 39ff., no. 46 (CIL VI 4, 29895); früher in Rockwood, near Llandaff, the property of Colonel Hill; vgl. H. M. Scarth, Brit. Ass. 36 (1880) 332, no. 5: "small monumental tablet to a dog called Aminnaracus, bearing a sculptured representation of a little sharp-eared pet of the family, who have thus recorded his worth."
25. Herrlinger (1930) 39ff., no. 52 (CIL VI 4512); in Brixen (Aufbewahrungsstätte ließ sich bisher nicht feststellen).
26. Gallicano (bei Rom), bei S. Rocco; Höhe 0,43 m, Breite 0,385


Zum Grabrelief der Helena


cattella, die Hündin, genannt, die in dem Relieffeld oberhalb der Inschrift abgebildet ist. Das Grabrelief der Helena setzt sich von den hier zusammengestellten Grabdenkmälern von Tieren durch seine Größe, seine Qualität und vor allem seine Inschrift ab.


m. Tiefe 0,30 m (Hinweise H.-G. Kolbe, der die Inschrift publizieren wird); Marmor; ein profiliert Sockel war wohl getrennt gearbeitet; die Hündin steht an einem dreibeinigen Tisch; vgl. z.B. das Relief der Lupa, s. unten Anm. 32; vielleicht 2. Jh. n. Chr.


Abb. 9. Grabrelief der Lupa. Rom, Musei Capitolini. Photo: Pietrangeli (Anm. 32) fig. 5.


Zum Grabrelief der Helena 65


Statilius Aper in Rom, Museo Capitolino, ist ein Eber an untergeordneter Stelle neben dem Toten abgebildet, und auf dem bescheidenen, aber unbekümmert erzählenden Relief eines Choiros aus Edessa ist der Tote, wohl ein Sklave, einmal als lebendes und einmal als zu Tode gekommenes Schwein abgebildet, und eine lange Inschrift gibt Kunde von seinem ungewöhnlichen Schicksal (Abb. 11). 36

Bei den Tierdarstellungen, die auf Berufe hinweisen, läßt sich vielleicht die Stele des Schers Kleoboulos aus Acharnai in Athen, Nationalmuseum (Abb. 12), nennen, die einen fliegenden Adler, der eine Schlange gegriffen hat, zeigt; sie ist unter den attischen Grabreliefs ein Sonderfall und dürfte aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. stammen. Bei einem handwerklich bescheidenen Relief in Rom, Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (Abb. 13), steht neben der Inschrift ein dicker Widder, der andeutet, daß der Tote mit der Wollverarbeitung zu tun hatte, wie auch die Bezeichnung lanarius angibt. Ganz ungewöhnlich ist das einer Urne ähnliche Monument eines Archigallus M. Modius Maximus aus Ostia im Vatikan (Abb. 14), bei dem der Körper die Form eines modius hat und oben als Bekrönung ein freiplastisch gebildeter Hahn, ein gallus, wiedergegeben ist. Nicht in diesen Kreis hinein gehört die Aschenurne einer Calpurnia Felicia in Palermo, die aus Rom stammt (Abb. 21). Sie zeigt nämlich nicht, wie verschiedentlich behauptet worden ist, eine feline, also eine Katze, sondern, zumindest nach der Abbildung zu urteilen, einen canis Melitaeus, einen Malteser, der dem des Grabreliefs der Helena ähnelt. Er wird der Liebling der Beigesetzten gewesen sein, die Urne ist also bei unserer dritten Gruppe zu behandeln. Auch zu den Monumenten mit "redenden Grabinnschriften" kann das Grabrelief der Helena also nicht gehören.

Auf einigen Grabdenkmalern sind Tiere als Wächter über die Ruhe des Toten dargestellt, auf sehr vielen als Liebling der Beigesetzten; bei einer begrenzten Zahl von Monuments scheint auf eine Tugend der Verstorbenen angespielt zu werden. Nicht sicher ist, wie die Tiere, nämlich ein Hahn, wohl ein Hund und eine Schlange, verstanden werden müssen, die auf der Grabstele des Antiphanes in Athen, Nationalmuseum in Malerei aufgetragen waren. 41 Als Wächter des Grabes wird man die beiden Löwen verstehen dürfen, die auf einer Stele des späten 5. Jhs. v. Chr. abgebildet sind, die im Kerameikos gefunden wurden und jetzt in Athen, Nationalmuseum aufbewahrt wird (Abb. 15). 43 Um Wächter handelt es sich auch bei dem Löwenähnlichen Grabmonument in Aquileia ruhen (Abb. 16,17). 44 Als Gra-

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40. Palermo, Nationalmuseum: CIL VI 14223; O. Keller, RM 23 (1908) 45f., fig. 1; Lippold, a.O. (s. oben Anm. 30) 94; wohl 2. Jh. n.Chr.

41. Athen, Nationalmuseum 86: Woych-Méautis (1982) 122, no. 233, pl. 34.


44. Scrinari (1972) 105, no. 315, fig. 315 (Urne mit Löwe auf Deckel); 105, no. 316, fig. 316 (Grabmonument in Form einer Urne); vgl. auch 106, no. 319, 320 (Deckel von Urnen mit Hund und Löwe). Vgl. z.B. auch das Grabrelief in Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile: G. A. Mansuelli, Le stele romane del territorio ravennate e del basso Po (Ravenna, 1967) 148f., no. 52, pl. 18.50.
Zum Grabrelief der Helena


beschwärter begegnen Hunde auch freiplastisch. Ein bezeichnendes Beispiel ist im Kerameikos in Athen erhalten,\textsuperscript{45} andere befinden sich im dortigen Nationalmuseum.\textsuperscript{46} Ob kaiserzeitliche Kopien solcher Hunde auch zu Grabdenkmälern gehörten, ist nicht mehr zu klären.\textsuperscript{47}

Auf einer attischen Grabstele des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. in Athen, Nationalmuseum, die einer Eutamia gesetzt war, könnte der Hund, der in einem eigenen Streifen oberhalb des Hauptbildes wiedergegeben ist, auf eine Tugend der Verstorbenen anspielen.\textsuperscript{48} Es sei dabei dahingestellt, ob es sich um die Hausfrau oder die Amme oder dergleichen gehandelt hat. In vergleichbarer Weise läßt sich wohl auch der—völlig mißbratene—Hund erklären, der auf der Vorderseite einer kleinen Urne abgebildet ist, die für die Amme Elpis bestimmt war (Abb. 18); sie soll aus Pergamon stammen und befindet sich jetzt in Paris, Louvre.\textsuperscript{49}


\textsuperscript{45} D. Ohly, AA (1965) 314 ff.
\textsuperscript{46} S. Karusu, Archäologisches Nationalmuseum, Antike Skulpturen (Athen, 1969) 121 ff. (Athen, Nationalmuseum 3574 und 4763); C. C. Vermeule und P. v. Kersburg, AJA 72 (1968) 98 ff. (Kopenhagen); Perfähl (1983) 79 (München).
\textsuperscript{47} Helbig II 1457 (H. v. Steuben).
\textsuperscript{48} Athen, Nationalmuseum 911: Woysch-Méautis (1982) 116, no. 145, pl. 47.
\textsuperscript{51} Theben, Mus. 43: Demakopoulou-Konsola a. O. (s. oben Anm. 50) 72 ff., no. 43; Woysch-Méautis (1982) 128, no. 304, pl. 47; die Inschrift ist ausgemeißelt, man meint noch ΗΠΙΣ und danach drei oder vier Buchstaben erkennen zu können.
Zum Grabrelief der Helena 69


70 Koch


Abb. 28. Grabrelief der Synoris. Rom, Vigna Codini. Photo: Toynbee, BSR (Anm. 61) pl. 10.27.

Toten erscheinen, sind hier die gesamten Reliefflächen eingeräumt. Als Begleiter und Lieblinge der Toten wird man wohl auch die Hunde erklären dürfen, die auf Sockeln von größeren attischen Grabdenkmälern abgebildet sind; es handelt sich um Exemplare aus Salamis und aus dem Piräus, die sich jetzt in Athen, Nationalmuseum, befinden.

Bei fünf kaiserzeitlichen Grabdenkmälern, die nach den Inschriften sicher für Menschen bestimmt waren, sind Hunde hervorgehobener Schmuck. Sorgfältig ist die altaähnliche Urne in Palermo gearbeitet, die aus Rom stammt (Abb. 21); unter der Inschrift, die eine Calpurnia Felicia nennt, ist ein nach rechts gerichteter Hund, wohl ein Melitær, abgebildet. In der Qualität fällt dagegen ein Grabaltar in Gallese, Castello (Abb. 22), stark ab, der einem Antonius Ingenus gesetzt war; in einer vertieften Nische unter der Inschrift ist ein nach rechts gerichteter struppiger Hund mit groben Meißelhieben eingearbeitet; die Inschrift zeigt aber eindeutig, daß es sich um einen Mann handelt. Das ist ebenfalls bei einem Relief gesichert, das aus Travertin besteht und sich in Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, befindet (Abb. 23); in dem kleinen, bogenförmig begrenzten Feld ist neben einem Baum ein nach links gerichteter, sich duckender oder lagernder Hund abgebildet, unter dessen Kopf der Kopf eines anderen Tieres zu liegen scheint. In der Inschrift ist ein M. Antonius Alexander genannt, der sich den Grabstein zu

54. s. oben Anm. 40.
55. Wohl unpubl.; INR 70. 302; 2. Jh. n.Chr. (?).
Lebzeiten hat anfertigen lassen. Auf einem in lokaler Tradition stehenden Grabaltar in Aquileia ist auf der Vorderseite ein sitzender Hund wiedergegeben, der ein Halsband mit einem Glockchen trägt (Abb. 24, 25),\(^{57}\) auch er dürfte der Liebling des C. Vitullius Priscus gewesen sein, für den der Altar aufgestellt worden ist. Zu vergleichen ist ein Grabrelief in Kopenhagen,\(^{58}\) auf dem ein ähnlicher Hund an untergeordneter Stelle neben der Inschrift abgebildet ist. Größeres Gewicht haben die beiden Hunde, die auf einer stadträumischen Aschenurne neben der tabula sitzen (Abb. 26);\(^{59}\) eine Inschrift ist nicht vorhanden, vielleicht war sie aufgemalt; es liegt aber kein Anhalt dafür vor anzunehmen, daß die Urne für die beiden Hunde bestimmt war, es wird sich auch hier um die Lieblinge der oder des Beigesetzten handeln. Das fünfte Beispiel ist ein provinzielles, aus Kalkstein gearbeitetes Relief in Narbonne (Abb. 27).\(^{60}\) Auf ihm füllt eine sitzende Hündin, die ein Halsband trägt, fast die gesamte Fläche. Die Inschrift, CYTHERIS L(IBERTA), gibt an, daß es sich um das Grabmonument einer Freigelassenen handelt. Die Hündin wird kaum die Funktion einer Wächterin haben, sie scheint auch nicht eine Tugend der Beigesetzten verkörpert zu sollen, sie wird vielmehr der Liebling der Verstorbenen gewesen sein. Ein schlichtes Relief im Columbarium der Vigna Codini in Rom (Abb. 28)\(^{61}\) ist etwas schlechter zu beurteilen, gehört aber vielleicht auch in den Kreis der hier behandelten Denkmäler. In einem leicht vertieften Feld in der Mitte ist ein nach rechts gerichteter Hund abgebildet. Links und rechts daneben steht die Inschrift SYNONIS CYLCON DELICIV(M). Es wäre möglich, daß der Hund Synoris hieß. Da das Relief aber aus dem Columbarium stammt, handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine kleine Sklavin mit Namen Synoris, deren Lieblingstier auf dem einfachen Grabrelief wiedergegeben ist. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört wohl auch die ungewöhnliche Büste eines Mannes in Kos, bei der in provinzialer Unbekümmertheit auf dem Oberkörper ein kleiner Hund in Relief wiedergegeben ist; das Stück könnte aus antoninischer Zeit stammen (Abb. 29).\(^{62}\) Der Mann hat seinen Liebling, den Hund, ganz nah bei sich haben wollen und ihn deshalb mit auf sein Grabmal, die Büste, meißeln lassen. Auch beim Grabmal des Trimalchio, das weit großartiger werden sollte, ein gebautes monumentum, spielt die catella, das Hündchen, eine besondere Rolle; es wird gleich als erstes, unmittelbar nach dem Standbild des Grabinhabers genannt: "valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statuae meae catellam pingas..."\(^{63}\) Es ist der Liebling des neureichen Herren. Die Fortunata wird erst viel später erwähnt; auch sie soll eine Statue erhalten, und wiederum wird eine catella besonders hervorgehoben, in diesem Fall das Lieblingshündchen der Frau.

Die Darstellungen von Tieren auf Grabdenkmälern lassen sich nun nicht immer ausschließlich einer der genannten Gruppen zuordnen; es dürften oft mehrere Gründe dafür angeführt werden können, warum das Tier gewählt worden ist. Ein Hund, beispielsweise der auf dem Grabstein des Sohnes des Lakon (Abb. 6), kann als Grabeswächter dienen, seine chthonischen Beziehungen können eine Rolle gespielt

58. Altmann (1905) 214, no. 276, fig. 173.
59. Rom, Mos. Naz. Romano, Magazin, inv. 30069; nach Inventar "dono di S.M. il Re"; aus Castel Porziano; wohl unpubliziert (Hinweise F. Sinn–Henninger); spätes 1. Jh./frühes 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Vgl. z.B. auch die Urne in Newby Hall: Oehler a.O. (s. oben Anm. 30) 77, no. 74, pl. 83 (Girlandenbogen, darin laufender Hund).
63. Petronius, Satyricon 71.6.
haben, er war vielleicht auch treuer Begleiter und lieber Spielgefährte der Brüder, und in diesem Fall kann man noch die Verbindung vom Namen zum dargestellten Tier herstellen.\(^{64}\)

Wenn man das hier gesammelte Material überblickt, ergibt sich für das Grabrelief der Helena des Getty Museums folgendes: aus der Inschrift geht zwar nicht unmittelbar hervor, ob es sich bei “Helena” um einen Hund oder ein Mädchen handelt; gesicherte Inschriften von Tieren sind aber immer so eindeutig, daß man schon deshalb mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen kann, daß Helena ein Mädchen ist. Diese Annahme gewinnt an Sicherheit, wenn man andere Reliefs heranzieht, auf denen Tiere in hervorgehobener Weise dargestellt sind. Das Grabrelief der Helena läßt sich nur der dritten der hier zusammengestellten drei Gruppen zuordnen, bei der Tiere als Wächter, als Zeichen einer besonderen Tugend oder als Lieblinge der Toten abgebildet sind. Die dicke Hündin auf dem Grabrelief der Helena kann kaum eine Wächterin sein; auch eine Tugend wird sie nicht verkörpern, sie wird vielmehr der Liebling der Helena gewesen sein. Bei Helena könnte es sich um eine kleine Sklavin gehandelt haben, die in jungen Jahren verstorben ist; für sie hat man nicht ihr eigenes Bildnis auf den Grabstein gesetzt, sondern das der treuen Spielgefährtin, der Hündin. Daß man der kleinen Sklavin überhaupt einen solchen Grabstein gegeben hat, mag zeigen, daß man sie fast wie eine Tochter in die Familie aufgenommen hat; dafür könnte auch die Bezeichnung “alumna” sprechen.\(^{65}\)

Das Grabrelief der Helena ist also nicht, wie gezeigt werden konnte, für eine Hündin mit Namen Helena, sondern für ein kleines Mädchen mit diesem Namen bestimmt gewesen; das nimmt ihm aber nichts von seinem Reiz und seiner besonderen Stellung unter den stadtrömischen Grabreliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit.

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\(^{64}\) B. Freyer-Schauenburg, AntK 13 (1970) 98.
\(^{65}\) Vgl. das Grabrelief der Antonina im Getty Museum, Koch (1985) no. 37, das auch für eine kleine Sklavin gesetzt worden sein dürfte.
Ancient Repairs to Classical Sculptures at Malibu

Jiří Frel

For the modern viewer classical statues, well protected and unchanging in their museum settings, are primarily art. In classical antiquity, however, their first function was religious and/or representative. Sculptures had their own lives with hazards and dangers; they were the victims of wars and weather, occasionally needing repairs and reworking. Traces of these vicissitudes are visible, even though archaeologists sometimes refuse to see them. Several notes have been published on the subject. This article lists the repairs on the classical sculptures in the Getty Museum. Three types of repairs may be distinguished. First there are pentimenti, done by the artist himself during the work. The reason may be technical, perhaps a flaw in the marble, or artistic, possibly the result of a better idea emerging in the process of execution. Corrections and repairs of imperfections made immediately after the conclusion of the main work—the most ordinary being the plaques masking the gas holes in bronzes—may be considered in this same class. The most ancient repair in the J. Paul Getty Museum executed by the original sculptor is the reattaching of the broken left arm of the limestone idol from Cyprus from the third millennium, described above (p. 25) by P. Getz-Preziosi. In the second category are modifications for a second use and changes necessitated by new external circumstances; for example, an official portrait of a ruler may have been revised after his death to emphasize his apotheosis (cf. No. 8 below). In the third category are included actual repairs and restorations. The second and third types of repairs may occur together; a second use may require a general repair, especially if the piece has been damaged.

It can be difficult to distinguish a pentimento from a secondary repair, but close and repeated examination can sometimes help (see No. 26); in other cases the interpretation cannot be conclusive, as for Nos. 6 and 7.

There is one circumstance that should not be confused with secondary intervention: evidence of additions in other materials. Thus, there was originally a bronze rein fixed in drilled holes on the Cottenham Relief (accession number 78.AA.59, M. Moore, GettyMusJ 2 [1975], 37ff.; GARSIA, no. 7). The bronze fillets in the hair of some heads of the Alexander-Hephaistion group (see No. 23) may, however, be secondary. Original additions in the same material should be classed pentimenti (see Nos. 2–4 and 36).

Finally, a completely different occurrence is the use of unfinished pieces for different motives. They will be listed here too, as they involve the technique of the sculpture and provide insights comparable to the evidence resulting from the repairs and modifications.

I. SOME PENTIMENTI AND ORIGINAL REPAIRS

1. THE GETTY BRONZE

Height: 151.5 cm
Accession number 77.AB.30

Getty Bronze 1978; Getty Bronze 1982; GARSIA, no. 59.

As explained in Getty Bronze 1982, 13, the sculptor decided to improve the finished clay model. Originally the neck was shorter and the right arm, probably holding the crown above the head, was raised higher. Sutures are perceptible on the inside of the bronze wall, but attentive examination can detect the changes even on the outside surface. There are

Abbreviations


GARSIA: C. C. Vermeule, Greek and Roman Sculpture in America (Malibu and Los Angeles, 1981).


2. Some of these observations, previously published, have been revised, while many are published here for the first time. The bibliography is kept to the indispensable minimum. The photographs are the work of Jerry Podany who contributed many useful observations.
countless rectangular plaques covering the bubbles in the cast; a long row of them is visible at the back right waist (Getty Bronze 1982, fig. 14).

2. SEATED BOY WITH A BUNCH OF GRAPES
Italian marble, height: 40.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.6
GARSIA, no. 151.
The right big toe was attached with an iron pin forced directly into the marble. The toe itself did not survive, but the joining surface was clear cut; hence, a defect in the marble block or a mistake during the original work is a more probable explanation than a later repair, especially as there are no traces of any other secondary interventions. In 1973, some months after the installation of the sculpture in the atrium of the museum, the rusting iron made the join explode resulting in the loss of some millimeters of the marble surface. The next day the iron pin in the left little finger of the Artemis (No. 3) did the same. In the following weeks, where possible, the other ancient iron pins in the marble sculptures, whenever they had been inserted, were removed (see Nos. 3, 4, 30, and 32 below).

The statue is a Roman decorative sculpture from the first half of the second century A.D.

3. ARTEMIS (fig. 1)
Italian marble, height: 138 cm
Accession number 73.AA.5
GARSIA, no. 30.
The left little finger was joined on a clearly cut surface with an iron pin forced into the marble (now removed, see No. 2 above). As with No. 2, it is difficult to decide whether the repair was done during the work or later. The quality of the cut surface compared with the cut of the head argues for an original repair. The head was broken off in antiquity, and to rejoin it, the surface of the neck was cut (not very carefully), and an iron pin was imbedded in lead; this is surely a secondary repair.

The statue is a reduced copy after a late fifth-century B.C. original; the left hand is clearly too large for the overall proportions.

4. TORSO OF A CUIRASS STATUE
Said to be from Italy
Pentelic marble, height: 107.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.436
Roman Ports 1981, no. 35.
A head was to be inserted into the conical cavity, so the statue was carved as a standard type that could support the portraits of various emperors. Both of the lower legs, the raised right arm, left elbow, back of the upper left shoulder, and the sword-hilt arm were carved from separate pieces of marble that were attached with iron pins (removed by the conservation department in 1975 when the pin of the sword hilt broke the marble). All these joins were done at the same time as the original work in the late Flavian period.

II. ANCIENT REUSE

5. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF THRASYNOS (fig. 2)
Pentelic marble, height: 139 cm
Accession number 72.AA.120
Checklist I, no. 67.
The secondary names are written on a rasura, and their arrangement is peculiar: ΘΡΑΣΣΥΝΔΩΣ, the name of the deceased, is preceded by ΘΡΑΣΣΩΝΙΔΑΟΤ, his patronymic, written above the figure of the father, Thrasonides, and identifying him—an ingenious but confusing procedure. The sacrificial knife in the father's left hand (itself retouched) is a secondary addition; it “undulates” over the drapery of the seated mother. The deceased is rejuvenated; originally, he sported a beard that has not been completely suppressed. Second quarter of the third century B.C.

6. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF MYNNIA
Pentelic marble, height: 98 cm, length: 41.5 cm
Accession number 71.AA.121
The representation identifies the seated figure as the deceased. Both the small child and the girl are turned toward her, the child with a greeting gesture. But the inscription gives the name of Myntia (said to be deceased in the epitaph) to the standing girl. Either the stele was used for a second time, or an incised inscription replaced a former one.
that was painted (since there is no trace of a rasura), or a ready-made stele was purchased without regard to the iconographic meaning of the relief. The second possibility is the most probable; as for the epigraphy (see Daux), the inscription is not much earlier than the mid-fourth century while the relief belongs to the classical revival after 370. The name Artemisia has been interpreted as a matronymic belonging to the seated matron Euphrosyne (Daux) or, more probably, as the name of the small child (Frel, Markovich and Merkelbach). In either case the whole word Artemisia (and not just the final sigma, as I originally thought) was engraved later (but probably still before the stele was mounted at the grave) by the same hand as the rest of the inscription but more hastily and with larger letters, possibly on the request of the family.

7. FUNERARY RELIEF OF AGRIPPINA
   Said to be from Rome
   White Italian marble, height: 77.5 cm

   Accession number 71.AA.456
   Roman Ports 1981, no. 72.

   The portrait on the Antonine relief represents a boy of eight-to-ten years, but the inscription states that the monument belongs to Agrippina, a deceased girl aged three years. A second use is less probable than the family purchasing a ready-made funerary monument and completely disregarding the image.

8. COLOSSAL HEAD OF PTOLEMY II (fig. 3)
   Said to be from western Asia Minor
   White, possibly Pentelic, marble, height: 40 cm
   Accession number 76.AA.72, anonymous donation
   Greek Ports, no. 28; R. Kabus-Preishofffen, AA, 1983, 682ff., figs. 3-4.

   The head was adapted for a second use, probably after the death of the ruler, to emphasize his apotheosis. Most of the hair was cut down and the surface picked on both temples. Slightly above the temples two rectangular cavities were
Figure 4. Roman funerary relief with bust of a man, head with added beard (No. 10). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.147.

Figure 5. Roman funerary relief with bust of man, detail of retouched drapery (No. 10). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.147.
carved to support the heavy tusks of an elephant’s head helmet in bronze that was fixed in place on the sculpture with seven iron pins in the head and five on the nape.

For the identity, a head in Kos has been aptly compared by R. Kabus-Preishoffen.

9. NERVA
Said to be from Campania
Italian marble, height: 35.5 cm
Accession number 83.AA.43
Gesichter, no. 45 (H. Jucker).

The head, made for insertion into a statue body, is a recarved portrait of Domitian (the two separate pieces of the top and of the occiput retain Domitian’s hairstyle), as demonstrated in detail by H. Jucker.

10. ROMAN FUNERARY RELIEF WITH BUST OF A MAN (figs. 4, 5)
Italian marble, height: 59 cm
Accession number 81.AA.147
Roman Ports 1981, no. 84.

The sculpture presents a very interesting problem; at first glance it appears to have been carved in the second quarter of the third century A.D., a date indicated not only by the appearance of the male portrait but also by the toga: the main fold—clavus—is very large as it appears on the portraits of this period. A closer look, however, suggests another explanation. The relief was heavily recarved in late antiquity. The drapery was completely redone, especially on the right shoulder, but the clavus and the fold between the hands were also retouched. The short beard, indicated by incisions, is secondary. The original carving of the relief must date to the early first century A.D. (cf. another funerary relief in the Getty Museum, Roman Ports 1981, no. 11), following the style and portrait types of monuments from the republican period. The change to third-century style did not require deep modification. The ruthless portraits of the second quarter of the third century compare well with the verism of the late Republic, and it is possible that the taste of the period was conscious of this affinity.

11. PORTRAIT OF AN EMPEROR PERHAPS GALBA (fig. 6)
Asia Minor
Marble, height: 34 cm
Accession number L.82.AA.24
Roman Ports 1981, no. 87.

The small rectangular pillar supporting the nape is an element current in Asia Minor. This provenance is also supported by the marble and the workmanship. The over life-size scale suggests an imperial portrait. The present appearance corresponds to the style before the middle of the third century A.D., but the whole head was reworked by a very competent sculptor. The eyebrows were sharpened and the hair largely suppressed. The lower eyelids were cut down and the pupils redrawn. The contours of the lips were recut. The short incisions of the hair and the beard are secondary, especially behind the ears. More difficult to see, but no less certain, is the repolishing and remodeling of the cheeks and the forehead. The final product of this reworking is a stylistically coherent and outstanding image. (Compare a statue in Alexandria with an utterly reworked portrait head, Götter und Pharaonen [Hildesheim, 1979], no. 174.)

12. A SON OF CONSTANTINE
Said to be from Constantinople
White homogenous marble, height: 25.5 cm
Accession number 83.AA.212, presented by Jonathan Rosen

The sculpture, which may be a recarved portrait of Trajan, will be published by Sandra K. Morgan.

13. LATE FOURTH-CENTURY HEAD
White homogenous marble, height: 28 cm
Accession number L.82.AA.62, anonymous loan

The portrait dates from the end of the fourth century A.D., but the marble itself is earlier. A closer look at the ears and hair shows that there is recutting and that the original pattern was Trajanic, including the proportion of the face before the eyes were enlarged.

14. SARCOPHAGUS OF A HADRIANIC BOY WITH EROTES AND GRIFFINS (figs. 7, 8)
Figure 7. Sarcophagus of a Hadrianic boy with erotes and griffins, feet of an eros figure (No. 14). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.25.

Figure 8. Sarcophagus of a Hadrianic boy with erotes and griffins, lower torso of an eros figure with cut-off penis (No. 14). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AA.25.

Figure 9. Funerary relief with a charioteer, left side of the figure with beads indicating a crown (No. 17). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.32.

Figure 10. Funerary relief with a charioteer, lower right side of drapery (No. 17). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AA.32.
Said to be from Rome
Italian marble, height: 45 cm, length: 116 cm
Accession number 74.AA.25
Roman Ports 1981, no. 49; Koch, no. 4.
The back right acroterion was cut off. Whatever may have been said elsewhere, the feet of most of the erotes have been recarved and their penises cut off. The top and bottom moldings have been leveled down.

15. SARCOPHAGUS WITH GARLANDS
Marble, height: 52 cm, length: 198 cm
Accession number 77.AA.66, presented by Gordon McLendon
Koch, no. 8.
The sarcophagus is unfinished; the contours of the garlands show the preliminary drill marks. The inscription (see Koch) in the rectangle of the tabula ansata is secondary; the original inscription was cut out, none too carefully. Nothing was originally written in the “wings” of the tabula or at the bottom of the sarcophagus where the present inscription is engraved into the original surface.

16. PORTRAIT HEAD ON A SHELL, FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS
Marble, height: 43 cm
Accession number 73.AA.48
Roman Ports 1981, no. 92; Koch, no. 15.
The portrait of the deceased man was carved later—perhaps as much as a generation later—than the boss left for it in the middle of the shell.

17. FUNERARY RELIEF WITH A CHARIOTEER
(figs. 9, 10)
From Phrygia
White marble with big crystals, height: 75 cm
Accession number 77.AA.32, presented by Bruce McNall
Checklist II, no. V54; Koch, no. 38.
The relief seems to date from the earlier third century A.D. At a later time the slab was cut down following the contour of the figure; spherical beads were left around the head indicating a kind of crown.

III. TWO SPECIAL CASES
18. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN (fig. 11)
Said to be from Italy
Italian marble, height: 36.5 cm
Accession number 78.AA.7
Roman Ports 1981, no. 8.
The original intention was for the head to be beardless. The recarving may have been prompted by the sitter who had in the meantime gone into mourning and wanted the fact to be recorded. Another possibility is that the beard masks damage to the portrait: the middle part of the lower
Figure 13. Statue of a boar, left ear insertion and a lead join (No. 20). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.366.


left jaw lost some volume before this second intervention happened. The head was carved about 40–30 B.C.

19. BUST OF GETA (fig. 12)

Probably Italian white marble, height: 55 cm
Accession number 78.AA.265

Roman Ports 1981, no. 79.

When Caracalla murdered his younger brother in A.D. 211, he officially proclaimed Geta’s damnatio memoriae, which included deleting Geta’s name from public inscriptions and destroying his portraits. An attempt was made to save the bust of this portrait for reuse by sawing the head off beginning at the nape. Perhaps lateral parts of the bust broke off in the process, making the continuation of the attempt futile. The angry stonemason then seems to have hit the face several times with a hammer—the deep gashes are manifestly intentional—before throwing it into the Thames. The case is unique.

IV. REPAIRS AND RESTORATIONS

20. STATUE OF A BOAR (fig. 13)

Travertine, height: 88.5 cm (including the base)
Accession number 83.AA.366

The sculpture was carved from two large slabs that were picked with the chisel on the sides to be fixed together for better adhesion. The left ear (the only one preserved) is a separate piece inserted by means of a large spherical protrusion into a well-carved cavity; the addition must have been part of the original work. Just behind the ear, half of a lead clamp shaped like a swallowtail is preserved. It must be either a repair of a crack in the stone or, more probably, a repair of an accident that happened shortly after the statue was already exhibited, probably as an ex-voto.

The crude but powerful style points to the early archaic period, just before the middle of the fifth century B.C., and to central Italy. The work, however, looks more Greek than Etruscan.

21. HEAD OF A YOUTH, POSSIBLY FROM A PARTHENON METOPE

Pentelic marble, height: 175 cm
Accession number 75.AA.47

The extensive reworking is described and illustrated in detail in my published note.

22. UNDER LIFE-SIZE FEMALE HEAD (figs. 14, 15)

Said to be from central Italy
Parian marble, height: 24.5 cm
Accession number 82.AA.62, anonymous donation

The surface was completely recut and a regular rectangular cut was made as the base for the application of a new nose. A large vertical cylindrical hole was drilled through the center of the head together with two smaller ones.

The original work dates from the late fifth century B.C.; there is no evidence for the chronology of the repair.

23. FRAGMENTS FROM A LARGE FUNERARY MONUMENT INCLUDING HEADS OF ALEXANDER, HEPHAISTION, A PRINCESS, A FLUTIST, AND A LION; NUMEROUS SETS OF VARIOUS SMALLER FRAGMENTS

Pentelic marble

Accession numbers 73.AA.27–31 (heads), 76.AA.28 and 35, 77.AA.2, 78.AA.301 and 309 (fragments).

Checklist I, nos. 20–49, with complete dimensions; only the two first heads have been reproduced: GARSIA, nos. 101 and 102; The Search for Alexander, ex. cat., (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1976), 101, no. 6, color pl. 2, and 105, no. 13, color pl. 2.

The heads and limbs were repeatedly hit with a hammer, probably with the intention of breaking the statues into construction material. There are also traces of extensive ancient reworking previous to this final destruction, corresponding to an ancient repair of the monument. A detailed account of this restoration was presented in Checklist I, 6ff.

24. HEAD OF ACHILLES FROM THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA ALEA IN TEGEA, BY SKOPAS

Doliana marble, height: 29.8 cm

Accession number 79.AA.7

J. Frel, GettyMus 8 (1980), 90ff; GARSIA, no. 50; Stewart, Skopas in Malibu (Malibu, 1982).

A detailed account of the ancient repairs is given in volume eight of The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal and in Stewart. In January of 1984 I observed a new detail in the presence of David Mitten and Zdravko Barov: in raking light a slight incision for the center of the iris and a large flattened dot for the pupil can be seen in the right eye. The eye is turned upward and to the right, confirming the main view from the left side. Later, we could also trace the iris of the other eye.

A circumstance not yet noted must be stated with emphasis. The surface was cleaned in modern times with acid, taking away the patina and producing the distressing soapy appearance that has made even people of good will hesitate about the authenticity of the sculpture. There are also traces of modern wall paint that once may have covered the whole head.
Figure 17. Herakles, left eye (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

Figure 18. Herakles, upper-right portion of head (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

Figure 19. Herakles, reworked left shoulder (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.

Figure 20. Herakles, back (No. 26). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.11.
The ancient repairs are beyond any doubt, and the authenticity of the head is also confirmed by external evidence. It was in the province of Angers in France at least before 1870, long before its twin, the helmeted head now in the Athens National Museum, was discovered in V. Berard's excavations at Tegea (1888/1889).

25. ELGIN THRONE (fig. 16)
From Athens, ex-collection the earl of Elgin, Broom Hall
Hymettan marble, height: 81.5 cm
Accession number 74.AA.12
The sharp cut in the front bottom to fit a footstool is secondary. Around the left-side relief (Theseus and the queen of Amazons), the surface is cut down with a claw chisel to increase the relief. All the inside lines of the relief (articulation of the drapery and of the male nude) are redrawn; the sword in Theseus' hand is recarved.

26. HERAKLES (figs. 17–20)
Said to be from Alexandria
Parian marble, height: 58 cm
Accession number 83.AA.11
The statue, created about 300 B.C., was the victim of a terrible accident, and the surviving bust was completely reworked in the second century A.D. The lion skin over the left shoulder was cut off, the nude surface was repolished, and the nipples were suppressed. The eyelids were redrawn—the upper ones practically disappeared—and the pupil was cut in. The eyebrows and the root of the nose were considerably lowered. All the beard and hair curls were reshaped and recinsed. The path of the taenia in the hair and, to some extent, its shape were redone. The reverse was hewn down with a pick; in the middle, a rectangular cavity was carved for the large metallic pin intended to hold the two parts of the statue together.

27a, b. TWO MARBLE FEET
(said to have been found together with the Herakles [No. 26] and which might have been part of the same group)
a. Sandaled Right Foot (fig. 21)
Parian marble, length: 25 cm
Accession number 83.AA.427, anonymous donation
The foot may not belong to the statue of Herakles, although the scale is appropriate. Two iron pins have been planted in the marble, one in the distal ankle, the other in the top, which means that the foot might at some time have been separated from the body even if it was not originally worked from another piece of marble. Both pins were later filed off and the whole surface lost several millimeters by a drastic repolishing that affected the modeling. The surviving toes were shortened and their nails recut with the exception of the smallest one. The strap of the sandal close to the small toe was cut down. The changes are as radical as for the Herakles (No. 26).
b. Female Left Foot
The same marble as Nos. 26 and 27a, max. length: 16.5 cm
Accession number 84.AA.25, anonymous donation
The piece, about half of the foot, was originally joined in back by a metallic pin to the main part of the statue, under the lower edge of the drapery; this left some scratching damage on the back top. The surface seems to be original; the painted strap of the sandal between the big toe and the next one has disappeared. The nails are lowered in the same way as on No. 27a.

28. TORSO OF HERMES (?) (fig. 22)
Said to be from southwestern Asia Minor
Marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), height: 71 cm
Accession number 79.AA.146
The broken-off limbs were reaffixed with an elaborate system of iron pins, a carefully carved central cavity for the main support, and two cuts on the opposite sides of the external surface for crampons. The joining surface that has
Figure 22. Torso of Hermes(?), right shoulder (No. 28). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.146.

Figure 23. Collapsing Niobid, back bottom view (No. 31). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.126.
survived for both upper arms is very carefully executed. The head (the iron pin in lead is extant) and the penis (with the secondary drilled hole) were also reattached. Only the restoration of the limbs is mentioned in the 1983 publication, but a very extensive recutting of the front also occurred. The ends of the taenia were shortened, and the area of the collarbones was remodeled. The sternum and the linea alba were cut with consequent flattening of the adjacent areas. Both inguinal lines were completely changed, together with the top of the pubic hair. But the statue was saved for further display, possible reused to praise a Roman dignitary.

29. HEAD OF ATHENA

Said to be from western Asia Minor
Pentelic marble, height: 34.5 cm
Accession number 79.AA.138

Together with the Parthenos from Pergamon, the piece is essential for understanding Hellenistic copying of classical originals.

30. ALEXANDER THE GREAT

From western Asia Minor
Pentelic marble, height: 31.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.17
Greek Ports, no. 21.

The statuette, inspired by a masterpiece of Lysippus, was carved in Pergamon before the middle of the second century B.C. Sometime later it was damaged; in particular, the left arm was broken off. A competent sculptor took over the repair work. He cut down the break carefully to achieve a good joining surface with as little as possible loss of the marble mass. This can still be seen at the armpit, where the new surface bites a little into the shoulder. Then he tried to join the now-lost arm with an iron pin, which was still in place in 1973 when it was taken out because it was swelling with rust and discoloring the marble (see No. 2 above). But the join could not succeed as there was not enough space for the hand which now touched the abdomen. To make the join possible, the sculptor leveled the left side of the abdomen a little, carefully following the original modeling. The work is so fine that I took it at first for a pentimento by the original sculptor. The ancient restorer also eliminated a break above the forehead, retouched the damaged face (where he could not avoid producing a rather soapy appearance), and probably reattached the broken-off head and the now-lost right arm. He also revised the polish of the surface, leaving only a trace of the originally distinct nipples.

31. COLLAPSING NIOBID (fig. 23)

Said to be from Rome
Pentelic marble, height: 146.7 cm
Accession number 72.AA.126
Cat., no. 22; GARSIA, no. 154.

The raised right arm, the left arm from shoulder to the wrist, and the right foot from the ankle to the second tarsal joints of the toes were carved from separate blocks of marble. This is immediately evident in the case of the right arm, where this technique saved a considerable amount of marble and work. The regularly picked surface of the join is bordered by the narrow fillet of an “anathyrosis.” The iron pin fixed in lead may be from a secondary repair, but the well-carved, large cylindrical cavetto in which the pin is placed is surely original. The situation is partly obscured at the left shoulder. The original picking of this join remains only partially clear; it was disturbed by partial reworking and by the secondary flat cut of the neck to reinstate the head on a vertical iron pin embedded in lead and supported by a smaller horizontal pin in the front. At the same time, the “anathyrosis” for the arm was suppressed. The join in the wrist of the right arm is perhaps a little retouched but original, with a clear cut and a precisely drilled hole for a dowel. The thumb was broken off and joined secondarily with an iron pin carelessly inserted into the marble. The right foot was originally carved as a separate piece. The joins above the ankle and at the toes are very careful, but a lateral join at the drapery consists of a surface secondarily cut into the drapery with two careless holes for the pins. The drapery has been retouched and even rearranged; most notably, it was flattened over the left knee on the front and still more at the reverse where the entire width of the bottom edge is redone; the drapery originally made an elegant wave reaching some 12 cm lower, as the traces clearly show. The scrotum lost some volume, and the penis was added secondarily. The nude surface was repolished.

The sculpture remains an impressive Greek original. The ancient repairs help to obscure the problem of its date: late fifth century B.C. (Vermeule, Cat.; M. Gjødesen, orally) or after 120 B.C. (B. Sismondo Ridgway; J. Frel; Vermeule, GARSIA). The discussion involves the whole Niobid group.

32. TORSO OF MITHRAS TAUROKTONOS (figs. 24, 25)

Gray, homogenous marble, with yellowish patina, height: 99 cm. Weathered by exposure to seawater, including fine holes tunneled by sea animals.
Accession number 82.AA.74

The head was reaffixed in antiquity with a thick iron pin, and both arms with pins and crampons similar to but heavier than those for the torso of Hermes (No. 28). The surface was unified and the drapery folds lowered. A broken-off fold on each side was carefully cut down and its edge replaced with additional marble; several holes, some of them with original iron pins, are still extant. Both ends of the sword in the sheath
were broken off and replaced with iron pins.

The bull was worked from a separate block of marble. The workmanship points to East Greece; a Rhodian workshop may have been involved. The style points to about 100 B.C. It is a very early statue of Mithras, perhaps the earliest. The rather negligent repairs may date from the second century A.D.

33. STATUETTE OF HERMES (figs. 26, 27)

Fine white marble, height: 18.25 cm
Accession number 83.AA.312, anonymous donation
D. Willers, GettyMus\], forthcoming.

Both wings on the petasos are cut down, especially the left one. The folds of the chlamys on the chest are also reduced; and on closer examination, the whole front of the statuette is remodeled to some extent. The original work must be early Augustan.

34. ATHLETE POURING OIL (fig. 28)

Italian marble, height: 150 cm
Accession number 73.AA.3
C. C. Vermeule, Greek Art: Socrates to Sulla (Boston, 1980), 169, fig. 22D; Getty Bronze 1982, 46, fig. 63.

The cavity for the inserted head is secondary; there is also a repair to the right arm. The copy seems to be from the (early?) second century A.D.

35. ARTEMIS

See No. 3 above
Accession number 73.AA.5
This statue also belongs in this section for the secondary join of the head.

36. TORSO OF STEPHANOS-EPHEBE (fig. 29)

Italian marble, height: 37.5 cm
Accession number 84.AA.28
The cavity for the inserted head is secondary; there is also a repair to the right arm.

37. BEARDED HEAD FROM A HERM (figs. 30, 31)

Italian white marble, height: 22.5 cm
Accession number 83.AA.395, presented by F. Richmond
D. Willers, GettyMus\], forthcoming.

Modern and ancient restorations occur side by side. The restoration of the nose is modern, as is the cutting of the neck to replace the head on the herm and the substitution of a curl above the left temple. On the other hand, the lower part of the beard was reattached in antiquity. The surface is picked,
Figure 26. Statuette of Hermes, left of hat with wing cut down (No. 33). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.312.

Figure 27. Statuette of Hermes, reduced folds of the chlamys (No. 33). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.312.

Figure 28. Athlete pouring oil, lower torso (No. 34). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.3.
Figure 29. Torso of stephanos-ephebe, secondary cavity for the inserted head (No. 36). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AA.28.

Figure 30. Bearded head from a herm, hair around left temple (No. 37). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.395.

Figure 31. Bearded head from a herm, bottom of neck (No. 37). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.395.
and there are two iron pins and a lead fill-hole extant to hold it well; a crampon was put in on the right side. A small part of the hair above the forehead seems also to be an ancient repair; the workmanship of the rough surface looks ancient, while the iron pins must be new.

The head is Alkamenoid; the excellent copy dates from the earlier second century A.D.

38. TWO HERMS OF GREEK POETS (figs. 32, 33)

Pentelic marble with brown incrustation, heights: 29.5 cm and 38.5 cm
Accession numbers 74.AA.8 and 9
Greek Ports, nos. 42 and 43.

Half of the height of the first herm was cut away, and the broken top of the head was leveled. The lobe of the left ear and the jaw angle under it have been improved.

The left shoulder of the second herm has been cut in for its entire height, and the missing part was added with an iron pin that is still in place. Both lateral sides of the herm have been repicked. There is some ancient retouching in the hair, especially above the left temple, and on the fillet, especially at the left back. The articulation of the ears and their outside contours were redone to suppress the breaks. The right eyebrow was retouched. The upper-left occiput was added as a separate piece, the joining surface is neat, but because of the thick incrustation, it is difficult to decide if this was a repair or original work.

39. PORTRAIT HEAD OF THUCYDIDES (figs. 34, 35)

Pentelic marble, height: 27 cm
Accession number 76.AA.47
Greek Ports, no. 7.

The beard, originally in undulating waves, was damaged and cut down (this is particularly clear at the sideburns) with curly locks incised. At the same time, the mustache was also cut down and the entire surface repolished (the small damages on both cheeks are prior to the repolishing). It is impossible to say whether the portrait kept its original name after the operation.

40. HERM OF SOLON (?)

Said to be from Kerkyra, ex-collection B. Meissner
Pentelic marble, height: 52.5 cm
Accession number 73.AA.134
Greek Ports, no. 16.

The eyes were retouched in antiquity; the lower eyelids
lost a little of their thickness, and their line was modified to some extent; the eyeballs were slightly flattened.

The herm may originally have been displayed with other portraits of famous Greeks. Three such portraits are now in the Archaeological Museum of Kerkyra (Menandros, see G. Richter, The Portraits of the Greeks [Oxford and New York, 1967], figs. 163ff; the so-called Thucydides 2, ibid., figs. 837ff; and a head arbitrarily named Pyrrhon, AntP 7[1967], 33ff., pls. 10ff., which was extensively recarved in antiquity). While the herm was found in the sea (there are small holes on the occiput, and the surface is damaged by seawater), the three heads came from the Roman baths in Kerkyra.

41. FUNERARY PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION (figs. 36, 37)
Said to be from southeastern Italy
Italian marble, height: 32.3 cm
Accession number 79.AA.176
Roman Ports 1981, no. 9.

The head was originally displayed on the top of a cippus or similar funerary monument. It was damaged by weathering to some extent, and most of the surface was systematically recut following the original dispositions. The difference is minimal, but the surface shows the intervention even under the chin and in the hair of the reverse. For some archaeologists, this may appear to be evidence against the authenticity of the piece, which is, however, beyond any dispute.

42. PORTRAIT OF A MAN
Italian marble, height: 26 cm
Accession number 75.AA.52
Roman Ports 1981, no. 90.

The whole surface of the portrait was repolished in antiquity, as good traces of incrustation remain over this surface. The intervention completely suppressed the original firm contours of the lips; the eyelids were only slightly retouched, but the plastic marking of the pupils was redone. At the same time, the beard was flattened, the sideburns were completely remodeled, and the hair was considerably retouched. The resulting impression is Gallienic, but there is no doubt that the original work was an outstanding portrait of the middle Severan period.

43. TWO ARCHITECTONIC RELIEFS WITH OPPOSED ELEPHANTS
Italian marble, (right elephant) height: 80.3 cm, length: 131.5 cm; (left elephant) height: 87.5 cm, length: 129 cm
Both slabs were retouched, but the repairs are more striking on the elephant turned to the left. They include the shortening and recarving of the damaged tusk; the retouching of the broken contour of the ear; the flattening and remodeling of both left legs; and the reincising of the net covering the body and the legs.

The proposed chronology for the slabs in the Flavian period must be correct; to the same building belong two prismatic architectonic blocks with geisipodes (73.AA.96); the top of one of them preserves contours of a base for a statue that must have been an acroterion. It faced to the left, being placed above the main entrance. The elephants may also have been part of the same side of the building.

44. LION-HEAD WATERSPOUT
White (Italian?) marble, height: 48 cm
Accession number 76.AA.2
Checklist I, no. 110.

The style is a reinterpretation of an early classical lion head. The dry and rather provincial execution must be early Augustan. The sides, which are cut carefully into well-designed steps, prove that the piece was produced as a substitute for a probably damaged waterspout. The sculptor was a well-trained stonemason but not an artist. The Augustan substitutes for the original lion’s head waterspouts of the temple of Zeus in Olympia are the closest parallel. The piece is said to be from Campania.

45. MARBLE FUNERARY EROS
Said to be from Italy
Italian marble, height: 72 cm
Accession number 73.AA.86
Koch, no. 32.

Both wings were worked together from another piece of marble and fixed in one cavity carved under the location of the left wing. Both legs were later (in the cemetery?) broken off and refixed. The part of the left foot which remained with the body was recut, and a hole was made for the iron pin. Under the right knee, a cylindrical cavity was carved for the join; and, at the level of the heel, a small hole was drilled in the prismatic seat for the other iron pin. Both iron pins survived, completely rusty and discoloring the marble; they were removed in 1975.

V. UNFINISHED

46. OVER LIFE-SIZE HEAD OF DOMITIAN
Said to be from Ephesos
White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), height: 36 cm
Accession number 75.AA.26, presented by Bruce McNall
Roman Ports 1981, no. 34.
Originally intended to be inserted in a statue, the head was left unfinished, probably in A.D. 96 when the news of the tyrant’s death reached Asia Minor. It was reused possibly as construction fill. For an account of the technique, see *Roman Ports* 1981, no. 124.

47. HERMES

From Thasos, ex-collection Wix de Zsolnay

Thasian marble, height: 79.5 cm

Accession number 71.AA.283

*Cat.*, no. 45.

The back is roughly sketched with the pick; the modeling of the front is barely indicated, as is especially clear for the drapery. No carved marble remains under the left buttock or on the left side under the drapery. The legs are not separated. The caduceus is in relief on a large surface. The neck is left large to protect the head from breaking off during the carving; the shape of the ears hardly emerges. There are many dots—pointing marks—especially on the back. A small circular puntello with a hole on the left shoulder is one of the supports of the three-point copying technique.

48. HEAD OF BEARDED HERAKLES

From Thasos, ex-collection Wix de Zsolnay

Thasian marble, height: 21.5 cm

Accession number 70.AA.111

*Cat.*, no. 18.

The ears are only lightly indicated; the hair and beard curls sketched; and the modeling of the face and the design of the eyes are not finished. It seems that a fault in the marble running between and a little underneath the outside corners of both eyes took away the layer of the marble needed for the nose and the sculptor gave up. Because of the unfinished state, the interpretation of the head may seem doubtful; it has even been suggested that it may be a portrait. Indeed, the roughly cut face gives a false impression of individual features, but the old-fashioned circular curls identify Herakles.

49. SARCOPHAGUS WITH GARLANDS

See No. 15 above

Unfinished, but used twice.
A Boeotian Horseman

Reynold Higgins

In 1982 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired an archaic Greek terracotta figurine of a horseman that stands out against the generally mediocre quality of such figurines (figs. 1a–d).1 The rider wears a short black tunic (chiton) with short sleeves, and a wreath is placed in his longish curly hair. His face is rendered schematically with nothing but a large nose and a black blob for each eye to represent the features. The horse is black with added white used for its curly mane, its eyes, its bridle, and a rosette on its chest. The use of black “glaze” with added white was standard practice for Greek pottery over a long period, as well as for the simple figurines, which were often also made by potters.

Subject, style, and clay all point to Boeotia, but can we get any closer? Fortunately, this exact type is recorded only from Tanagra, where examples appear in considerable numbers.2 So the Getty horseman must surely be of Tanagran origin.

As for the date, an outside limit of about 625–550 B.C. is established by the decorative technique, which at Tanagra is found only on figurines between these dates. Before this time, no figurines are recorded; after, they are decorated with polychrome matte colors. The treatment of the face gives exactly the same date range, although, strangely enough, it is regularly found not on horsemen but on goddesses.3

The Getty horseman is rendered in rather more detail than the regular Boeotian horsemen of this date4 and could well be leading the way to the far more realistic late sixth-century riders.5 Given this, we should perhaps date him around 550 B.C.

Finally, who is he? Horses had strong funerary associations in the eyes of the ancient Greeks for reasons that are not entirely clear. They are also indications of aristocratic, and therefore heroic, circumstances. Might this suggest that the Getty horseman and his fellows represent the heroized dead?

Godalming, Surrey

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1. Accession number 82.AD.84. Height: 12.7 cm.
4. Higgins, 46, pl. 19E.
5. Higgins, 77, pl. 32G.
Figures 1a-d. Top left, Boeotian archaic terracotta figurine of a horseman, left profile. Top right, right profile. Bottom left, front view. Bottom right, back view. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AD.84.
Une Statuette Béotienne au Musée J. Paul Getty

Alain Pasquier

A l'ombre des marbres majestueux et des bronzes célèbres que conserve la prestigieuse collection du Musée J. Paul Getty, à Malibu les figurines de terre cuite occupent une modeste place. Le développement qui suit s'attache néanmoins à commenter une statuette de femme assise, dont l'examen attentif fournit des renseignements qui pourraient enrichir quelque peu, croyons-nous, la connaissance de la coroplastique grecque en un moment important de son histoire: celui où les modèleurs reçoivent l'impact des transformations définitives que connaissent l'art grec et en particulier la statuaire à la naissance du "style sévère." 1 Pour qui veut bien l'écouter, cet humble objet d'argile dit un peu de ce que fut l'ambiance des échoppes où il a vu le jour, alors que les sculpteurs inventaient les formes du classicisme.

STATUETTE DE FEMME ASSISE (figs. 1a–b)
Hauteur: 17,2 cm
Numéro d'inventaire 71.AD.140

L'argile chargée d'impuretés, au contact rugueux, est d'une teinte brun clair, avec de nombreuses traces d'un engobe blanc épais dont la présence est visible un peu partout sous les concrétions. Des traces de peinture rouge sont perceptibles sur la chaussure gauche. La statuette a été tariée d'un moulé qui sculpte la partie antérieure de la figure. Le dessous est complètement ouvert et le revers constitué d'une paroi faite à main libre de plusieurs bandes d'argile qui, placées en largeur, se chevauchent les unes les autres avec une surface extérieure unifiée par le lissage.

La femme est donc assise, les avant-bras reposant parallèlement sur les cuisses, les deux mains épaississant le contour du genou. Les jambes sont jointes, avec les pieds chaussés, le droit légèrement en retrait par rapport au gauche (consequently probable de la déformation notée plus haut), et posés sur une manière de tabouret, qui constitue une prolongation de la base du siège. Celui-ci est muni d'ailettes latérales en forme de fer à cheval qui couronnent le sommet du dossier. L'ailette de droite est plus développée que celle de gauche:

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D'après son aspect général, la statuette de Malibu doit prendre sa place parmi les très nombreux types moulés de femme assise que les différents ateliers de coroplastes produisent à partir de la fin de l'archaïsme et qui survivent en partie à l'avènement du style sévère, par l'effet du conservatisme maintes fois constaté dans l'évolution de ce genre artistique. 2 Il convient donc de jeter un coup d'œil sur les différents aspects de cette production, afin de repérer le groupe au sein duquel la statuette qui a retenu notre attention trouverait le mieux sa place.

Les figurines de femmes assises remontent bien sûr à une période plus reculée de l'archaïsme. Les ateliers attiques, qui nous a permis de publier ce document, et dont l'amitié ainsi que la grande expérience scientifique nous ont été prodiguées sans parcimonie.

1. Cette étude a été entreprise au Musée J. Paul Getty à Malibu, ou l'auteur a été reçu comme "visiting scholar" au mois de Janvier 1982. Que tous les responsables de ce beau musée soient ici remerciés pour la générosité et la gentillesse de leur accueil, et tout particulière J. Frel,

Figure 1a. Figurine féminine assise. Malibu, Musée J. Paul Getty 71.AD.140.
Figure 1b. Profil gauche de figure 1a.
béotiens, argiens, corinthiens, tégéates, laconiens, ont tous proposé, certains dès le septième siècle avant J.-C. des modèles où le corps, une large bande d’argile pliée à la taille et aux genoux, est modelé à main libre, tandis que le visage est tantôt modelé, lui aussi, tantôt tiré d’un moule séparé. Ce procédé ne nous concerne pas ici. Remarquons toutefois que des statuettes féminines assises entièrement moulées apparaissent déjà à haute époque, par exemple à Corinthe ou à Thasos.

Mais la grande période des moules de ce type féminin assis commence avec le “groupe d’Aphrodite,” famille nombreuse d’objets créés à partir du deuxième quart du sixième siècle avant J.-C. par des centres de production de la Grèce de l’Est. A côté des gracieuses korés debout qui ont baptisé le groupe, plusieurs modèles féminins assis ont été élaborés (au moyen de deux moules) puis largement exportés dans toutes les régions du pays grec, mais en particulier vers la Grande Grèce et la Sicile (fig. 2). Ces premières versions d’une image qui va dominer la thématique des coroplastes grecs ont dû voir le jour un peu avant le milieu du siècle.

Lorsque le “groupe d’Aphrodite” disparaît, à la fin du même siècle, elles laissent la place à des types dérivés qui en simplifient les données: leur formule se maintient jusqu’au milieu du cinquième siècle et au-delà, avec un effort d’adaptation aux temps nouveaux qui affecte surtout la morphologie de la tête. De ce groupe, dont le centre doit probablement être situé à Rhodes, il existe mainte imitation réalisée surtout par les ateliers de la Béotie, mais aussi de l’Attique, de la Crète, de la Cyrénéïque et de la Grande Grèce.

Toutes ces figurines moulées sont en creux, généralement à partir d’une seule matrice pour la face, le revers étant fait d’une paroi façonnée à main libre, la partie inférieure est en principe fermée par une feuille d’argile qui est le plus souvent

3. Higgins, 1967, 43 (Attique), 46 (Béotie), 50 (Argos), 48 (Corinthe), 51 (Tégée), 52 (Laconie).
percée au moyen d’une lame de couteau, d’un bâtonnet, ou simplement du bout du doigt.9

Mais il n’est pas que dans la Grèce de l’Est, en cette dernière génération de l’archaïsme, que l’on moule des figurines de femme assise. À la fin du sixième siècle avant J.-C., les ateliers de l’Attique édifient un modèle trônant sur un petit siège à dossier pourvu à son sommet d’ailettes latérales (fig. 3).10 Les statuettes connues surtout par les trouvailles de l’Acropole et de l’Agora d’Athènes, mais exportées bien au-delà des limites de l’Attique, connaissent des filiations complexes et des versions multiples où la taille et le décor plastique ou peint varient d’une pièce à l’autre.11

La technique la plus courante, surtout pour les petits spécimens, est celle d’une sculpture massive traversée en hauteur par un étroit canal circulaire pratiqué avec un bâtonnet. Pour les exemplaires d’une plus grande taille, la partie inférieure est souvent évidée au moyen d’un bâtonnet auquel la main semble avoir imprimé un mouvement circulaire de plus en plus large. Mais dans le sillage de ce type courant, qui persiste jusque vers 460, il nous apparaît que les coroplastes attiques ont concurremment créé à partir de l’aube du style sévère, d’une manière plus parimoniose, un ensemble de types, qui ne connaissent pas, apparemment, de dérivations de petite tailles.12 Et surtout, l’image se modifie en ce sens que le trône laisse la place au “klismos” ou au “diphros,” que le tabouret se présente à deux degrés ou sous une forme demi-circulaire. De plus, la technique y diffère généralement par le fait que l’intérieur de la statuette est entièrement creux, tandis que le revers est parfois fait d’une paroi obtenue par le raccord de plusieurs bandes d’argile lissées par le passage de l’outil sur la surface visible.13 Les représentations sont assez variées : korés simples portant parfois un attribut, mais aussi figurines

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kourotrophes (fig. 4), Artémis à la biche, Cybèle au petit lion placé sur ses genoux.14

En dehors de ces deux grands groupes stylistiques, les coroplastes de Corinthe créent eux aussi des statuettes moulées de femmes assises à partir du début du cinquième siècle avant j.c., mais leur morphologie est si éloignée de celle de la statuette de Malibu que nous les laissons de côté.15

Il reste à évoquer le cas de la production bétique, carrefour d'influences diverses où il est difficile de voir tout-à-fait clair. Pour ce que est du type moulé de la femme assise, on discerne, dans la première moitié du cinquième siècle, l'impact des importations directes de la Grèce de l'Est, dont les créations ont été couramment imitées et adaptées, dans leur forme comme dans leur technique (fig. 5).16 Mais on sait aussi que les artistes bétiques, en cette période comme aujourd'hui, ont eu des contacts avec leurs collègues attiques, comme le montre par exemple l'évolution stylistique de leurs protomés féminines. Ces liens ne feront que se renforcer à partir du milieu du siècle17 C'est pourquoi il est fort probable que certaines figurines précédant plus ou moins de types attiques de la période de transition entre l'archaïsme et le style sévère sont des imitations bétiques. En l'absence d'un examen soigneux ou d'une analyse de la terre, il est difficile de trancher.

Si l'on envisage l'aspect matériel de la figurine de Malibu, c'est plutôt à la coroplastique bétique, "lato sensu," que l'on songe à l'attribuer. La nature de l'argile dont la pâte est chargée d'imputrescible et rugueuse sous le doigt, sa légère altération, sa couleur brun clair sont déjà des indices favorables à un classement parmi les différentes terres utilisées par les Béotiens à partir du cinquième siècle. La présence importante de l'engobe blanc n'y contredit pas.18 L'exécution de la figurine ne fait que renforcer cette impression: même si l'on doit supposer que l'usure du moule y est pour une part, les détails plastiques restent d'une facture éparse, en particulier les traits du visage, le modèle des avant-bras et des mains qui procèdent d'une sculpture simplifiée. L'absence de couleurs, qui devraient avoir cette physionomie, accentue encore cette sensation. Si nous reprenons en compte l'ensemble des types proposés par la Béotie dans la transition de l'archaïsme tardif au "style sévère" tel que nous l'avons évoqué plus haut, au sein de quelle tendance la figurine de Malibu serait-elle la plus familière?

Elle ne peut se ranger aisément parmi les adaptations des modèles de la Grèce de l'Est. Les statuettes de ce genre, en effet, à l'imitation des images qui les inspirent, portent régulièrement le voile qui, couronnant la tête, descend symétriquement sur les épaules;19 on le chercherait vainement sur l'objet qui nous occupe. D'autre part, ce dernier comporte un élément morphologique qui se situe en dehors de cette tradition venue de l'Est; il s'agit des ailettes qui décorent le haut du dossier, qu'on ne rencontre que fort rarement dans les types de Grèce d'Asie (fig. 6), et peut-être à l'imitation de types étrangers.20 En revanche, ce mode de décor est persistant sur les figurines produites par les ateliers attiques, et régulier sur les multiples variantes du type de la fin de l'archaïsme si richement présenté dans le matériel des fouilles d'l'Acropole. Quant à la taille et à la technique de fabrication, elles s'écartent, elles aussi, de celles que l'on connaît par le type "rhodien" courant et par les fréquentes imitations que les Béotiens ont réalisées, et font au contraire écho à ce que l'on observe sur les innovations attiques du tout début du style sévère.

Mais il est temps d'évoquer un détail important de la figurine de Malibu. Il s'agit du vêtement, dont l'aspect, bien que rudimentaire, peut néanmoins engendrer certaines réflexions susceptibles de jeter quelque lueur dans la chronologie et dans l'histoire stylistique.

Pour revenir à certains éléments de notre description, la femme porte donc un chiton à l'encolure rendue indistincte par l'effacement des couleurs. Mais les manches, notées plastiquement, atteignent la saignée du coude laissant à nu les avant-bras. De plus, grâce à l'invisible présence d'une ceinture, l'étoffe de la tunique forme une ample poche qui recouvre la surface des cuisses et retombe au-delà des genoux, dessinant ainsi une forte saillie par rapport au plan vertical déterminé par la périphérie des jambes. C'est là un détail vestimentaire qu'il convient d'examiner à la lumière des types de femmes assises que la grande sculpture nous a transmis, et de repérer parmi les autres modèles proposés par les différents ateliers de coroplastes.

On sait la faveur dont a joui l'image de la femme assise dans la plastique en pierre de la Grèce de l'Est: les statues de Didymes et surtout de Milet ont fourni un nombre d'examples importants qu'il faut interroger ici.5 A Didymes, après l'effigie féminine qui se range parmi les statues des "Bran-
chides” les plus anciennes, où le kolpos s’étend sur les cuisses jusqu’à la naissance des genoux, deux documents plus tardifs offrent un reflet plus précis de cette mode: la poche d’étoffe unie, sur la première, vient juste couvrir les rotules, sous les mains qui en épousent la forme; sur la seconde, elle est parcourue de stries finement ondulées et saillie plus nettement encore par rapport au plan défini par le large pli plat qui, entre les jambes, descend jusqu’aux chevilles. A Milet deux statues d’un style plus avancé portent un chiton où le kolpos (fig. 7), recouvrant les genoux, descend assez bas sur les jambes.

Sans quitter la Grèce et l’Est, où son aire d’influence, il faut aussi citer les reliefs sculptés dans les petits “naiskoi” qui abritent la figure assise d’une divinité que l’on identifie généralement comme Cybèle; certains exemplaires y laissent deviner un kolpos bas, ainsi le petit édicule du Louvre (fig. 8) où malgré le caractère rudimentaire du travail, le détail est très lisible. Ces derniers objets sont d’autant plus intéressants

18. La couleur des argiles utilisées par les artistes béotiens est variable: Higgins, 1954, 203. Ce qui est sûr, c’est que l’aspect de la terre cuite de Malibu ne correspond pas à ce que l’on connaît des figurines attiques ou corinthiennes.
23. Tuchelt, no. K 60.
25. Blümel, 55, no. 55, figs. 152 et 153; 55, no. 56, figs. 154 et 155.
27. Louvre MA 3304.
à observer qu’ils se rapprochent, par leur taille comme par la modestie de leur exécution, des petites statuettes d’argile qui nous occupent ici. Il vaut la peine de mentionner également, dans les créations tributaires de la manière de la Grèce de l’Est, les femmes assises que l’on rencontre sur le fameux relief de “Leucothéa” de même que sur la stèle d’Ikaria (fig. 9). Ces deux documents offrent des représentations de la femme assise avec le long kolpos qui, appartenant respectivement au style sévère naissant, puis déjà mûr, mettent bien en lumière le prolongement dans le préclassicisme de ce schéma né dans l’atmosphère archaïque.

Cette disposition du vêtement existe donc dans la grande plastique de la Grèce de l’Est, où elle semble plus fréquente à partir du dernier quart du sixième siècle. Sans revenir sur les divergences de datation qui séparent les archéologues en ce qui concerne le placement relatif des pièces rapidement évoquées plus haut, disons que ces statues et reliefs se distribuent, en gros, entre 530 et 460 avant J.C. Mais ce ne sont pas les seuls exemples de femmes assises portant le chiton à long kolpos. Il faut envisager ici le cas bien connu de l’“Athéna d’Endoios,” mise au jour par les fouilles de l’Acropole d’Athènes. Cette statue, si souvent commentée et datée d’environ 530–520, porte en effet un chiton dont le repli antérieur s’étend sur les cuisses de la déesse jusqu’à atteindre la proximité des genoux. Mais les genoux ne sont pas recouverts par le kolpos, sur ce document probablement attique, pas plus que


31. Schrader et Langlotz, 114–116, no. 64 et fig. 69, a et b. On a souvent rapproché de l’Athéna de l’Acropole la figure d’Artémis sur la frise
une statuette béotienne 103

Figure 10. Statuette de Rhamnonte. Musée National d’Athènes 2569.

Sur un fragment de même origine du musée de l’Acropole, qui conserve les genoux et la plus grande partie des jambes d’une femme assise.

Tandis que le fragment est situé autour de 480, l’Athéna d’Endoïos remonte à la décennie 530–520, période haute à laquelle il faut probablement placer aussi le document de statuair qui donne le plus de caractéristiques aux figurines à laquelle nous avons entrepris d’examiner le cas : il s’agit de la petite statue de femme assise trouvée à Rhamnonte (fig. 10) et conservée au Musée National d’Athènes.32 Sur cette œuvre attique, le kolpos du chiton descend au-delà des genoux et forme une saillie marquée par rapport au plan des jambes. Nous retrouvons donc à peu près la même fourchette de dates que pour la Grèce de l’Est, au sens large.

Il faudrait bien sûr, pour apprécier de manière plus complète l’évolution de ces modes, enquêter aussi parmi les figures de femmes debout.33 Pour faire court, bornons nous sur ce point à réserver une mention particulière pour un seul exemple, celui de la kore des Propylées, première réalisation du style sévère, dont le dispositif vestimentaire est intéressant ; sous un himation drapé symétriquement, la figure porte le chiton qui présente la double caractéristique d’un “apoptrygma” recouvrant la poitrine, et d’un kolpos long atteignant le niveau du genou. Nous souçionnerons plus bas qu’une telle image n’est peut-être pas absente de l’inspiration de certains modeleurs de terre cuite, au moment où le style archaïque cède la place au “style sévère.”

L’ennumération rapide de ces quelques pièces montre donc que le chiton à long kolpos, spécialement sur les figures de femmes assises, se rencontre sporadiquement, à partir de 530, tant dans la plastique de la Grèce de l’Est que dans la statuaire attique. Chercher à décider lequel de ces deux groupes a lancé cette formule est une entreprise au moins hasardeuse. La chronologie n’est pas affinée au point de faire clairement connaître l’ordre d’apparition des statues conservées ; l’état actuel de ces dernières et la disparition probable de beaucoup d’autres incitent à la prudence. Ce qui est certain, c’est que la grande statuaire grecque, dans la dernière partie de l’archaïsme, s’est fait l’écho de ce qui devait être une des modes contemporaines.

En revanche, il est peut-être possible de désigner le centre d’art coroplastique qui a repris la formule le plus volontiers. Certaines-unes des statuettes de la Grèce de l’Est, au début du cinquième siècle (fig. 6), présentent un long kolpos, mais le schéma ne se répand pas. Car, pour la plupart, elles perpétuent dans la manière d’un archaïsme prolongé l’image de la femme assise telle que l’avait définie le “groupe d’Aphrodite,” avec un chiton sans kolpos et l’himation symétrique.

On trouve au contraire parmi les modèles proposés par les ateliers attiques dans les années 480–450, un certain nombre de types qui affectent le détail vestimentaire qui a retenu notre attention sur la statuette de Malibu. Ils ont été peu étudiés et la proximité immédiate des centres d’art béotiens qui les ont imités très rapidement ne facilite pas leur analyse. Les notices des différentes publications qui traitent que celles-ci portent souvent le vêtement à long kolpos : cf. Louvre CA 3297, Mollard-Besques, 123, no. C 247, et pl. 88, de Tarente ; et surtout les figurines de Paestum, ibid., nos. C 575 à C 582.

des types concernés hésitent souvent entre les deux origines, se prononçant plus facilement pour la Béotie qui produit davantage.

Pour les modèles où le kolpos s'arrête juste à l'extérieur du genou, citons une statuette fragmentaire du Musée de l'Agora (T 2002) et la figurine du Musée de l'Acropole (inv. 12430) qui ont de bonnes chances d'être attiques. Il faut peut-être y ajouter les femmes assises inv. 4524 et 4525 du Musée National d'Athènes, bien que leur provenance probable soit Tanagra, et inv. 4787, qui aurait été exhumée à Érètrie. Les fouilles de l'Antre Corycien ajoutent un exemplaire incomplet, que nous inclinerions à donner à l'Attique.

Mentionnons, dans le même ordre d'idées, bien que la présence du lionceau introduise une variante, une grande Cybèle du Musée National d'Athènes (inv. 4433) et le fragment d'une pièce traitant le même thème, conservé au Musée du Louvre, qui provient des fouilles d'Eléonte (fig. 11): ce dernier fragment est important, car il a été trouvé dans une tombe dont le mobilier s'inscrit dans une période allant de 490 à 450.36 Dans les deux cas, l'argile se déclare comme attique.

Une autre famille de types prolonge le kolpos au-delà de la limite des genoux en le faisant retomber sur les jambes. Il existe avec un polos de petite taille, comme la statuette de

36. Louvre, Élé 288: Mollard-Besques, 109 no. C 151 et pl. 68. Les renseignements sur le contexte funéraire nous ont été aimablement com-
muniqués par A. Waiblinger, à laquelle la publication des fouilles d'Eléonte a été confiée.
37. Winter, 71, no. 5.
38. R. Lullies, *AA* 103 (1938), col. 441 et fig. 21.
Berlin reproduite dans l’album de Winter,37 qui évoque dans les notes la présence de plusieurs fragments dans les réserves du Musée de l’Acropole, ce qui peut faire envisager avec une certaine confiance une provenance locale. On retrouve le même schéma au Musée National d’Athènes avec les nos. 3950 et 3951 (de Tanagra ?), et le no. 4783 de même que dans la collection Canellopoulos no. 1666 (fig. 12), où l’argile donne l’impression d’être attique. Toutefois R. Lullies décrit une figurine identique comme béotienne.38 La même remontée du kolpos apparaît aussi sur des types à polos haut que nous connaissons par quelques fragments de l’Antre Corycien (figs. 13a–b) et par deux statuettes complètes conservées dans les vitrines du Musée de Chéronée: ceux là indiquent plutôt la Grèce Centrale, Béotie ou Locride. Deux autres pièces, l’une au Musée du Louvre (fig. 14), l’autre dans une collection privée néerlandaise, avec le polos prolongé à l’arrière d’une sorte d’appendice en panache dénonceraient une origine plus franchement béotienne.39 Enfin, parmi les trouvailles de la grotte Corycienne, un grand nombre de tessons appartiennent à un type reproduit par surmoulage sur au moins quatre générations, où les détails s’effacent de plus en plus, mais avec la bosse du kolpos toujours sensible même sur les “tirages” les plus émoussés (figs. 15a–d). Ces fragments

39. Louvre CA 4266. Signalons aussi dans le contexte béotien, le groupe du Louvre MNC 626 (Mollard-Besques, no. C 33) où une femme (Europe ?) est assise sur un bovin.

Figure 13a. Fragments d’un type de figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l’Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figure 13b. Fragments d’un type de figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l’Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figure 14. Figurine béotienne. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 4266.
Figures 15a–b. Fragments de figurines appartenant à un type plusieurs fois surmoulé, dépôt de l’Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Figures 15c–d. Fragments de figurines appartenant à un type plusieurs fois surmoulé, dépôt de l’Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.
Figure 16a. Figurine de femme assise. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 662.

Figure 16b. Profil droit de figure 16a.

Figure 16c. Détail de figure 16a.

Figure 17. Koré dédiée par Euthydicos. Athènes, Musée de l’Acropole.
présentent nettement l'apparence d'une terre béotienne; mais les réserves du Musée National d'Athènes recèlent un exemplaire où le détail est d'une précision étonnante, qui pourrait avoir été façonné dans l'argile attique.

Pour éclairer ce débat qu'il n'est pas facile de clore, tant que des analyses soigneuses n'auront pas été pratiquées, nous aimerions citer un exemple particulièrement intéressant par l'ambition de sa conception: il s'agit de la statuette du Musée du Louvre MNC 662 (figs. 16a–c). D'une taille imposante, la figurine frappe par la netteté des traits qui la sculptent, de même que par le soin qui a présidé à leur exécution. Assise sur un trône à ailettes largement développées, le personnage féminin, en majesté, laisse reposer ses avant-bras sur les cuisses, en sorte que les mains, dont le modèle est quelque peu rabougri, atteignent la naissance du genou. La droite est ouverte, tandis que la gauche se referme sur un petit objet rond (un fruit?). Les faces latérales du siège sont ajourées (détail rare, il est vrai, à Athènes)\(^42\) et les pieds reposent sur une sorte de tabouret en demi-cercle.

Le kolpos qui fait poche sur les genoux est ici l'objet d'une sollicitude particulière de la part du coroplaste: il est rythmé de plis en vif relief qui dessinent, au bord de la saillie, une manière de bordure côtelée. Sur les jambes dont le volume est sensible sous l'étoffe, tout un registre de plis profondément creusés anime la surface du vêtement. Mais c'est la partie haute de la figurine qui présente l'aspect le plus intéressant: sur le buste, les plis ondulés qui, à partir de l'encolure, parcourent la surface de l'argile, s'arrêtent en leur limite inférieure au contact d'une bande plate dont le tracé horizontal est interrompu par deux encoches en U. Ce ne peut-être que l'ourlet d'un rabat, d'un "apoptygma."\(^43\) Si l'on tient compte de la riche ornementation du tissu et de la variété des plisés, il est logique d'interpréter ce vêtement comme un chiton agencé sur le corps de sorte, qu'il forme, outre le kolpos profond qui retombe sur les genoux, l'apoptygma rabattu devant le buste. Cette mode s'observe sur mainte image des vases attiques du début du cinquième siècle, particulièrement sur...
Les œuvres attribuées au peintre de Brygos, ou surtout à Makron.

Ce tracé ininterrompu de l'ourlet qui traverse le bras à la saignée du coude s'explique ainsi aisément. Mais la simplicité de cet ourlet, qui s'éloigne des cascades de plis que font ruisseler les étoffes archaïques, peut faire aussi songer aux lignes sévères du péplum préclassique. La même sévérité teinte fortement les traits du visage (fig. 16c) : la chute latérale des cheveux, certes, avec ses ondulations horizontales soigneusement étagées du niveau de l'oreille à celui de l'épaule, prolonge la mode capillaire des temps anciens, mais l'alourdissement du menton, la bouche forte dont les coins s'abaissent comme pour résister au sourire, à la manière de la koré d'Euthydicos (fig. 17), les yeux aux paupières fermement modelées s'inscrivent clairement parmi les formes préclassiques. Les coques qui recouvrent les tempes appellent dans la mémoire l'image de certaines protomes féminines, en particulier celles qui décorent l'extrémité des "épinetra" à figures noires du début du cinquième siècle (fig. 18). Elles rappellent aussi la chevelure de la koré 688 du Musée de l'Acropole, "la Koré des Propylées", où, par surcroît, la division médiane répartit au-dessus du front les mèches ondulées dans un même dispositif (fig. 19).

Un agencement similaire se retrouve également sur quelques têtes appartenant à des figurines représentées en particulier dans les collections de l'Acropole d'Athènes, sur celle d'une Artémis au faon indubitablement attique. La figurine du Louvre doit donc procéder des types coroplastiques édités par les ateliers d'Athènes au moment de la transition vers le style sévère pour venir renouveler des modèles dont le thème était exploité vers 530-520 avant J.C. Comme la plupart d'entre eux, il manifeste un rapport évident avec le style archaïque aussi bien par l'aspect général, que par certains détails comme la luxuriance du réseau des plis. Mais la structure du visage et l'influence latente des formes du péplum ne peuvent se concevoir avant 480-470 avant J.C., décennie dans laquelle nous croyons que ce type a été créé ; car la fraîcheur de l'exécution et la fermeté dans la transcription des éléments nouveaux ne pourraient, à notre sens, se situer dans une époque plus tardive. Isolé jusqu'à aujourd'hui, ce type de la figurine du Louvre est du reste représenté une seconde fois, dans le matériel recueilli lors des fouilles de l'Antre Corycien. Quelques fragments, en effet, dont l'origine attique nous paraît plus assurée encore que pour l'objet du Louvre (fig. 20), proviennent d'une statuette tiraîre du même moule.

44. Par exemple la coupe du British Museum E68 et les figures d'Héra et Iris attaquées par les satyres ; cf. J. Boardman, Athenian Red-figure Vases, The Archaic Period, 1975, fig. 252, 1 et 2.
45. Par exemple la médaile du de Munich, Antikensammlungen 2654 ; cf. J. Boardman, 1975, fig. 31.3.
46. Musée National d'Athènes no. 2184.
47. Cf. par exemple Winter, 49, nos. 4 et 7 ; pour l'Artémis cf. Higgins, 1954, no. 662, et Collection Canellopoulos no. 1374.

Figure 20. Fragments d'une figurine de femme assise, dépôt de l'Antre Corycien. Musée de Delphes.

Donc il nous apparaît que ces figurines de femmes assises portant un vêtement au kolpos long ont toutes chances d'avoir vu le jour d'abord en milieu attique. Elles font assister à la transition des images archaïques vers les schémas classiques, en adoptant de plus en plus nettement le péplum, avec des surfaces plus unies, l'ouverture du vêtement sur les bras et la simplification de plus en plus accusée de l'apoptygma. Celle-ci se présente d'abord avec un évasement médian demi-circulaire entre les deux échancrures créées par les deux plis plat que détermine la retenue de la poitrine.

Puis le profil se redresse, décrivant une ligne droite écartant...
les deux plis “en serviette” de part et d’autre du buste;49 parfois un petit pli en V agite l’étoffe, au centre de l’encolure, quand elle est plastiquement notée.49 Quand au kolpos il se manifeste sous la forme d’une large poche plate qui s’évase sur les genoux;51 quand il les dépasse, il est, sur certains types, orné de “côtes,” et sur d’autres, sans doute plus récents, plus naturel, et plus souple, parcouru d’ondes molles en arc-de-cercle.52 Lorsque les types de péplophores du milieu du cinquième siècle conservent la présence du kolpos, ils le réduisent à un liseré de plis horizontaux qui bordent l’extrémité des genoux.53

Comment situer, dans ce paysage, la statuette du Musée J. Paul Getty? Elle doit appartenir aux créations béotiennes qui ont cherché à absorber la nouvelle formule présentée par le centre d’art attique. Ces adaptations ont dû s’opérer d’une manière assez diverse. Les unes ont suivi étroitement l’impulsion attique, au point qu’il est difficile, en l’absence d’une manipulation des pièces, ou mieux encore, d’une analyse de la terre, de distinguer les prototypes des imitations. Mais certaines adaptations, plus conservatrices, ont dû prolonger des traits anciens en ignorant encore les mutations engendrées par la révolution du classicisme et l’apparition du péplos. Sur cette figurine qui porte encore le chiton, seuls le kolpos long et saillant sur les jambes, ainsi que la présence des ailettes du siège attestent de la parenté qui l’unit aux nouvelles créations attiques. D’ailleurs la prolongation de la manière archaïque se lit aussi dans la facture rudimentaire du visage ainsi que dans la fuite du profil.

Ce type est aussi représenté parmi les trouvailles de la grotte corycienne; les fragments qui s’y rattachent indiquent qu’il devait exister en plusieurs tailles (figs. 21a–b) avec l’intervention probable du procédé de surmoulage. Il existe aussi dans le matériel du même dépôt une série assez abondante d’un modèle qui reflète la même tradition iconographique, réparti sur plusieurs générations, mais en telle sorte que la plus grande taille est largement inférieure à celle de la statuette du Musée californien (fig. 22). La terre qui a servi à les façonner est d’un rouge brique que l’on retrouve sur les figurines et protomes attribuées par certains, et à juste titre, à une fabrique locale logiquement située à Kirrha, port de Delphes. Les coroplastes de ce secteur phocidien ont donc vraisemblablement adopté, en réduisant sa taille, le type que les Béotiens avaient créé en s’inspirant des schémas attiques.

Et tout ce jeu d’influences doit se situer, à notre avis, dans la période qui a immédiatement suivi les premières réalisations qui prennent acte de la naissance du style sévère, c’est à dire dans les quinze ou vingt années qui précèdent le milieu du siècle.

Musée du Louvre
Paris

49. Winter, 71,5 et Louvre CA 4266.
50. Voir le type au polos représenté au Musée de Chéronée et dans le dépôt de l’Antre Corycien.
Three Female Head Antefixes from Etruria

Birgitta Lindros Wohl

Among the holdings of the J. Paul Getty Museum are a number of antefixes. Three of them, all from Etruria and all in the form of female heads, will be presented here.¹

The first of these is a fragment (accession number 81.AD.97), which preserves only the upper right-hand portion of the face with one ear, the adjoining hair, and the beginning of the cover-tile; a small section of the lower part of the fragment preserves a finished edge (see fig. 1 and cf. fig. 2). The preserved width of the fragment is about 8.5 cm; the preserved height, 11 cm; the preserved depth, 14 cm; and the total projected width at the lower edge of cover-tile, about 19 cm. The clay is coarse, light brown to brown (7.5YR 6-5/4), and slightly micaceous with many small black inclusions and occasional large white ones.² The eye displays minimal plasticity, the head bears no diadem or shell, and the top of the hairline becomes the top of the cover-tile.³

Over the forehead, the hair appears in a scalloped edge of flat waves, three of which are extant; the beginnings of two hanging tresses are seen under the ear. The color scheme is limited to off-white for the flesh and the two bands behind the ear at the beginning of the cover-tile; black for the hair, eye, eyebrow, and the petal loops of the earring; light brown for the earring; and reddish brown for the center of the earring and the stylized indications inside the ear. In addition, thin waves of off-white are applied on top of the black hair, including each of the hanging tresses.⁴

Although the Getty piece is very fragmentary, sufficient diagnostic features remain to assign it with certainty to a specific known type of antefix. This type is linked to the city of Caere and the immediately surrounding area. It was known to Andrén, who published two examples in his monumental work that remains a standard on the topic.⁵ This type has, however, received further attention in recent decades in light of additional examples that have appeared both in excavations and on the art market. Caere's production of architectural terracottas, including different series of antefixes, was lengthy and varied. It spanned the period from the sixth century through the first century B.C. and was connected with different buildings.⁶

The type under discussion belongs to the early archaic stages of these series but not to the earliest so far known from Caere. The earliest stage is represented by female head antefixes demonstrating the same general qualities as the Getty fragment (i.e., no frame around the head, black hair with a scalloped edge, disk earrings, and the same color distribution) but with heavier, more angular features. The delicacy of the mouth, eyes, and facial outlines that was to become characteristic of the second variant—represented here by the Getty antefix—had not yet emerged. This second type dates at least a quarter of a century later than the first and represents subsequent building stages and repairs.⁷

The later type of antefix can with some certainty be

¹. I would like to thank Professor Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for making these works available for study and for assistance in publishing this article.

². Color descriptions are from Munsell Color Company Inc., Munsell Soil Color Charts (Baltimore, 1971). See A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Leipzig and Lund, 1940), cxxiii, for a suggestion that larger particles were mixed into the clay on purpose to promote the stability of the fabric; this condition is found in widely separated places and certainly also applies to the third antefix discussed in this article, accession number 75.A.94.

³. Color descriptions are from Munsell Soil Color Charts (Baltimore, 1971). See A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Leipzig and Lund, 1940), cxxiii, for a suggestion that larger particles were mixed into the clay on purpose to promote the stability of the fabric; this condition is found in widely separated places and certainly also applies to the third antefix discussed in this article, accession number 75.A.94.

⁴. Color descriptions are from Munsell Soil Color Charts (Baltimore, 1971). See A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Leipzig and Lund, 1940), cxxiii, for a suggestion that larger particles were mixed into the clay on purpose to promote the stability of the fabric; this condition is found in widely separated places and certainly also applies to the third antefix discussed in this article, accession number 75.A.94.


Figure 1. Fragment of an antefix from Caere. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AD.97.
Three Female Head Antefixes from Etruria


8. See Mengarelli, 1936. No remains of the temple exist.

9. For the Pyrgi examples no specific building attribution has been made, at least not on the basis of the material so far published. See NSc 13 (1959), 143-263; the parallel is a battered surface find (p. 182, fig. 32.2). The same type is not cited in the expanded publication of the Pyrgi material: NSc suppl. 2 (1970), where the section by F. Melis is of special interest. Cf., however, Rystedt, 64, no. 4 and nn. 5 and 10, where the Ceri antefix is also discussed with bibliographical references.

10. See Rystedt, 64, for references to illustrations. Further material may be expected from Pyrgi. The Caeretan antefixes from the Regia in Rome are, however, of an earlier stage, Andrén, type Ia, pl. 6.13; see F. Brown, "Protostoria della Regia," RendPont 47 (1974-1975), 33. I owe this information to Dr. S. Downey who is publishing the Regia material. The Roman examples are of interest for the implications of the geographical spread and the possibility of more than one production center. See Andrén, excv, concerning the mobility of molds. The infiltration of stylistic influences from southern Etruria into Latium in the sixth century b.c. is summarized in E. Gjerstad, Early Rome IV:2 (Lund, 1966), especially 570-574; antefixes are referred to (figs. 132.2 and 3) that have exact facial counterparts in Lanuvium and Caere, where, however, they carry shells. N. Winter, Terracotta Representations of Human Heads Used As Architectural Decoration in the Archaic Period, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr, 1974, 119-127, contains a good discussion of traveling molds, both for identical and for diversified use. This thesis is the only full-scale treatment of the topic, and its essence was presented in article form as "Archaic Architectural Terracottas Decorated with Human Heads," RM 85 (1978), 27-58. I am grateful to Dr. Winter for generously sharing her expertise on several occasions.

11. See Rystedt, 66ff.; of special value is her succinct summary of present theories and the state of knowledge of Ionic Greek influence on archaic art of Etruria (pp. 68ff. with bibliography). See also A. della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia (Rome, 1918), 120ff.; cf. also note 29 below.

12. The best illustration is Moretti, 62, fig. 89.

13. See Andrén, cxxvii-cxxviii for the considerable use, and thus wear, of a mold, as well as for the making of a new mold from existing heads.

14. See respectively Moretti, 16, and Pennock, 15 (the absence of a diadem, at such a late date is unlikely).

15. 66ff. and n. 20; Andrén's date for I:4a and II:11a. Foti has argued, however, for the last quarter of the sixth century.


assigned to a specific temple in Caere, that of Hera in the area of the Vigna Parocchiale. Outside of Caere proper, examples have been found at Pyrgi and Ceri. There are now eight published examples of this type, including the Getty head.10

A stylistic analysis of the type with ample comparanda has recently been done, and most parallels point to a Greek Ionic influence.11 As many important features of the characterization (chin, lips, rouge spots, etc.) are unfortunately not observable on the Getty fragment, it cannot contribute anything new in this respect. One aspect must, however, be stressed, namely the relative lack of plasticity in the preserved eye. One of the distinguishing marks of this type in general is that the eye area consists of a single bulge without plastic distinction of the eyelid.12 Its shape is therefore primarily created by color, a fact that becomes particularly evident in cases of bad color preservation. Even within this group, however, there appear to be slight variations with regard to the eye; the flatness of the eye area in the Getty fragment results in the impression of an almost frontal eye in a profile face. Only a firsthand examination of all known examples can establish whether this is due merely to the placement of the painted outlines or possibly to differences in the molds.13

The dating of this type has varied considerably, ranging from the first half of the sixth century to the early fifth century b.c.14 Rystedt has given the most recent serious consideration to all factors involved in the material thus far published and has settled for a date of 540-530 b.c., primarily on stylistic grounds. This places the Getty fragment antefix between Andrén type I:4a and II:11a.15 Foti has argued, however, for the last quarter of the sixth century.16

The second Getty antefix (accession number 83.AD.211.11) exemplifies in its high diadem the increasing elaboration in the fashion of antefixes. The face, hair, and crown are pre-
Figure 3a. Antefix from Caere. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AD.211.11.

Figure 3b. Left profile of figure 3a.

The cover-tile joins the face at about the level of the top of the forehead, leaving the whole height of hair and diadem to rise free above it. The back of the face itself is extremely hollowed out; its minimum thickness is approximately 2 cm. Given the rise of the hairdo and the diadem, the face has a distinctly more elongated quality than the previous antefix type from Caere (cf. figs. 1, 2). Otherwise there are many obvious similarities, both in plasticity and the appli-

17. On the left side of the head there is an angular cutting at the bottom of the break behind the ear, without equivalent on the right side (see fig. 4). It is well worn and possibly represents some secondary use in modern times.
18. This fits within the 26–28 cm recorded for fully preserved pieces.
19. See Andrén, cxvii, on trimming of surface clay for better firing. The antefix would originally have had a substantial lower overhang in accordance with archaic custom; see Andrén, cxvii; R. Vighi, StÈr 5 (1931), pl. X.5 shows a profile view.
20. See G. Richter, Handbook to the Etruscan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum (New York, 1940), fig. 54, for a parallel head with the color missing.
21. See note 8 above.
22. The core of this listing is derived from Winter, 1974, 60ff.
culation of color. The eyes in the second Getty antefix continue to be represented by bulges with color indicating their shape,\(^{26}\) and its nose remains short and broad. The mouth, however, is rendered differently; the prior distinct treatment of the upper lip has yielded to a somewhat smoother shape, upon which the faintest impression of a smile is playing. The placement and shape of the ears are more realistic, but a similar large, slightly concave disk earring adorns the lobe. The hair on the forehead is shaped into tight raised waves, as if it had been grooved with a finger; there are nine waves on the right side but only eight and a half on the left. The diadem has a smooth surface.

The preserved color scheme is limited to off-white, black, and dark red. Off-white is used not only for the face, where it is flakily preserved, but as a base all over; black is employed for the outlines of the large slanting eyes, which have a tear-dust indicated in their inner corners; the iris, eyebrows, and outer edges of the ear are also marked in black. Red is found on the earrings, the lips, in spots on the hair, and on the diadem, although no recognizable pattern can be detected on the latter. On the top of the cover-tile and the back of the diadem a reddish brown shade is rather sloppily applied.

The similarities to the prior type of antefix are hardly surprising since the two types are closely related in the existing series from the rich Caeretan production, and both probably adorned the temple of Hera, though in successive stages.\(^{21}\) Unlike the first antefix discussed in this article, however, examples of the second type are numerous, and it has been well established for a long time. Holdings in both Europe and the United States are for the most part adequately published and number around twenty examples, including the Getty head: six in Berlin, at least three in Rome, two in Philadelphia, and one each in Basel, Copenhagen (plus one fragment, ABb 297), Kiev, London, Malibu, Munich, New York, and Paris.\(^{22}\) Most of these were known to Andrén.\(^{23}\)

From these examples, Winter suggests a distribution over three different molds, represented by (1) London, British Museum, no. B 624 (ill. Andrén, pl. 9.28), (2) Berlin, Antiquarium, no. 1838 (ill. Andrén, pl. 9.29), and (3) Paris, Louvre, no. 5164 (Andrén, 33, type II:11b, no ill.).\(^{24}\)

Can the Getty antefix be fitted into any of these categories? Mold one is not identical; the mouth of the Getty piece is different, the earrings smaller, and the profile more protruding.\(^{25}\) The forehead of mold two is too tall, and in the absence of illustrations and specific description, it is impossible to judge regarding the third mold.\(^{24}\)

Furthermore, the application of color on the Getty antefix does not conform in its manner or variety to that customary for examples from Winter’s first two molds. This type of head in general is characterized by the use of startling polychromy with blues and greens making their first appearance and enriching especially the great variety of diadem patterns. Separate features, such as the hair, vary in color from piece to piece.\(^{27}\) On the Getty head, however, the eyes are black and the eyebrows only describe a single curve, while on most examples they are drawn with a double curvature; nothing remains of the original rich coloration of hair and diadem except faint traces of red. For the moment then, it seems best to place the Getty antefix in a subcategory of its own, both on the basis of plasticity and coloration.

Most scholars have dated this type of antefix to the last quarter of the sixth century,\(^{28}\) that is, closely subsequent to the type represented by the antefix fragment initially discussed. Conclusions drawn from a comparison with Attic material from the Akropolis would point to the very turn of the century, a time when Attic permeation of the Ionic standards made itself felt in Greece, as well as in Etruria.\(^{29}\) It is here that we find parallels to the rather substantial rounded cheeks of the Getty antefix and its horizontal lips, as they appear in profile.

Given the proximity of the two types of antefixes from Caere discussed here, however, a date within the sixth century for the later one is necessary. If the head without diadem can be placed around the very beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century, the head with the diadem would rea-

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\(^{21}\) See H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London, 1936), no. 674, pls. 78.1–2 or no. 684, pl. 80.1, dated at the very end of the sixth century and very beginning of the fifth century respectively, see p. 38; cf. also his discussion (pp. 55–63) of Attic and Ionic stylistic interrelationship in the last half of the sixth century b.c.; Riis, 1941, 10, postulates an Attic influence on this type of antefix; Johanssen suggests the very end of the sixth century (p. 66), as does Vighi (p. 115); the latter includes the large Eos acroterion (pl. X.6) with its striking similarities to our head; both antefix and acroterion are assigned to the same stage of the temple of Hera at Cerveteri (p. 118). The acroterion, however; has recently been dated somewhat earlier (530 b.c.) by Italian scholars; see, for example, R. Bianchi Bandinelli and M. Torelli, *L’Arte dell’Antichità Classica. Etruria. Roma* (Turin, 1976), no. 76.
sonably fall within the closing decade of that century.

The third Getty antefix (accession number 75.AD.94) represents a further elaboration of types from Etruria where the head is not only equipped with a diadem but also surrounded by a shell of petals (figs. 4a–b). The whole face and about two-fifths of the span of diadem and shell are preserved; missing are part of the right ear, the earring and the locks hanging below it, and the lower left-hand corner of the shell. The bottom of the fragment preserves a finished edge. There are no restorations, but part of the shell is mended. The preserved width of the piece is 23.6 cm; the preserved height, 25.8 cm; the preserved depth, 13.5 cm; the maximum width of the shell, including the volute band, 8.5 cm; the total projected width, circa 33 cm; the total projected height, circa 29.5 cm. There were probably originally sixteen tongues on the shell.30 The clay is pink to reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/4–6), very micaceous, and coarse with several large bits of clay and many black bits, both small and large.

The back has been hollowed out only very slightly, by less than 2 cm, leaving the face area quite thick. The back support for the rising shell took the form of a vertical buttress (width about 2.2 cm) entirely attached to the shell, rather than the flying buttress that was the ordinary arrangement for large shells.31

The face is long and relatively thin, narrowing towards a protruding, but not pointed, chin. The lips present rounded rather than pointed profiles; the lower lip is noticeably thicker. As the corners of the mouth are not sharply offset, there is no impression of a smile. The nose is straight and substantial; the eyes consist of raised areas bordered by raised rims; and the eyebrows are raised edges. A rather low forehead is framed by flat scalloped waves, six on the right side and seven on the left. The ear is concave, but it is unrealistically set at an almost ninety-degree angle to the face; a single painted curve in the shape of the figure nine delineates its inner structure. The earlobe is covered by a large rosette ear-ring with a slightly raised center knob. As a whole, the face is distinctly asymmetrical; the left eye is smaller and higher and the left cheekbone more raised. Generally, the left side of the face is narrower, as if compressed.32 The diadem, which

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30. An even number of tongues is by far rarer than an uneven; see, for example, Winter, 1978, 18–22, pl. 12, or NSc 7 (1953), 52, fig. 27 for displays of both kinds.

31. See Andrén, clxiiif; a good illustration is found in Mengazzini, Mon. Ant. 37 (1938), pl. 6.12.

32. This lopsided condition—presumably inherent in the mold—also affects the scalloped hairline, which surprisingly enough has more waves (seven) on the compressed left side than on the right, which has six.

33. See, for example, Winter, 1978, 35 and 39ff, with detailed references, and Andrén, clxvii–clxxvi, for a discussion of the early palmette antefix as source for the shell antefix and suggestions of possible Greek antecedents.

34. For examples of these three steps, see Winter 1978, pls. 12.3 and 4 (Capua), pl. 19.3 (Veii), and Pl. 19.2 (Lanuvium).
protrudes from the shell background, has a smooth front face and an offset roundel at the bottom. Finally, the whole head is framed by a large flat band ending in volutes at the bottom. Outside this band, the tongues of the shell begin.

The color scheme covers the ordinary gambut: cream, black, light brown, and dark brownish red. The cream color is used for flesh, the band at the bottom of the diadem, the large volute band, and the edges and center of the tongues of the shell; black is employed for the hair, eyes, eyebrows, the loops around each shell tongue and diadem petal, the dots on earrings, the band below the diadem, and the large volute band; light brown appears on the diadem base, the earring base, and the back of the shell; dark brown colors the curve in the ear, loops of the earring petals, vertical bars on the roundel below the diadem, and the diadem petal loops; dark brownish red is used for the spine of each shell tongue and each diadem petal.

The shell antefix as such seems to have originated in Campania where a developed combination of plastic human heads and rather flat surrounding tongues was to be found by the mid-sixth century B.C. A large-scale spread of the type, however, did not occur until later, towards the last two decades of the century, when Campania was again the probable starting point, this time for a diffusion to the north. The shell antefix was encountered especially in Latium and southern Etruria, and included at this time a variety of male, female, and gorgons' heads in the center. The general tendency was for the radiating tongues of the shell to change from a rather short flat shape to a longer and more concave one; some fifth-century examples exhibit elaborate combinations of decorative motifs including open-worked relief. The factors of chronological evolution and geographical spread are neither very linear in themselves, nor do they parallel each other. This is ensured by the well-known fact already referred to: in the huge production of ancient Italic architectural terracottas—friezes as well as antefixes—many molds, and probably their makers as well, traveled. As a result of these interrelating sources of influence, the stylistic characteristics of a specific production area tend to become blurred in time. The Getty antefix, like many others, is to some extent a testimony to this tendency.

There is to my knowledge, no exact published parallel to this third Getty antefix, but most indications, both stylistic and technical, point to Latium and southern Etruria in a general way. The following features must be considered. The back of the tile has, as mentioned above, a support buttress rising from the cover-tile. This arrangement did not originate in Campania but was invented further north, where the larger size of the shell called for bracing. The shell itself is not as extensive and curving as that of the famous Veii examples nor are its tongues as flat as those of Capua; instead it represents something of an intermediary between the two, both in size and degree of concavity.

From a stylistic point of view, the large disk earrings and the high flat diadem, which appears over a scalloped hairline, present the most obvious distinguishing marks. These features are, however, shared by many Latian and southern Etrurian antefixes from the last quarter of the fifth century (e.g. Caere, Pyrgi, Russellae, and Palestrina, none of these, however, is surrounded by a shell).

The stylized shape and unrealistic placement of the ear on the Getty piece, features which hark back in time, are found occasionally in this group of antefixes. The majority of them, however, have ears placed relatively flush with the side of the head. The ear treatment, as well as the earring (a rosette with raised center rather than a disk) and the painted pattern of the diadem, make the Palestrina antefix the closest parallel to the Getty example from among those just enumerated.

Several traits, however, serve to separate the Getty head from the Palestrina example. Apart from the obvious addition of the shell, the most significant difference lies in the face itself. While the face of the Getty piece is thinner and strikingly graceful, its plasticity is also handled differently. Both eyebrows and eyelids consist of raised ridges in the Getty antefix, while the Palestrina face relies primarily on color for outlines in the same way that the Caere antefixes do.

Another somewhat analogous antefix comes from Minturno. This delicately shaped antefix shares a slender face and similar hair rendering and diadem, in addition to a concave, moderately sized shell; but again, the differences are also very noticeable. The shell of the Minturno antefix is deep, and it is decorated with additional palmettes on the circumference; the positioning of the ears is remarkably high; and finally, a stepped fascia marks the bottom in customary Campanian manner.

For the moment, it is towards the circle of Vejentine terracottas that we must move to find suitable parallels for the sculptural form of the Getty antefix head, to works such as the famous so-called Maenad antefix and the female goddess from the ridge beam. In spite of the monumental size and
greater formality of such pieces, a close inspection demonstrates a kinship between them and the third Getty antefix that is considerable and goes beyond such general qualities as hair, diadem, and the shape of the face. Although the Veii terracottas, including the antefixes, were handmade, several striking similarities to the Getty piece can be observed. In both the Veii and the Getty antefixes, there appears the same plastic treatment of the eyes, which consists of a raised, flat area surrounded by slightly raised edges for the eyelids. Similarly, the left eye is smaller and narrower than the right in both cases. In the striding goddess, one also observes an identical spreading configuration of the scalloped hairline in front of the ear and the smaller and narrower left eye. The nose and mouth of the Getty piece are not as sharp and angular, however, and its forehead is lower than that seen on any Veii example. The mouth and rounded profile of the lips, together with the absence of a smile, are in fact typologically later than the large Veii terracottas; these features fall in line with sculptures from the early years of the fifth century B.C.43

Nevertheless, the total impression of the Getty antefix is one of a modest attempt to emulate the homogeneous stylistic flavor of the Veii workshop during its high period in the last decades of the sixth century B.C.44 Whether indeed it adorned a small structure in Veii itself or somewhere in the south Etruscan vicinity, the general spirit of its models lived on into the early years of the fifth century B.C., the probable date of the Getty antefix.

California State University Northridge
Two Fragmentary Etruscan Painted Terracotta Panels

Mario A. Del Chiaro

Fragments recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (Nos. 1 and 2, figs. 1 and 3)¹ that preserve small portions of two different, and once fairly large, painted terracotta panels or slabs provide a suitable sequel to the presentation of two more complete Etruscan painted terracotta panels in an earlier number of this journal.² Even though each of these new fragmentary terracottas offers only a tantalizing glimpse of the original figural decoration, adequate salient details have survived to justify placement within the archaic period.

The two panels (around 3.5 cm in thickness) are created of a very gritty clay fired to a warm yellow-brown, which based on my experience, argues strongly for Caeretan manufacture (i.e., produced in ancient Caere [modern Cerveteri], a coastal site located about 35 km northwest of Rome, or in its environs). Both panels were prepared prior to painting with a relatively thin, creamy white slip, which on panel No. 1 extends onto the finished edge at the left.

1. PAINTED TERRACOTTA PANEL (fig. 1)

Caeretan, 530–520 B.C.

Maximum Preserved Height: around 19 cm; Maximum Preserved Length: around 22 cm; Thickness: 3.5 cm

Incomplete; three joining fragments; terminating edge at left side

Upper part of a male head facing to the left and wearing a high cloth headpiece (tutulus). Near his face, fingers of his right hand hold an object or objects, which may be krotala. On the upper panel three horizontal bands (red-brown between dark brown bands) are surmounted by a partially preserved indented band with angular dark brown forms.

Accession number 83.AD.211.10, gift of Leon Levy

That the head and hand preserved on this fragmentary terracotta panel are those of a man is clearly confirmed by the red-brown color used for the skin. In sharp contrast, a light yellowish brown is employed for the tutulus;³ which judging from the clothlike element of the same color at the lower right, may have possessed a long trailing end. Also of the same yellowish brown color is the object or objects delicately held in the right hand. I take these forms to be krotala (i.e., clappers used to create castanetlike rhythms while dancing). It must be pointed out, however, that krotala are normally associated with dancing women and perhaps nude boys but not men.⁴ If the Getty painted panel should prove to illustrate a dancing male figure with krotala, this would be a unique occurrence. It is not certain, however, that this is the case. If it were, the figure’s body would have originally extended considerably downward into the missing portion of the panel. The presence of the terminating edge of the panel

1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities, for permission to study and publish these two painted terracotta panels in this number of The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal.


3. The cloth tutulus, particularly in its color and certain elements of decoration (embroidered designs?), is not unlike that of the well-known female dancer in the Tomb of the Lionesses at Tarquinia. See in particular, M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, Die Etrusker (Munich, 1972), pl. 87 and M. Moretti and L. von Matt, Etruskische Malerei in Tarquinia (Cologne, 1974), 35.

4. See E. Richardson, The Etruscans. Their Art and Civilization (Chicago, 1964), 227ff. Representations of women dancing to the rhythms of their krotala—which are sometimes held in only one hand, sometimes one in each hand—are not uncommon in Etruscan stone and bronze (small) sculpture and wall painting. For a nenfro relief, see G. Gigioli, L’arte etrusca (Milan, 1935), pl. 149; M. Moretti and G. Maetzke, The Art of the Etruscans (New York, 1970), pl. 127, below; and M. Sprenger and G. Bartolini, pl. 66. For small bronzes, see M. Santangelo, Musei e nomi etruschi (Novara, 1960), 131; L. Bonfante, Etruscan Dress (Baltimore, 1975), 181, fig. 81 (with additional references); M. Bizzarri, L’arte etrusca (Orvieto, 1967), pl. 24; A. Hus, Les bronzes étrusques (Brussels, 1975), pl. 24, where the dancer’s left hand holds the krotala in a more delicate fashion (i.e., with several fingers outstretched). Terracotta examples are conveniently provided by the celebrated antefixes from Satricum (Conca); G. Gigioli, pl. 185; A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Lund and Leipzig, 1939), pls. 147–149; and A. Boethius et al., Etruscan Culture, Land and People (Malmö, 1962), fig 396 (hand with krotala restored), or the satyr-maenad antefix from Civita Castellana (p. 83, no. 16). For wall painting, see the Tomb of the Rooster at Tarquinia, M. Moretti and L. von Matt, p. 115 (Tomba del Gallo). It must be pointed out that in practically all cases cited here, the krotala are firmly clasped at their upper ends as if the clappers were hinged. This grip contrasts markedly with the delicate grasp with parted fingers which may be noted in the hand on the Getty panel No. 1 (fig. 1). In this latter case, the grip recalls the manner with which old time vaudeville performers “played” bones or spoons.
Figure 1. Fragment of a painted terracotta panel. Caeretan, 530–520 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AD.211.10.

Figure 2. Banqueter from the Tomb of the Lionesses. Tarquinia, 520–510 B.C. Photo from M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (New York, 1952), 48.
just to the left of the hand would make a standing figure seem more plausible than a reclining figure—such as the banqueter in the Tomb of the Lionesses at Tarquinia (fig. 2)—since a vertical figure would not necessitate the two or more adjoining panels required to complete a horizontal or reclining figure.

The ear of the head on the Getty fragment is relatively large and ornate, and the sharply defined almond-shaped eye with a large central dot indicating the pupil seems more narrow and slitlike than the eye of the woman on panel No. 2. It is the rendering of the man’s hand, however, that urges me to consider panel No. 1 to be slightly earlier in execution than No. 2. In addition to the details of the head and the character of the rich red-brown color used for the flesh, this chronological consideration is even more strongly suggested by the graphically elegant contours of the elongated fingers of the hand, especially the fleshy upturned fingertips and their artistically indicated fingernails. It is the drawing of these fingers that once again recalls the banqueter in the Tomb of the Lionesses (fig. 2). The merit of this close stylistic analogy cannot be denied, and it consequently suggests a date circa 530–520 B.C. for Getty panel No. 1. Needless to say, such an analogy may give rise to the question of Tarquinian versus Caeretan craftsmanship and all that it implies regarding local and migratory artists. Frankly, I cannot enter into so thorny and complex a question here owing to the limits imposed by this study. All that can be said for the moment is that since such a relationship between painted terracotta panels and Tarquinian tomb paintings deserves further consideration, the archaeological importance of this painted terracotta panel is increased.

2. PAINTED TERRACOTTA PANEL (fig. 3)

Caeretan, 520–510 B.C.

Maximum Preserved Height: around 19.5 cm; Maximum Preserved Length: around 11 cm; Thickness: around 3 cm (sheared away)

Incomplete; single fragment; no terminating edge preserved

Head, part of torso, arms, and a thigh of a female figure moving swiftly to the right while carrying an amphora. Accession number 83.AD.211.11, gift of Leon Levy

It must be explained at the outset that the ghoulish, tusk-like appearance of this female’s face is not intentional but the result of an abraded and discolored surface in the region of the mouth. Actually, the profile is quite normal, and the flesh color of the woman is the creamy white slip applied to the entire surface of the panel itself. The details of the ear have vanished altogether. The full head of hair, which is worn long and wavy below the nape of the neck at the back of the head, has received internal striations with light reddish brown brush strokes—short lines near the brow and long wavy lines that follow the contour of the head. The general character of the head and the style of coiffure on this Getty terracotta panel are strongly reminiscent of the women’s heads represented on some Pontic vases and the celebrated Loeb bronze tripod in Munich.

The especially intriguing feature of this second painted panel is to be found in the pose and action of the female figure, that is, the possible iconography. Unfortunately, the key portions of the panel, which would allow precise interpretation of the scene, are missing. Perforce, I can only be highly speculative. What can still be seen on this small preserved portion of an originally much larger panel is a woman dressed in a short-sleeved, short-skirted garment, which is painted in the same yellow-brown color used for the tunulus in panel No. 1. The extremely raised position of the right thigh suggests that the figure moves swiftly to the right in the standard pose for running or flying figures dating from the archaic period. Equally important to my explanation of the theme, the woman carries an amphora or hydria—painted red-brown—which is held by its horizontal handles in an upraised position before her. It is quite obvious that she does not take part in a sedate procession, bearing the vase instead in a hurried, if not frantic, manner. Consequently, I can think of only two possible themes with which such a figure can be associated: (1) the pyre of Herakles, as noted and interpreted by John Beazley from scenes on four Staatliche Antikensammlungen München, vol. 1 of Katalog der Bronzen (Munich, 1982).

10. Examples of the traditional archaic running or flying pose are not difficult to find; it will suffice to cite a few of the better-known examples: the Gorgon in the pediment of the Temple of Artemis, Corfu, J. Charbonneaux et al., Archaic Greek Art (London, 1971), 26, fig. 24; painted metope from the Temple of Apollo, Thermon, Charbonneaux et al., 33, above; Gorgons and Perseus on dinos in Paris by the Gorgon Painter, Charbonneaux et al., 49; fleeing Titan in frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Charbonneaux et al., 164; unfinished metope (Tityus abducting Leto) from the Heraion, Sele, E. Zanotti-Bianco and L. von Matt, Magna Graecia (New York, 1962), pl. 34. Closer to home, that is, to Etruscan art and the painted terracotta panels see M. Moretti in ArchCl 9 (1957), 21, fig. 1, and F. Roncalli, 61ff. and pls. 25–26.
fragmentary Etruscan red-figure stamnoi in Rome;\(^\text{11}\) and (2) the Danaids.\(^\text{12}\)

Of the four stamnoi in the Museo di Villa Giulia brought together by Beazley, two show women attempting to extinguish the fire of a funerary pyre with water-laden hydriai. Two stamnoi, however, depict women bearing vases, not necessarily hydriai, in the presence of a youthful Dionysos. Regardless of the presence of Dionysos, I believe that these last two red-figure vases (one of which is illustrated in fig. 4)\(^\text{13}\) could just as well illustrate the Danaids (daughters of Danaus) in Hades performing an eternal punishment for their heinous crime (i.e., the never-ending ordeal of filling a leaky jar [pithos] with water). A scene depicted on an Etruscan red-figure stamnos in Florence, which may be dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.,\(^\text{14}\) leaves no doubt that the three women (two with vases) filling a pithos are Danaids. Because so little is preserved of Getty panel No. 2, which must have originally been decorated with a complex scene that possibly carried over to adjoining panels, neither of these two themes can take priority over the other. The hurrying woman with a vase on the Getty panel could readily serve either subject.

If my interpretation is correct or at least possesses some credibility, this last Getty panel would mark one of the earliest representations in Etruscan art—possibly earlier than an extant Greek representation—of one of two myths that are best known to us from Greek culture.\(^\text{15}\) Hence, despite the limited and fragmentary nature of the two Getty painted terracotta panels, they are to be regarded as fraught with art historical and archaeological significance.

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13. Beazley, 103, no. 4. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, inv. no. 43795 (from Vignanello); *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 1, IV BR., pls. 2 and 5.
14. Florence, Museo Archaeologico, inv. no. 4128; E. Keuls, 84, no. 5 and pl. 15. The hand of the painter for this vase is known to me; cf. M. Del Chiaro, "An Etruscan Gigantomachy from Caere," *AA* 85 (1970), 346-353. This artist, whom I have named the "Akrathe Painter," is responsible for a considerable number of vases that I am presently studying for future publication.
15. See Keuls, 34, pl. 1, and 35, pl. 2 where reference is made to Attic black-figure vases dating to the end of the sixth century B.C.
A Bear Hunt Mosaic

David Ball

The large mosaic with a scene of a bear hunt was acquired by the Getty Museum in 1972. In the *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Norman Neuerburg suggests that the mosaic may have originated in North Africa, assigning it a third-century date on stylistic grounds. Neuerburg also notes the unusual pictorial unity of the scene—a feature rare in hunt mosaics—and suggests that the mosaicist may have relied on a wall or panel painting executed in the manner of Hellenistic emblema as a source for visual inspiration. The anti-heroic genre elements of the Getty hunt, however, place it outside of the Hellenistic tradition, just as its spatial unity makes it an anomaly in the corpus of large-scale genre hunts.

THE CONCEPTION OF SPACE IN HUNTING MOSAICS

It is the unified treatment of narrative space that makes the Getty hunt so unusual. The surviving portion of the mosaic represents a single event occurring at a specific moment in time; this action is depicted within a narrow and continuous landscape setting (figs. 1a–h). The presence of a groundline roots the action firmly along the picture plane, and recession into depth is contained—as are the bears—within the net. The hunters, the animals, and the trees all force the viewer to accept their spatial reality. There is really only one viewpoint, however, from which the Getty hunt makes sense: the spectator must be placed at a slight distance from the action, as if looking across at it from a position atop a hill or a tree. Thus, in respect to its spatial organization the mosaic is not successful as a floor, because to walk over the scene or to view it from above negates the picture’s defined limits. It is this awkwardness in particular that suggests a transference from other media. Although the use of the classic emblema on a small scale was common through the end of the third century, the emergence of large-scale genre hunts (which did not have a long-standing pictorial tradition behind them) as a preferred subject matter allowed for experimentation and innovation in the treatment of pictorial space. This change occurred in North Africa from the Severan period onward.

Of the numerous spatial solutions adopted by artists, two of the most common were the free distribution of figures over a neutral background and the use of registers that anchored the figures to a series of logical ground planes and allowed for the display of different, sometimes consecutive, episodes from the same event. By alternating solid groundlines with areas of blank space over which landscape elements were scattered, the artist was able to prevent the problems of recession and perspective from becoming unwieldy. This became a preferred means for depicting the genre hunt. After the early third century, the unified, single orientation emblema technique is rarely used and certainly not on the major scale of the Getty mosaic.

The earliest surviving example of the use of registers employed in a hunting context appears on a mosaic from Carthage dated circa 210–230 (fig. 2). It depicts a boar hunt whose action is divided into three distinct planes. In the lowest of these, the boar is roused from a thicket; in the central register he is chased into a net; and in the upper scene two men carry the dead animal on a pole. Three locations...
are shown, three separate moments involving a single animal protagonist. The Carthage hunt appears to be without fully developed prototypes. Katherine Dunbabin notes the innovation of the composition but sees as no less remarkable the unheroic, contemporary quality of the subject—a real, rather than a mythological, hunt. She attributes the piece to an adventurous artisan working for a patron unconcerned with conventional modes. Although the Carthage mosaic is heavily restored, the costumes, the trees, the use of an acanthus scroll border, and especially the narrow treatment of space and landscape in the individual registers, all support a strong link to the Getty hunt in terms of time and place of execution.

The bear hunt appears as an isolated register, thematically akin to the boar hunt but spatially more restricted or, in the terms put forth by Lavin, conservative. The Getty mosaic's juxtaposition of traditional spatial principles with innovative subject matter might indicate that it is an early experiment in genre, executed before the varied decorative possibilities of the subject were fully realized. The third-century tendency to overcome conventional space and time is not present, even though the businesslike hunt is typical of the age. The Getty hunt presents a scene from contemporary life: the men and animals are not engaged in a heroic life-or-death struggle. It is obviously the intent of the hunters to capture the bears alive, assuredly for display in the venationes of the amphitheater. An account of just such an event is found in the Cynegetica of Oppian.

AN ILLUSTRATED CYNEGETICA AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE

The Cynegetica is a poetic treatise on hunting with dogs, dedicated to the emperor Caracalla and probably composed in Syria around A.D. 215. Its author is frequently referred to as Pseudo-Oppian to distinguish him from the writer of the Halieutica, a tract on fishing, whom he imitates. The Cynegetica (4.354–424) describes bear hunting as it was supposedly practiced in Syria and Armenia in some detail. The object of such hunts was the live capture of beasts for various uses in the arena. After employing dogs to locate the bears' den, the hunters prepared a run with nets at the end, which were strung between trees and on stakes. Using noise and visual scares (4.385–392), the men drove the terrified bears the run until they were trapped within the nets, where they “greatly rage with jaws and terrible paws, and many a time they straightway evade the hunters and escape from the nets and make the hunting vain” (4.414–418). If the nets held, the captured bears were placed in wooden cages for transport. Oppian says no more about their fate.

From a narrative standpoint the Getty hunt parallels that described in the Cynegetica. It is impossible to say what the missing portion of the mosaic might have contained, but a larger group of hunters and perhaps dogs and equipment seem likely. Although no wealth of specific detail is shown, every aspect of the hunt depicted in the Getty mosaic is mentioned in the poem. The two bears in the lower left appear to be avoiding entrapment to the dismay of the hunter, whose name, Lucius, appears on the mosaic. All the animals are frightened, but no weapons are used against them. Although the initial tracking was done with dogs, Oppian does not say that they participated in this part of the hunt, which accounts for their absence within the net. Oppian was describing hunting in the East, but similar methods would have been employed throughout the empire, as the bear was one of the most common of wild animals. The demand for animal displays in amphitheaters throughout the Roman world was enormous, and professional traders in live beasts played an important role in the North African economy. As a result, it is not difficult to imagine a source of patronage for scenes like the Getty hunt.

The Cynegetica was written either close to or just before the time when genre hunting scenes emerged in mosaic art. Oppian apparently borrowed from earlier works on hunting for his poem, and presumably, third-century illuminators could have done the same. This prompts us to consider the possibility that illustrated versions of such didactic treatises might have been responsible for the change in patrons' visual taste and perhaps served as models for craftsmen working without artistic precedents. In the Getty hunt, the reduction of the pictorial elements to the most essential details—the trees, the net, the hunters, and the bears, all placed against a shallow, sketchy landscape—suggests that the mosaicist may have been working from a small model. Copies of an illustrated Cynegetica written and decorated in Syria in the early third century could have quickly traveled to North Africa. Certainly a portable object like a scroll or a codex would have

6. See Dunbabin, 48; she discusses the possible origin of the register technique in the Nilotic landscape tradition. An apsidal mosaic from Utica, now in the British Museum, dated to the late second or early third century may be the earliest North African example of a genre hunt. See M. Alexander et al., Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Tunis, 1976), 31–33, no. 279, pl. 39. The Utica hunt displays a hesitant quality with none of the confidence of the Carthage boar hunt and should be viewed as a stage in the evolutionary process.

7. Dunbabin, 49.


9. For an excellent history of the bear in the Roman world, see J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (Ithaca, 1973), esp. 93–100. She lists ancient sources which specifically mention North African bears.

had a more immediate impact on the tastes of patrons and artists than a large, immovable painted original, and those wealthy enough to commission mosaics could also afford books. Editions of the *Cynegética* or similar treatises with descriptions and representations of everyday hunting could have been circulating in North Africa just before the appearance of genre hunting mosaics. The books could have provided patrons with new ideas and demands and the mosaicists with new visual modes. The Getty hunt may represent an early response to changing tastes, executed before mosaicists had become familiar with the subject and its spatial needs. An artisan transferring a subject from a book illustration to a large-scale work would have retained many of the spare features of the smaller medium while infusing more familiar objects, such as trees, with a well-practiced Hellenistic pictorialism.

An illustrated *Cynegética* exists (figs. 3a–c), an eleventh-century Byzantine version that Kurt Weitzmann believes directly imitates a third-century archetype. Weitzmann sees this Medieval Oppian manuscript as reflecting the survival of the “papyrus style,” a classical method of placing sketches in columns adjacent to the textual passages they illustrate. Some pictures are separated from each other only by short lines of text (fig. 3a), and in cases where the described action could not be shown in a single pictorial frieze, several related pictures follow atop each other without textual interruption (fig. 3b). This certainly provides a precedent for the use of registers, as well as for the continuous friezelike narrative found in the Getty hunt. In the illustrated Oppian, the columns of text dictate the strict vertical alignment and perhaps the frequent movement from left to right that causes one to read the pictures like a written line. The action takes place along a narrow groundline, and there is a limited recession into space. Landscape is suggested through the use of occasional trees, bushes, or sometimes a low hill (figs. 3a–c). The gestures of the human figures are broad and demonstrate a theatrical stiffness, but the animals are depicted in a lively fashion.

The close analogy between Oppian’s written description of bear hunting and the Getty floor suggests a connection that is supported by the visual evidence. In fact, the development of the genre hunting mode, of which the Getty mosaic is presumably an early example, may be tied to the influence of illustrated texts such as the *Cynegética* in the early third century. By implication this development, which has been ascribed almost exclusively to mosaic workshops in the West, may be seen as owing much to prototypes originating in the illuminating ateliers of the Syrian East.

**THE INFLUENCE OF CARTHAGE AND UTICA**

In assigning a provenance to the Getty hunt, there are numerous factors that point to Africa Proconsularis. The

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13. Cf., for instance, folio 54v with the mosaic of a hare hunt from El Djem, Tunisia, dated circa 240 in Dunbabin, 49 and pl. 22.
14. A papyrus fragment from Egypt that is variously dated between the third and sixth centuries A.D. gives an idea of the vibrancy of original Roman illustrations. It depicts a performing bear in the arena, whose pose is remarkably similar to several of the animals on the Getty mosaic. See K. Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), 95–96, no. 86, with plate and bibliography.
Figure 1d. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1e. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1f. Detail of figure 1a.

Figure 1g. Detail of border of figure 1a.

Figure 1h. Detail of border of figure 1a.
Figure 2. Boar hunt mosaic. Carthage, Tunisia, circa 210–230. Tunis, Bardo. Photo: DAI Rome.

Figure 3a. Manuscript of the Cynegetics of Pseudo-Oppian. Eleventh-century copy after a third-century original. Venice, Marciana cod. gr. 479, fol. 20r. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 4 (Princeton, 1951), pl. xxxvi, fig. 129.
Figure 3b. Manuscript of the Cynegetica of Pseudo-Oppian (see fig. 3a), fol. 54v. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination (Chicago, 1971), 130, fig. 105.

Figure 3c. Manuscript of the Cynegetica of Pseudo-Oppian (see fig. 3a), fol. 20r. Photo from Kurt Weitzmann, Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 4 (Princeton, 1951), pl. xxxvi, fig. 130.
chief among these considerations is that the genre hunting mode in mosaics seems to have originated there under the influence of workshops operating out of Carthage and Utica. This development began in the first half of the third century and continued strongly through the end of the fourth. The majority of surviving hunting mosaics come from Proconsularis, where there was a steady market for them and where the artistic climate—the cooperation between artist and patron—fostered a willingness to try new modes. Certainly by A.D. 300 the preference was for spatially unrealistic scenes incorporating varied anecdotes, some of them fantastic, as in the hunting mosaics from Carthage (Dermech) and those from the Maison des Chevaux, also in Carthage. If one accepts the Getty hunt as an early attempt to satisfy shifts in patrons' tastes, then it fits well into the pattern of experimentation and innovation that the proven remains demonstrate.

North African mosaics that deal with the business of animal hunts—the live capture of beasts for the amphitheater—almost all come from Proconsularis and date from the mid-third century onward. The early ones treat space in different but consistently unconventional ways. Probably the earliest of these is the oddly shaped floor from Le Kef, Tunisia, for which Dunbabin's dating of late Severan or beyond seems plausible (fig. 4). This must be an arena scene, for there is no reason to think that ostriches and gazelles could otherwise be captured in the same hunt. The trappings—the dogs and net—as well as the lack of violence or spectacle, however, make it an amalgamation of three modes: the animal catalogue, the amphitheater scene, and the hunt.

15. The majority of the surviving evidence comes from these urban regions, but it is not always known where the itinerant craftsmen who set the occasional isolated rural floor may have trained.
18. Dunbabin, 69, n. 21, pl. 54. Dunbabin lists the Le Kef mosaic primarily as an amphitheater scene.
19. Dunbabin, 55, pl. 29. For the date, see Dunbabin, appendix 2.
21. On the use of names, see Dunbabin, 60–61. The earliest known example of such identification on a hunting scene is a mosaic from Althiburus, Tunisia, dated circa 280–290, Dunbabin, 50; Salomonson, 27, n. 1, and 81, n. 1, pl. 64. The Getty mosaic very likely dates earlier than this, which could make it the oldest surviving hunting mosaic with named participants.
Here, as in the Getty mosaic, the net dictates the limits of landscape, and the spectator is given a bird’s-eye view. The integration of space and narrative is quite complex, although the transition between one group of figures and the next can be awkward. In the total use of irregular space, the Le Kef mosaic seems more advanced than the Getty hunt. It is clear that the artist was not copying directly from another medium but was developing the composition to suit the patron and the room. He seems more responsive to spatial paradoxes than the Getty artist and to be drawing on an already familiar repertoire of themes. For these reasons the Le Kef hunt should be placed later in time.

By the late third or early fourth century, an element of fantasy had begun to appear in hunt mosaics whose essential details were otherwise realistic. This mixture of mundane and exotic is found in the monumental hunt from Hippo Regius, Tunisia, which was apparently designed for a patron eager to commemorate the successful capture of wild beasts in nature, rather than the contrived spectacle of the arena. The artist has integrated a number of smaller vignettes around a large central scene with a minimum of contrivance, but the variety of prey—both leopards and lions in the same hunt—shows that he is not observing nature but drawing on a pattern book repertoire. The assurance with which the theme and space are handled implies several generations of artistic progression beyond the Getty hunt.

A series of mosaics attributed to Carthaginian ateliers survive that depict bears in the context of the amphitheater. Some employ the catalogue technique favored for mosaics commemorating specific events; the figures in these mosaics are placed in an ordered pattern against a blank field. Frequently the subjects are accompanied by names or numbers, the former probably indicating the presence of performing animals and the latter recording how many beasts were used in a certain game. The use of names, especially for slaves and animals, became fashionable in North African mosaics in the third century, because it gave patrons an opportunity to personalize an otherwise generic scene. In these amphitheater mosaics there is little attempt to create organic unity, but the poses and the frequently large size of the bears link them to a common tradition with the Getty hunt. Stylistically, however, they appear to be later in date.

In a mosaic from Radès, near Tunis, a troupe of bears, all named, are arranged formally on a white background with other animals, mostly unnamed boars and bulls (fig. 5). Although the attitudes of the bears are lively, the figure style is rather linear and crude in comparison to the more painterly Getty mosaic. The Radès floor is usually dated to the latter half of the third century or later on stylistic grounds. A similar linearity pervades the fragmented mosaic from Kourba (fig. 6), which Dunbabin connects stylistically to a floor from the Maison du Paon in Carthage. She dates both to the mid-fourth century. In the Kourba mosaic, registers are used to separate groups of bears, some of which interact with each other, although there is no unified narrative treatment. Most of the Kourba bears are named, as are two from the Maison du Paon; this indicates that these animals belonged to professional troupes and were trained to perform for the amusement of spectators. The popularity of performing bears in and around Carthage, as well as the more bloodthirsty uses to which they were put in the amphitheater, implies the existence of professional hunters to capture them, as described in the Cynegetica. It is this practice that is witnessed in the Getty mosaic, where the handling of space and narrative favors a stronger link to the hunting mode than to that of the amphitheater.

In support of Neuerburg’s theory concerning the influence of monumental painting, there are the frescoes from the Hunting Baths of Leptis Magna, which show armed men confronting leopards and lions. In the better-preserved leopard hunt, many of the participants, both men and beasts, are named. It has been suggested that the Leptis baths were the property of an association of hunters or venatores (professionals in the amphitheater), who wished to give the decoration a personal reference. A similar explanation seems plausible for the Getty hunt. Certainly the use of names implies a private, rather than a public, commission. The odd shape of the Getty floor, especially the octagonal outline of the missing architecture, which could have been space for a pool, raises the possibility that the mosaic comes from a bath complex. The date of the Leptis frescoes is uncertain, but most evidence points to the third century. Both the hunters of the Leptis baths and those on the Getty mosaic are somewhat stocky; their movements are a little stiff; their gestures very broad (figs. 1a–c, 7). This could certainly indicate that the frescoes and the mosaic are roughly contemporary, as a

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22. Poinssot and Quionniat, 156, n. 118; Lavin, 236, n. 233; Dunbabin, 72–73.
23. Dunbabin, 73–74.
24. From an early point in their development, amphitheater mosaics adopted a more flexible approach to space, distributing objects in varied directions over the surface without using continuous groundlines or landscape to give specific orientation to the scene. See, for instance, the gladiator mosaic from Zliten, Tripolitania, dated as early as the first century by S. Aurigemma, I Mosaici di Zliten (Rome, 1926), and the amphitheater scenes from the Sollertiana Domus in El Djem, Tunisia, dated circa 180 by L. Foucher, Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961 (Tunis, 1964), 19–21, pls. 21–22.
27. See, for instance, the floor plan of the Leptis baths, which indicates hexagonal rooms, illustrated in Ward Perkins and Toynbee, 168, fig. 1.
mosaicist would borrow much stylistically from large-scale paintings. It is the vast difference in intent, however, which causes one to search for a provenance outside of Tripolitania. Thematically, the Leptis frescoes recall the older Hellenistic tradition. The confrontation between men and beasts is heroic; death and danger are definite factors, and there is a boastful implication, a victorious sentiment that is missing in the Getty hunt.

The Getty mosaic finds its closest thematic parallel in a portion of the large floor from the Esquiline Hill in Rome, which is usually dated to the early fourth century (fig. 8). The influence of North African mosaics on this piece has been noted by scholars, as it seems atypical of the Italian tradition. In the surviving sections, three independent hunts take place. Two of these show bears and gazelles being chased into nets and appear to be in the pure genre mode. The third, a boar hunt, is in the more heroic vein. The objective of the bear hunt is the live capture of animals, as emphasized by the presence of a transport cage. No weapons are used, but large dogs help the hunters pursue the bears and lead them into the traps. Landscape is sketchily suggested by trees and rocks, and there are hardly any defined groundlines or shadows except for the geometric frame. A few narrow bands and a half-hidden figure in the gazelle hunt imply receding landscape, but in the bear hunt the various elements are ambiguously placed against a neutral ground. Recession into depth is limited, and there is an obvious lack of proportion between figures. Aymard suggests that the Esquiline floor was the commission of a high-ranking Constantinian official responsible for procuring animals for the games and that the mosaicist was relying on various large-scale paintings for models. Because of the sparse interpretation of setting and the awkwardness of proportion, however, one could as easily imagine miniature painting as a source. Certainly in terms of narrative, Oppian’s *Cynegetica* could be the original inspiration for the Esquiline mosaic, as well as for the Getty

28. Perhaps the nearest analogy for the Leptis frescoes is the mosaic of Magerius from Smirat, Tunisia, dated circa 240—250, which shows leopards being killed in the arena. See Dunbabin, 67—69, pls. 52—53.
30. Lavin, 258; Dunbabin, 213.
31. Aymard, 64—66.
Figure 7. Detail of leopard hunt from Hunting Baths. Leptis Magna, Libya, third century. Watercolor by N. Calabro from J. B. Ward Perkins and Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, "The Hunting Baths at Leptis Magna," *Archaeologia* 93 (1949), pl. xlii.

piece. The use of a literal groundline in the Getty hunt, however, places it firmly in the compositional tradition of North Africa and most likely at an earlier date than the Esquiline mosaic, which borrows from an already well-established pictorial mode and creates its own spatial solutions.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in support of a provenance in Africa Proconsularis for the Getty hunt comes from the purely ornamental features—the double guilloche, the acanthus rinceaux (fig. 1g), and the laurel festoon (fig. 1h). Since such decorative motifs tend to survive longer than an individual figure style, they offer less reliable criteria for dating than they do for determining geographic origin. There is a definite resemblance between the decorative features on the Getty hunt and motifs in use around Carthage and Utica from the early third century through the beginning of the fifth. A similarity has already been noted between the Getty acanthus rinceaux and those framing the Carthage boar hunt dated circa 210–230. A corresponding border, although somewhat less intricate, is found in the peristyle of the Maison de la Chasse in Utica framing a badly damaged group of emblema; it is dated after 350. Perhaps the strongest evidence in support of a provenance in Africa Proconsularis for the Getty hunt comes from the purely ornamental features—the double guilloche, the acanthus rinceaux (fig. 1g), and the laurel festoon (fig. 1h). Since such decorative motifs tend to survive longer than an individual figure style, they offer less reliable criteria for dating than they do for determining geographic origin. There is a definite resemblance between the decorative features on the Getty hunt and motifs in use around Carthage and Utica from the early third century through the beginning of the fifth. A similarity has already been noted between the Getty acanthus rinceaux and those framing the Carthage boar hunt dated circa 210–230. A corresponding border, although somewhat less intricate, is found in the peristyle of the Maison de la Chasse in Utica framing a badly damaged group of emblema; it is dated after 350. This wide division of dates shows the difficulties in establishing a firm chronology by means of decorative elements, but it does prove that acanthus scrolls were a part of the Proconsularian repertory at an early date. The same is true for the guilloche border. The one that surrounds the Getty hunt finds close analogies in two mosaics from Utica, one of which is now in the Louvre, the other in the Bardo in Tunis. The two, with firm provenances, are dated to the first half of the third century. All three borders appear as if they could have been set by the same craftsman or, at least, the same atelier.

The stylized laurel border was a preferred motif among workshops in Africa Proconsularis, especially those from Carthage. Numerous examples exist in which festoons are employed to frame figures and scenes or to segregate individual subjects or small vignettes. In the Maison des Autruches in Sousse, Tunisia, festoons interspersed with fruit and flowers surround three rectangular mosaics dated circa 250. Other later examples dated circa 300 are to be found in the Maison des Chevaux from Carthage; in these mosaics, stylized laurel garlands create patterns that enclose individual figures from the amphitheater. In the fourth-century Maison de la Chasse in Utica, a simple laurel grid frames small hunting vignettes that seem to be drawn from the pattern book without any attempt to create a unified picture. One of the closest stylistic parallels for the Getty hunt festoon comes from the Great Peristyle of Piazza Armerina. There, circular wreaths tied with ribbons surround wild animal heads. The execution and shading of both leaves and ribbons are enough alike to indicate that the same atelier is responsible, but this still makes accurate dating impossible, since pattern books and techniques of craftsmanship could be passed from master to pupil over several generations. What is most important to note is that all of the decorative motifs on the Getty hunt find precedents or analogies in Proconsularis from the first half of the third century. While this does not necessarily prove an early dating, it does not negate the evidence in favor of such a theory.

CONCLUSION

The Getty mosaic may be seen as an early example of the genre hunt, one which reflects the origins of that mode in manuscript illustrations and their accompanying texts. The mosaic's narrative resemblance to passages in the Cynegitica of Pseudo-Oppian, dating to the first quarter of the third century, and to surviving copies after the original third-century illustrations suggests that similar treatises were the ultimate source of inspiration. Certainly the popularity of works like the Cynegitica coincided with a marked shift in mosaic subject matter to a more ordinary hunting vernacular. The unified, single viewpoint approach to space in the Getty hunt may be taken as a sign of early dating, reflecting the artist's insecurity about his subject and an adaptation from other media. Freed by the lack of an existing pictorial tradition, mosaicists quickly began to experiment with less axiomatic alternatives to the demands of subject and surface. The surviving evidence suggests that genre hunt mosaics developed in North Africa from the early third century under the artistic hegemony of workshops in Carthage and Utica. Analogies to works of established provenance and date place the Getty hunt logically within that tradition, and it should be dated perhaps between 220 and 250. Under any circumstances the Getty hunt is unique and should be accorded its rightful place among the corpus of important hunting mosaics.

The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities
Santa Monica

33. Alexander et al., 53, no. 306, pl. 32.
34. Alexander et al., 27, no. 275, pl. 17.
35. Dunbabin, 31, 74–75, pls. 60–64.
38. For a good reproduction see Bianchi Bandinelli, Rome: The Late Empire (London, 1971), pl. 224.
Ein Silberstreifen

Frank Brommer

Das J. Paul Getty Museum hat im Jahr 1983 einen vergoldeten, getriebenen archaischen Silberstreifen erworben (Abb. 1a–c), der im Folgenden besprochen werden soll.1


Die Vergoldung findet sich nicht auf der Rückseite. Dort erscheint das Silber und am unteren, wie oben zum Teil umgeschlagenen Rand Grünspan. Die Vergoldung ist auch auf der Vorderseite gelegentlich abgegangen, so vor allem am rechten Arm der ersten Gorgo, am linken Arm des Typhon, am rechten Arm der Klytaemnestra, am rechten Arm der Gorgo im vierten Feld, am rechten Unterarm der Athena. Das erste Feld (Abb. 1b) enthält eine nach rechts laufende Gorgo mit Punkten am Gewand unten, deren Kopf, linker Oberarm, rechter Fuss und beide Flügel fehlen. Im besseren Erhaltungszustand kehrt diese Gorgo aus der gleichen Form im vierten Feld wieder.


Die senkrechten Striche am Gewandrand, die sich auch bei Athena und Klytaemnestra wiederfinden, können nicht aus der Form kommen, da sie bei der Gorgo in Feld eins fehlen. Sie müssen von Hand gemacht worden sein. Ein weiterer Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gorgonen ist der Winkel, in dem die Schlange am Gürtel der rechten Körperseite entspringt: Bei Gorgo 1 waagrecht, bei Gorgo 4 steil nach unten.

1. Nr. 83.AM.343. Die Veröffentlichungserlaubnis und Fotos werden J. Frel verdankt.

Abb. 1b. Archaischer Silberstreifen. Linke Seite.

Abb. 1c. Archaischer Silberstreifen. Rechte Seite.

Im sechsten Feld (Abb. 1c) greift der kurzärmelige bekleidete bärtige Theseus in kurzem Gewand ohne Kopfbedeckung mit der rechten Hand das linke Horn des, wie die Gorgonen, frontal mit drei Zickzackstirnhaaren wiedergegebenen Minotauros an. An seiner rechten Seite fällt eine Haarsträhne, die ebensowenig schraffiert ist, wie der Bart des Theseus. Beide Ohren des Minotauros verlaufen waagrechz. Minotauros fasst mit seiner rechten Hand an seinen Hals, als wenn er dort verwundet wäre, oder weiß des Theseus linke Hand dorthin fasst. Seine behaarte Brust ist erhalten, aber nicht mehr der Unterkörper. Es bleiben noch 1,8 cm, also ein Drittel, in der Breite Platz, ausreichend für eine dritte, verlorene Figur, vielleicht wieder Athena.

Vom siebenten Feld (Abb. 1c) ist gerade noch die linke obere Ecke erhalten, die bis auf ganz geringe Haarreste leer ist.

Ausserdem gibt es lose kleine Fragmente:
1. Unterkörper einer weißlichen, mit Rhomben gezogenen und nach links gewandten Gestalt. Vor ihr befindet sich ein nackter Unterschenkel mit Knie. Das Ganze erinnert an die Gorgonen, aber das Gewand hat eine andere Form und der Rand ist rund. Das Randmuster ist anders und der Schenkel kommt mehr von oben.
2. Bartloser, also wohl weiblicher Kopf, denn alle männlichen sind bärtig, ohne Kopfbedeckung nach rechts, davor Finger von erhobener linker Hand, rechts Kopfhaare.


Diese mindestens sieben Felder fassen also eine (Feld eins, vier), zwei (Feld zwei) oder drei (Feld drei, fünf, sechs?) Gestalten. Am meisten ähnelt der Silberstreifen den Schildarmbändern, die ebenfalls in die archaische Zeit gehören und in der Größe entsprechen. Nur das Material ist anders und die Anordnung ist horizontal, nicht vertikal. Der Rand ist prunkvoller, das Relief höher und die Muskelatur artikulierter. Wie dort ist kein zusammenhängender mythologischer Zyklus, sondern einzelne Taten in willkürlicher Folge wiedergegeben.


Mainz

5. Kunze, Schildbänder 82.
7. VL 240,32,41.43.54; 241,78. Ausnahmsweise s.: VL 229, 21; 235 13.
9. Bronzeblech Florenz 93812, Opus nobile 54; Terrakottarelief AA 1937, 137 Abb. 9; Polledraravase London H 228.
15. DL III 322f.
3. Eleutherai. JHS 1892 Taf. 9. Payne, NC 226 fig. 104 G.
Ein kleines Bronzerhyton

Hille Kunckel


Gleichartige Rhyta mit der Protome eines Ziegenbockes, die die Funktion dieses Gefässes als Spendegefäß ebensowenig ausfüllen können, weil sie wie ein Füllhorn von Früchten überquellen, befinden sich in Rabat¹ und Paris.²


Die Statuetten sind alle in das 1. Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren, zum Teil (Pompeji) noch in die erste Hälfte des Jahrhunderts. In dieser Zeitspanne ist auch das in Rede stehende Tierprotomengefäss des Getty Museums, das in der hellenistischen Tradition dieser Gefäße steht,⁵ entstanden zu denken.

Es ist nun noch die Statuette eines Laren zu suchen, dem dieses Rhyton als Attribut gedient haben könnte. Zu denken ist beispielsweise an eine Bronzestatuette in Florenz,⁶ die nach Grösse, Typus, und Qualität mit dem Tierprotomengefäss verbunden werden könnte.

Köl

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⁶. Florenz, Mus. Arch., Inv. 2581, H. 20 cm, S. Reinach, RSt II 498,1.


Abb. 1c. Bronzerhyton. Vorderseite.
An Egotistical Lamp Maker from El Djem

Anna Manzoni Macdonnell

An interesting aspect of the Roman lamp-making industry is revealed in the presence of the maker's name on the bases of many terracotta lamps. Potters sometimes scratched and more often stamped either a single or tripartite name on their wares prior to firing. This practice, which became common during the first century and continued throughout the first three quarters of the second, provides a viable means of sorting the lamps into workshops.\(^1\)

In North Africa the words \textit{ex officina} were occasionally scratched into lamps preceding the maker's name; this information usually appears on the bottom. Inscriptions on the tops of lamps are not common, and when they do occur (usually not earlier than the fifth century), they have nothing to do with the lamp makers but instead carry devotional messages, most often in Greek.

The terracotta lamp from El Djem, now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, is unusual both for the form and the unique placement of its inscription (fig. 1a).\(^2\) Carved in the mold in the obverse (fig. 1b), the inscription reads: QVINTVS IVS[TVS] PICTOR ET CEMENS (Quintus Justus designer and lamp maker).\(^3\)

The lamp itself is slightly ovoid with an unpierced double-grooved handle, flat double-ring base, and somewhat rounded nozzle. It is made of friable buff clay covered with a worn brown slip. There are traces of burning at the nozzle, and the rim is decorated with a relief herringbone pattern. In addition to the inscription, which surrounds its outer limits, the discus sports two gamboling hares; these are drawn in an animated fashion but with no great attention to anatomical accuracy, leading one to wonder at the boast inherent in Quintus' message. Considered as a whole, the lamp is far from sophisticated in design and far from excellent in execution.

The date of this lamp, circa the end of the third century, has been determined on the basis of its general clumsiness of workmanship, crumbly clay, border design, and stubby unpierced handle.\(^4\) These features are characteristic of the quality of lamps made throughout the empire at this time.

The name of the maker, Quintus Justus, is significant because the Justus family was very well-known for its lamp making during the first and second centuries.\(^5\) Two branches of the family are distinguishable based on the signatures of two of their respective members: the first of these signed his works IVSTI (Justus) (fig. 2); the second used the tripartite name form MNOVIVST (M. Novius Justus) (fig. 3). Although they are contemporary, it is unlikely that both signatures came from the same atelier. The similarity in names and products, however, points to two members of the same family engaged in similar, but separate, lamp-making operations. Neither workshop has to date been excavated, but both were probably located close to El Djem. The fact that a person of the same name, the Quintus Justus who made the Getty lamp, should also be engaged in the same industry in the same location suggests that the longevity of certain lamp-making establishments may have been greater than is usually recognized.

After about the third quarter of the second century, signatures on lamps are rarely found. No reason has yet been

\(^1\) The study of these workshops is still in its formative stages. Among the authors who have done pioneering studies in the field are: Jean Deneauve, \textit{Lampes de Carthage} (Paris, 1969); Roman Haken, "Roman Lamps in the Prague National Museum," \textit{Sbornik Narodniho Musea v Praze} 12 (1958); Elda Joly, \textit{Lucernes del Museo di Sabratha} (Rome, 1974); Judith Perlzweig, \textit{The Athenian Agora}, vol. 3 of \textit{Lamps of the Roman Period} (Princeton, 1961).

\(^2\) The dimensions of the lamp are as follows: length: 11.9 cm, width: 8.6 cm, height (including handle): 5 cm. The lamp was excavated at El Djem and prior to coming to the museum was in a private collection in Santa Barbara.

\(^3\) \textit{Cemens} is here taken to be an abbreviation of the masculine noun \textit{caementarius}, -ii, meaning a stonemason, a mason, a builder of walls or, in this case, a maker of lamps and their molds. There is an interesting parallel to this inscription in the words \textit{carpenter} and \textit{carpenter} that appear on Attic pottery.

\(^4\) For a more detailed description of such late lamps see Deneauve, 220.

\(^5\) Until recently the workshop of \textit{MNOVIVSTI} in particular was thought to be an Italian one that subsequently opened a branch in North Africa. The workshop produced lamps of excellent quality in close imitation of Italian originals. See Deneauve, 86. Donald Bailey also initially thought this workshop to be of Italian origin due to the large number of lamps with this signature found in Italy. He has, however, changed his mind. See \textit{BMQ} 36 (1971-1972), 104; also D. M. Bailey, \textit{A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum}, vol. 2 of \textit{Roman Lamps Made in Italy} (London, 1980), 90. The numbers may be deceiving because many of the lamps made and excavated in North Africa are unpublished. Dispersal via the illegal market, which often results in sales through Italy, may also make it appear that more lamps originated in Italy than was actually the case.
Figure 1a. Lamp from El Djem, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.4.

Figure 1b. Discus of figure 1a. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.
A Lamp Maker from El Djem

Figure 2. Lamp by the North African lamp maker Justus, base of figure 4 (left). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.377.164.


Figure 4. Left, lamp by Justus (top of fig. 2). Center, lamp by M. Novius Justus (top of fig. 3). Right, lamp by M. Novius Justus; Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AQ.391.7.
determined for this, but to be sure, a decline in the quality of workmanship paralleled the demise of signatures. Signed lamps of the first and second centuries, although obviously mass-produced, were often of excellent quality and hence worthy of their makers' signatures (fig. 4). The lamp maker who stamped IVSTI so deeply and resolutely into his fine products seems to have been expressing great pride in his achievement.

Indeed, successful lamp makers had many reasons to be proud. Not only were their high quality products as good as any made in Rome itself, their own social and political status was often far from humble. It is known that at least one family of North African lamp makers, the Puellanaes, had two members in the senate during the reign of the Severans. Since their products appear to have been more widely dispersed throughout the empire than those of the Puellanaes, it is likely that the Justus family also achieved an elevated financial and social status, although probably never attaining senatorial rank. It is small wonder then that their descendant Quintus should be so proud of advertising the family name.

One can only speculate upon Quintus' decision to revive the practice of signing lamps, but it is possible that the form of inscription he chose was influenced by the legends on contemporary coinage. A new imperial mint was established at Carthage at just about the same time that this lamp was manufactured. Although late, it was an active mint, undoubtedly employing many residents from the area. It would appear that the inscription on this lamp, encircling the discus as it does, was inspired by products of this mint. Certainly a relationship between artistic representations on lamps and coins does exist. The present example may establish a closer relationship between the two.

Los Angeles

6. Deneauve, 85–86.
Sacrifices à Thorikos

Georges Daux

La stèle de marbre—massive, et dépourvue de tout ornement (figs. 1a-c)—qui énumère, mois par mois, des sacrifices offerts par le déme attique de Thorikos à ses dieux, héros et héroiennes, est devenue en 1979 la propriété du musée J. Paul Getty à Malibu, sur la côte du Pacifique. Pendant deux décennies ou davantage elle avait été dissimulée par les inventeurs dans un poulailler. Aucun helléniste, aucun archéologue n'avait été admis à en copier le texte; celui-ci n'a commencé à être connu qu'à partir de 1975, à travers une puis deux copies maladroites mises en circulation à l'intention d'acheteurs éventuels; malgré sa belle apparence l'inscription ne se lit pas aisément au bord des cassures, on le verra, et l'état de saleté dans lequel elle a été maintenue pendant des années avant de s'intégrer dans le commerce des antiquités, puis de prendre une place d'honneur dans un musée, est à l'origine de déchiffrements absurdes qui ont cruellement gêné et égaré les éditeurs successifs (ainsi que leurs conseillers).

Le support de ce texte est une dalle rectangulaire qui est devenue stèle (voir la ligne 63 du texte grec), après achèvement de la gravure, du fait de sa mise en place. Elle mesure 1 m 32 de hauteur et 55 cm de largeur; l'épaisseur varie de 18 à 19,5 cm, car le dos n'était pas destiné à être visible, et il a été inégalement ravalé. Les 65 lignes du texte principal occupent presque toute la surface antérieure. Les marges vacantes se réduisent à 2 cm en haut et 4 cm en bas; le long des bordes verticaux, à un centimètre, entre les files extrêmes et chacune de même que la hauteur de celles-ci, qui se situe autour de 1 cm. La date est donnée par la graphie et par la forme des lettres: nous sommes au coeur de la première moitié du IVe siècle avant notre ère.

L'ensemble de ces données semble promettre bien des facilités à l'épigraphiste. On verra que les pièges restent nombreux. Mais d'abord une courte bibliographie et quelques indications pratiques sont indispensables.

La première publication du texte est due à Eugène Vanderpool, «A South Attic Miscellany», pp. 33-41, du compte rendu du Colloque [thoricien] de 1973 intitulé Miscellanea Graeca, fasc. I, Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times (Gent, 1975). La copie très partielle publiée là avait été soumise à David F. Ogden, un jeune Américain, classiciste, qui a essayé de la mettre au net. On la désigne comme copie A ou quelquefois copie Ogden, de même qu'on appelle copie B ou copie Dunst celle, presque complète, qui a servi aux publications dont il va être question. Mais il est essentiel de rappeler que les deux copies sont l'œuvre d'illetrés, qui devant des caractères très lisibles—aussi lisibles que des affiches ou enseignes modernes—nourriraient l'illusion de pouvoir les transcrire.

Günter Dunst a été le premier à utiliser la copie B, qui couvrait presque tout le texte conservé, et son édition est en ce sens une édition princeps (ZPE 25 [1977], pp. 243-264). Jules Labarbe, qui préparait alors le recueil des textes littéraires et épigraphiques relatifs à Thorikos, a pu, en fin de parcours, insérer dans son Thorikos, les Testimonia (Gent, [fin] 1977) sous le n° 50, pp. 56 à 64, un texte qui repose exclusivement, comme celui de Dunst, sur les deux copies A et B; le décalage des dates lui a permis en outre de tenir compte—soit pour les accepter, soit pour les rejeter—des remarques et commentaires de Dunst.

2. Le lieu exact de la trouvaille reste inconnu. Souhaitons que les langues enfin se délient.
3. Les mesures m'ont été communiquées par le conservateur des antiquités, J. Frel, avant même que la stèle fût exposée, à un moment où elle pouvait être aisément examinée sur toute l'étendue de ses six faces ou côtés. Je l'en remercie vivement, ainsi que de sa collaboration active pour un premier établissement du texte—d'un vrai texte—dans la période qui a précédé mon séjour à Malibu. Il m'est arrivé plus d'une fois de le consulter sur place, et encore en 1981, par correspondance, pour apaiser mes scrupules, tant je savais pouvoir faire confiance à son objectivité, à sa rigueur, et à l'acuité de son oeil d'archéologue.
4. Il serait important pour la topographie des cultes de connaître le lieu de trouvaille: la pierre est très lourde et il y a des chances qu'elle soit restée en place depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à sa découverte clandestine.
5. L'omicron vaut pour ơ et pour la fausse diphtongue ou, l'épsilon pour ɛ et pour la fausse diphtongue ou.
6. Il a par la suite abandonné les études classiques.
7. Ni Ogden, ni Dunst n'ont la moindre responsabilité dans les copies elles-mêmes, et il vaudrait mieux s'en tenir aux indicatifs neutres (copie A, copie B), qui ne mettent pas en cause les utilisateurs.
Figures 1a–c. (a) La stèle des sacrifices à Thorikos, face principale. (b) Côté gauche de la stèle. (c) Côté droit de la stèle. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AA.113.
J’ai rendu hommage aux auteurs successifs (Vanderpool, Dunst, Labarbe) en 1980, dans une communication qui modifiait quelques passages du texte grec; hommage d’autant plus sincère que j’avais sur presque tous les autres problèmes partagé leur embarras pendant des mois. Je me résignais alors à attendre que surgisse quelque part la stèle et que le texte soit enfin déchiffré.


Les lecteurs sensibles à l’aventure épigraphique se reporter-on aux articles que nous venons de passer en revue (même s’ils sont largement dépassés), y compris mes Recherches preliminaires (voir la référence dans la note 8, ci-dessous). Toutefois ce serait un travail considérable et désormais inutile que d’établir un apparaître critique qui tiendrait compte de toutes les variantes et de toutes les exégèses proposées par les trois éditeurs successifs. Je précise que j’ai préféré ne pas recourir moi-même à la copie B, qui est à l’origine d’une quantité de faux problèmes et d’erreurs encombrantes.

M’étant intéressé de longue date à l’inscription publiée de 1975 à 1977, je n’ai eu aucune difficulté à l’identifier sur une photographie médiocre qui m’a été remise en 1978. La stèle était-elle déjà arrivée à New York, et quand? Je ne saurais le dire; en 1980 elle a été fort bien nettoyée à Malibu, où elle est devenue lisible, peu à peu, mais je n’ai pas retrouvé pour autant la paix et la sérénité: ni les précieuses indications qui m’ont été procurées par J. Frei sous forme de ses lectures, et aussi de photographies et d’estampages, ni les examens directs que j’ai pu faire au long de mon séjour à Malibu, fin 1980, à un moment où la pierre était déjà exposée, ne m’ont permis d’établir le texte que je propose aujourd’hui. Il m’auroit fallu plusieurs mois de réflexion interminable pour aboutir à des solutions qui me satisfassent et pour considérer ma tâche d’éditeur comme quasi-terminée. Dès maintenant je renvoie globalement le lecteur à plusieurs articles complémentaires, à paraître dans des délais plus ou moins courts. Il était impossible de tout dire en une fois; c’est petit à petit que sera confirmé ou ébranlé, par d’autres ou par moi, le choix de telle ou telle restitution, et que l’intelligence du texte sera améliorée; il faudra beaucoup de réflexion encore et de place pour faire progresser l’analyse et pour mieux définir les problèmes de forme et de fond.

La transcription du texte grec a été simplifiée au maximum. Le toponyme Μουσηίδος (ou -ως), qui est nouveau (ligne 45 et tranche droite), n’a pas été accentué. J’ai introduit à leur place les seuls signes de ponctuation utilisés—sans rigueur ni constance—par le graveur, à savoir deux ou trois points disposés verticalement entre deux groupes de mots. Et puis un trait horizontal, bien visible sur la photographie, marque la fin de chaque paragraphe, lequel correspond de bout en bout à un mois; il y en avait donc onze en tout, dont dix sont conservés; chacun coiffé sur une largeur de plusieurs lettres le nom du mois, qui est toujours en tête de ligne, avec une seule exception: le premier mois se présente à cheval sur la ligne 1 et la ligne 2, après un titre de 19 lettres qui est perdu;

11. d’autre part la pierre est cassée à l’endroit où commençait le paragraphe consacré au deuxième mois (ligne 10, restitution). Dix paragraphes donc, de dimension inégale (le plus long a quatorze lignes), commencent avec le nom d’un mois (lignes 13, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40, 47, 52), depuis le troisième jusqu’au douzième.

En fait de ponctuation moderne nous utilisons largement la virgule et, en fin de paragraphe, le point. C’est tout; il n’y a pas de «point et virgule» (ni «deux points» autres que ceux du lapicide). Les signes critiques sont ceux du SEG et des IG.

Je ne terminerai pas cette entrée en matière sans résumer en quelques mots l’évolution de mon état d’esprit au fur et à mesure que le temps passait et que je mesurais mieux les difficultés d’une tâche qui m’était apparue comme un jeu à partir du moment où l’accès à la stèle m’était assuré. L’optimisme dont j’ai fait preuve dans ma communication de 1980 (Recherches preliminaires), par exemple page 465, était imprudent, et j’en suis progressivement revenu. La nature du texte est telle que les restitutions ne peuvent que très exceptionnellement être suggérées par le mouvement de la phrase. Seul le dernier paragraphe, qui est aussi le plus long, échappe au


9. L’apparue critique des Testimonia est plus commode à consulter que celui de la ZPE. Dans un cas difficile Dunst a omis de signaler (et de souligner) que dans le groupe Ερασμώται la cinquième lettre figure avec constance (trois fois) sous la forme T; copie A (ligne 14) et copie B (ligne 14 et ligne 47); dès lors la correction est Ερασμώται-; se justifiait d’autant moins qu’elle ne donnait pas un sens satisfaisant.

10. Les itinéraires et les étapes des antiquités clandestinées sont entourées de mystère.

11. La donnée «19 lettres» ne suffit pas pour le restituer. Comment oublier que la stèle d’Erchia portait en titre une expression parfaitement conservée, mais qui n’a pas été expliquée de façon convaincante: «La grande demarchie» (cf. le 3ème volume de Sokolowski, 1969, Lois sacrées des cités grecques, n° 18, pp. 360sq.)? Cette partie de la pierre d’Erchia est-elle perdue, il n’y avait aucune possibilité de retrouver la bonne lecture. Mieux vaut ne pas combler la lacune.
pointillisme de l'ensemble, qui a la précision et la sécheresse d'une liste ou de listes imbriquées.12 Dans ces conditions les lacunes des lignes 1 à 9, puis de certaines lignes de 25 à la fin deviennent irrémediables,13 sauf quelques cas pour lesquels un recoupement précis, à l'intérieur de ces 65 lignes, impose ou suggère une restitution limitée. D'une façon générale les fautes semblent avoir été corrigées par le lapicide, mais les corrections ne sont pas toujours claires.

FACE PRINCIPALE

13. On mesurerà l'étendue des dégâts matériels soit sur la faç 1 soit sur la transcription. Le début des lignes 1 à 9 (la moitié et plus) a disparu. Les lignes suivantes (10 à 27) se restituent avec plus ou moins de certitude, mais la confiance de l'éditeur est mise à l'épreuve par les accidents survenus lignes 23 et 27. Ensuite, jusqu'à la fin du texte, des questions continuent de se poser (lignes 36, 49, 52, etc.) sans parler de la surprise provoquée par la disposition des deux dernières lignes.

TRADEUCTION DE LA FACE PRINCIPALE

(Juillet-Aout). Lignes 1-9:

«En Hécatombaïon, ----- assurer le déjeuner du [gardien (?) et de tous les acolytes --- une drachme --- ] Poseidon, un agneau sélectionné, pour...»

(Aout-Sept.). Lignes 10-12:

«[En Métageitniôn] pour Zeus Kataïbatés, dans l'enclos sacré, au Delphinion, une victime adulte à vendre. Fournir une victime pour la prestation du serment par les commissaires-contrôleurs».

(Sept.-Oct.). Lignes 13-24:

«En Bôdromion, fête des Pherosia; pour Zeus Poleus, un mouton sélectionné, un porcelet sélectionné; des femmes acclamant le dieu, un porcelet acheté, à brûler entièrement; à l'acolyte le prêtre assurera le déjeuner; pour Képhalos un mouton sélectionné; pour Procris un plateau; pour Thérikos un mouton sélectionné; pour les Héroïnes de Thérikos, un plateau; à Sounion pour Poseidon un agneau sélectionné, pour Apollon un chevreuil sélectionné pour Kourzaphos un porcelet femelle...»
sélectionné; pour Démèter une victime adulte, pour Zeus Her-keios une victime adulte, pour Kournotrophos un porcelet [pas-
sage raturé; pour Athéna un mouton à vendre]; à la Saline, pour Poseidon une victime adulte, pour Apollon un porcelet».

(Oct.-Nov.). Lignes 25-27:
«En Pyanopson, pour Zeus Kataibates, dans le [district dit des Phileméli] (d'air le temps et la correction envisa-
gées ci-après, côté gauche de la stèle; addition I), une victime
adulte à vendre, le 16 du mois; pour Néstias une victime
adulte, fête des Pyanopsia; pour Poseidon une victime adulte,
fête des Pyanopsia (voir le commentaire de la ligne 27) ».

(Nov.-Déc.). Lignes 28-30:
«En Maimaktriôn, pour Thérides, un boeuf de 40 (mini-
imum) à 50 (maximum) drachmes; pour les Héroïnes de Thé-
rides, un plateau».

(Déc.-Janv.). Ligne 31:
«En Poseideion, fête des Dionysia».

(Janv.- Fév.). Ligne 32:
«En Gamiélion, pour Héra, fête du Hiéros Gamos, [une
victime adulte (?)] ».

(Fév.-Mars). Lignes 33-35:
«En Anthestiriôn, pour Dionysos, le douzième jour du
mois, un jeune bouc avant la première dentition, roux
ou noir; à la fête des Diasia, pour Zeus Milichios un mouton à
vendre».

(Mars- Avril). Lignes 36-39:
«En Alphébolion, pour Hérelès une génisse, [un mouton
(?); pour Alénéa une victime adulte; pour les Anakes une
victime adulte; pour Hélène une victime adulte; pour Démèter,
dans la journée dite Chloía, une [brebis] pleine sélectionnée,
pour Zeus un agneau sélectionné».

(Avril- Mai). Lignes 40-46:
«En Mounychion, pour Arétémis Mounychia une victime
adulte; au sanctuaire d'Apollon Phthios une tritron; pour Kour-
notrophos un porcelet, pour Léa une chèvre, pour Arétémis une
chèvre; pour Apollon une jeune chèvre avant la première den-
tition; pour Démèter, dans la première file de la ligne 41, une
brebis pleine sélectionnée, pour Zeus un agneau sélectionné».

(Avril- Mai). Lignes 47-51:
«En Thargéliôn, pour Zeus des femmes acclamant le dieu,
un agneau sélectionné; pour Hyperpedios un mouton; pour les
Héroïnes de Hyperpedios un plateau; pour Nisos un mouton;

14. C'est une indication, parmi d'autres, qui prouve que le graveur
n'avait pas sous la main une répartition du texte, ligne par ligne, au
moment de passer à l'action.
15. Une restitution que je ne crois pas moins sûre, mais qu'il m'a fallu

pour Thras[———] un mouton, pour Sósineos un mouton, pour
Rogios un mouton, pour Pylochos un porcelet; pour les Héroïnes de Pylochos un plateau».

(Juin- Juillet). Lignes 52-65:
«En Sikelophorion, on fournira une victime pour la pre-
station du serment; fête des Plynteria, pour Athéna, un mouton
sélectionné; pour Aiglauros un mouton, pour Athéna un agneau
sélectionné; pour [Képha]los un boeuf de 40 (minimum) à 50
(maximum) drachmes, pour Poseidon un mouton de vingt
drachmes (maximum). Le contrôleur et ses parèdres pro-
nonceuront le serment suivant: [je contrôlerai la magistra-
pour laquelle le tirage au sort m'a désigné à cette
fin et je le ferai en fonction des décrets par lesquels cette
magistrature a été instituée». Il jurera par Zeus, Apollon,
Démèter, en lançant une imprecation extermínatoire; ses
parèdres en feront autant dans les mêmes termes. On inscrira
le serment sur une stèle qui sera exposée au Delphinion.
Toutes les magistratures élues seront soumises au contrôle,
sans aucune exception».

Le stoichédon est un cadre précieux et rigoureux, dans la
mesure où il est appliqué. En fait il existe au moins une ligne
de 29 lettres: c'est la ligne 17; la dernière file n'y a pas été
utilisée, et il faut compter avec la possibilité qu'il y en ait eu
d'autres exemples dans des passages à restituer, par exemple
ligne 36 et ligne 49. A la ligne 62, le premier iota est fautif;
or il occupe à lui seul une file; la ligne n'a en conséquence que
29 lettres valables.14 A cheval sur les lignes 40-41, le mot
teleon, partiellement restitué (mais sûr), implique une erreur:
se le second a été gravé déjà en fin de ligne 40, il a été répété
à tort en tête de la ligne 41; si rien n'a été gravé dans la
dernière file de la ligne 40, nous tenons un exemple de plus
d'une ligne à 29 lettres.

Rappelons d'autre part que la dernière ligne de chaque
paragraphe (de chaque mois donc) se termine selon les ha-
sards de la rédaction, c'est à dire n'importe où dans la suite des
30 files (voir lignes 24, 31, 39, 46) ou en fin de ligne: il y a
deux exemples sûrs de ce dernier cas, lignes 30 et 51; un troisi-
ème résulte de ma restitution, ligne 9.15

Il y a aussi des lignes de plus de 30 lettres. L'iota joue un
rôle prépondérant dans ce type d'irregularité. Dès la ligne 5,

nous rencontrons un iota interfile,16 entre les files 21 (A) et
22 (T); cette ligne avait donc au moins 31 lettres. Mais com-
ment savoir combien de fois l'insertion d'un iota, selon l'un
des deux modes définis note 16, a pu jouer dans les parties
restituées du texte? Et comment savoir si des resserrements de

justifier longuement dans un article parallèle et que je n'ai pas la place
de reproduire ici.

16. Au sens propre du mot: il est situé exactement dans l'espace de la
colonne vide qui sépare les deux files. Mais l'iota pouvait aussi être associé
lettres ne sont pas intervenus, dès l’origine ou à la suite d’une correction plus ou moins étendue (comme celle de la ligne 9), dans telle des lacunes que nous nous efforcions de combler en tenant compte du stoïchédon? Je suis presque sûr que la ligne 21 n’a pas moins de 33 lettres. Après le datif de déesse (files 22 à 27), où le groupe 11 n’occupe que la file 27, les cinq lettres \( \text{TEA[EO]} \) sont rassemblées sur un espace correspondant à celui de trois files (28, 29, et 30).

Une longue familiarité avec le texte et un réflexion plusieurs fois recommandée de bout en bout m’ont convaincu que le secrétaire-rédacteur et le lapicide, et tous leurs collaborateurs éventuels, ont fait preuve de gravures inattention. D’autre part, à mesure qu’ils avancent vers le bas de la dalle-stèle, leur inquiétude sur le sort réservé aux dernières lignes n’a cessé de croître; la mise en page de ce texte important avait été mal calculée, ou du moins au plus juste, ce qui risquait d’être gênant, et l’a été en effet.

Puisque je ne puis donner, dans cet article de présentation, tous les éléments du commentaire qui justifient à mes yeux la transcription et les restitutions du texte principal, je me bornerai à mettre en valeur quelques remarques, mais il me faut d’abord publier le texte des compléments qui ont été gravés sur les deux tranches de la dalle-stèle, à des dates diverses.

CÔTÉ GAUCHE DE LA STELE

Les plus anciens compléments sont, semble-t-il, ceux qui figurent sur la tranche gauche, probablement mieux exposée et plus accessible pour les passants (et peut-être aussi pour le travail du graveur). Par la force des choses les compléments sont ici orientés vers le début des lignes. Il y en a trois.

1, à hauteur de la ligne 31 et de l’interligne 31–32 de la face principale:

\[-\omega^\text{r} \text{ τόξω} \text{ Πυ}-\]

\[-\text{ορύ} \text{ιοσ} \text{ νιατ} \]

Même écriture que le texte principal. Voir ci-après, à propos de la ligne 27 de la face, dont nous avons ici le complément.

2, à hauteur de la ligne 42 du texte principal:

\[-\text{I’Ερηκίω}: \text{ού,} \]

\[\text{[pour Zeus] Herkeios un mouton.}\]

Ce texte ne peut pas s’insérer dans la ligne 42, ni dans les deux lignes qui encadrent celle-ci. Voir ci-après le côté droit de la stèle, n° 3: c’est une nouvelle et choquante négligence! Même date que pour I.

III, à hauteur de la ligne 58:

\[-\omega^\text{ιγης} \text{ Κορωνέω}: \text{οὔ}, \]

pour les Héroïnes de Corone, un mouton.

Il faut conclure que le déme avait une relation spéciale avec la cité de Corone, en Béotie. Mais on se demande à quoi rattacher ce texte et où se trouvent les deux premières lettres du premier mot. En tout cas ce sont les seules Héroïnes du document à recevoir autre chose que trois peau. L’erreur sur la place est considérable; faut-il remonter d’une dizaine de lignes?

CÔTÉ DROIT DE LA STELE

Ce côté est resté invisible jusqu’au nettoyage final de la pierre; il est donc inédit. Date: probablement assez postérieure au reste de la stèle (? et de combien?). Les lignes commencent ici au bord de l’arête verticale droite de la face antérieure et se dirigent vers la face postérieure.

I, en face des lignes 4, 5, et 6, dont je reproduis en tête les dernières lettre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numéro</th>
<th>Lettres</th>
<th>Explication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(-\text{ίκατερ} )</td>
<td>IMTKHINON[N Mykenos ou non], toponyme nouveau, se retrouve dans le texte principal, ligne 45, précédé de (\epsilon).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(-\text{πηρος} )</td>
<td>ANOIN-----(?), precede de (\epsilon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(-\text{όινος αἳγα} )</td>
<td>(\text{[1]}) ISO, precede de (\epsilon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Les trois lignes complémentaires sont à revoir et à étudier sous des éclairages variés. On pourrait gagner des lettres. Les lectures successives et très différentes entre elles que j’ai pu faire ne me satisfont pas et elles n’ont pas place ici. Un raccord isolé pourrait se faire entre la ligne 5 (\(\text{πηρος-} \) du texte principal) et le groupe \(\text{[?]}\) de complément. Mais l’écheveau de possibilités est si embrouillé qu’il est vain de nourrir un espoir devant les mutilations de cet ensemble.

Il, suite à la ligne 12, une addition parfaite:

\(\Phiοινικη \text{ τοξ[εω]}.\) Pour Phoinix une victime adulte.

à une autre lettre dans l’espace normal réservé aux files verticales; la chose était facile, non seulement avec un autre iota (ainsi \(\Delta \text{i} \) est le plus souvent répété dans deux files, l’une réservée à \(\Delta \) et l’autre regroupant les deux \(\Delta \) ), mais avec la plupart des lettres; seules les lettres très larges dans cette écriture excluaient la combinaison: ainsi le \(\text{M, le } \text{Φ, l’Ω, etc.}\)

17. La place de ce complément, contemporain du texte principal, est donc erronée, à cinq lignes près quelle négligence!

18. On a évité de procéder à la moindre rasura à cet endroit et de défigurer la belle ordonnance du document.

19. Pour \(\text{L’Amè (la Saline), cf. Ferguson, Hesperia} 1938, textes 1 et 2.\)

20. Dans un cas tel les données sont suffisantes pour exclure le doute: toutes les lettres du nom du dieu doivent se caser en fin de ligne 23, avant
Mais ce sacrifice se rapportait-il aux responsabilités des magistrats? Et l’auteur de l’addition a-t-il fait preuve de plus d’exactitude dans l’exécution que son collègue de la tranche gauche? La réponse, on va le voir, sera positive pour la troisième et dernière addition de ce côté droit.

III, suite à la ligne 44.

[Δι' 'Ε]ρακλέως: οἷος Pour Zeus Herkéios un mouton.

Ce complément serait à sa place avant l’offrande à Philonis. Mon hypothèse, celle du moment où je m’explique (et de quelques autres depuis deux ans) est que, le n° II du côté gauche étant mal placé et comportant une inexactitude quant à la qualification de la victime, on l’a présenté ici une seconde fois, de façon plus claire et plus exacte, sans pour autant veiller à faire disparaitre la première version.

Nous pouvons maintenant passer en revue les points les plus chaus de l’étourderie de l’équipe.

Ligne 23, les 17 premières lettres sont condamnées, avec une fermeté discrète, d’un trait exécuté par le même graveur auquel sont dues les barres qui séparent les paragraphes menus, dans le texte principal. Le sens de ce repêcher qui fait disparaître un sacrifice à Athèna m’échappe et je suis bien incapable d’imaginer un scénario vraisemblable des opérations successives, de l’insertion à la suppression. Aussitôt après, le graveur a, dans un premier temps, oublié le lambda de la Saline, mais il l’a rétabli avec soin et clarté, en plaçant un Α plus petit dans l’interfile, au sommet de la ligne. Ainsi dans les files restées valables (19 à 30), il y a non pas 12 lettres, mais 16: à cause de ce lambda d’une part, et d’autre part à cause du groupe Ε qu’il faut restituer dans la file 26 (ou d’un groupe NI dans la file 30).20

La ligne 27, dans son état actuel de mutilation, m’a d’abord égaré. J’ai pensé devoir restituer p[ratōn] après le nom de la fête, en supposant que, trompé par l’initiale commune à la lettre et à l’adjectif, le lapicide avait d’abord sauté l’adjectif et pour une fois, en mesure de retracer les péripéties d’une étourderie lourde de conséquences, à partir de la confusion entre deux Pyanopsios. Toutefois notre graveur s’est montré égal à lui-même, dans la dernière étape, troublé le graveur, c’est la répétition du groupe τέλεων Πυανόψιος dans la rédaction qu’il avait à reproduire, et il est passé sans en apercevoir du premier groupe au second,22 qui était identique. Il a en toute bonne foi arrêté sa ligne après le premier Pyanopsios, c’est-à-dire que le texte gravé se terminait avec la file 23, laissant vides les files 24 à 30, comme il est normal en fin de paragraphe. Cette première version ne comportait donc pas le pi de la file 24 qui m’a tant généré; la ligne se bournait aux trois mots:

Νεανία τέλεων, Πυανόψιος.

C’est la conscience tranquille que le graveur poursuivait sa tâche en passant à la ligne 28, pour un nouveau paragraphe, marqué par une ligne horizontale entre le début des deux lignes 27 et 28, et ligne 28 par le nom du mois suivant. Nous ignorons jusqu’à où il reproduisit la suite du texte et peut-être avait-il déjà gravé plusieurs lignes quand un membre de l’équipe lui signalait son erreur ou quand, par chance, il s’en aperçut lui-même. Il était de toute façon trop tard pour que la face antérieure de la tète pût accueillir la fin du paragraphe consacrée au mois Pyanopsion (lignes 25-29). Une nouvelle négligence de l’équipe (mauvaise localisation en hauteur du complément apporté à la ligne 27: il s’en faut de 4 lignes et même un peu plus) a empêché que le rapprochement s’impose plus vite à moi; aux trois mots cités quelques lignes plus haut est venu s’ajouter un ensemble qui commençait par le nom du dieu dont les sept premières lettres, [Πανεύθιον], tenaient dans les files 24-30, ligne 27 du texte principal; la suite gravée sur la tranche gauche complète le nom du dieu et introduit successivement la victime et le nom de la fête:

ligne 27: Π[σεύθιον] - tranche gauche: -ων τέλεων Πυανόψιος.23

Bien involontairement l’équipe faisait ainsi l’économie d’une ligne sur la face principale. Néanmoins le problème de la mise en place de la seconde moitié du texte va hanter les responsables, qui ont eu recours à deux palliatifs exceptionnels.24

Le premier a consisté à introduire dans le mot o’inh, début ligne 57, deux petits deltas superposés (entre l’iota et le ny), pour indiquer le prix de la victime (le prix maximum évidemment, mais aussi le prix au dessous duquel on ne devait pas l’offrande)25

la surface de la tranche gauche était alors vierge de gravure; or il n’a pas pris la peine de s’arrêter avec rigueur son addition, alors que cela lui était si facile; plusieurs centimètres de décalage, c’est trop.

22. Signalons brièvement au passage un accident de parcours qui témoigne de la fois de l’étourderie du graveur et de son ingéniosité lorsqu’il s’agit de maintenir la belle apparence de la face principale. L’état du verbe qui est à cheval sur deux lignes 59-60 avait été d’abord omis, il a été refait, au prix de retouches minutieuses, à sa place au début de la ligne 60, comme le l’explique ailleurs, en détail.
pas descendre trop). S’agissant de boeufs, lignes 28-29 et 55-56, on avait formulé de longues précisions (plus d’une ligne chaque fois). Le mouton est une bête plus modeste et l’on s’est contenté d’exprimer un bon prix en interfilant les 2 deltas (= 20 drachmes). En fait tout se passe comme si l’on avait éliminé une formulation, qui eût été plus conforme à l’esprit du calendrier. Le graveur (ou l’équipe) a profité de l’existence d’un iota à la deuxième place pour caser les deux deltas sans troubler le moins du monde la régularité des files ni décaler aucune lettre.

La seconde décision est plus remarquable encore. Arrivée à la fin de la ligne 63, l’équipe a décidé de répartir sur deux lignes de 22 lettres (files 1 à 22) les 44 lettres qu’il fallait encore caser. La liaison est parfaite de 64 à 65 et il n’y a aucun moyen—du moins je n’en ai pas trouvé—de porter à trente lettres la ligne 64. Pourquoi l’équipe a-t-elle choisi ce parti? Essentiellement, à mon sens, parce qu’une dernière ligne 65 à 14 lettres seulement aurait été perdue au bas du texte, tout près de la limite inférieure de la stèle; le groupement des deux lignes finales sur une longueur différente les mettait en valeur, tout en maintenant l’alignement de départ à gauche, ce qui était essentiel pour l’unité du texte. Un accident de parcours, un de plus, a pu être réparé sans difficulté grâce à cette disposition. La chute d’une syllabe par cours, un d’e plus, a pu être reparti sans difficulty grace à cette disposition. L’a chute d’une syllabe par cours, un d’e plus, a pu être reparti sans difficulty grace à cette disposition.

Les restitutions, cela va de soi, appellent rapprochements et justifications. La nécessité d’un appareil critique est évidente, car les photographies suggèrent souvent de fausses lectures, et beaucoup de cas particuliers doivent être commentés; tout n’est pas également sûr dans l’interprétation des lettres mutilées. Il convient alors de décrire avec rigueur et détail l’état de la pierre et d’insister au besoin sur la relativité de certaines affirmations, formulées dans l’élancement d’une recherche orientée. De plus la densité de la liste rend indispensable un index alphabétique exhaustif qui reprenne tous les mots grecs et peut-être un index pour les catégories (dieux, victimes, etc…); le chercheur découvrira mieux ce qui l’intéresse et fera-nous l’espérons—des observations nouvelles. Apparat et index seront publiés dans une revue spécialisée.

Paris

POSTSCRIPT
This text has also been discussed by Professor Daux in an article in AntCl 52 (1983) 150-174.—ed.

25. Je crois volontiers que l’équipe a été effrayée par la longueur des indications accumulées lignes 55-56; la décision a dû être prise au dernier moment, celui où l’on abordait le mouton de Poseidon, lignes 56-57.

26. Décidément le graveur est imprévisible, et les fins de ligne—il faut le noter—ont été pour lui l’occasion de fautes diverses.

27. Deux menus exemples de laxisme (ou d’erreur?): l’équipe a utilisé à quelques lignes de distance deux formes du même mot λετερις—(ligne 35) et λετεριγράμμων (ligne 43); et dans une formulation de prix, elle hésite entre μηλίκτων et μηλίκαρτων (ligne 55 et lignes 28-29).

28. L’autre exemple, que j’ai par chance découvert et qui confirme l’existence de la voix moyenne du verbe ἄναστι, sera présenté dans un autre article et dans une communication à l’Association pour l’encouragement aux études grecques (avant la fin de l’année 1983).

29. Prenons un exemple. Que faut-il écrire dans la transcription fin ligne 4? La restitution est sûre et l’on est en droit d’écrire [p]. Or, de cette lettre, on voit ou on devine, à la casse, des traces d’une haste verticale, et, au sommet, une amorce qui j’interprète comme le départ de la boucle. Mais cette construction repose sur le mot grec, dont fait partie la lettre mutilée. Suivant qu’on est plus sensible aux restes (qui ne sont pas, en eux-mêmes, décisifs, mais qui entrent au mieux dans l’hypothèse) ou à la mutilation, on écrira p ou [p]; et je trouve dans mes dossiers les deux transcriptions, selon les jours. La liste de ces hésitations légitimes serait longue, et ce n’est pas ici le lieu de la dresser.
A New Tabula Iliaca: The Vasek Polak Chronicle

Stanley M. Burstein

Among the least understood of all ancient artistic monuments are the so-called Tabulae Iliaceae, monuments which their most recent editor, Anna Sadurska, has defined as "Greco-Roman bas-reliefs in miniature provided with Greek inscriptions and which illustrate literary works." In 1981 the J. Paul Getty Museum received a donation from Mr. Vasek Polak of Hermosa Beach, California, a fragment of one such Tabula Iliaca (figs. 1a–b).

The Getty Tabula Iliaca is an opisthographic plaque of limestone (the so-called palombino), measuring 7.5 cm in height by 5.0 cm in width by 2.0 cm in thickness. Except for the lower edge and what appear to be the remains of a tenon, presumably for mounting the monument in a slotted stand, no original edge is preserved. The recto contains a sculptured scene 6.3 cm in height executed in a soft summary style. Three figures resting on an undulating groundline, originally part of a rustic scene, are preserved—a kneeling male figure holding an object in his left hand and looking into what may have been a grotto appears in the left foreground; one horse and part of a second with the yoke and part of the wheel of a cart are located in the center; and the head of a standing male figure, probably a servant holding the horses, can be seen in the background. Below the groundline is a smooth beveled area, 1.2 cm in height, that bears an incomplete four-line inscription—hereafter referred to as inscription I—containing phrases from a prose literary text, possibly a letter, that somehow concerned the Persian king Xerxes (486–464). On the reverse is a second inscription consisting of the remains of three columns—hereafter referred to as IIA, IIB, and IIC—which were carved by the same cutter who worked on the recto and contain excerpts from a brief chronicle of European and Asian history.

The Getty Tabula Iliaca is the work of Sadurska's Cutter d, and as is true of the three other pieces ascribed to him—Sadurska 9D, 10K, and 18L (figs. 2a–b)—the quality of its workmanship is poor. This is particularly true of inscriptions I and II. The lettering is small, uneven in height—.75 mm in IIB, 1 mm in I and IIA, and 2 mm in IIC—and displeasing in appearance and arrangement. In inscription IIB, where his work can best be examined, these flaws are particularly apparent. Lengths of lines vary widely from twelve to twenty-five letters, and the spacing of letters is irregular with crowding common. Mistakes in spelling and errors in the transcription of the text being inscribed are also common.

The provenance and date of the Getty Tabula Iliaca are both unknown, but circumstantial evidence points to an origin in or near Rome and a date early in the reign of the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). This conclusion is based on the following three considerations: (1) two of the three other extant and N. M. Horsfall, "Stesichorus at Bovillae?," JHS 99 (1979), 26–48, who argues that they were essentially "vehicles for elementary adult education" of the nouveaux riches in Julio-Claudian Rome. Dr. Horsfall has published an additional Tabula Iliaca in JHS 103 (1983), 144–147.

2. Cf. H. L. Lorimer, "The Country Cart of Ancient Greece," JHS 23 (1903), 152–151. For the details of this reconstruction, I am indebted to the suggestions of J. Frel and A. T. Raubitschek to whom I also owe the reference to Lorimer's excellent article.

3. The relationship of the scattered letters that constitute inscription IIC to inscriptions IIA and IIB is puzzling. Similarities in letter form, particularly in the case of sigma, indicate that it is part of the original composition. Possibly, as was suggested to me by A. T. Raubitschek, IIC is all that remains of an explanatory colophon.

4. In addition to the close similarity in format and lettering that exists between Sadurska 18L and the Getty Tabula Iliaca (cf. figs. 1a–b with 2a–b), there are similar orthographic peculiarities, see note 6 below.


6. See Adolph Michaelis, Griechische Bilderchroniken, ed. Otto Jahn (Bonn, 1873), 78, for similar phenomena in Sadurska 18L. Particularly noteworthy is the spelling περι στης in inscription I, line 4 and in FGrH 252 A12 (cf. CIG 4, p. 19, n. ad loc.).
Figure 1a. *Tabula Iliaca*, recto. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AA.113.
Figure 1b. Verso of figure 1a.
Figure 2a. Sadurska 18L, recto. Rome, the Museo Capitolino. Photo: Permission of the Museo Capitolino.

Figure 2b. Verso of figure 2a. Photo: Permission of the Museo Capitolino.
examples of the work of Cuter d are from Rome itself or the Roman Campagna; (2) the style of the sculpture on the recto suggests a date early in the Julio-Claudian period; and (3) the chronicle excerpted on the reverse is the same as that found on Sadurska 18L, the so-called Chronicon Romanum, which was composed in A.D. 15/16. Taken together, these facts indicate that the Getty Tabula Iliaca was made in the same workshop and about the same time as Sadurska 18L, which is dated circa A.D. 16–20.

Unfortunately, a complete reconstruction of the original composition, of which the Getty Tabula Iliaca is a fragment, is not possible. Particularly unfortunate is our inability to identify the subject of the sculpture on the recto. There are, however, several indications as to the general theme of the monument, and they suggest that it was historical in character, namely, some aspect of the reign of the Persian king Xerxes. Confirmation of this suggestion is provided both by the mention of Xerxes in inscription I and by the format and content of IIA and II B. Particularly significant are the presence of a 1.3 cm high uninscribed space across the bottom of the reverse and a 1.5 cm wide uninscribed area to the right of inscription II. Combined with internal evidence provided by inscription II itself, these blank spaces indicate that the Getty fragment formed part of the lower portion of an originally square or rectangular monument and that column II B formed the end of the chronicle portion of the inscription on the reverse of the original monument. The conclusion of the chronicle, therefore, dealt with the invasion of Europe by Darius I, circa 512, the first Persian intrusion into Europe and the ideal introduction to a composition dealing with the reign of Darius’ son and successor Xerxes, the author of the great invasion of Europe in 480/79. Ultimately, however, given the speculative nature of this or any reconstruction of the original composition, the principal interest of the Getty Tabula Iliaca must be its inscriptions. Particularly intriguing is inscription II B, which contains a fuller, though parallel, text of the sixth-century B.C. section of the Chronicon Romanum than that provided by Sadurska 18L. Inscription II B also provides important new evidence concerning the organization and sources of the Chronicon Romanum itself.

GREEK TEXT OF THE VASEK POLAK CHRONICLE

1

3 [—?] τοῦ θεσποροῦν διεξετάς τοὺς εἰς τὴν ΜΙΝΤΑ [—?] 

4 [—?] τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπί τὸν οἰκήσας ἔδθεν [—?—] 

IIA

5

15 [—?— ca. 18] OTΣ

II B

10

15 [—?— ca. 18] τοῦ θεοῦ ἔδθεν.

18 [—?— ca. 18] ὑπέρ

20

18 [—?— ca. 18] ὑπέρ

25 [—?— ca. 18] ὑπέρ

30 [—?— ca. 18] ὑπέρ

35 [—?— ca. 18] ὑπέρ

7. Sadurska 9D comes from Rome (cf. Sadurska, 55). According to W. Henzen, “Eine neuendeckte griechische Zeittafel,” Rheinisches Museum p.s. 9 (1854), 163, Sadurska 18L was found somewhere in the Roman Campagna.

8. As I have been informed by J. Frel.


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10 Αὐτὸς ἐπεστημένος ἔρχετο καὶ τοῖς ἑπτά κύριοι οὖν ἔνοχοι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπιστήμου, ἔτη.

15 Τότε ἴσαρθεν θύραις καὶ ἱματίας ηὐπέρᾳ καὶ γένους, ἀπέβαλεν.

19 Τότε Ἰχάρων ἔγειτον, διεβιβάζοντας τὴν θύραν τοῖς δρόμοις τοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ἐνίσχυον ξίδων, καὶ ἔφτιαχνε τοῖς γενεαῖς, ἀπήγαγεν.

22 Αὐτῷ οὖν Κύρος ἔτελετον, διεβιβάζοντας τῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν Πράγματα καὶ γενεαῖς, ἀπέβαλεν.

26 Τὁν καταστρέφοντα, καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐκεῖ, συναόντος καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις ἐπιφυλαχθέντα, ἤθελον εἰς Ἱπποδόμον καὶ Καρμήνην ἔτελετον, Δαρείων δὲ ἔβαλενος ήπιενος, καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκ οἰκείας ἐπονήσωσεν τὸν τέχνην ἀνέλαβεν, ἐνίσχυσε.

30 Αὐτῷ οὖν Λαμπρίδιον καὶ Ἀριστοκρέας Παταρίων τῶν τύμπων ἐπιτιμήσας ἔκαθεν τούς Ἰππότατους, Κωβείαν ἐπονήσωσεν τὸν τέχνην ἀνέλαβεν, ἐνίσχυσε.

35 Αὐτῷ οὖν Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Καίτην ἔστρεψεν ἐπιστρατεύσεσθαι, ἐνίσχυσε.

IIA

16. [-----years until the present.] 825. 810/9
17. [From the time--------]

27. [-----years until the present.] 760. 745/4
28. [From the time--------] began to reign
29. [reign over--------]
30. [-----years until the present.] 716. 701/0
31. [From the time--------]
32. [-----years until the present.] 705. 690/89

IIB

5. From the time Phalaries [became tyrant], years until the present. [From the time the Wise Men and Chilon, ν [...]. From the the time Pisistratus] became tyrant in Athens, and] Aesop was hurled down a precipice by the Delphians, 10 years until the present.

10. From the time Croesus, having surrendered [...] the acropolis of Sardis, (and) having been taken prisoner by Cyrus, lost his kingdom; and there was also born Simonides, the lyric poet, and Anaximander, the natural philosopher, was 60 years old, years until the present, 561. 546/5
20. From the time Cyrus died, Cambyses succeeded to the throne, and also Anacreon, the lyric poet, flourished and Ibycus of Rhegium, years, 540. 525/4
25. From the time Cyrus died, and Cambyses, having succeeded, conquered Egypt; and Pythagoras was captured, and studied with the Magi, (and) having completed his studies, came to Italy; and Cambyses died; and Darius began to reign; and Xenophanes, the natural philosopher. From which time the total number of years, 50.
35. From the time Darius campaigned against the Scythians, years, 20.

NOTES

11. The following notes are intended solely to explicate the text and content of the Getty Tabula Iliaca. For the entries it shares with Sadurska 18L=FGrH 252, readers should consult the commentaries on that text by F. Jacoby, FGrH, 2d, pp. 827-829 and J. Baker (supra, note 10) 103-110, whose analysis I follow.
12. It is not possible to determine with certainty the chronological beginning point of IIA. Considering, however, the discrepancy that exists between the scale of treatment in IIB, which covered only a part of the seventh and sixth centuries, and that indicated for IIA, it is not impossible that IIA began as early as the Trojan War, the event with which the author of its main source, Apollodorus, began his chronicle.
13. One date, 810/9, it is true, does have a possible Eusebian parallel. Under this year (anno Abraham 1208=809) Eusebius places the floruit of Hesiod, based on the authority of Porphyry (cf. FGrH 260 F 20), but the derivation of this date from Apollodorus is doubtful (cf. Mosshammer, 194-195). One other date, 745/4, has a close, but not exact, paral-
ence to τοῖς θηγαμαροῖς combined with the locative phrase ἐν τῷ ΜΙΝΤ[-----?] in line two suggests a connection with the famous treasury of Minyas at Orchomenus in Bocotia (cf. Pausanias 9.38.2). Taken together, these facts suggest that the lines are an excerpt from a history or romance that dealt with the Persian War of 480/79.

Line I 4: The crossbar of theta in stoichos 23 was omitted.

Lines IIA 1–36: Proposed restorations are suggestions only, based on column IIB. The dates preserved at the ends of lines 16, 27, 32, and 35 and the apparent references to beginnings of reigns in lines 28 and 34 indicate that (1) column IIA dealt with the events of a period beginning sometime before the late ninth century and ending in the early seventh century B.C.,12 and (2) as in column IIB, the chronological framework was provided by entries marking the beginnings and endings of kings' reigns. No identifications are suggested here for the events to which the four preserved dates originally referred since there are no exact correspondences between them and those found in Eusebius' Chronicle or other ancient chronographic sources.13

Line IIB 4: In line 4, TO was inscribed above the level of the other letters in the line.

Line IIB 5: Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas (circa 570–554). Restoration of εὐπρέπειανευον is required because of the placement of the entry prior to the first tyranny of Pisistratus since the chronographic tradition assigned Phalaris a sixteen-year reign beginning in Ol. 53,4 = 565 (Clinton, vol. 2, 4).

Lines IIB 6–7: Restoration based on FGrH 252 B4. Γιακετατατατα for Χίλιον, traditionally ephor at Sparta in Ol. 55 or 56 = 560–555 (cf. Diogenes Laertius 1.68). The Chronicle Romanum’s low date for the Seven Wise Men (chronographic date Ol. 50 = 580/77; cf. Clinton, vol. 1, 229, 231; Mosshammer, 267–270) — implied by the placement of the entry concerning them after that for the accession of Croesus and before that for the death of Aesop (FGrH 252 B3–5) — probably reflects the influence of the tradition traceable to Ephorus (FGrH 70 F 181; Diodorus 9.28) wherein Aesop was a contemporary of the Seven Wise Men, all of whom except Thales visited Croesus. Unfortunately, the remainder of the entry for the Seven Wise Men is corrupt since Λυφὶ ὄσο in line 7, stoichoi 12–15, begins a new entry and, hence, should have been preceded by either a numeral or ἐποιεῖ and not ἐπὶ.

Lines IIB 7–9: Restoration of the entry concerning Pisistratus and Aesop is based on FGrH 252 B5. The Chronicle Romanum’s synchronism of the death of Aesop and Pisistratus’ first tyranny (historical and chronographic date: 561/0; cf. Balcer [note 10 below], 107) probably reflects the influence of Aesopic literature on its author, since it is paralleled elsewhere only in the work of the Augustan fabulist Phaedrus, one of whose fables (1.2) tells how Aesop chided the Athenians for complaining about Pisistratus’ tyranny when it was their own laxity that made it possible. In line 9 there is an intrusive iota in stoichos 3 and the lambda of Δελφῶν has been omitted.

Line IIB 11: I have read προβοσίων instead of προβοσίων because consistently in both the Getty Tabula Iliaca and FGrH 252, circumstantial information is conveyed via nominative participial phrases attached to the subjects of the main clauses of entries and not by genitive absolute constructions. Sigma in stoichos 19 was inscribed over another letter.

Lines IIB 15–16: μηλεστοίων here and in lines 21–22 is a spelling error for μελεστούχων. For the meaning of the imperfect and aorist tenses in chronographic texts see Mosshammer, 162. Apollodorus dated Simonides of Ceos’ birth to Ol. 56,1 = 556/5 (Jacoby, Apollodorus, 201–203; FGrH 244 F 67; Mosshammer, 218–219). Its placement at the end instead of the beginning of Croesus’ reign probably results from the author of the Chronicle Romanum’s rejection of the chronographic date for his accession, Ol. 54,4 = 561/0 (Clinton, vol. 2, 8; Mosshammer, 303; cf. FGrH 252 B3 which implies a date in the early or mid-560’s).14

Lines IIB 17–18: The source for the Chronicle Romanum entry on Anaximander is clearly Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 29 = Diogenes Laertius 2.2): Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὄρας καὶ φήσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς τῷ διέτερῳ ἐτῶς τῆς πεντηκοσίας ὁ ἐνδύτης Ὀλυμπιαδός εἶναι εἶναι ἔχοντα τετάρτῳ καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγων τελευτήσαι (ξ = 60) is probably only an error for ἐξέχρωντον τετάρτῳ (ξ = 64); cf. the note on lines 32–37 below for similar carelessness in the inscribing of a numeral).

14. J. Frel has brought to my attention that a similar spelling, ΓΕΙΑΩΝ, is attested on a mosaic now in Cologne (Gisela M. A. Richter, The Portraits of the Greeks [London, 1965], 94 with fig. 359).

15. Unfortunately, the impossibility of establishing whether the entry for the accession of Croesus (FGrH 252 B3) preceded or followed that for Phalaris precludes a closer determination of the Chronicle Romanum’s date for the beginning of the Lydian king’s reign.
Line IIB 18: The establishment of the fact that the *Chronicon Romanum*’s date for the fall of Sardis was 546/5 is important for two reasons. First, *contra* Jacoby (*FGKH* 2d, p. 829), it proves that its author made no attempt to reconcile the date for the end of Croesus’ reign with his upward revision of the date of the Lydian king’s accession implied by *FGKH* 252 B3. Second, it provides the first explicit evidence supporting Jacoby’s contention (*Apollodor*, 193; *FGKH* 244 F 66 with 2d, p. 748; cf. J. Mansfield, *Mmemosyne*, ser. 4, vol. 36 [1983], 205–206) that Apollodorus dated the fall of Sardis to 546/5, against Mosshammer’s (pp. 258–262) claim that he placed it in 547/6 on the basis of Babylonian sources, a theory that had already been weakened significantly by J. Cargill’s convincing demonstration (*AmJAncHist*, 2 [1977], 97–116) of the weakness of the cuneiform evidence adduced in support of that date.

Lines IIB 19–22: These lines are essentially a partial first draft of lines 23–31. Note the modification of διὰδεξιάτο in lines 19–20 to διὰδεξίαμενος in line 24. The incoherence of these lines results from compressing into a single entry the death of Cyrus (historical date: 530) and the beginning of the reign of Cambyses (530–522) and the subsequent failure to distinguish clearly which items in the entry refer to the reign of the former and which to that of the latter. Thus, the date 525/4, already known from *FGKH* 252 B7, is that for Cambyses’ conquest of Egypt (cf. lines IIB 24–25; Clinton, vol. 2, 14), while Anacreon (Ol. 61, or 2=536/5 or 535/4; cf. Clinton, vol. 2, 13; Mosshammer, 290–303) and Ibycus (Ol. 60,1=540/39; cf. Clinton, vol. 2, 11; Mosshammer, *ibid.*) belong to the reign of Cyrus.

Line IIB 22: The iota in καί was omitted and the name Ibycus misspelled.

Lines IIB 23–24: These lines are a slightly altered version of lines IIB 19–20.

Lines IIB 24–25: Apollodorus (Jacoby, *Apollodor* 215–222; *FGKH* 244 F 339; Mosshammer, 278) dated Pythagoras’ move to Italy to 532, after his visits to Egypt and Babylon (cf. Strabo 14.1.16 C 638; Diogenes 1.3). The version found here and in *FGKH* 252 B7 is otherwise attested only in the fourth-century A.D. Neoplatonist Iamblichus (*Theologoumena Arithmeticae* 40, *De vita Pythagorica* 4). Its appearance in two such chronologically widely separated sources indicates that it represents a variant account of the life of Pythagoras that was accepted by the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* and not an invention of his.

Lines IIB 29–30: Two chronologies for the life of Xenophanes are attested in the sources: a low chronology ascribed to Timaeus (*FGKH* 566 F 133=Cogent of Alexandria, *Stromatae* 1.64.2), according to which Xenophanes was still alive during the reign of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse from 477 to 466, and a high chronology credited to Apollodorus (*FGKH* 244 F 68C=Cogent, *ibid.*) who, according to Clement, dated Xenophanes’ birth to Ol. 40=620/17 and said that he lived until the reign of Darius I (522–486). Although Clement explicitly contrasted the two chronologies, and his report of Apollodorus’ date for Xenophanes’ birth is supported by Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.* 1.257), Jacoby (*Apollodor*, 204–209; *FGKH* 2d, p. 749) argued that there was only one chronology, that of Timaeus, which Apollodorus accepted and that the discrepancy between the views attested in the sources was simply the result of an early corruption in the manuscripts of Apollodorus, namely, the change of the date of Xenophanes’ birth from Ol. 40=580/77 to Ol. 50. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca*’s synchronism of Xenophanes with the accession of Darius I (522), however, strongly supports the version of Apollodorus’ chronology found in the unemended text of Clement, *Stromatae* 1.64.2 against Jacoby’s doubts.

Line IIB 31: If the period of fifty years referred to in this line was calculated from the accession of Darius I, then the reference would be to the years from 522 to 472, although the omission of both termini precludes any determination of the point the author of the *Chronicon Romanum* intended. Nevertheless, the entry is of great interest because it reveals that he did at least occasionally attempt to point out significant relationships between various entries in his chronicle.

Lines IIB 32–37: In *FGKH* 252 B8 the assassination of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (514), and Darius I’s Scythian campaign are both dated to the year 513/12. The Getty *Tabula Iliaca* proves that this puzzling entry (cf. Balcer [note 10 below], 103, for a review of the scholarly literature on this passage) is merely the result of Cutter d’s arbitrary combination of two separate entries from his source, the original *Chronicon Romanum*. This discovery eliminates from the *Chronicon Romanum* one of the principal chronological errors ascribed to it on the basis of *FGKH* 252 B.16 The

16. For two of the remaining three, namely, 578=563/2 for Pisistratus’ first tyranny and 490=475/4 (*FGKH* 252 B9) for the battle of Salamis, see respectively the note to lines IIB, 7–9 and Balcer, 109, who points out that, in fact, the last digit of the *Chronicon Romanum*’s date has been lost so that when complete it may have been correct. For an attempt to explain the third, 401=386/5 for the capture of Rome by the Gauls, see Balcer, 104–105.

17. For examples of such reconstructions see Henzen, 166–167, and Sadurska, 82.

18. Comparison of the sixth-century B.C. entries of *FGKH* 252B with their parallels on the Getty *Tabula Iliaca* reveals that, except for *FGKH* 252 B8, the former consist of (1) the main declarative clauses of the
CONCLUSION

The principles underlying the organization of the Chronicon Romanum have been known since the publication of the editio princeps of Sadurska 18L by W. Henzen in 1854. It was a synoptic chronicle of the political and cultural history of Europe and Asia in which, as in the Marmor Parium, events were dated retrospectively from the date of its composition in A.D. 15/16. Entries, therefore, took the form of brief paragraphs consisting of simple declarative statements which were introduced by the phrase 'Αφ' οὗ (From the time when) and followed by the resumptive phrase μέχρι τοῦτο έτη (years until the present) and a numeral. More detailed reconstructions and analyses were, however, hampered by the assumption that the peculiar organization and emphases of Sadurska 18L—in which column one dealt in detail with events of the first century B.C. and column two treated in summary and lacunary fashion events of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.—faithfully reflected the structure of its source.17 It is this key assumption and, therefore, all reconstructions based on it that the Getty Tabula Iliaca proves to be erroneous. In almost every case where Sadurska 18L and the Getty Tabula Iliaca can be compared, it is clear that the former’s entry is little more than an abridged version18 of the fuller text preserved by the latter. This fact, combined with the chronological arrangement of the Getty Tabula Iliaca and its consistent employment of the Chronicon’s dating formulae, points to the conclusion that the peculiarities of Sadurska 18L are to be ascribed to Cutter d’s arbitrary treatment of his source, a characteristic of his work attested also on Sadurska 9D and 10K,19 and not to the author of the Chronicon Romanum. The work of the latter, except for his idiosyncratic decision to date events retrospectively from A.D. 15/16, was a normally organized chronicle that began at some point before the ninth century B.C. and proceeded in chronological order and with gradually increasing detail down to, probably, the author’s own time.

Equally important is the Getty Tabula Iliaca’s contribution to the resolution of the hitherto unsolved problem of the sources of the Chronicon Romanum. The close correspondence of inscription IIB, lines 13–19 and 29–31, with Apollodorus (FGrH 244), fragments 29 and 68c, allows no doubt that the ultimate source for the Chronicon Romanum’s information on the period before the first century B.C. was the Chronika of the second-century B.C. grammarian Apollodorus of Athens.20 At the same time, it is clear from Sadurska 18L and the Getty Tabula Iliaca that the author of the Chronicon Romanum treated his source with a freedom that went far beyond such cosmetic changes as converting Apollodorus’ verse into prose, abridging his text, and substituting a reckoning in terms of years prior to the date of composition for Apollodorus’ Athenian archon dates. In particular, the basic principle of Apollodorus’ cultural chronology was abandoned. Instead of treating political and cultural phenomena as of equal importance and, therefore, assigning exact year dates to both political events and the careers of writers and philosophers as Apollodorus had done, the author of the Chronicon Romanum subordinated cultural to political history. Authors contemporary with a given ruler were grouped together at the beginning or end of that ruler’s reign, depending on which event was closer to the date Apollodorus had provided for the author in question. Equally important, the author of the Chronicon Romanum freely modified Apollodorus’ chronology in the light of traditions rejected by or unknown to Apollodorus, as, for example, in the case of the former’s redating of Pythagoras’ migration to Italy. The Getty Tabula Iliaca, therefore, reveals the Chronicon Romanum to have been more than merely an epitome of Apollodorus’ Chronika to which a brief continuation to the first century A.D. had been appended. Despite his close dependence on Apollodorus’ book for his information, the author of the Chronicon Romanum still managed to compose a work, modest though it was, that had its own distinct approach and point of view.

APPENDIX I: FGrH 252B

(1) δ' [οὗ]............ το * *
(2) δ' οὗ Σ[όλων Αθηναίων ἤρξεν καὶ] σέμων[τ] αυτοῦ ἔθηκεν, καὶ] Ανίκαρχος ο Σέ[ύθης εἰς Αθηναὶς (?)] παρεγένετο, δ' [οὗ έτη *].
(3) Αδ' οὗ Κράτος Λεόνει ἦβα[ίλευες, ετής *].
(4) Αδ' οὗ οἱ σοφοί ἑρμηνευσάμεθα, [ετής *].
(5) Αδ' οὗ Πέσσαρας ἐτοπισαμενο[ν εν ἀν Αθηναίς] - σ. 564/3
(6) Αδ' οὗ Κράτος Κύριων ὑποχρεόμενοι [ἐγένετο, ετής *].
(7) Αδ' οὗ Καρμίθης Λέγεται κατ' [ιστρέφας] καὶ σ. 525/4
(8) Αδ' οὗ Ἀριστοκράτωρ Κυρίων [ἐπεράχαν καὶ Λεόνας] σ. 531/2

Chronicon Romanum, minus all circumstantial participial phrases attached to the subjects of those clauses, and (2) abbreviated date formulae.
20. In particular it vindicates Jacoby’s skepticism (FGrH, 2d, p. 828) concerning theories of an eastern source for the Chronicon Romanum (e.g., Egyptian: CIG 4, p. 18, and A. Schaefer in Michaelis, 78; Asia Minor:

Sadurska, 81) that were based on the recurrent references to the ascents and deaths of eastern kings in both FGrH 252 A and B. Instead it is clear that those references indicate that kings’ reigns provided the basic framework of the Chronicon Romanum for both those sections based on the Chronika of Apollodorus and those added to it in order to extend the chronicle to its author’s own time.
From the time Socrates, the philosopher, and Heraclitus, the Ephesian, and Anaxagoras and Parmenides and Zenon, years [——].

From the time when the Peloponnesian War began, and Thucydides flourished, years [——].

From the time when the Galatians, having defeated the Romans, seized Rome, years 401

APPENDIX 2:

The sixth century B.C. according to the Chronicon Romanum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>VP Chronicle</th>
<th>FGH 252 B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solon as lawgiver</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit of Anacharsis</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession of Croesus</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>564+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession of Phalaris</td>
<td>564+</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Wise Men and Chilon</td>
<td>564+</td>
<td>564+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession of Pisistratus</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>564/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Aesop</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>564/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capture of Croesus</td>
<td>546/5</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of Simonides</td>
<td>546/5</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaximander sixty years old</td>
<td>546/5</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Cyrus</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floruit of Anacreon</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floruit of Ibycus</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses' conquest of Egypt</td>
<td>525/4</td>
<td>525/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capture of Pythagoras</td>
<td>525/4</td>
<td>525/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accession of Darius I</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death (?) of Xenophon</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Hipparchus</td>
<td>513/12+</td>
<td>513/12 (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius I Scythian expedition</td>
<td>513/12 (?)</td>
<td>513/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Etruscan Inscriptions at the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jaan Puhvel

In May 1983, at the request of Dr. J. Frel, I viewed the Etruscan texts on five objects at the Getty Museum. In order to facilitate their inclusion in future Etruscological compendia and collections, the following record and comments are provided.

1. BRONZE MIRROR (figs. 1a-b)
Beazley’s “Class Z,” third century B.C.E.
Diameter: 12.3 cm; Length (with handle): 24.2 cm
Accession number 77.AC.100

A frontal male nude, labeled talmide, wearing high-thonged sandals and carrying a pair of spears, appears with a left-profiled, helmeted and robed female, me[ ]r[ ]a, who stands behind him to the left. On each side of the circular picture is an inward-facing, nearly nude male: shown sitting or leaning and wearing sandals and a Phrygian cap (normally a Trojan or Dioscuric accoutrement); the figure on the right is labeled mene, while the name of the one on the left seems to read pu[ ]r[ ]e. All names are inscribed in right-to-left script above the figures on the somewhat abraded rim (outside of the decorative border of garlanded leaves that encircles the composition), hence the obliteration of certain letters.

Of the names, me[ ]r[ ]a is commonplace for Minerva-Athena, and mene=Menelaus is found on at least fourteen other mirrors. The name talmide is more controversial, for the condition of the initial letter and the similarity of t and p (T versus 1) may permit an alternative reading, palmide=Palamedes. Both forms are otherwise attested (talmide on two mirrors and a scarab, palmide on a gem, palmide on two mirrors).1 In the Greek literary tradition, Palamedes is the familiar Trojan saga figure (e.g., grouped with mene and ziamide=Diomedes on the Tuscania mirror ES 382.2); but in Etruscan, talmide is actually somewhat better attested. Conversely, Ταλαμήδης is excessively rare in Greek but makes linguistically better sense (cf., e.g., ταλάντιον ‘patient of mind’), whereas Παλάμηδης was conventionally tied in with παλάμη ‘palm of the hand’ in the metonymic sense ‘sleight or cunning’, perhaps as a folk-etymological adjustment for a trickster character (cf. ταλασσίων as epitheton ornamens of the equally wily Odysseus, who was, however, once outwitted by Palamedes).2

Talmide may well have been the more current, perhaps ultimately more archaic and basic, variant of the name in the version of Greek saga current in Etruria, with some interference from Παλαμηδης of the standardized Greek literary tradition (including a tragedy by Euripides). That Etruria was capable of sustaining its own variations and elaborations of Greek saga is clear, for example, in the remarkable ascendency of the Vil(a)-Iolaos figure at the expense of his half-uncle Heracle-Herakles; this extended to making Vilae the character who strangled the snakes in his cradle.3

For pu[ ]r[ ]e, Bonfante proposed prumade, that is, Prometheus; this name is found on three mirrors, including the famous one from Bolsena in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the newly freed prumade is supported by mene=Minerva, while espale=Asklepios on the left tends his wounds and herde=Herakles rests on the right with the shot eagle at his feet. As opposed to such masterful compositions, Prometheus and Menelaus as Phrygian-capped random frame figures in a Greek Trojan-saga scene make strange bedfellows. The initial three letters in the name are quite clear, and n is possible for the first abrasion. But there is room for at least another abraded letter before the θ, where in prumade there should be none. An n would fill the bill yielding Πνυ[b][n]τ[θ], which might represent Πρόμαχος ‘Prophet’, perhaps an allonym for Κάλλος, who appears as καλλός on a Vulci mirror in the Vatican Museum (ES 223) and as καλλιάσσα on a Chiuse one in the British Museum (ES

3. E. Fiesel (Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen [Göttingen, 1928], 40-45) suggested a proto-form Παλαμήδης, yielding Etruscan talmide (cf. Nennstilados > nevstil) but Greek Παλαμήδης, in terms of the πτ-: πτ- variation seen especially in π(γ)ήμων and π(γ)ήμων. The actual attestation of Ταλαμήδης has rendered her proposal moot.
4. Etruscan mirrors and one scarab (cf. C. de Simone [supra, note 1], 36; J. D. Beazley, JHS 69 [1949], 4).
5. For treatment of -i- stem, cf. artume from ἀρταύς. For the aspirate representation of τ in a cluster, cf. μυρθος=Orestes or άτροπος=Atropos.
6. Herakles’ epichletic allonym καλιάσσα on two Etruscan mirrors and one scarab (cf. C. de Simone [supra, note 1], 36; J. D. Beazley, JHS 69 [1949], 4).
56.1). At least this way we have an assemblage of Greeks on Trojan soil, rather than postulating with Bonfante that makers of less than top-of-the-line Etruscan mass-produced mirrors stooped to appalling randomness of design and attribution.

2. BRONZE MIRROR (figs. 2a–b)
Beazley’s “Class Z” third century B.C.E.
Diameter: 12.3 cm; Length (with handle): 25.1 cm
The Molly and Walter Bareiss collection, on loan to the Getty Museum S.82.AC.11

From the left the inscribed (right-to-left) names are axle, next to a seated male; crisiiθa, next to a standing female; and turan, next to another standing female. On the right is an attendant figure with no visible name. Transposed to Greek, the scene amounts to Achilles and Chryseis in the presence of Aphrodite. The name turan=Venus is commonplace in Etruscan inscriptions, and axle is the most usual form of Achilles; of the thirty-four attestations (not including the present one) recorded by Carlo de Simone, twenty-two read axle (as opposed to axile, axile, axilei, axile, axile, axile, axilei, axile, axile, and axle). Much rarer is crisiiθa, until now a dis legomenon. (It appears on one mirror from and at Palestrina [ES 378].

and on another of unknown provenance in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art; on the latter, crisiiθa likewise keeps company with axle.) Unlike prisi=Brioi, who also appears on ES 378, crisiiθa reflects the Greek accusative case form Χρυσήδα (as in Iliad 1:143, 182, 310, and 369 versus the nominative Χρύσης, ibid. 439), evidencing a certain insouciance about case forms in the borrowing process; in the same way, the vessel name that in Greek is νάβλας emerges in Etruscan as naplan and in Latin as nabhum, and Greek κρητις ‘half-boot’ appears as Latin crepida (from the accusative κρητίδα).7

7. Cf. the accusative case dioven for Jupiter on the Etrusco-Latin
3. LID OF AN ALABASTER URN (fig. 3)
Late second century B.C.E.
Height: 31.5 cm; Width: 54 cm
Accession number 71.AA.262

The right-to-left inscription reads: versuls [..] ei [..] i ril-XXXIII l. The first two words are the name of the dead person, versuls being a hapax legomenon. The rest can be transcribed as ril šas cašyls l(upu) 'dead at the age of thirty-four'.

Praeneste mirror ES325 (Louvre), next to venos and prosepnai (see Beazley [1949], 11).

4. BASE OF A MISSING FUNERARY HEAD SCULPTURE FROM THE VULCI AREA (fig. 4)
Accession number 82.AA.117.1

This block of tufa has an inscribed front of 15.2 cm in height and 17.8 cm in width. There are two lines of right-to-left script. The upper line reads wxui, and the lower one reads xzxzx (x = uncertain squiggle); the nearest like-sounding sequence is the dis legomenon wux (Mummy Wrap VII 7, arb wux; Cippus Perusinus, line 2, ame wux lautn welbīnis).* The shapes of chi and n point to later Etruscan.

8. Cf. for example M. Pallottino, Testimonia Linguae Etruscae, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1968), 18, 78.
5. BASE OF A MISSING FUNERARY HEAD SCULPTURE (fig. 5)
Accession number 82.AA.117.2

This is the same type of base encountered in No. 4, but it is finer grained and more polished. The front is 14 cm high and 25.4 cm wide and has a slightly sunken rectangular inscribed area within a raised edge. Two lines of right-to-left script appear. The upper line reads *alpui* followed by a raised dot and an *i*, followed by another dot and a wedgelike symbol. The lower line may be *ma t xx*. The nearest comparisons are *(...)eze*-*er-*dlpui*-*lisa* (Volterra), *ad-dlpiu* (Chiusi), *lar-* *isak-*dlpiu* (Populonia). The script once again points to later Etruscan.
A Fourth- and Third-Century B.C.
Hoard of Tarentine Silver

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

The antiquities department of the Getty Museum recently acquired a hoard of thirty-five Greek silver coins. All but one of the twenty-nine staters and six drachms are from Tarentum, representing the output of more than a century. The "odd man out," a single stater from Croton, dates some forty to sixty years before the earliest of the Tarentine pieces in the group.

Half a dozen periods in Evans' so-called "horseman" series of staters are represented, III-V and VII-IX; in this hoard the intervening period VI is represented solely by drachms. Aside from some wear, which in a few instances is relatively slight, the hoard is generally in fine to extremely fine condition. The surfaces of many of the coins retain a bright silver color, although some pieces have acquired a dark patina or suffered varying degrees of corrosion and/or wear. In a few cases, coins were struck unevenly or with dies that had seen considerable use. Of all thirty-five pieces, the last four staters are in the best condition, having relatively little or no wear; this is no doubt because they were the lastest issues and therefore had been in circulation the least amount of time before deposit.

The hoard includes only two instances of die linkage, and except for one variant reverse, it is representative of hitherto known types and weights. No reverse identical to No. 33, which bears a tripod in the right field and shows Taras holding a kantharos in his right hand and a trident in his left (instead of the usual cornucopiae), appears in Vlasto or in any of the catalogues available to me. An extensive search has not, however, been made in all the literature, and a parallel may well exist.

The four earliest Tarentine staters were struck on the city's earlier standard and, except for No. 2, which weighs 6.8 gm, closely approach that standard's ideal weight of about 8 gm. In 281 Pyrrhus responded to the Tarentines' request for military aid against the Romans, and a reduced Tarentine standard, whether actually initiated prior to or during the war effort, was fully adopted. From the hoard only a single stater represents the rather brief period introducing the lower weight.

The bulk of the hoard consists of twenty-three staters from the lengthy period VIII and the shorter period IX. Following the defeat of Pyrrhus in 275 and the retreat of the garrison from Tarentum in 272, the city capitulated to Rome. Under the privileges of the subsequent alliance with Rome, Tarentum was able to continue minting its own coinage, maintaining the same traditional types, the horseman for the obverse and Taras on the dolphin for the reverse. During period VIII symbols as well as signatures of magistrates abound on the coinage. In period IX the staters seem to differ from the previous issues under Rome by reason of size, style, and execution, as well as the use of elaborate monograms in the field, and it is with this period that the hoard

1. 82.NB.118, anonymous donation. Said to be from Tarentum. I wish to thank Dr. J. Friel for permission to publish this hoard and am grateful to Dr. A. Walker for his helpful comments and suggestions for revisions and improvements to the text.
2. A. J. Evans, "The Horsemen of Tarentum," NC, 1889, Iff Cataloguing references (i.e., Vlasto numbers) for the Getty hoard are according to O. E. Ravel, Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins Formed by M. P. Vlasto (London, 1947; reprint Chicago, 1977), a more comprehensive catalogue of types and varieties. For the dates of periods IV through IX, however, I have followed the revised chronology presented by A. Burnett, "The Coinage of Rome and Magna Graecia in the Late Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.," SNR 56 (1977), 92-121.
3. See Nos. 7 and 8, 9 and 10.
5. Questions of chronology and weight standards have been considered not only by Evans and Burnett but also by, among others, B. V. Head, Historia Numorum (London, 1911; reprint Chicago, 1967), 62--63, 68; H. Mattingly, "The Romano-Campanian Coinage and the Pyrrhic War," NC, 1924, 190; P. Wuilleumer, Tarente, des origines à la conquête romaine (Paris, 1939; reprint 1968), 200--201, 385ff. Wuilleumer also presents a summary description of Tarentine coinage (pp. 375--391); A. Stazio, "Aspetti e momenti della monetazione tarantina," in Taranto nella civiltà della Magna Grecia: Atti del decimo convegno di studi sulle Magna Grecia (Naples, 1970); C. M. Kraay, Archaic and Classical Greek Coins (Berkeley, 1976); G. K. Jenkins, "A Tarentine Footnote," in Greek Numismatics and Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson (Weltern, Belgium, 1979), 109--114.
6. Head, 54.
7. Head, 64--65.
ends. It is thought that at this time, around 240, Rome withdrew from the Tarentines the right of independent coinage, and the city did not again strike coins until its occupation by Hannibal.  

Thus, since the hoard contains no coins dating from the time of renewed minting, one can infer that it was buried sometime between 240 and 212. The minimal wear on the latest pieces would, in fact, suggest a burial date of circa 235.

CATALOGUE

CROTON

440–420 B.C.

Obv.: Eagle standing r., head raised and wings spread; linear border.
Rev.: Tripod; to l., laurel leaf; to r., QPO; linear border.

TARENTUM

PERIOD III–380–335 B.C.

Obv.: Nude ephebe on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; below, O.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., r. arm extended.
2. Stater.  6.8 gm. Vlasto 449.

PERIOD IV–335–320 B.C.

Obv.: Nude ephebe astride and crowning his horse, which stands r. with l. foreleg raised; to l., Nike, wreath in outstretched hands; below horse, ΣΙΜ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding trident in l. hand, r. arm extended; below, TH and curling waves.

PERIOD V–320–300 B.C.

Obv.: Nude horseman lancing downwards to r.; to r., letter (?) ; below horse, ΣΑ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding distaff in l. hand, r. arm extended; below, pellet; below dolphin, prow of a ship.

Obv.: As No. 4; below horse, ΣΑ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding a shield with hippocamp on it in l. hand, in r. hand, a trident; to r., murex shell; to l. above, ΦΙ.
5. Stater.  7.9 gm. Vlasto 598.

PERIOD VI–300–280 B.C.

Obv.: Head of Athena r., wearing pearl necklace, earring, and crested helmet.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ owl with closed wings standing r. on an olive spray; to r., IO[P] upwards.
6. Drachm.  3.1 gm. Vlasto 1047.

Obv.: As No. 6.
Rev.: As No. 6, but IOP off flan.
7. Drachm.  3.0 gm. Vlasto 1050.

Obv.: Die of No. 7.
Rev.: As No. 6, but IOP downwards.
8. Drachm.  3.2 gm. Vlasto 1053.

Obv.: As No. 6.
Rev.: As No. 6.
9. Drachm.  3.1 gm. Vlasto 1053.

Obv.: Die of No. 9.
Rev.: As No. 8, but to r., club.
10. Drachm.  3.1 gm. Vlasto 1054.

Obv.: As No. 6.
Rev.: As No. 6, but to r., club; IO[P] below.
11. Drachm.  3.1 gm. Vlasto 1054.

PERIOD VII–280–270 B.C.

Obv.: Nude boy rider crowning himself on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; to l., Ω; below, ΙΑΔΟ and Ionic capital.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., distaff in l. hand, akrostolion in r.; to r., ΛΝ.

PERIOD VIII–270–250 B.C.

Obv.: Nude boy rider astride and crowning his horse, which stands l. with r. foreleg raised; to r., cornucopiae; below, [ΦΑ]ΓΕΑC.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., trident in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., ΓΟΑΤ.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΣΤ, and below, ΛΤΚΙ·ΝΟΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 13, but chlamys on l. arm, trident in r. hand; to r., owl with closed wings.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΣΤ, and below, ΛΤΚΙ·ΝΟΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 14.

Obv.: As No. 13, but to r., ΔΙ, and below, ΗΔΩ·ΤΑC in two lines.

10. Chronology according to Burnett (see supra, note 2).
A Hoard of Tarentine Silver 169

Rev.: As No. 13, but distaff in r. hand, kantharos in l.; to r., rooster.
Obv.: Nude boy rider astride and crowning his horse, which stands l. with r. foreleg raised; below, ΗΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 16, but to r., owl with closed wings.
17. Stater. ← 6.4 gm. Vlasto 850.
Obv.: As No. 17, but to l., Ρ; below, bearded mask; and beneath foreleg of horse, ΚΙ [ΝΩΝ] in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 13, but empty l. hand on dolphin, kantharos in r.
Obv.: Nude horseman on prancing horse to r., lancing downwards; behind him, large shield and reserve of two lances; to l., ΔΙ; below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΟ ΚΛΗΣ in two lines.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ as No. 13, but to r., head of nymph.
Obv.: As No. 19, but below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΟ ΚΛΗΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 19.
Obv.: As No. 19, but below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΟ ΚΛΗΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 19.
Obv.: Partially draped youth, raising his left hand, on stationary horse to r.; below horse, ΦΙΛΙΚΚΟΣ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., trident in l. hand, kantharos in r.; below dolphin, tripod.
Obv.: Warrior wearing lorica and helmet, lance in l. hand and shield behind him, on horse standing r. with l. foreleg raised; to r., ΦΙ; below horse, ΗΡΑΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΙΟΣ in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 22, but cornucopiae in l. hand, flower in r.; to r., δι." and thymiaterion.
Obv.: As No. 23, but on horse cantering r.; to l., ΔΙ; below horse, ΑΓΟΛΛΑ [ΔΩΝΙΟΣ] in two lines.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., half-turned towards spectator, with chlamys around l. arm, trident in l. hand; small Nike flies towards him with crown; below dolphin, waves.
Obv.: As No. 24, but below horse, ΑΓΟΛΛΑ [ΔΩΝΙΟΣ] in two lines.
Rev.: As No. 24, but ΤΑΡΑΣ; waves off flank.
Obv.: As No. 24, but to l; ΟΙ, and below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΟ [ΤΟΚ].
Rev.: As No. 24, but ΤΑΡΑΣ; below dolphin, a rudder.
Obv.: Warrior wearing thorax, holding javelin in r. hand and reins in l., on horse galloping r.; below horse, ΗΠΙΟΔΑ.
Rev.: [ΤΑΡΑΣ] Taras astride dolphin to l., holding distaff in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., ΔΙ and amphora.
27. Stater. → 6.3 gm. Vlasto 904.
Obv.: Nude rider astride and crowning his horse, which steps r. while a small Nike flies forward to crown the rider from behind; before horse, ΦΙ; beneath, ΑΠΙΣΤΕΙΑ.
Rev.: As No. 27, but trident in l. hand, corn spike in r.; to r., δι." only.
Obv.: As No. 28, but before horse, ΕΤ; below, ΔΑΜΩΚΡΙΤΟΣ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to r., holding cornucopiae in r. hand, trident in l.; to l., ΚΥ.
Obv.: As No. 29, but before horse, Ε[ΤΠ]; below, [ΔΑΜΩΚΡΙΤΟΣ].
Rev.: As No. 29.
Obv.: Warrior in crested helmet, holding shield, on horse standing l.; to l., ΕΤ; below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΟΝ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding trident and hippocamp; to r., ΩΠ.
31. Stater. ← 6.3 gm. Vlasto 928.
PERIOD IX—250–240 B.C.
Obv.: Warrior in lorica, hurling javelin on horse galloping r.; to l., wreath; below horse, ΩΛΤΜΠΙΣ.
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras astride dolphin to l., holding cornucopiae in l. hand, kantharos in r.; to r., tripod.
32. Stater. ← 6.3 gm. Vlasto 943.
Obv.: As No. 32.
Rev.: As No. 32, but Taras holding a trident in l. hand.
33. Stater. ← 6.4 gm. Vlasto 943 v.
Obv.: Nude boy rider, holding palm bound with fillet, on horse cantering r.; to l., Ρ; below horse, ΑΠΙΣΤΙΠΠΙΟΣ [ΟΧ].
Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras, crowned with wreath, astride dolphin to l., l. hand resting on dolphin's back, kantharos in r.; to r., ΔΙ.
34. Stater. ← 6.6 gm. Vlasto 947.
Obv.: Dioskouros in short tunic and chlamys, with short
sword in scabbard under l. arm, raising r. arm, on horse standing l. with r. foreleg raised; to r., Π and pileus; below horse, ΘΕΝΟ [Κ]PATHC in two lines.

Rev.: ΤΑΡΑΣ Taras wearing leafy crown on dolphin to l., raising chlamys in l. hand, trident in r.; to r., ⚫; below dolphin, cuttlefish and waves.

35. Stater. ✓ 6.4 gm. Vlasto 958.

Malibu
Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1983

Gillian Wilson, Adrian Sassoon, Charissa Bremer-David

1. SET OF FIVE TAPESTRIES
French (Beauvais), circa 1690-1705
No. 336: The Collation
Height: 13' 10" (422.9 cm); Width: 10' 2" (309.8 cm)
No. 337: The Harvesting of Pineapples
Height: 13' 7 1/2" (415.2 cm); Width: 8' 5 1/2" (257.8 cm)
No. 338: The Astronomers
Height: 13' 9" (419.1 cm); Width: 10' 5 1/2" (318.7 cm)
No. 339: The Emperor on a Journey
Height: 13' 7 1/2" (415.2 cm); Width: 8' 4" (254.0 cm)
No. 340: The Return from the Hunt
Height: 13' 8 1/2" (417.8 cm); Width: 9' 6" (289.5 cm)
Accession numbers 83.DD.336-340 (figs. 1-5)

These five tapestries are from the series known as The Story of the Emperor of China, woven at the Beauvais Manufactory. The records surviving from the manufactory regarding this early weaving are few, but the subject has been researched and published by the scholars Adolph S. Cavallo and Edith Standen.¹

The set of five tapestries acquired by the Museum portrays scenes from the life of a Chinese emperor (thought to be the contemporary Kang Xi, who reigned 1661-1721) and empress.² The subject of the first tapestry, The Collation, is a scene profuse in detail (fig. 1). The emperor sits at a low table holding out a cup. The empress is the woman opposite who holds a fan in her left hand. Several attendants are present to entertain and serve; one arranges large plates and vases on a buffet to the left. Carpets that appear to be Near Eastern cover both the table and the platform. Above is a shingled baldachin with carved dragons surmounting the four corners. The scene of The Harvesting of Pineapples depicts the empress presiding over the gathering of this tropical fruit (fig. 2). In the middle distance another group of figures gathers outside a temple setting, and in the background a city appears. The scene of The Astronomers includes the mustached emperor conferring with the historical personage Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1661), who is seated and wears the emblem of the winged dragon (fig. 3).³ Father Schall, a German Jesuit, had very successful relations with the Chinese based upon his knowledge of astronomy. Also seen in this tapestry are two astronomical instruments designed from European instructions; the instruments are thought to exist today in Peking.⁴ Sheltering the figures is a roof of ribbed and spiraling form. In the tapestry entitled The Emperor on a Journey the mustached emperor is carried on a palanquin covered with oriental fabrics (fig. 4). He is shielded by an umbrella of unusual form, decorated with carved dragons. A mounted and armed escort follows. In the last tapestry, The Return from the Hunt, the emperor and the empress are portrayed together (fig. 5). They stand on a raised platform covered by a carpet of Near Eastern pattern in front of an ornately carved and upholstered throne. Above is a fantastic arched covering.

The popular series included other scenes: The Audience of the Emperor, The Emperor Sailing, The Empress Sailing, and The Empress's Tea. The best-known example is perhaps The Audience of the Emperor (fig. 6). It is always a wide panel showing the emperor enthroned and attended by both his empress, who arrives in a ceremonial cart at the left, and his entourage. Behind the throne is a prancing elephant, restrained by his trainer. Above are the same fantastic archways that are seen in The Return from the Hunt.

Two of the Museum's tapestries are signed (the signature woven in The Harvesting of Pineapples that reads BEHAGLE appears to have been added later). Woven at the bottom right of The Return from the Hunt is BEHAGLE and at the bottom center of The Collation is VERNANSAL. INT.ET.PU.⁵ Philippe Behagle was director of the Beauvais Manufactory from 1684 until his death in 1705, the period when it is thought that The Story of the Emperor of China series was designed. A memorandum written by Behagle and an inventory of the

³. Standen, 106.
⁴. Standen, 108.
⁵. Two other examples of The Collation are woven with this signature. See Standen, 115.
Figure 1. *The Collation*, from the series *The Story of the Emperor of China*. French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705 (the left border of the photograph is cropped to exclude the photographer’s clamp). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.336.
Figure 2. The Harvesting of Pineapples, from the series The Story of the Emperor of China. French (Beauvais), circa 1690-1705 (the right border of the photograph is cropped to exclude the photographer’s clamp). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.337.
Figure 3. The Astronomers, from the series The Story of the Emperor of China. French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.338.
Figure 4. The Emperor on a Journey, from the series The Story of the Emperor of China. French (Beauvais), circa 1690-1705. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.339.
manufactury’s possessions in 1731 survive and provide information that is interpreted by scholars as naming three of the four painters of the cartoons: Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636-1699), Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653-1715), and Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648-1729). The fourth artist remains unknown.

The borders of this set (figs. 7a-b) bear the arms and cipher of the comte de Toulouse, Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon (1678-1737). An illegitimate son of King Louis XIV and Mme de Montespan, the comte de Toulouse became admiral of the navy at the age of three. The memorandum of Philippe Behagie, mentioned above, also records “autre de mesme dessin de Chinoise, faicte pour Monseigneur le comte de Tou-

louse, monte a 10.565 livres.” The 1718 inventory of the comte’s Château de Rambouillet describes the tapestries as “l’histoire du roi de la Chine, sur trois aunes et demi de haut, manufacture de Beauvais, faite par Behagle.” It also states that six pieces were in the antichambre du roi, three in the chambre du roi, and one in a storeroom above the stables. The commission made by the comte de Toulouse therefore included ten tapestries in all. Eight passed by descent to King Louis Philippe (1773-1850) and appear in the 1852 sale of his property in two lots. The coats of arms are incorrectly identified in the catalogue as those of the duc de Penthièvre (1725-1793), the son of the comte de Toulouse. Lot number eight lists six tapestries, including the five acquired by the

Museum and one more entitled The Empress's Tea, and lot number thirteen lists two, The Emperor Sailing and The Empress Sailing. The remaining two tapestries, The Audience of the Emperor and another The Emperor on a Journey, belonged to the Empress Eugenie (1826–1920) who placed them in the Palais de Compiègne, where they are today (fig. 6).

There is evidence in the borders that the tapestries acquired by the Museum were cut in width at some date. The scene of The Return from the Hunt in particular was always woven as a wide version, similar to The Audience of the Emperor. The reduction of the tapestries must have occurred before 1852, for the measurements given in the sale catalogue of Louis Philippe equal the present measurements. The pair of tapestries belonging to the Palais de Compiègne, however, are the same width as other examples of the subjects in other collections and do not appear to have been cut.

The two tapestries sold as lot thirteen have not been traced. Those six sold as lot number eight, however, are known to have belonged to the duchesse d'Uzès who brought them to the United States in 1926. The set later passed into the family collection of John T. Dorrance, Jr., Newport, Rhode Island. One tapestry, The Empress's Tea, apparently remains in that collection. The Museum acquired these tapestries from the dealers Rosenberg and Stiebel of New York.

2. PAIR OF THREE-LEAF SCREENS  
French (Savonnerie), circa 1714-1740  
Height: 8' 11 ½“ (273.05 cm); Width (total): 6' 4 ½“ (194.3 cm); Width (each leaf): 2’ 1“ (63.5 cm)  
Accession numbers 83.DD.260.1–2 (figs. 8a–b)

11. Visual examination of the borders leads one to the conclusion that the tapestries have been cut. This is supported by a comparison between the borders of those tapestries belonging to the Museum and of the two tapestries conserved at the Palais de Compiègne. The latter appear to have their borders intact. The upper and lower borders of the Museum’s tapestries have lost the scrolls between the wreaths of flowers and fruit; see figures 1–6.


13. Pierre Verlet, The Savonnerie, The James A. de Rothschild Collect-
Figure 7b. Detail of the border of *The Collation* (see fig. 1) showing the woven coat of arms of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, the comte de Toulouse. Beneath the coat of arms (three fleur-de-lys and a bar sinister) is an anchor, referring to the comte’s position as admiral of the navy.

The two screens, each of three leaves, were made of knotted wools at the Manufacture Royal de Savonnerie. The cartoons were designed by Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653-1715), and it is likely that the designs for the pairs of birds were provided by François Desportes (1661-1743), though there is no documentary evidence to prove this.

The panels have yellow grounds, and the same three cartoons were used for each screen. At the base, each panel shows a vase of flowers and leaves standing on a blue and yellow pedestal in front of a flower-strewn lawn. Above is an arched pergola entwined with leafy branches, to which a double swag of flowers and fruit is attached. Each panel has in its center a cartouche composed of pink acanthus scrolls and flowers against cream and gold diapers. One cartouche contains two parrots perched on a bar against a blue ground, while above, a trophy, composed of a scythe, a basket of wheat and flowers, and a wind instrument, is suspended by a blue ribbon tied with a bow. A second cartouche contains an oriole and a woodpecker perched in a tree against a blue ground. Above, a trophy, composed of grapes, a ewer, and a thyrsus entwined with vine leaves, is suspended by a blue ribbon tied with a bow. The third design shows a cartouche containing a jay perched on branches and a magpie in flight. Above are a flaming torch, a sheaf of arrows, and a laurel wreath, all suspended by a blue ribbon tied above and below with a bow.

Pierre Verlet has recently published his phenomenal history of the Savonnerie, and the following paragraphs contain information gleaned from his book. The first panels for screens were woven at the Savonnerie in 1707, and between that year and 1791, seven hundred and fifty panels were produced. This figure includes both large and small panels, and considering that some of the screens were double-sided, this would amount to about one hundred screens, of which fifty that are more or less complete can now be traced.

Eight different designs were produced for paravents, and all included animals, birds, and flowers. The Getty screens are examples of the largest; one hundred and thirty-eight panels of this design were made between 1714 and 1740. The screens were for the use of the king and queen and the princes of the blood; they were usually placed in the dining rooms or the anterooms of the palaces. They were rarely given away as diplomatic gifts or lent to courtiers. As a result many were left in storage, and between 1730 and 1740, eighty-two screens of this model were stored in the Garde Meuble Royale, while twelve were sent to La Muette, eighteen to Choisy (six for the king’s dining room), and eighteen were used at Versailles. At the time of the Revolution, fourteen panels remained in storage and were sold after 1795.

It is not possible to date the Museum’s panels precisely. Until 1714–1715 the center of each cartoon bore the arms of Queen Marie-Thérèse; these were replaced with the pairs of birds after that date. Other small changes were made to the cartoons from time to time, one of the most significant being the replacement of a large central wreath of flowers with one composed of volutes on a mosaic ground as in the Museum’s example, but it is not known when this change was made.

These panels are remarkably unfaded in comparison with other surviving screens. A book box containing two...
Figure 8a. One of a pair of three-leaf screens. French (Savonnerie), circa 1714-1740. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.260.
hundred and seventy-nine samples of dyed wools, showing various tones of twenty-two colors, has survived; and it appears to be of mid-eighteenth-century date. Never having been exposed to light, the samples give some idea of the brilliance of the colors used at Savonnerie, and they compare well to those on the Museum’s screens.15

The panels are reputed to have been formerly in the collection of Mme d’Yvon and were probably acquired by Jacques Seligmann at the sale of the collection in 1891.16 They were sold in the *Liquidation de l’ancienne Société Seligmann* in 1914.17 In 1960 when the screens were shown in the exhibition *Louis XIV, Paste et Decors* in Paris,18 they again belonged to the Seligmann family, and they were sold by François-Gérard Seligmann at Sotheby’s, Monte Carlo, in 1981.19 They were bought at that sale by Dalva Brothers, New York, from whom the Museum acquired them.

3. TAPESTRY

French (Gobelins), 1715/16

Height: 13’1” (347.0 cm); Width: 8’9 ¼” (267.0 cm)

Accession number 83.DD.20 (figs. 9a–b)

Known as the *Char de Triomphe*, this tapestry is an armorial portière. Within a guilloche border is a triumphal cart bearing the trophies of victory and a cartouche with the arms of Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre. Surrounding the arms are two collars of the orders of Saint Michel and Saint-ESprit. The cart advances over a serpent that represents the king’s enemies. Above are the Sun King’s symbol; his motto *Ne Pluribus Impar*, now faded, woven in the ribbon; the royal crown; and the scales of justice. Two putti holding globes recline on the cornice.

In 1658 the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) established a tapestry workshop at Maincy, near his château, Vaux-le-Vicomte. In 1659 he commissioned the painter Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) to design five portières to carry his emblem, a squirrel. Five designs were made; the subjects were recorded as *Portières des Renommées, de Mars, du Char de Triomphe, de La Licorne*, and du *Lion*.20

Following the fall of Fouquet in 1661, the minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) moved the Maincy tapestry works to the new royal manufactory of the Gobelins in Paris. Louis XIV had three of the cartoons designed by Le Brun and painted by Baudrains Yvarit (1611–1690) adapted for his own use, substituting his own arms for Fouquet’s emblem. These portières were among the first weavings made at the Gobelins Manufactory.21

A total of sixty-six *Char de Triomphe* portières were woven by 1724.22 They were usually woven six at a time, simultaneously with six of the *Mars* portières. It is recorded that twelve *Char de Triomphe* portières were woven with gold thread to further glorify the Sun King.23

15. Known as the *boîte Duvivier*, the sample box is from the Archives Duvivier. See Verlet, 246; fig. 156 illustrates one card bearing wool patterns in tones of reds, browns, and yellows.

16. Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 30–June 4, 1891, lot 673. Ten leaves were sold, four of which were illustrated. None of those four, however, are of precisely the same model as the Museum’s panels. It is possible that the remaining six unillustrated panels are those now in the Museum.


23. On June 10, 1797, four of these portières were burned by order of the Minister of the Interior in order to retrieve the gold. Jules Guiffrey, “Destruction des Plus Belles Tentures du Mobilier de la Couronne en 1797,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de L’Île-de-France* 14 (1887), 281–288.
Figure 9a. Char de Triomphe portière. French (Gobelins), circa 1715/16. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DD.20.
The Museum’s example was restored in Paris during the mid-1950’s, apparently at the Gobelins. It was then that a portion of the original lining was conserved, inscribed (fig. 9b):

N° 194. Port 5 Du Char
6: Sur 3: au [?]: de Haut
2: au ½ de cours

It is fortunate that this inscription survives, for it gives the royal inventory number, enabling one to identify this tapestry precisely in the *Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne*. It was one of four delivered on October 27, 1717:

Du 27 Octobre 1717
Gobelins Livre par le Srt Cozette, concierge de
portières du Char la manufacture royalle des Gobelins.

Six portières de tapisserie de basse lisse de laine et soie manufacture des Gobelins, dessein de Le Brun, représentant au milieu, les armes et la devise de Louis XIII dans un cartouche porté sur un char de triomphe, accompagné de Trophées d’arms; La bordure est un guillochis qui enferme des fleur de lis et des roses couleur de bronze; chaque portier contient deux aunes et demi de cours, dont cinq sur trois aunes de haut, et la sixe sur deux aunes cinq six. 24

Other extant examples of *Char de Triomphe* portières are known. One belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was recently stolen, along with a *Renommées*,

24. 6⁴ 3309 from the *Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne*, commençant 6ᵉ Janvier 1716. Et suivant le 31 Decembre 1723.

Figure 11. A page of designs for wall lights by André-Charles Boulle, published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in *Nouveaux Deiszeins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inuentés et gravés par André Charles Boulle*. 
while on loan to the Institute of Fine Arts, New York. One is in the J. B. Speed Museum of Louisville, Kentucky. Six are still part of the Mobilier National, three of which are displayed, one each in the Musée du Louvre, the Château de Pau, and the Château de Chambord. One more is found in the Jagellon University, Cracow, Poland.

The tapestry was acquired by the Museum from a private collection, New York.

C. B.-D.

4. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1715-1720
Height: 1' 10 1/4" (51.0 cm); Width: 1' 2" (35.5 cm);
Depth: 9 1/16" (25.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.195.1-2 (fig. 10)

This pair of gilt-bronze two-branched wall lights is of matching but opposed design. The stem of each consists of a thick branch that curls round itself to terminate in a broad acanthus leaf and a trail of husks. Springing from the stem are two twisting arms that terminate at different levels in foliated drip pans and candle sockets of differing design. The lower arm, chased with two large acanthus leaves and gadrooning, supports a drip pan designed as a calyx of petals below fluting and a candle socket chased with flutes and husks. The upper arm, also chased with acanthus foliage, twines round the fluted and gadrooned drip pan that supports a candle socket chased with laurel leaves (fig. 10).

The wall lights are not marked with a maker’s name, but the lower portion closely follows a design by André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732) that was published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in Nouveaux Deisseins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inventés et gravés par André Charles Boulle (fig. 11). The broad acanthus leaf and trailing husk resemble the design labeled “Bras pour une cheminée, qui se trouve dans un appartement dont les planches sont bas.”

Motifs similar to those decorating the candle sockets and drip pans may also be found on the same page of designs. It is not an uncommon feature for drip pans of wall lights from the early eighteenth century to be chased with varying elements.

A wall light of a very similar model appears in a painting by Jean-François De Troy (1679-1752), La lecture de Molière (fig. 12). The painted light is close in design except that the upper arm takes an extra twist. But details such as one arm twining around the drip pan; the differently chased drip pans and candle sockets; and the acanthus leaf of the lower portion are found on the Museum’s pair of wall lights.

Two engravings by Jacques-Firmin Beauvarlet (1731-1797), La Toilette pour le Bal and Retour du Bal, after other works by De Troy portray a wall light of the same model from a foreshortened perspective (fig. 13). The upper arm still takes the extra twist, but the lower arm, deviating from the painted version found in La lecture de Molière, takes a sharp jut forward.

In both the painting and engravings the artist and the engraver have depicted the reflection of the lower arm of the wall light in the mirror behind. This attention to detail reveals the habit during this period of hanging wall lights on the mirror frame. The purpose was twofold: to increase the light of the flame of the candle by reflection and to create greater effect by increasing the refraction of light on the gilt bronze.

The Museum acquired this pair of wall lights from the dealer Bernard Steinitz of Paris. They were formerly in the collection of Samuel Kahn, Paris.

C. B.-D.

5. MODEL FOR A VASE
French, circa 1725-1730
Height: 1' ¾" (32.4 cm); Width: 11 ¾" (29.8 cm);
Depth: 11 ¼" (29.8 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.36 (figs. 14a-c)

The terracotta vase is sculpted at the lip with four grotesque masks (fig. 14c), and the body of the vase is set at the back and front with auricular cartouches. The cartouche in front is topped by spread wings and a scrolled pediment, which support the remains of a crown backed by a small fleur-de-lys. Sprays of laurel and oak leaves decorate the body and the foot of the vase, on which a large dolphin rests (fig. 14d).

The cartouche on the front surrounds a cabochon, which is sculpted with three fleur-de-lys and a baton, surrounded by three collars bearing the Toison d’Or, the Saint-Esprit, and the Saint Michel (fig. 14e). The arms are those of Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé (1692-1740). The cartouche at the back surrounds his initials LH.

25. The accession numbers of the portières Char de Triomphe and Renommées are 54.149 and 53.57, respectively.
29. The Retour du Bal is from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, number C3167. The pair to this engraving, La Toilette pour le Bal, is from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 42.119.392. Colin Bailey kindly pointed out the source for this engraving, the painting also entitled La Toilette pour le Bal, which was recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum. It formerly belonged to the Wildenstein collection and was exhibited in La Douce France (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, August to October 1964), no. 1, illus. It is signed and dated De Troy 1735.
Figure 12. La lecture de Molière by Jean-François De Troy, circa 1728. Houghton Hall, Norfolk, collection of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley.

Figure 14b. The back of the model for a vase.
Figure 14c. Detail showing one of the grotesque masks on the lip of the vase.

Figure 14d. The dolphin on the foot of the vase.
Figure 14e. The cartouche on the front of the vase bearing the arms of Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé.

Figure 15. Engraving by Huquier of designs by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier for Louis-Henri, duc de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condé.
Figure 16a. Cartonnier and serre-papier with clock by Bernard van Risenburgh, the clock movement by Etienne Le Noir. French (Paris), circa 1745-1749. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DA.280.
It is difficult to suggest a name for the sculptor who made this robust model. It might have been made after a design by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier (circa 1693–1750). He had executed designs for silver for the prince, one of which, a *seau à rafraîchir* dated 1723, was engraved by Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772) in 1750 (fig. 15). There are some similarities between this *seau* and the Museum’s model but not enough to point to Meissonier with any certainty.

G. W.

6. CARTONNIER AND SERRE-PAPIER WITH CLOCK
French (Paris), circa 1745–1749
Height: 6' 3 ¼" (192.0 cm); Width: 3' 4 ¾" (103.0 cm); Depth: 1' 4 ¼" (41.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.280 (figs. 16a–e)

The rococo *cartonnière*, *serre-papier*, and clock are separate sections, each with an oak carcass decorated with black, red, and gold *vernis Martin*31 and gilt-bronze mounts (fig. 16a). At each side of the lower section a door can be unlocked to reveal a deep and narrow compartment. Above this rests the *serre-papier* with five open pigeonholes. It is likely that these were once fitted with *cartons*, which were probably covered with tooled leather and no longer survive. The uppermost section contains a clock above a glazed window that allows one to see the motion of the pendulum (fig. 16b). The dial and the movement of the clock are signed by the clockmaker Etienne Le Noir (born 1699, *maître* 1717, died after 1778) (fig. 16c). Flanking the clock case and above it are four painted and lacquered bronze figures of Orientals: a woman holding cymbals, a man holding a horn, and two children


31. The black ground decoration was examined upon arrival at the Museum with the use of infrared spectography, which showed that it is
Figure 16c. The engraved signature of Etienne Le Noir on the rear of the clock movement.

Figure 16d. Detail showing the stamp B.V.R.B for Bernard van Risenburgh.

Figure 16e. Detail showing the stamp E. J. CUVELLIER.
reaching above their heads. Both the cartonnier and the serre-
papier are stamped B.V.R.B (fig. 16d) for the ébéniste Bernard
van Risenburgh (maître before 1730, died 1765/66). They are
also stamped with the mark of an eighteenth-century ébéniste
E. J. CUVELLIER, about whom little is known (fig. 16e). It
is probable that he stamped this piece of furniture after he
had carried out repairs on it. Many of the gilt-bronze
mounts are stamped with the crowned C tax mark used
between 1745 and 1749.32

This model of cartonnier seems to have been repeated only

once in Bernard van Risenburgh's oeuvre. The Hermitage
Museum in Leningrad contains a similar example, stamped
BVRB and decorated with wood veneers cut in wave pat-
terns.33 The upper part—the serre-papier—is stamped JOSEPH
for Joseph Baumhauer and is of different form than that in
the Getty Museum. The cartonniers are very similar, although
they have different mounts at the apron, the upper corners,
and the moldings.

The eighteenth-century provenance of the Museum's car-
tonnier and serre-papier is not known, but they were illustrated

composed of a sandarac varnish. Sandarac is a resin taken from juniper
trees, which in the eighteenth century was obtained from Italy, Spain,
and Africa. It forms a clear varnish when mixed with alcohol, although
it tends to develop fine cracks in its surface. See Jean-Félix Watin, L'Art

33. Inventory number 434 M6, acquired in 1933 from the museum
of the Stieglitz School.
34. Sold, Christie's, London, May 9, 1922, lot 144, for 4,200 guineas
to H. J. Simmons.
35. I am grateful to Colin Streeter for pointing out the information
in 1922 when sold at Christie's by the executors of the Rt. Hon. William Burdett-Coutts, M.P. (1851–1921), who had inherited it from his wife, Angela, Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906). On the back of the cartonnier there is a metal plaque engraved Angela's 1835, which might indicate that Baroness Burdett-Coutts was given the piece on her twenty-first birthday, which fell in that year. Since she apparently owned the piece so early in her life, it surely came to her through her family rather than through that of her husband. It is worth noting that her father, Sir Francis Burdett (1770–1844), lived in Paris in the early days of the French Revolution, returning to England in 1793, a time when objects like this would have been available on the market. In 1922 the clock was surmounted by a gilt-bronze palm tree placed centrally behind the two bronze figures of children; it is now lost. The figures now seem to be reaching above their heads, but originally, they appeared to be pulling down some leaves of the palm tree. In 1922 the cartonnier bore no gilt-bronze mounts on its feet and apron. When the cartonnier was offered to the Museum in 1982, however, it was fitted along these surfaces with elaborate modern mounts of high quality, of which only the central apron mount has been retained. After 1922 the cartonnier and serre-papier were in a private collection in Paris and apparently were confiscated by the Third Reich during the Second World War, at which time the palm tree was most probably lost. In the early 1970’s the cartonnier and serre-papier were bought by José and Vera Espirito Santo of Lausanne who sold them to the Museum through the dealer Didier Aaron of Paris.

7. COMMODE
French (Paris), circa 1750
Height: 2’ 10 ½” (87.7 cm); Width: 4’ 11 ¾” (151.4 cm);
Depth: 2’ 2 ¾” (65.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.356 (figs. 17a–b)

The commode is veneered with bois satiné and set with gilt-bronze mounts and a marble top. It is not stamped with a maker’s name, but it bears the mark of a recent restorer, RESTAURE PAR P. SPOHN. The piece is firmly attributed to Jean-Pierre Latz (circa 1691–1754), as a commode of precisely the same model, similarly mounted and veneered, stamped I. P. LATZ is in the Palazzo Quirinale, Rome (fig. 18). That commode can be dated to between 1745 and 1749 as its mounts bear the tax stamp of the crowned C. It formed part of the large quantity of furnishings and furniture brought from France in 1753 by Louise Elisabeth (Madame Infante) to Parma. It was used in the summer residence of the Parma court, the Palace of Colorno. It bears the royal inventory stamp C R, the initials standing for Casa Reale.

While the eighteenth-century provenance of the Museum’s commode is not known, it is apparent that it represents an instance where Latz repeated the fine Quirinale model for another patron. As the mounts do not bear concerning Sir Francis Burdett.

37. This commode is illustrated and discussed by Chiara Briganti in “Comment Madame Infante, fille aînée de Louis XV, a meublé sa résidence princière de Parme,” Connaissance des Arts, July 1965, 48–59, and by the same author in Curioso itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi (Parma, 1969), 33.
Figure 18. A commode stamped I.P.LATZ. Circa 1745-1749. Rome, Palazzo Quirinale.

crowned C’s, it is likely that the Museum’s example was made between 1750 and 1754, the date of Latz’s death.

A small sketch of this commode, or more probably that in the Palazzo Quirinale, exists in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 19). It was acquired by the Swedish architect Carl Hårleman, who visited Paris in 1744/75. On the same piece of paper is a sketch of a long-case clock that resembles a number of clocks stamped or attributed to Latz. It is likely that Hårleman obtained the drawing directly from Latz’s workshop.

The strongly grained veneer forming a wave pattern on the commode is not commonly found. It was formed by cutting a log of bois satine obliquely to form oval veneers; these were then cut into rectangular shapes and arranged to form waving lines (fig. 20).

The commode was sold from the collection of the deceased Hon. Mrs. Yorke, the daughter of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, Bt., at Christie’s, London, May 5, 1927, lot 138. It was bought by M. Founès for £1029 and later passed through two Swiss private collections. It was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum from Maurice Segoura, Paris.

G. W.

8. PAIR OF ARMCHAIRS

French (Paris), circa 1750-1755

Height: 3' 5 ¼" (104.7 cm); Width: 2' 6" (76.2 cm);

Collection at Waddesdon Manor (Fribourg, 1974) vol. 1, 218-220; and a bureau plat attributed to Joseph Baumbauer in the J. Paul Getty Museum (accession number 71.DA.95).

40. Founès, referred to in an annotated catalogue of the 1927 sale as “Chez Founès,” was a dealer. His business was liquidated in 1935, but this commode does not appear in any of his liquidation sales.

41. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing this out.
Each of these armchairs of carved and gilded beechwood has a flat back that is serpentine in outline. The arms with padded rests terminate in a scroll carved with a stylized flower and rest on curving supports set back from the front edge of the seat. The seat frame has a sinuous lower edge and rests on four cabriole, ribbed legs. The upholstery and braiding are modern (fig. 21a). The frame is deeply carved throughout with rococo motifs: shells, cartouches, scrolls, flowerheads, and palmettes. The foot of each leg is carved with auricular foliage in a manner that resembles a sabot mount (fig. 21b). Auricular scrolls also decorate the side seat rails. The back of the seat frame is carved with a central shell and incised fluting.

The modern upholstery on the seats makes the chairs appear slightly squat in proportion. It is likely that the original seat upholstery was more fully stuffed at the front and that the fabric actually covered the bases of the arm supports, which are now exposed. This fashion for covering the bases of the armrests was a survival from the Régence period. The prevailing style of the mid-eighteenth century was to carve the complete length of the support, continuing the design along the seat rail.

Each chair is stamped under the back seat rail JAVISSE for Jean Avisse (1723, maitre 1745, died after 1796), a leading menuisier of the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 21c). He worked for the crown and various aristocratic patrons, including the duchesse de La Tremoille, the marquise de Chabannes, the comtesse de Fontenay, and the chevalier de Lamotte.

These chairs apparently formed part of a set of seat furniture. Another pair of armchairs and a canapé, all en suite and similarly stamped, were recently sold. The Museum acquired this pair of armchairs from the New York dealer, Matthew Schutz, Ltd.

9. PAIR OF VASES
   Italian or French, circa 1765–1770
   Height: 1’ 3¼” (38.75 cm); Width: 1’ 4 ¼” (41.0 cm);
   Depth: 10 ¾” (27.75 cm)
   Accession number 83.DJ.16.1–2 (figs. 22a–b)

   The porphyry bowls are draped with gilt bronze, folded

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43. The armchairs were sold at Sotheby’s, New York, October 31, 1981, lot 314. They are now part of a private collection, Princeton, New Jersey. The canapé was sold at Sotheby’s, New York, May 4, 1984, lot 41, and was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.DA.70.
and gathered to resemble fabric. Lions cling to this drapery with their paws, extending their necks and heads over the top of each bowl. Above a square base two snakes are entwined, partially covering a calyx of bay leaves that encloses the base of the bowl. The bowl itself is lined with a gilt-bronze container. When the mounts were removed, it was found that the base of each bowl is formed of red marble.

The vases were apparently made after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727-1801), the architect and ornamentalist (fig. 23). The design is one of thirty-one vase designs that were engraved by Benigo Bossi in 1764. Petitot was a pupil of Jacques-Germain Soufflot and was at the French Academy in Rome between 1746 and 1750. He was one of the earliest Prix de Rome students to work in the neoclassical style. In 1753 he went to Parma, where he remained for the rest of his life. He was appointed court architect to the Duke of Parma and was created a count in 1789.

It is likely that the porphyry bowls were cut in Italy, and the quality of the mounts suggests Italian manufacture. They are bold and sculptural but not particularly finely cast or chased. The gilding is thick but uneven.

It is rare to find a signed and dated engraving for a decorative object and for an object to follow an engraved design so closely. The vases were formerly in the collection of Sir Everard Radcliffe, Bt, at Rudding Park, Yorkshire. They were acquired by the Museum from Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich. A second pair is at Houghton Hall, the seat of the Marquess of Cholmondeley.

G. W.

10. WRITING TABLE
French (Paris and Sévres), circa 1778
Height: 2' 6 1/2" (77.5 cm); Width: 4' 3 3/8" (131.2 cm);
Depth: 2' 7/8" (62.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.385 (figs. 24a–d)

This writing table, or bureau plat, is made of oak veneered with tulipwood. It is set with fourteen soft paste Sévres porcelain plaques and with gilt-bronze mounts. The table has

44. See also a Royal Copenhagen porcelain flower vase, modeled in 1779, with lions in the same position but with their feet resting on scrolls (Bredo L. Grandjean, "Nogle nye hvertværelser af dansk porcelæn," in Virksomhed 1959-1964, ex. cat. (Copenhagen, Det Dansk Kunstindustrimuseum, 1964), 80, fig. 31. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing this vase out to me.

45. Some of the mounts, particularly the flat burnished mounts at the rail above each leg and the balls depending from them, are noticeably redder in color than the majority of the mounts. Tests using X-ray fluorescence undertaken at the Museum have shown that all of these mounts are of the same red brass composition (bronze in French terminology) and that it is just the thinner gilding on the highly burnished mounts that accounts for their rather different color.
Figure 22a. One of a pair of porphyry vases mounted with gilt bronze. Italian or French, circa 1765–1770. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DJ.16.1–2.
Figure 22b. Detail of the side of one vase, showing the lion.

Figure 23. Engraving by Benigo Bossi after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot, 1764. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.GH.98.3.

one drawer in the front and a drawer at each end. The stamp M. CARLIN, for the ébéniste Martin Carlin (maitre 1766, died 1785), is found, partly obliterated, under the front right rail adjacent to the stamp JME of the juré of the guild of menuisiers-ébénistes (fig. 24b). The table bears the trade label of the Parisian marchand-mercier Dominique Daguerre underneath the rear left rail (fig. 24c). The undersurface also bears three painted Russian inventory numbers: 1098 in gray, M.N.2586 in black, and 6397 in red. The front drawer bears a twentieth-century paper label inscribed 29615, possibly Duveen’s stock number.

This table has recently been published in some detail,46 and has been referred to in a number of publications since 1907,47 therefore this description will not be extensive.

Eight of the porcelain plaques are variously marked on their reverses with the Sévres Manufactory mark in red, the date letters AA for 1778, and the gilder’s mark of Jean-Baptiste-Emmanuel Vandé (active at Sévres 1755–1779).

Figure 24b. Obliterated stamps M. CARLIN and JME found under the front right rail of the table.

Figure 24c. The paper trade label of the marchand-mercier Dominique Daguerre pinned under the rear left rail of the table.

Figure 24d. Detail showing the Sèvres porcelain plaque forming the drawer front at one end of the table.
From the Sévres kiln registers of 1778 one can see that a number of plaques were made with bleu céleste borders and flowers; these plaques possibly correspond to those found on this table. There were seventeen plaques of various shapes fired in September, October, and November 1778 that were gilded by Vandé and painted by Étienne-François Bouillat père (active at Sévres 1758-1810), but none of the plaques on this table bear any painter’s mark. Nine plaques bear paper labels on their reverses printed in red with the crossed L’s of père (active at Sévres 1758-1810), but none of the plaques on number of plaques were made with a model repeated many times at Sévres and described there as fired in September, October, and November 1778 that were mounted on the fronts of the drawers at each end of the table (fig. 24d), are marked as costing ninety-six livres each. This shape of plaque is not known to have been made again at Sévres. The four curved plaques are unmarked. Seven of the eight rectangular plaques bear price labels showing that they cost thirty livres each.

All the flat Sévres plaques are unglazed on their reverse sides; however, the four curved plaques on the ends are glazed on both sides. These plaques appear to be halved sections of a model repeated many times at Sévres and described there as a quart-de-cercle. The same form of plaque is found on a series of small circular tables by Martin Carlin, two of which are in the J. Paul Getty Museum. There are no marks on the reverses of the curved plaques and they too are glazed on their reverse sides. It would appear that glaze was needed on both sides of a curved plaque in order to prevent it from warping out of the required shape during firing.

One cannot conclusively identify these plaques from reading the various registers for decorators’ payments and kiln firings for the year 1778. As previously mentioned, the kiln registers include several groups of plaques gilded by Vandé and painted with flowers by Étienne-François Bouillat père, which may refer to at least some of the plaques found on the Museum’s table. At this time the marchand-mercier Daguerre had a near monopoly on the purchase of the plaques specifically made to be mounted onto furniture. Indeed it is likely that he was responsible for ordering plaques of unusual shapes, such as those found at the ends of the Museum’s table, to decorate a newly designed piece of furniture like this table. A look at the Sévres sales registers shows that Daguerre purchased two pairs of unspecified plaques in 1778 that cost ninety-six livres, either of which may be the pair found on this table. Daguerre is also recorded as having bought two batches of plaques (six and eight respectively) of unspecified shapes costing thirty livres each, which would have given him an adequate stock of plaques for Carlin to make this table.

One other table of this model is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It is decorated with panels of black and gold oriental lacquer in the frieze, rather than with Sévres plaques as on the Museum’s table, and has similar gilt-bronze mounts with the addition of drapery mounts over the panels at each end. The table in London bears the stamp M. CARLIN in three places under the rail and probably was also made by Carlin for Daguerre. It has been suggested that the effacing of Carlin’s stamp on the Museum’s table, which is also known to have occurred on other pieces by Carlin, was probably done by Daguerre to conceal the identity of one of his better craftsmen from his clients.

The table was almost certainly among the pieces of furniture sold by Daguerre to Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna and Grand Duke Paul (later Czar Paul I) of Russia as they traveled across Europe incognito, calling themselves comte and comtesse du Nord. Baroness d’Oberkirch recorded that on May 25, 1784, they visited Daguerre’s shop on the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris. No list survives of what they purchased from Daguerre, but after their return to Russia Maria-Feodorovna installed several pieces of new French furniture in her bedroom at Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, including the Museum’s table. It was described by her in 1795, along with two secrétaires also decorated with bleu céleste Sévres porcelain plaques.

The lapse of years between the date when the Sévres plaques were made, 1778, and the date when the grand duchess is presumed to have bought the table, 1784, cannot be accounted for as yet. It is possible that Daguerre kept the plaques in stock for some time before the table was made. Having gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining plaques of a special shape, however, it seems more likely that he would have had Carlin make the table a short time after receiving the plaques from Sévres. The table may have been in Daguerre’s shop, A La Couronne d’Or, for some time awaiting a customer. Maria-Feodorovna did, however, buy at least one piece of furniture from Daguerre that was presumably commissioned by him but which had been in the possession of another client of his for several years. That piece, a secrétaire now in the Wrightsman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is decorated with Sévres porcelain plaques dated for 1776 and was sold in 1782 in the auction of possessions of the deceased actress Mlle de

48. One is stamped M. CARLIN; the circular plaque forming the top is painted with the date 1773, accession number 70.DA.75. The other is unstamped; the circular plaque forming the top bears the date letter L for 1764, accession number 70.DA.74. See Gillian Wilson, Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1977), nos. 97, 98, illus.
50. Jones Collection, accession number 1049-1882. It measures 2' 6½" (74.3 cm) by 4' 3¾" (130.4 cm) by 2' 1¼" (61.6 cm).
51. Henriette Louis d’Oberkirch, Mémoires de la baronne d’Oberkirch sur la cour de Louis XVI et la société française... (Paris, 1854), vol. 2, 44.
52. Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna, Description of Pavlovsk, 1795, in Benois, supra, note 47.
53. One by Adam Weisweiler was sold from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Deane Johnson, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, December
She had presumably bought the piece from Daguerre when it was new, after 1776. Daguerre must have repurchased it at the auction in 1782, since he sold the same secrétaire to Maria-Feodorovna in 1784, after which time it was taken to Pavlovsk.

The table remained at Pavlovsk until after the Russian Revolution. It was purchased from the Soviet Government by Lord Duveen in 1931, and he sold it to Mrs. Horace Dodge (Anna Thompson Dodge) who lived near Detroit. It was sold at auction after her death, at which time J. Paul Getty was an underbidder for it. Since 1971 this bureau plat had been in the collection of Mr. Habib Sabet in Geneva. He sent it to auction in 1983 at which time the Museum was able to acquire it.

11. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS
French (Paris), circa 1780–1785
Height: 3' 6½" (108.0 cm); Width: 1' 10 ¾" (57.0 cm);
Depth: 11 7/8" (30.0 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.23.1-2 (figs. 25a–c)

Each of this pair of gilt-bronze wall lights bears five curved and fluted arms for candles. The two lower arms spring from the feathered headdresses of two female masks at the sides, while the remaining three arms spring from a semi-circular collar above the central female mask. The central element of these wall lights is formed by a burnished tapering shaft which hangs from long gilt-bronze ribbons tied at the top in a bow held by a circular decorated stud. A vase of flowers, fruit, pine cones, acorns, berries, and leaves surmounts the shaft, while swags with pendants of chased flowers, fruit, and leaves are suspended between the female masks. The base of the shaft is enclosed by a cup of leaves and berries. A pendant of oak leaves and acorns, which terminates in two tasseled ribbons, is suspended from a pair of acanthus cups.

The chasing and gilding on these wall lights are of exceptionally high quality. The finishing of the modeled details is very precise, and a variety of surface textures has been created by the chasing. The gilding is thick and in good condition. The color of the gilding is slightly redder on the burnished shafts, but tests have shown that the support metal is of the same composition throughout and that the color difference is due to the gilding being significantly thinner on the highly burnished shafts.

The craftsmen who made these wall lights—the bronze caster, the chaser, and the gilder—were of the highest competence, and the names of Pierre Gouthière (1732–1813/14) and Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843) immediately spring to mind. Christian Baulez has suggested that this model is likely to have been made by Thomire; and when the Museum’s wall lights are compared with examples documented to be by Thomire, it seems very likely that they may have come from his workshops. The Wallace Collection possesses a set of four gilt-bronze wall lights delivered to the

38. Tests were carried out at the J. Paul Getty Museum using X-ray fluorescence.
40. The connection with Mlle de Laguerre was pointed out by Theodore Dell.
Château de Compiègne in 1787 that were cast by one of the Forestier brothers (either Étienne-Jean or Pierre-Auguste) and chased and gilded by Thomire. The design of the branches on these lights is similar to that of the Museum’s newly acquired pair, and the drip pans are of the same model, although those on the examples from the Wallace Collection are surmounted by an additional molding of beading.

Other versions of this model of wall light are known. Three pairs now hang in the Petit Trianon at Versailles, a pair is in the Wallace Collection in London, one pair is in a private collection in Paris, and a pair was sold at auction in 1984. A pair of wall lights of similar model, but with patinated central shafts, branches of differing design, and additional elements at the base, is in the Palace of Pavlovsk, near Leningrad; this pair is attributed to Pierre Gouthière. A set of four wall lights composed of elements similar to the Museum’s pair, yet with only three arms and shortened groups of oak leaves hanging from the base, was in a private collection in Argentina. Another example of the use of these elements to form smaller wall lights can be seen in a set of six lights that appeared on the New York art market in 1972. These lights are without the ribbons at the top and have shortened ribbons and foliate husks at the bottom. They have only three arms for candles.

Wall lights of this model were made in the nineteenth century by Alfred-Emmanuel-Louis Beurdeley’s firm of bronze makers. A pair was sold at auction in 1979; these were of the same form as the Museum’s examples but with

59. Formerly these pairs were split between Versailles (67 EN 4802), the Petit Trianon (T. 6248), and the Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 5251).
60. See Watson, 1956, nos. F 378–379.
63. See Exposicion de Obras Maestras, Coleccion Paula de Koenigsberg, ex. cat. (Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1943), no. 241, illus., described as coming from a Rothschild collection. However, see French and Co., New York, stock sheet no. 21458 in the J. Paul Getty Center Archives, which shows that these wall lights were purchased from Warwick House in 1919 and sold to Nicholas de Koenigsberg in 1943.
64. See the J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 27758.
Figure 26a. One of a pair of vases *Hollandais nouveaux*. French (Sèvres), circa 1785. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.341.1-2.
Figure 26b. Side view of one of the vases.
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Figure 26c. Detail showing the mark of the Sévres Manufactory and the painter's mark h painted beneath the base.

blued steel forming the central cylinder. The Museum's wall lights come from the collection of comte de Mortemart Bochechouart at the Château de Saint Vrain, France, and they are reputed to have been in that house since the eighteenth century. The Museum acquired these wall lights from Maurice Segoura, Paris.

A. S.

12. PAIR OF VASES

French (Sèvres), circa 1785

Height: 10" (25.5 cm); Width: 7 3/8" (22.5 cm);

Depth: 6 3/4" (15.9 cm)

Accession number 83.DE.341.1-2 (figs. 26a-d)

Known as a vase Hollandais nouveau, this model of vase first appears in the inventory of new models at Sèvres on January 1, 1759. In that year three sizes are mentioned; by 1774 a fourth size was being produced, but it seems that eventually five sizes were made, measuring between seventeen and twenty-nine centimeters in height.66 The Museum's vases are of the second size. The model—a development of the vase Hollandais, which was first produced in 1754—was immensely popular and sold in great quantities up until the French Revolution.

Each vase consists of two separate sections. The upper trumpet-shaped vase is pierced around its base. It fits into the lower footed section, which was intended to hold water. The large reserves are painted with garlands and pendants of flowers, in which pink roses feature predominantly. Some of the flowers are held in bulbous blue and yellow vases, while sprays emerge from tapering shaftlike containers. A pair of birds sit on a gilded bar. The decoration is similar on the back and the front of each vase. The bleu céleste ground is bordered by bands of gilding, which are summarily chased with a zigzag pattern.

The base of each vase is painted with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory and the painter's mark, a cursive h, all in blue (fig. 26c). The upper section of each is incised with 25, the mark of the répareur (fig. 26d), and one of these sections is also incised O. Rosalind Savill reads the h as the mark of the artist Jacques-François-Louis de Laroche (active 1758–1800). It is possible that the following reference of October 7, 1785, under his name in the Sèvres Manufactory's painters' register, refers to these vases: “2 vases hollandais, ornement, Bleu céleste/Arabesques riches.”67

The decoration on these vases is most unusual, and similar work has not been found on any other objects produced at Sèvres. The painting, though very finely executed, is somewhat tight, and little originality has been shown in the choice of the birds; the same pair is shown on each vase, back and front. The gilding has been only summarily chased, but this is consistent with the date of the vases. Perhaps the most

66. See Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Prœud, Sèvres, des origines à nos jours (Fribourg, 1978), 152, no. 86, and Geofftey de Bellaigue, Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection (London, 1979), 84–86.

67. Registres de Peintres, vj 3 f 127r.
Figure 27a. Group of Bacchus and Ariadne. Italian (Florence), circa 1690. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83SB.333.
Figure 27b. Group of Bacchus and Ariadne seen from the rear.
unusual aspect of the vases is the color scheme, the bluish pink of the flowers contrasting with the rich bleu céleste of the ground color. These same contrasting colors are found on many of the Sévres plaques that were used in these decades to decorate furniture. It is likely that these vases were intended to be placed on just such objects. They are now displayed on a secrétaire mounted with Sévres plaques by Martin Carlin.48

The vases come from the collection of Baroness Alexis de Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Switzerland. They were acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum from Lovice Reviczky AG of Zurich.

G. W.

13. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE
Italian (Florence), circa 1690
Height: 1' 3 3/4" (40.0 cm); Width: 11 3/4" (29.5 cm);
Depth: 8 1/2" (21.5 cm)
Accession number 83.SB.333 (figs. 27a-b)

This patinated bronze group depicts Bacchus seated with his left arm resting on Ariadne's shoulder and his right arm raised and holding a bunch of grapes. Ariadne is seated with her body turned to her right as she reaches to her left to pick up a large elaborate ewer. The base is modeled as a rocky form with vegetation and a tree stump. The dark brown patina is thought to be of late eighteenth-century date. Traces of the original, slightly more golden patina can be seen in certain areas.

A bronze version of this group is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;69 another one is in a New York private collection; and an example was sold at auction in 1899.70 Jennifer Montagu has shown that the model can be attributed to the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1740),71 who was primo scultore at the Medici court in Florence from 1687. He occupied the same foundry in the Borgo Pinti that was formerly used by Giambologna. A drawing by Foggini, possibly a design for a firedog, preserved in the Uffizi, Florence, shows a figure of Bacchus in a similar pose. Jennifer Montagu also attributes to Foggini another bronze group of Bacchus and Ariadne of similar composition that was sold at auction in 1903.72

Klaus Lankheit has shown that this model was one of the seventy-two by Foggini that were bought well after his death for use by the Ginori porcelain manufactory at Doccia, near Florence.73 Giovanni Battista Foggini's son Vincenzo worked at Doccia as a modeler between 1741 and 1753, and it was through him that the manufactory purchased many of his father's molds and models. An inventory of the manufactory's stock of models dated 1780 lists the terracotta model of Bacchus and Ariadne considered here.74 It was evidently used by the manufactory, and Lankheit illustrated a biscuit porcelain version.75

A variant of this model was made in the late eighteenth century by the Aldovrandi Porcelain Manufactory in Bologna.76 In this later example, details such as the ewer and the base have been slightly altered to be more neoclassical.

The Museum's bronze was for many years in the collection of David Peel in London. The Museum acquired it from the dealer Daniel Katz of London.

A. S.

14. SIDE CHAIR
Italian (Piedmontese), circa 1700-1710
Height: 4' 2 3/4" (128.5 cm); Width: 1' 9 3/4" (55.6 cm);
Depth: 2' 3 3/4" (69.5 cm)
Accession number 83.DA.281 (fig. 28)

The side chair illustrated in figure 28 was one of five sold from the collection of Major-General Sir George Burns of North Mymms Park in 1979.77 At the time of the sale the chairs bore their original upholstery. A sixth chair with similar yellow-ribboned and cored, red upholstery is in the Castello Racconigi, the seat of the House of Savoy, outside Turin.78 One must assume that the latter chair was always part of the furnishings of this palace, but letters to Italy concerning this matter have not yet elicited a reply. Two more chairs from this set were sold from the collection of M. Guggenheim in 1913;79 they were more simply upholstered in figured damask with fringing. A ninth chair with cored decoration on a figured damask is illustrated in Mobel Haadbog,80 but its location is not given, and it is described as Venetian. It is likely that other chairs from this set, which may have been large, exist.

69. Accession number A-175.
71. Jennifer Montagu, "Hercules and Iole and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," Apollo, March 1968, 170-175, fig. 7.
72. See Montagu, 174, fig. 6, from the Mme Lelong sale, Paris, May 11-16, 1903, lot 790.
73. Klaus Lankheit, Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia (Munich, 1982), 127.
74. Inventory number 16, p. 28.
75. Lankheit, fig. 123.
76. See G. Morazzoni and L. Borgese, La Terraglia Italiana (Milan, 1956), 118, illus.
78. Noemi Gabrielli, Racconigi (Turin, 1972), 27.
Two of the five chairs sold in 1979 are now in the Toledo Museum of Art,\textsuperscript{81} and they still bear their original upholstery, the cording and ribbons attached to red watered silk, as on the chair at Racconigi. The remaining three, including the Museum’s chair, were reupholstered in Paris in the early 1980’s. The other two from this group are in an American private collection.

The chair was acquired by the Museum from Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London.

The surface of the commode is gilded, and the raised scrolling moldings are silvered. The top is painted in dark green \textit{faux marbre}. A painted double swag of flowers held by three ribbon bows extends across the surfaces of the drawers, which are surrounded by a raised molding. Sprays of flowers wind above and below these moldings at the front and sides. Pendants of flowers are suspended from bows at the front corners and at the back. The sides are painted with loose bunches of flowers, while the legs and aprons are decorated with sprays of flowers (fig. 29c).

\textbf{15. COMMODE}

Italian (Venice), circa 1750–1760

\textbf{Height:} 2' 8 ¼" (81.5 cm); \textbf{Width:} 4' 9 ¾" (147.0 cm); \textbf{Depth:} 2' ¾" (62.5 cm)

Accession number 83.DA.282 (figs. 29a–c)

A gilded example may be seen in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, inventory number D32068, and an elaborate bureau is in the Minneapolis Museum of Art, Minnesota, accession number 76.74.

An exception to this rule is found on Venetian commodes that are painted with peopled landscapes in imitation of lacquer. Here the entire surface of the front is also treated as one unit. See Giuseppe Morazzoni, \textit{Mobili Veneziani Laccati} (Milan, n.d.), vol. 2 pls. XIII, XIV, and 4 (color).

See the commode in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (supra,
The profiles of the commode are complex and bombe, as is to be expected with a piece of this date and origin. While a number of gilded commodes exist,\(^8\) the Museum’s example appears to be unique on a number of counts. The entire front is treated as one decorative unit, and each drawer is not, as is usually the case with Venetian commodes of this period, surrounded by a raised molding.\(^8\) The painted surface is in remarkably fine condition, since it is frequently found that these fragile pieces have been much restored and repainted over the years. The floral decoration is also unusual; on other examples the flowers are scattered in bunches all over the surface in a loose manner,\(^8\) while here they are arranged in a formal way that heralds the emerging neoclassical style.

The commode was bought by a Parisian dealer at a small auction in Saint-Malo in 1982. It was placed at auction in London\(^8\) where it was acquired by the Museum. It is stated to have come “from the Orsini family,” but as yet we have no concrete information to confirm this provenance.

G. W.

16. GARNITURE OF FIVE VASES

German (Meissen), circa 1730

Pair of open vases:
- Height: 10 ¾” (27.6 cm); Width: 7” (17.8 cm)

Pair of lidded vases:
- Height: 1’ 1 ½” (32.2 cm); Width: 7 ¾” (19.4 cm)

Single lidded vases:
- Height: 1’ 2 1 ½” (37.3 cm); Width: 9 ½” (24.1 cm)

Accession number 83.DE.334.1-5 (figs. 30a-k)

This garniture of five hexagonal vases consists of a pair of open vases, a pair of lidded vases, and a larger lidded vase (fig. 30a). Each is painted on its unglazed base with the monogram AR in blue for Augustus Rex (fig. 30b), and the central vase is incised with the mark for the molder Schiefer (fig. 30c).\(^8\) The shapes of these vases were copied from oriental porcelain vases, presumably from the collection of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony (1679-1733), in Dresden.

The white ground of these hard paste porcelain vases is decorated with burnished gilding in decorative patterns and with painted scenes. There are seventy-eight separately painted panels on the vases and lids, of which seventy-two depict oriental figures. On its lower panels the central vase is painted with six carmine red scenes of European harbors and landscapes (fig. 30d).

The style of painted chinoiserie decoration (figs. 30c, g, note 82), another illustrated in Clelia Alberici, Il Mobile Veneto (Milan, 1980), 209, fig. 282, and a number of examples in Morazzoni, vol. 2.


86. See R. Rückert, Meissener Porzellan 1710-1820, ex. cat. (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1966), 43.
Figure 30a. Garniture of five vases. German (Meissen), circa 1730. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 83.DE.334.1-5.

and i–k) was developed at Meissen in the 1720’s under the chief artist at the manufactory, Johann Gregor Höroldt (born 1696, active at Meissen from 1720, died 1775). A notebook known as the Schulz Codex87 survives in the Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig, that consists of one hundred and twenty-four sheets of designs for figures such as these, some attributed to Höroldt himself and all almost certainly used under his direction by the painters at Meissen (figs. 30f and h). The designs are in pen, ink, and wash; it is thought that a similar quantity of additional sheets originally existed.

At least fifteen of the scenes painted on the Museum’s garniture of vases are identifiable in the Schulz Codex. Figures 30e–h show a comparison between two painted scenes and two drawings from the sketchbook. These designs were repeated on other pieces of porcelain painted at Meissen. Figure 30i shows a plate sold at auction in 198288 that is also painted with the figure of a monkey resting on a man’s head that is found on one of the Museum’s vases (fig. 30g). Figures 30j and k are of two scenes from different vases, and they clearly indicate that at least two different painters were responsible for the large figures on this garniture. The lidded vases are painted in slightly brighter colors and in a much freer manner than the open vases, which are characterized by tighter painting and a more careful approach to detail.

Vases of this shape and decoration are rare, especially forming a garniture of five. The closest examples in terms of the arrangement of the chinoiserie figures on gilded plinths and in cartouches are a single lidded vase that was on the Paris art market in 195289 and another lidded vase currently on the New York art market. A single lidded vase of similar type and decoration was in a Buenos Aires collection.90 The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam possesses two pairs of lidded vases,91 two pairs of open vases,92 a single lidded vase,93 and a pair of lidded vases with kakememon-style bands of ground color.94 These are all of the same models as the Museum’s newly acquired vases, but their chinoiserie painted scenes are set in very different gilded decoration. In the Ernst Schneider collection at Schloss Lustheim, Munich, there are five examples of the open, shaped vases, a set of three and a pair,95 where the chinoiserie figures are set in much simpler gilded decoration than the Museum’s examples. A single open vase of similar form and decoration is in the Hans Syz Collection.96

None of these vases bear Johanneum marks, and they were not sold from Dresden in the duplicate sales held in 1919 and 1920. The Museum’s vases were sold anonymously at auction

87. See Meisener Musterbuch Höroldt-Chinoiserien (Leipzig, 1978), with commentary by Rainer Behrends.
89. See Connaissance Des Arts, October 1952, 4, illus. with a replacement gilt-bronze knob (advertisement of Pierre Ladune).
90. See Exposición de obras Maestras, Colección Paula de Koenigsberg, ex. cat. (Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1945), no. 175, illus., stated to have come from the Palace of Tsarskoe Selo. However, regarding the accuracy of this catalogue’s information see note 63 under No. 11 of this article.
91. Accession numbers RBK 17448 A & B and RBK 17447 A & B.
92. Accession numbers RBK 17457 A & B and RBK 17450 A & B.
93. The J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 114988.
94. The J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive, no. 114974.
95. See Rückert, supra, note 86, nos. 189–193. Three of them are the size of the Museum’s open vases; the pair are smaller being only 24.6 and 24.8 cm high.
Figure 30b. Monogram AR in blue, found under the base of each vase in the garniture.

Figure 30c. Schiefer's incised molder's mark found under the base of the larger lidded vase.

Figure 30d. One of six harbor scenes painted in carmine red on the larger lidded vase.
Figure 30c. Group of a trinket seller painted on one of the smaller lidded vases.

Figure 30f. Facsimile drawing of a trinket seller, Schulz Codex, pl. 44 (1,2).

Figure 30g. Group with a monkey resting on a man's head painted on one of the smaller lidded vases.

Figure 30h. Facsimile drawing of a monkey resting on a man's head, Schulz Codex, pl. 44 (II,1).
Figure 30h. Plate. German (Meissen), circa 1730, painted with figures from a sheet in the Schulz Codex shown in figure 30h. Photo: Courtesy Sotheby Parke Bernet.

Figure 30j. Figure group painted on the larger lidded vase.

Figure 30k. Figure group painted on one of the open vases.
in 1957, at which time they were bought by the Antique Porcelain Company, London. Since 1957 the garniture has been with an Italian private collector, from whose heirs the Antique Porcelain Company repurchased the vases in 1982.

A.S.

17. GROUP OF JAPANESE FIGURES
German (Meissen), 1745
Height: 1' 5 ¾" (45.1 cm); Width: 11 ¾" (29.5 cm);
Depth: 8 ¾" (21.7 cm)
Accession number 83.DE.271 (figs. 31a-b)

This hard paste porcelain group is composed of a figure of an oriental man feeding cherries to a parrot. He is seated under a porcelain parasol, which is mounted on a gilt-bronze shaft and held by a figure of an oriental woman. The porcelain base is decorated with molded and painted flowers and is covered beneath with a base of gilt bronze. Some of the figures’ extremities, such as their fingers, have been broken and repaired.

This group is of unusually large size and can be identified in the list of work carried out by Johann Joachim Kandler in 1745. The entry reads:

Eine große Japanische Grouppee, da ein Bajote auf einem grünen Rasen siset, und neben sich eine Japanerin hat, so ihm ein Parsol übem Kopf hält, darbey ein Papagoy, welchen der Japaner füttert.

At least two other examples of this model are known to exist; both are in damaged condition. One appears to be of nineteenth-century date, but the other, which has been in the Museo Civico of Turin since 1880, appears to be quite similar to the Museum’s example. Unlike the Museum’s example, however, the man in the Turin example was modeled without a beard, and due to damage, there is no longer a parrot or a parasol. The example presumed to be nineteenth

97. Property of a Gentleman, Sotheby’s, London, March 5, 1957, lot 123. I am grateful to Reinier Baarsen for pointing out this auction.
98. This base has not been removed to see whether or not the group bears the crossed swords mark of the Meissen Manufactory.
Figure 32. *Hearing*. English (Derby), circa 1756–1758. London, Victoria and Albert Museum C. 190–1977.

Figure 33. Pair of figures of Chinese musicians. English (Derby), circa 1756–1758. Indianapolis, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Herbert R. Duckwall in memory of her husband, 55.212 a&b.
The century is in a Northern California private collection. It has rather differently painted decoration and a replacement metal parasol, and it lacks the modeled flowers on the base in contrast to the other two examples.

From 1750 or shortly after, the Derby Porcelain Factory made a figure group called Hearing (fig. 32), which is also often called Sight, as part of a set representing the senses. It consists of the seated figure of a man and a raised and seated figure of a woman with her left arm outstretched and a parrot resting on her right hand. The arrangement of the figures is obviously taken from the same source that inspired the Meissen group acquired by the Museum. Derby also produced a pair of figures of Chinese musicians between 1756 and 1758 (fig. 33). The poses of these figures are also probably taken from the same design source as the group of Hearing and the Museum’s Meissen group, but in this instance the woman holds small drums and the man a mandolin. The common source, presumably a published engraving, has not yet been identified; but it is probably after a design by a French eighteenth-century painter.

The Museum’s group was sold at auction in 1982 from a European collection, at which time the female figure held a replacement parasol. The original parasol, which at some stage had been separated from the group, was found in the collection of the late Paul Schnyder von Wartensee, Switzerland, and has now been reunited with the figures. The Museum acquired this group from the London dealer Winifred Williams.

A. S.

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101. I am grateful to Kenneth Winslow of Butterfield’s, San Francisco, for bringing this example to my attention.
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Acquisitions in 1983: Introduction

In this supplement to the Journal we give an illustrated listing of the works of art acquired in 1983 and a brief summary of information about each. More complete articles and catalogue entries will follow in due course; our purpose here is to publish recent acquisitions promptly, albeit in an abbreviated form.

Nobody will overlook the fact that this is a long list for a small museum. It is well known that the Getty Museum has recently been given an unusual opportunity to acquire works of art and that it has been taking advantage of its fortunate position. Few people, however, have a very clear idea of what and how the Museum collects. This first accounting of a year’s acquisitions seems an appropriate place to summarize the Museum’s recent history and to make a few observations about our policies and practices.

Mr. Getty died in 1976, when the Museum had been housed for little more than two years in the re-created Roman villa built at his wish, and he endowed the institution with the bulk of his estate. The trustees had the unexpected task, much publicized at the time, of devising a plan to secure the greatest public benefit from the large income that was anticipated. They saw that the Museum’s acquisitions and operations could never absorb all the funds, and they realized that more should be accomplished for Los Angeles, the nation, and indeed for the world than merely building up the Getty Museum, however worthy that goal. During the next five years, while the trustees waited for the courts to release the estate, they debated possible courses for the future; under the leadership of Otto Wittmann, who later became chairman of the Trust’s Acquisitions Committee, they also established more exacting criteria and procedures for acquiring works of art. They then reconstituted themselves as the J. Paul Getty Trust, a private operating foundation for the visual arts (as distinct from a grant-making foundation under United States tax laws), and appointed a president, Harold M. Williams.

Together with several associates, Mr. Williams developed a program for the Getty Trust that would not only assure the further growth of the Museum but also do far more. The immediate goal was to help professionals identify the greatest needs in their fields. Many dozens of art historians, museum professionals, conservators, and educators from the United States and abroad contributed to this effort. Highly important projects that could not be accomplished without the Getty Trust’s willingness to accept risks and to make substantial financial commitments were then isolated. As a result of this investigation the Trust resolved to advance the study of the history of art and related disciplines; improve the documentation of art and provide better tools for research worldwide; help meet the needs of art conservation; foster wider and better education in the visual arts in American schools; and strive for a variety of related goals. A fuller account of the first three years of the Getty Trust’s activities will be published shortly.

For the Museum, meanwhile, the task has been to study its own potential, determine what it should and should not become, and shape a staff and program accordingly. It has become clear that the present Museum building cannot house the growing collections adequately and that since expansion at Malibu is impossible, a new Getty Museum needs to be built. The Trust has acquired a 742-acre property in West Los Angeles that is to be the site not only of a new Museum but also of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and the Getty Conservation Institute. At this writing the architect Richard Meier of New York City has just been appointed. The project should be finished in the early 1990’s. After the later European collections are moved to the new Museum, the present building in Malibu will be renovated to house America’s only museum devoted solely to Greek and Roman art. Its galleries, together with an extensive study collection (acquired in large part by donations, as this year’s lengthy list of antiquities acquisitions shows), will make the Museum a valuable place for scholars and students to pursue their work.

The realities of a dwindling art market make it plain that the Getty Museum, no matter how well endowed, cannot hope to form important collections in all fields. Fortunately, there is little need for another large general art museum in Los Angeles. We prefer that our collection complement those of other museums in the area, and thus we avoid an entire range of categories, such as Far Eastern, Islamic, and primitive art, in the interest of the institutions that already collect them. We believe that the future Getty Museum, like the present one, must be restricted in scope if we wish to attain excellence, and it must be of modest size in order to maintain human scale and an ambiance of comfort and dignity.

The boundaries of the Getty Museum’s collection have been extended, however, in the past few years. Readers will

note the impressive growth of the drawings collection, begun in 1981 as the Museum’s first departure from the categories established by Mr. Getty decades before. Although we buy very selectively and are in no great hurry to amass a large collection, it has been possible to acquire nearly one hundred drawings as of this writing. A new study room has been opened, and a gallery has been dedicated to changing exhibitions of drawings from the permanent collection.

The most remarkable acquisition of 1983 was the purchase of the collection of Medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts formed by Peter and Irene Ludwig of Aachen, the best private collection in the world. The trustees saw a chance to enter a new field closely related to the Museum’s collections of paintings and drawings, and they seized a rare opportunity to achieve distinction in a single stroke. The 144 manuscripts have become a rich resource for study and exhibition, the only one of its kind outside Europe and the eastern United States. A Department of Manuscripts has been instituted and staffed, a study room is now functioning, and the first of a series of changing exhibitions has been mounted.

A few more changes, which were under consideration in 1983 but not accomplished until 1984, have affected the scope of the collections, and it may be useful to anticipate next year’s report of acquisitions by describing them here.

It had long been realized that Mr. Getty’s personal taste resulted in a nearly exclusive focus on French furniture and decorative arts, which was difficult to justify in a museum that exhibits paintings and drawings from many European countries. It was also evident that sculpture had been virtually ignored. The trustees therefore approved the addition of European sculpture and works of art to the collection. Late in 1982 Giambologna’s early marble Bathing Venus was acquired, followed in 1983 by a bronze group by Foggini. In 1984 a Department of Sculpture and Works of Art was created and staffed, and collecting has begun in earnest.

Early in 1984 the Museum was presented with an astonishing opportunity recalling that of the Ludwig manuscripts. It became possible to acquire a group of the largest and best private collections of photographs in the world—nearly thirty thousand examples in all, ranging in date from the origins of the medium in the late 1830’s to the present—and thus to establish the finest collection in America. The chance was too important to pass up, especially in view of the lack of any comprehensive collections of photographs in the western United States. The acquisitions were made, and a Department of Photographs was formed—the seventh curatorial department and the last for the foreseeable future.

Something should be said here not merely about what the Getty Museum collects but also about how it collects, particularly in view of some misunderstandings that linger here and abroad. We want to acquire the finest works of art that can be found within the modest scope of the collections, but we mean to be highly selective. We will be content for the Museum to remain relatively small and specialized.

There is no requirement in the United States tax laws that compels the trustees to allocate any funds for Museum acquisitions. They do so by choice and entirely on the merits of proposed purchases. Furthermore, since the Getty Trust’s many other activities, which include an ambitious long-term building program, demand a good deal of its resources, purchase funds are finite, carefully apportioned, and smaller than generally believed.

While we are competitors of other museums, we are also colleagues. Out of respect for the concern of European nations to preserve their artistic patrimony, we frequently go beyond the letter of export laws to restrain ourselves voluntarily. Our effect upon the international art market concerns us, even though we know that dwindling supply and increased demand from many collectors, not just the Getty, are the real factors that have inflated prices. For our own good as well as that of other institutions, we make strenuous efforts to get the best prices privately, and we set limits when we bid at auction. We do not employ agents or make offers for privately owned works of art. We are convinced that moderation and fair play will bring their own benefits and that the Museum will nevertheless have opportunities aplenty for distinguished acquisitions and consequently for greater service to the profession and the public.

John Walsh
Director
The J. Paul Getty Museum
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Notes to the Reader

Although variations occur reflecting both curatorial preference and the nature of the works of art described, the following information has been provided for each listed item where appropriate or available: name and dates of artist, title or name of work and date of execution, medium, dimensions with centimeters preceding inches, inscriptions, Museum accession number, commentary, provenance, and bibliography.

When possible in giving dimensions, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H: Height
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter
T: Thickness

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers.
STONE SCULPTURE

1. IDOL FROM CYPRUS
Early third millennium B.C.
Limestone, H: 39.5 cm (15½”)
83.AA.38

COMMENTARY: The female figure is represented in a schema different from Cycladic idols but known from other idols (mostly smaller and less important) from Cyprus. While the face is rendered with lively details (round eyes, locks of hair, and both lips indicated), the body is very schematized. The stumplike arms form a cross; the neck is overlong. The rather heavy breasts are supported by a chain composed of beads. Although difficult to appreciate in front view, the squatting position indicates that the goddess is giving birth. Her left arm was broken off during the carving, but the sculptor reattached it by tying it on through two circular drilled holes.


2. FRAGMENT OF A CYCLADIC IDOL
Third millennium B.C.
Naxian marble, H: 7.7 cm (3”)
83.AA.201, presented by Pat Getz-Preziosi

COMMENTARY: Torso of a flat female figure.

3. SIX FRAGMENTARY CYCLADIC IDOLS
Third millennium B.C.
Naxian marble, Varying Dimensions
83.AA.316–318, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Two heads, two torsos, the legs of an idol, and the lower abdomen of a sixth figure.


4. TORSO OF A DRAPE KOUROS
Circa 530 B.C.
Grayish, East Greek (?) marble, H: 32.5 cm (12½”)
83.AA.216

COMMENTARY: Only the under-life-size upper torso of a youth wearing a mantle over his left shoulder is preserved. The carving of the anatomy and of the pearls representing the locks of hair point toward the date, while the incised rendering of the flat drapery folds corresponds to sculptures from the island of Chios (cf. for example the torsos of two korai from the earlier sixth century in Chios, J. Boardman, *AntiP* 1 [1963] 43–45, pls. 38–41, 42–44).

PROVENANCE: European art market.


5. STATUE OF A BOAR
Greek provincial work, circa 450 B.C.
Travertine, H (including the base): 88.5 cm (34¾”); L: 147 cm (57¾”)
83.AA.366

COMMENTARY: The surface has suffered from fire. The right foreleg and the right sides of the muzzle, of the upper head (including the ear), and of the tail are missing; the bristle comb is damaged. The statue is executed from two slabs of travertine held together by picked sides. The left ear was carved from a separate small block of travertine that was inserted in a cavity. Behind this ear, half of a swallow-tail clamp is preserved over a crack in the stone—an ancient repair.

The modeling is summary but powerful; the nearest kin is the bronze boar from Mezek in the Istanbul Museum (later fifth century B.C.). The statue was probably votive.

PROVENANCE: European art market.


6. LION’S HEAD WATERSPOUT
Circa 400 B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 20 cm (8”); L: 33.5 cm (13”); D: 42.5 cm (17”)
83.AA.245, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The surface is slightly abraded, but the modeling remains well preserved. The waterspouts of the Parthenon are the most immediately recognizable predecessors of the lion’s head. On the surviving front surface of the cyma, there is a double palmette ornament for which no comparable waterspout can be quoted.

7. ATTIC GRAVE STELE OF PHILOXENOS
End of fifth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, 102.5 x 43.25 x 15.25 cm (41½” x 17¼” x 6¼”)
83.AA.378

COMMENTARY: The surface is weathered. The names of both figures are inscribed on the epistyle: PHILOXE[NOS] PHIOM[E]NH

Philoxenos must have fallen in battle, as he is represented wearing a helmet and cuirass. He is shaking hands with his wife, Philomene, both in farewell and to symbolize eternal union. She is wearing a himation over a chiton; a sakkos covers her hair. The stele of Smikros and Smikros in the Piraeus Museum is the best comparison for the style.


8. ATTIC GRAVE STELE 
WITH THREE FIGURES
Late fifth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, 75 x 50 cm (30" x 20")
83.AA.206, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: Under a plain triangular pediment, a standard scene of a family gathering is presented. An older man, the most venerable person in the group, is seated to the left on a klismos. Next to him stands a woman, the deceased, who shakes hands with another woman represented as a little smaller—a relative rather than a servant. The heads are broken off.

9. ATTIC FUNERARY
LOUTROPHOROS OF PHILYTES
Second quarter of fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 82.5 cm (33")
83.AA.253, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The neck and the upper part of this funerary vase have been put together from several fragments. Philytes, wearing a himation, shakes hands with Aristomachos; both are bearded. The names are inscribed above the figures: ΦΙΛΥΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ. Between them stands a little boy turned toward the deceased Philytes who must have died unmarried. The loutrophoros amphora was a monument used only for unmarried men and women.

PROVENANCE: Vicomte de Dresnay, Château Dreneus, Loire.

10. SMALL FEMALE HEAD FROM AN 
ATTIC RELIEF
Fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 13.25 cm (6½")
83.AA.397, presented by William Montepert

COMMENTARY: Neither the original background nor the contour is preserved. The head may have belonged to a votive relief.

11. STATUETTE OF ARTEMIS-BENDIS
Last third-last quarter of fourth century B.C.
Pentelic marble, H: 47 cm (18½")
83.AA.207, presented by Vasek Polak

COMMENTARY: The head, feet, and arms are missing. The goddess wears an animal skin over a short chiton. This must have been a votive statuette in an Artemis-Bendis sanctuary.

12. FRAGMENTARY EARLY 
HELENISTIC STATUE OF 
HERAKLES
Parian marble, Preserved H: 58 cm (22½"); W: 39.5 (15½")
83.AA.11

COMMENTARY: Only the bust survives from this under life-size sculpture. The complete statue represented Herakles standing with his feet spread far apart, the left leg bent, and the right foot forward. He might have originally supported the infant Dionysos (?) on his left arm, showing him an object (a bunch of grapes?) held in his raised right hand. A Herakles in the Capitoline Museum is the closest known parallel for the motif, but the Getty Herakles may have been part of a larger group (see No. 13). The excellent carving is Alexandrine, probably from the third century B.C. At some later time, the statue was the victim of an accident, but the fragments were put back together, and the surface was extensively recut to hide the damage.

PROVENANCE: European art market; said to be from Alexandria.


13. SANDALED FOOT
Parian marble, L: 24.5 cm (9½"")
83.AA.427, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The marble, the carving, and the repolished surface of this foot correspond to the statue of Herakles (No. 12). It may have belonged to the same group, together with two more feet, one of which was acquired by the Museum in 1984.
PROVENANCE: Said to be from Alexandria.


14. **COLOSSAL PORTRAIT HEAD OF PTOLEMY III (?)**
   Later third–early second century B.C.
   Greek marble, H: 53.5 cm (21")
   83.AA.205, presented by Vasek Polak

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is missing. The occiput was never carved. The head was made for insertion in a pre-existing statue body. The identity of the king represented has yet to be confirmed; it may be a posthumous image.

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from the region of Alexandria.

15. **SMALL PORTRAIT HEAD OF A PTOLEMY**
   Second century B.C.
   Parian marble, H: 15.5 cm (6¼")
   83.AA.33, presented by Dr. Badr Barsoum

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is missing. The face is rich in veristic detail.

**PROVENANCE:** From Egypt.

16. **PORTRAIT HEAD OF A LATE PTOLEMY**
   Second century B.C.
   Parian marble, H: 33.75 cm (13½")
   83.AA.330, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is missing. The occiput was never carved. The conical bottom of the neck is shaped for insertion in a pre-existing statue body. The features correspond to those of Ptolemy IX (cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* [Berlin, 1975], no. 46; confirmed by I. Jucker).

**PROVENANCE:** Sale, Sotheby’s, London, December 4, 1979, lot 112, pl. 26.

17. **PORTRAIT HEADS OF A PTOLEMAIC KING AND QUEEN**
   After the second century B.C. (?)
   Greek marble (Parian or lesser quality?)
   King—H: 17.5 cm (7")
   Queen—H: 18.3 cm (7½")
   83.AA.313a-b, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** Both heads are intact with perfectly preserved surfaces. The conical bottoms were made for insertion in considerably under life-size statues. The carving is summary.

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from Alexandria.

18. **STATUETTE OF ASKLEPIOS**
   Early first century B.C.
   Pentelic marble, H: 37.5 cm (14¼")
   83.AA.208, presented by Vasek Polak

**COMMENTARY:** The head, the right arm from the shoulder, the left arm from the elbow, and the feet of this statuette are missing. It is a neo-Attic variant of a fourth-century B.C. prototype. It was intended to be seen from the front, as the back is carved much more summarily. Dietrich Willers is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

19. **STATUETTE OF HERMES**
   Late first century B.C.
   White homogenous marble, H: 21 cm (8¼")
   83.AA.312, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** Both of the hands and the legs below the thighs are missing. With his winged cap and kerykeion in his left hand, his chlamys blown by the wind, the god is represented in flight. The statuette was extensively recarved in antiquity to minimize damage to the surface.

20. **SMALL PRIMITIVE HERM**
   First century B.C. (?)
   Porous limestone, H: 32.5 cm (12½")
   83.AA.314, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The surface of the prismatic body is covered by a homogenous patina and is heavily weathered. The penis is carved in front, and two protuberances indicate the arms, according to the established tradition for full-size herms. The carving represents a kind of folk art, difficult to date and to place.

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from Macedonia.

21. **BEARDED HEAD FROM A HERM**
   Roman copy after a bronze original from late fifth century B.C.
   Italian marble, H: 22.5 cm (9")
   83.AA.395, presented by F. Richmond

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is missing, and the top of the head was repaired both in antiquity and in modern times. The beard was broken off in antiquity and reattached. The general type derives from the famous herm by Alkamenes erected on the Akropolis about 420 B.C.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Frel, *GettyMus* 12 (1984), 86–89.

22. **HERM PORTRAIT OF AISCHINES**
   Roman copy of second century A.D.
   after an original of circa 330 B.C.
   Pentelic marble, 50.8 x 27 cm (20" x 10½")
   83.AA.210, presented by Dr. Paul Flanagan

**COMMENTARY:** The left half of the herm is missing, and the head is badly battered. On the front is the left side of three lines of a Greek inscription giving the name of the tyrant Periandros; his place of origin, Corinth; and his motto: “Take care of everything.”

**KOP[N]IOC**

**M]EAI[TH TAN**

The identity is false, however; the head is a replica of the well-known portrait type of Aischines, although the authenticity of the inscription has been confirmed by several epigraphers (including G. Daux and A. Raubitschek).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Greek Portraits 1981, no. 18.

23. **COLOSSAL PORTRAIT HEAD OF A RULER**
   Limestone, 61 x 40 x 42 cm (24" x 15½" x 16¼")
   83.AA.254, presented by Vasek Polak

**COMMENTARY:** The inside of the head was hollowed out in modern times. The surface is damaged, but traces of the original
polychromy can be seen (lapis lazuli blue on the wig, golden ocher on the face, red on the eye corners).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

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**24. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN**  
Middle of first century A.D.  
Whitish, rather heterogeneous, marble with medium crystals, H: 27.9 cm (10½"")  
83.AA.246, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is broken off, and the surface is damaged. The general appearance corresponds to Roman portraits from about the middle of the first century A.D., but the individual portrait characteristics are minimal and the carving is very provincial. The head, however, is a rare example of sculpture from Roman Macedonia.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

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**25. PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EMPEROR NERVA**  
End of first century A.D.  
Two kinds of Italian marble, H: 35.5 cm (14")  
83.AA.43

**COMMENTARY:** The tip of the nose is missing. The back of the head is carved from a block of one type of marble, while the top is from another type. H. Jucker has demonstrated that the head is a recarved portrait of the emperor Domitian, Nerva’s predecessor. Traces of the originally intended hairstyle can be easily detected.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Gesichter*, no. 45 (H. Jucker); *Roman Portraits*, 2nd ed.

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**26. FUNERARY ALTAR WITH PORTRAIT BUSTS OF L. CALTILIUS STEPHANUS AND CALTILIA MOSCHIS**  
Circa A.D. 120  
Italian marble, 128 x 80 x 63.5 cm (50¼" x 31½" x 25")  
83.AA.209, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The inscription under the niche in the front of the altar provides the identity of the two busts.

**DIS MANIBUS**  
L. CALTILI CATILIAE STEPHANI MOSCHIDIS

Most of the man’s face is ruined, while the portrait of the woman is missing only the tip of the nose. The woman’s hairstyle corresponds to the fashion of the ladies from Trajan’s family, but the portrait of the man represents the renaissance of...
republican sentiment and tradition that persisted until the reign of Hadrian. Several other surviving funerary monuments are known that belong to the same family of freedmen from Ostia; an identical inscribed portrait of Caltilia appears on one of them.


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27. **PORTRAIT BUST OF A ROMAN LADY**
   Middle of second century A.D.
   Italian marble, H: 67.5 cm (26 3/8")
   83.AA.44

**COMMENTARY:** The condition and preservation of the portrait are immaculate. The hair fashion and the portrait style were inspired by Faustina Major, the wife of the emperor Antoninus Pius. The deep psychological insight and the fine carving make this portrayal of a private person perhaps the finest portrait in the Getty collection.


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28. **PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EMPEROR COMMODOUS**
   End of second century A.D.
   Italian marble, H: 32.7 cm (12 3/4")
   83.AA.289, presented by Lowell Milken

**COMMENTARY:** The tip of the nose is missing, and there is some slight damage to the surface. The inside of the neck was hollowed out to facilitate placement of the head on the neck of a statue previously used for another portrait, probably also imperial.


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29. **PORTRAIT HEAD OF A SON OF CONSTANTINE**
   Second quarter of fourth century A.D.
   White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), H: 25.5 cm (10")
   83.AA.212, presented by Leon Levy

**COMMENTARY:** The portrait was carved from a pre-existing head, perhaps of the emperor Trajan. Sandra Morgan is preparing a study of this head for publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

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30. **PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN**
   Second quarter of fifth century A.D.
   White marble with large crystals (Asia Minor), H: 28.5 cm (11 3/4")
   83.AA.45

**COMMENTARY:** The nose is missing, and the forehead is battered above the eyes. This very impressive image of a *homo spiritualis* abandons any attempt at portraying individual features in its representation of a soul turned toward eternity.

PROVENANCE: A. Moretti, Lugano.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gesichter*, no. 95A (S. Truempler); B. Brenk, Spätantike und frühes Christentum (Frankfurt, 1983-1984), no. 67 (D. Stutzinger); *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

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31. **FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN MARBLE STATUARY**
   First-second century A.D.
   Laurel wreath—Maximum L: 12.3 cm (4 3/4"); Maximum W: 8.3 cm (3 3/8")
   Hand—Maximum L: 11.6 cm (4 3/16"); Maximum W: 8.8 cm (3 3/16")
   Thumb—Approximate L: 5 cm (1 3/4")
   83.AA.307, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The fragments include the top of a head with a laurel wreath, a hand, and a thumb (all life-size).

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32. **ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS WITH THE DISCOVERY OF ARIADNE BY DIONYSOS**
   Early third century A.D.
   Italian marble, H: 50.8 cm (20"); L: 172.5 cm (68"); D: 57 cm (22 3/4")
   83.AA.275

**COMMENTARY:** The name of the deceased girl is inscribed on the central part of the lid.
Susan Walker is preparing a study of the sarcophagus for publication.

**PROVENANCE:** Excavated in the Casali vineyard near Porta Capena, 1873; Palazzo Lazzeroni, 1921–1929; Hever Castle; sale, Sotheby's, July 11, 1983, lot 370.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Koch.

33. **PORTRAIT HEAD OF A BEARDED PHILOSOPHER**
Middle of third century A.D.
Italian marble, H (total): 21 cm (8¼’’), (head only): 11.5 cm (4 ½’’)
83.AA.426, presented by Max Falk

**COMMENTARY:** The head is from a Roman sarcophagus and is mounted on an eighteenth-century bust that has been inscribed twice with the name Epicurus, once in Greek and once in Latin.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Koch; *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

34. **PROVINCIAL PHRYGIAN FUNERARY RELIEF WITH TWO FIGURES**
Early third century A.D.
Marble, 88.9 x 66 x 7.6 cm (35” x 26” x 3”)
83.AA.204

**COMMENTARY:** The Greek funerary inscription is being prepared by Guntram Koch.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Koch.

35. **CUP WITH FIGURES OF ISIS AND SERAPIS, THE ZODIAC, ETC.**
First century B.C.–first century A.D.
Steatite, Diam: 13.2 cm (5¼’’)
83.AA.327, anonymous donation

**PROVENANCE:** From Egypt.


36. **FRAGMENTARY STEATITE CUP IN THE SHAPE OF A SHELL**
First century B.C.
Steatite, Diam: 7.6 cm (3”)
83.AA.26, anonymous donation


37. **SLAB WITH INSCRIPTION**
Antimachia on Cos, third-second century B.C.
Marble, 26 x 37 x 7.9 (10¾” x 14¼” x 3¼”)
83.AA.332, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The honorary decree is written in the Doric dialect. Dirk Obbink is preparing a new study of this piece for publication.


38. **HEAD OF A YOUTH**
Later fifth century A.D.
Bronze, H: 27.5 cm (10½”)
83.AB.311, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** This is a very thick cast with several flaws; on both sides the remnants of the iron bar holding the core and form together can be seen. The hair was rendered by hammered strokes after casting. The intention was to represent an individual, but the result is a purely schematic, impersonal face.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** AGAI, 151, fig. 10.8; *Roman Portraits*, 2d ed.

39. **SET OF HORSE HARNESS AND OTHER BRONZE OBJECTS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA**
Circa late sixth century B.C.
Prometopidia—Original L: 45 cm (17½”); W: 17.2 cm (6¾”)
Breastplates—Restored L: 107 cm (42½”); W: 25 cm (9¾”)
83.AC.7–9

**COMMENTARY:** 7—The two breastplates are adorned with frontal victorious quadrigas flanked by Nikai each of whom holds a crown in repoussé relief. At the top the two prometopidia display large helmeted bearded heads (the helmet cheekpieces feature rams’ heads) with eyes inlaid in amber and ivory; at the bottom of each prometopidion is a small gorgoneion (cf. Ernst Berger, ed., *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 2, *Terrakotten und Bronzen* [Basel, 1982], no. 219).
8—Two conical helmets of South Italian type.
9—Candelabrum with an Ionic capital on the top.

40. **TWO PARTS OF AN APULIAN XYLOPHONE**
Fourth century B.C.
Bronze
Part 1—L: 9.8 cm (3¼”)
Part 2—L: 8.7 cm (3½”)
83.AC.310, anonymous donation


41. **PAIL WITH IRON RIBS AND HANDLE**
First century A.D.
Bronze, H: 36 cm (14¼”)
83.AC.223

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Koch.
24. SETS OF ROMAN UTILITARIAN OBJECTS
First century B.C.-first century A.D.
Bronze
83.AC.291–292, anonymous donor
COMMENTARY: The objects, intended for daily use, include two spoons, six locks, six terminals, two plumber's cups, a fishhook, a door shield, and thirty-eight nails.

25. ROMAN SPOON, THIMBLE, AND PAIR OF DICE
First century B.C.-first century A.D.
Bronze spoon—L: 16.4 cm (6 1/8")
Bone dice—Diam: 0.9 cm (3/8")
Thimble—H: 1.2 cm (1/2")
83.AC.422–424, presented by John Saxon
COMMENTARY: The cast handle of the bronze spoon terminates in a frontal head with a palmette crown and volutes on each side. The dice are inscribed with concentric circles.

VASES: EAST GREEK

44. PLASTIC ARYBALLOS IN THE FORM OF THE BUST OF THE MINOTAUR
East Greek, circa 580–560 B.C.
H: 10.9 cm (4 1/4")
83.AE.213, presented by Leon Levy
COMMENTARY: The vase is classified as belonging to the Robertson Group of East Greek vases, similar to Ducat, no. 104, type G. No exact parallel is known. The vase is mold made with the mouth added separately to the back of the head. The mouth of the vase, the tips of the horns, and a small area of the lower breast are restored. Details of the fur and creases in the neck are incised. A border of simple crenellation painted in white with red dots in the interstices runs around the bottom of the creature's neck and down the sides of the arms. The bottom of the vase is decorated with a star rosette.

45. SET OF FRAGMENTS OF CORINTHIAN VASES AND LOCAL ITALIC IMITATIONS OF CORINTHIAN POTTERY
Sixth century B.C.
83.AE.276, by exchange with the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Bern
COMMENTARY: In 1979 the Getty Museum received a donation of a large collection of fragments of Corinthian pottery (79.AE.110) and Italian imitations of Corinthian wares (79.AE.111). Some of these pieces joined fragments that had been purchased by the Archäologisches Institut der Universität Bern. With the assistance of Vera Uhlman of Bern, who came with the Bern fragments to work at the Getty Museum for three months, a number of joins were established between the two collections. The joining fragments, primarily from alabastra and pyxides, were then exchanged.

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-Figure

46. FRAGMENT OF A NECK AMPHORA
Circa 620 B.C.
Attributed to the Nessos Painter
H: 20 cm (7 3/4"); W (with 81.AE.114.30): 28 cm (11"")
83.AE.428, presented by Vasek Polak
COMMENTARY: This fragment joins another previously given to the Museum by the same donor (81.AE.114.30). The composite piece, from the neck of a large amphora, shows a pair of Sirens; the creature on the right pecks at the ground before the feet of the Siren on the left. Added red is used for the wing coverts; on the edge of the mouth is a step pattern.

47. PANATHENAIC AMPHORA FRAGMENT
Circa 500 B.C.
4.35 x 5.7 cm (1 11/16" x 2 3/16")
83.AE.399, presented by William Montepert
COMMENTARY: The fragment comes from side A of a Panathenaic amphora (prize vase from the Panathenaic Games), which traditionally carried a figure of the goddess Athena. This piece preserves part of the goddess' aegis.

48. FOURTEEN FRAGMENTS (COMPOSED OF MANY) OF A PANATHENAIC AMPHORA
Circa 430 B.C.
H (largest fragment): 12.6 cm (4 3/4"); Preserved Diam (neck): 9.1 cm (3 1/8")
83.AE.398.1–14, presented by William Montepert
COMMENTARY: The largest of the fragments consists of most of the neck and one
handle with part of a cock from side A; other fragments carry part of Athena’s shield (5) and part of the inscription of dedication (3 and 4):

\[ \text{[HÖEN]-JN} \]

\[ \text{[τὸν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔρευν ἄγαλμα]} \]

49. LITTLE MASTER BAND CUP
Circa 530 B.C.
H: 13.2 cm (5\(\frac{1}{4}\)“); Diam (bowl): 20.7 cm (8\(\frac{3}{4}\)“), (foot): 8.9 cm (3\(\frac{1}{2}\)“);
W (with handles): 28.4 cm (11\(\frac{3}{4}\)“)
83.AE.394, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: The cup was broken and has been restored. Some pieces of the bowl are missing and part of one handle is gone. Inside, a dot within a circle is set in a reserved tondo. Sides A and B both present scenes of revelry, with seven figures on A and six on B. The figures are alternately male and female. Added red is used for hair, wreaths, and tunics; the white used for the women’s skin has worn away. The handles are flanked by palmettes.

50. EYE CUP
Late sixth century B.C.
Preserved H: 7.9 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)“); Restored Diam: 22 cm (8\(\frac{5}{8}\)“)
83.AE.411, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: The condition of the cup is fragmentary; the bowl is preserved to the rim in only two places; the handles are gone. Inside is a gorgoneion. On A and B, between masculine eyes, is Dionysos to left reclining. A pair of facing satyrs flank each handle; between them beneath the handle is a water bird (crane?). There is much added red and white; the outside decoration is somewhat misfired.

51. LARGE SET OF ATTIC BLACK-Figure VASE FRAGMENTS
Circa 550-500 B.C.
Varying dimensions: 1-7.7 cm (\(\frac{3}{8}\)“-3”)
83.AE.283, presented by Herbert Lucas

COMMENTARY: The fragments come from a large variety of vase shapes. Most are very small in size.

52. PELIKE
Kerch style, circa 350 B.C.
Attributed to the Circle of Marsyas Painter
H: 48.3 cm (19\(\frac{3}{4}\)“); Diam (mouth): 28.1 cm (11\(\frac{3}{4}\)“), (body): 27.2 cm (10\(\frac{3}{8}\)“), (foot): 17.8 cm (7“)
83.AE.10

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete with only a single break on the mouth. On side A is the judgment of Paris: the Trojan prince is seated nearly frontally between Hera on the left and Athena on the right.
Hermes stands at the far left; Aphrodite stands with Eros at the right end of the scene. On B, two Amazons, one mounted and one on foot, are in combat with a Greek warrior. The original polychromy and gilding are well preserved.

**PROVENANCE:** European art market.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** K. Schefold, *Greek Vases 2.*

### 53. STAMNOID JAR

*End of sixth century B.C.*

- **H:** 20.7 cm (8\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **Diam (mouth):** 13.7 cm (5\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(body):** 17.9 cm (7\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(foot):** 10.4 cm (4\(\frac{1}{8}\)"")

**COMMENTARY:** The intact body of the vase is decorated in Six's technique (added thick color over black glaze). Three palmettes and a lotus-palmette hybrid are linked by tendrils in a symmetrical pattern on both sides. Around the base are rays done in standard black-figure technique. Lines of added red-purple (as distinct from the orange-red of the palmettes) distinguish the plastic ring at the base of the neck, separate the rays from the upper body, and mark the fillet between body and foot.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Stamnoi,* no. 8.

### 54. STAMNOS

*Circa 480–470 B.C.*

- **H:** 37.5 cm (14\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **Diam (mouth):** 19.4 cm (7\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(body):** 30.6 cm (12\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(foot):** 14.7 cm (5\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")

**COMMENTARY:** All three vases are put together from fragments; parts of each are missing. All three lids are intact. On side A, two women stand on either side of Eros. One holds a large box, long fillet, and fan; the other holds two boxes and a similar fillet. This scene is flanked by two flying female figures carrying mirrors; their wings, drapery, and feet stretch around to decorate side B. The decoration of 409 is similar. On side A, two women stand together; one holds two boxes and long fillets, the other, an exaleiptron, a box, and a long fillet. Eros is seated behind them on a couch. The scene is flanked by two flying female figures carrying large round objects (mirrors?). On side A of 410 a single woman appears holding a box and fillet in her left hand and Eros in her right. She is flanked by two flying female figures whose attributes are gone. Eros is executed in added white.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Stamnoi,* no. 13.

### 55. STAMNOS

*Circa 470–460 B.C.*

- **H:** 33.2 cm (13"")
- **Diam (mouth):** 18.1 cm (7\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(body):** 29.3 cm (11\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
- **(foot):** 14.9 cm (5\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is nearly complete, although broken and repaired. On side A is the departure of a youth. The young man, dressed in short chiton, chlamys, and petasos, stands on the far side of his horse with two spears in his right hand. Watching the departure on the left is an old man in chiton and himation; his white hair is the indicator of his age. On side B are three mantled youths in conversation.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Stamnoi,* no. 19.

### 56. THREE SMALL LEBETES GAMIKOI

*Circa 400 B.C.*

- **All by the same hand**
  - **408-H (vase plus lid):** 22.5 cm (8\(\frac{3}{4}\)"")
  - **Diam (mouth):** 6.1 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")
  - **(body):** 15.8 cm (6\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")
  - **(foot):** 7.7 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)"")
  - **409-H (top of handles):** 20.3 cm (8"")
  - **Diam (body, mouth gone):** 15.5 cm (6\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")
  - **(foot):** 6.7 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")
  - **410-H (vase plus lid):** 18.5 cm (7\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
  - **Diam (mouth):** 5.9 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")
  - **(body):** 13.3 cm (5\(\frac{3}{8}\)"")
  - **(foot):** 6.2 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)"")

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is intact; the glaze has misfired on side B, and the surface is worn in many areas. On side A, a bearded man holding a high-handled sacrificial basket and a kylix stands at the left before an altar and a herm. At the right stands a youth. On side B, two mantled youths...
stand on either side of a pillar surmounted by a dinos. On the outside rim is ivy.

58. COLUMN KRATER
Circa 470 B.C.
Attributed to the Manner of the Pan Painter
H: 31.3 cm (12\%3/4”); Diam (mouth, outside): 25.2 cm (9\%1/2”), (body): 23.6 cm (9\%3/8”); W (with handles): 30.1 cm (11\%3/4”)
83.AE.255, presented by Vasek Polak

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is intact; the surface is rather worn. On side A, a woman holding a high-handled sacrificial basket stands to right facing a herm. On side B is a herm in profile to left.

59. PSYKTER
Circa 510–500 B.C.
Attributed to Smikros
H: 30.4 cm (11\%1/8”); Diam (mouth): 13.2 cm (5\%1/2”), (body): 23.7 cm (9\%3/8”)
83.AE.285, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The fragmentary vase has been completely restored. The unusual scene around the body has been interpreted as a gathering of fishermen on the shore. Scattered around the scene are several heaps of nets. Various figures seem to be playing at some kind of game, for they are casting out their fingers and crying words, once inscribed and now partially preserved, that appear by their heads. Smikros was one of the few early red-figure artists to decorate psykters, and the Getty Museum now has two from his hand (the other is accession number 82.AE.53).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J. Fred, “Euphronios and His Fellows,” in *AGAI*, 147–150, figs. 10.1a–c.

60. TREFOIL OINOCHOE SHAPE 3
Circa 350 B.C.
H: 24 cm (9\%7/8”); Diam (body): 13.8 cm (5\%3/8”), (foot): 8.55 cm (3\%3/8”)
83.AE.30, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is intact; the painting is very poor. On the left, a woman carries a sacrifice to an altar before a central herm with modius in profile to left. On the right, a youth in chlamys moving to right looks back; he holds an oinochoe (?) in his right hand. Most details were added in dilute glaze or white, now mostly worn away.

**PROVENANCE:** Sale, Sotheby’s, London, May 7, 1982, lot 407.

61. LEKYTHOS
Circa 480 B.C.
Attributed to the Brygos Painter
H: 23.9 cm (9\%7/8”); Diam (mouth): 5 cm (1\%1/2”), (body): 8.6 cm (3\%”), (foot): 6 cm (2\%”)
83.AE.241, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is intact. On the front of the vase, a Nike in chiton and himation flies to right carrying a long red fillet. She wears a red fillet around her head. On the shoulder are three palmettes with two lotus buds; petals appear in the breaches of the tendrils.

62. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460–450 B.C.
H: 21.5 cm (8\%7/8”); Diam (mouth): 3.8 cm (1\%”), (body): 6.95 cm (2\%”),
63. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460-450 B.C.
H: 19.2 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)); Diam (mouth): 4 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)), (body): 6.5 cm (2\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{in}\)), (foot): 4.6 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\))
83.AE.42
COMMENTS: The vase is intact. On the left of the scene stands a tymbos surmounted by an exaleiptron and decorated with fillets, branches, and three upright spears. In the center, a woman in chiton and himation stands to right holding a long fillet. Before her on the right is a black-figure loutrophoros bound with fillets and filled with leafy branches. On the shoulder are rays.
PROVENANCE: Duke of Lorraine.

64. WHITE GROUND LEKYTHOS
Circa 460 B.C.
H: 15.8 cm (6\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)); Diam (mouth): 3.6 cm (1\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{in}\)), (body): 6.1 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)), (foot): 4.4 cm (1\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{in}\))
83.AE.31, anonymous donation
COMMENTS: The vase is unbroken, but the surface is badly damaged with much of the white slip worn or flaked away. On the front, a woman in chiton, himation, and sakkos walks to right looking back. On the right (perhaps in her left hand) are the remains of a thyrsos (?). On the shoulder are four silhouette palmettes.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

65. ASKOS
Circa 410 B.C.
H: 6.7 cm (2\(\frac{11}{16}\)\(\text{in}\)); Diam: 9.3 cm (3\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\))
83.AE.396, presented by William Montepert
COMMENTS: The vase is intact except for a chip on the handle. On one side and facing the spout is a lion, and on the other is a boar.
PROVENANCE: Duke of Lorraine.

67. KYLIX TYPE A
Circa 500 B.C.
Attribute to Epiktetos
H (to rim): 14.5 cm (5\(\frac{5}{8}\)\(\text{in}\)); Diam (rim): 33.6-34 cm (13\(\frac{3}{16}\)-13\(\frac{3}{16}\)); (foot): 13.5 cm (5\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)); W (with handles): 42 cm (16\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\))
83.AE.287, presented by Lowell Milken
COMMENTS: The cup is nearly complete, although broken and restored. It is decorated on the inside only, and part of the tondo and some areas of the exterior have misfired. A nude hetaira wearing only a sakkos and earrings reclines facing left on a striped cushion; beneath her is an elaborate pattern of symmetrical enclosed palmettes on either side of a free palmette with a ribbed, pointed central frond. Inscribed in the field around the figure’s head is ‘EAPA<DEEN.

68. KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 510 B.C.
Attributed to Skythes
H (to rim): 9.3 cm (3\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)); Diam (rim): 23.9 cm (9\(\frac{1}{16}\)\(\text{in}\)), (foot): 9.3 cm (3\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{in}\)), W (with handles): 29.8 cm (11\(\frac{3}{8}\)\(\text{in}\))
83.AE.247, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: The cup is fragmentary and only partially restored; a large part of the rim of side B is missing. Inside is a youthful athlete holding a discus; the jumping weights, pick, and spears in the background suggest the setting of the palaestra. Inscribed around the figure is: EΠΙΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ (Fragmentary). Added red is used for the inscription, the athlete’s wreath, and the thong around the spears. On Side A of the exterior is a battle between the two Greek hoplites (visible shield device: oriental warrior). On side B, a warrior in oriental costume pursues a mounted Oriental (Amazon?). Inscribed in added red on each side is: ΚΑΠΟΣ.

69. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 490 B.C.
Signed by Douris as painter; signed by Kleophrades, son of Amasis, as potter
H (as preserved without rim): 12 cm (4 3/4”); Diam (tondo): 24.1 cm (9 1/2”), (foot): 16.1 cm (6 5/6”)
83.AE.217
COMMENTARY: The tondo and foot are preserved; the hole in the center of the tondo is evidence of an ancient repair. Within the tondo, a bearded man wrapped in a himation stands before a seated youth who holds his head in a gesture of despair. Although the pose of the youth recalls that of the brooding Achilles, known from other red-figure representations, the sponge, strigil, and aryballos hanging from the wall behind suggest that the scene is a courtship in a palaestra setting. Inscribed around the edge of the tondo is: ΔΟΡΙΕ ΚΕΦΡΑΔΕΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. On the exterior, side A, the archery competition between Herakles and the sons of Eurytion is represented (only the lower parts of the figures are preserved). On side B are two wrestlers with a group of onlookers. The foot preserves completely around its reserved edge the inscription: ΚΕΦΡΑΔΕΣ ΕΦΟΙΣΕΝ ΑΜΑΣΙΔΟΣ.

Two fragments, a part of a handle and a fragment of rim (83.AE.235.1–2), may belong to this kylix. Diana Buitron is preparing a study of the kylix for publication.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

70. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX (TYPE B?)
Circa 470 B.C.
Attributed to the Tarquinia Painter
Diam (tondo): 13.1 cm (5 1/2”)
83.AE.321, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: The foot, handles, and entire rim are missing. The cup, decorated on the inside only, presents a symplegma in the tondo. Inscribed in red around the field is: ΜΟΣΕΣ.

71. KYLIX TYPE B
Circa 470–460 B.C.
Perhaps by the Boot Painter
83.AE.251, presented by the Phoenicia Foundation

COMMENTARY: The cup is complete, restored from fragments. It was broken in antiquity and repaired through the center of the broken stem with a bronze rivet that is still in place. Inside, a youth in himation stands to right. He carries a tortoiseshell lyre; on the wall behind hangs a flute case. Outside, on both A and B are hetairai at their toilette. Side A presents a rare scene of depilation. On side B, the left nude figure holds an exaleiptron; the central figure holds a himation; the right figure, dressed in chiton and himation, holds an alabastron.

72. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Circa 510-500 B.C.
Attributed to the Kleomelos Painter
Diam (tondo): 10.4 cm (4 1/2”); W (greatest extent): 12.9 cm (5 1/4”)
83.AE.323, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Most of the tondo and the stem down to the fillet are preserved. Decorated inside only, the tondo presents an old man dragging a shaggy goat by the horns to sacrifice. Dilute glaze is used for the musculature; relief line and incision are used extensively for the fur and hair. Around the figures is inscribed: HO PAI£ KAUO£. Added red is used for the inscription and the rope around the goat’s horns; white, for the hair and beard of the man.

73. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, 500-490 B.C.
Attributed to Onesimos as painter; signed by Euphronios as potter
Diam (restored rim): 46.6 cm (18 3/16”), (foot): 20.5 cm (8 3/16”)
83.AE.362

COMMENTARY: Approximately one half of the cup is preserved. The profile with shallow bowl and sharply offset rim is unique. The Ilissus is the subject of the interior. Neoptolemos kills Priam with the body of Astyanax in the presence of Polyxena within the tondo. Preserved in the surrounding zone are the rape of Cassandra, Sthenelos’ attack on Andromache, and the rescue of Aithra by Akamas and Demophon. On the exterior, side A, the return of Chryseis and the abduction of Briseis are represented. Only a head of Athena and the lower part of a figure in oriental costume remain from side B. The names of all figures were originally inscribed in the field around them.

The signature of the potter is partially preserved on the reserved edge of the footplate: [E]U[O]PONIOS: E'T'OIE[SE][N]. Underneath the foot is an Etruscan graffito that indicates that the cup was later dedicated to Herakles. The large bronze rivet in the stem of the foot is evidence of an ancient repair.

A fragment of the cup identified by Dyfri Williams in the collection of Dietrich von Bothmer has been presented to the Museum, accession number 84.AE.8. Dyfri Williams is preparing a study of the cup for publication, and J. Heurgon is preparing a study of the inscription.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

74. FIVE FRAGMENTS OF A KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, circa 500 B.C.
Attributed to the Elpinikos Painter
Extent: 4-5.3 cm (1 1/4”-2 1/4”)
83.AE.238, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer

COMMENTARY: These pieces join 82.AE.144.1. In the tondo an eagle with wings spread behind holds a bleeding hare in his talons and rips at the animal’s throat with his beak. Around the figures is inscribed: EL'PINIKOS KAL-OS. These fragments add the head of the bird, the top of his wing, and the end of his tail feathers.

75. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX TYPE C
Attic, circa 500-490 B.C.
Diam (rim): 18.5 cm (7 1/4”)
83.AE.322, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The foot, one handle, and a third of the rim are missing. The cup is decorated inside only with a symplegma. The youth may be intended to be recognized as Leagros, the young Athenian whose beauty was much praised by many of the artists of the Kerameikos at this time, as LE[A]APPOS is inscribed in the field. His partner is a female barbarian, distinguished as such by the scarification rendered in dilute glaze on her torso.

76. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX
Attic, circa 515 B.C.
Attributed to Euphronios as painter
3.2 x 6.8 cm (1 1/4” x 2 3/16”)
83.AE.429, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg
COMMENTARY: Represented are the head and shoulders of a youthful warrior to left. Armed in a low-crested Attic helmet and cuirass (only the upper edge is preserved), he carries a shield on his left arm and raises a spear in his right hand. Inscribed in the field over the spear is: \( \text{E} \text{E} \).

77. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX  
Attic, circa 510–500 B.C.  
Perhaps by Oltos (?)  
2.2 x 2.7 cm (\( \frac{9}{16} \)" x 1\( \frac{1}{8} \)"")  
83.AE.430, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg  
COMMENTARY: Represented is the head of a woman to left; she wears a sakkos over her hair and an earring.

78. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX  
Attic, circa 510–500 B.C.  
Attributed to the Ambrosios Painter  
Greatest Extent: 3.3 cm (1\( \frac{1}{8} \)"")  
83.AE.236, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer  
COMMENTARY: The fragment, from the tondo of a cup, joins 82.AE.146.15. The subject is a courting scene, and the new piece contributes the wreathed head of the younger eromenos who was on the left. Added red is used for the wreath.

79. FRAGMENTS OF SIX KYLIKES  
Attic, all before 500 B.C.  
Varying Dimensions: 2–9.1 cm (\( \frac{9}{16} \)"–3\( \frac{1}{8} \)"")  
83.AE.432, presented by Suzanne Rosenborg  
COMMENTARY: The fragments include the head and upper torso of a centaur carrying a branch painted by Epiktetos; the leg of a stool painted by Douris; the wings of a large creature from a type C kylix; wreaths and fingers of komasts; legs and drapery of dancing komasts; the tondo from a large kylix type A with a youth in a loincloth (perizoma).

80. FRAGMENT OF A KYLIX  
Circa 490 B.C.  
Attributed to Douris  
Greatest Extent: 6.2 cm (2\( \frac{1}{6} \)"")  
83.AE.35, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer  
COMMENTARY: This fragment belongs to the same cup as two others already in the Getty collection, 82.AE.146.19 and 81.AE.192.1. Inside the cup, a bearded male dressed in chiton and himation is seated to left on a diphros covered with embroidered fabric. He wears a red fillet around his hair, which is bound up on the back of his head in a krobylos. On the wall behind is a greave; inscribed in the field is: \( \text{L} \text{E} \text{E} \). Outside are the remains of warriors arming: legs, greaves, a helmet, and a shield rim. The rim of the cup was broken in antiquity and cut away to form a stemmed plate. The edges were filed down to the tondo frame. Diana Buitron is preparing a study of this piece for publication.

81. FRAGMENTARY CUP  
Circa 480 B.C.  
Attributed to Makron  
Restored Diam: 33 cm (13"")  
83.AE.286, anonymous donation  
COMMENTARY: Of the unrestored cup approximately half of the exterior, most of the tondo, the foot, and one handle are missing. Inside are the remains of two mantled youths in conversation. Inscribed in the field is: \( \text{H} \text{O} \text{N} \text{A} \text{s} \text{I} \text{S} \text{A} \text{L} \text{I} \text{O} \text{S} \). The subject of the preserved exterior, on both A and B, is the conversation of mantled youths. In the background, a sponge, aryballos, and strigil are suspended. Added red is used for the inscription; wreaths; and the string holding the sponge, aryballos, and the strigil.

82. LARGE COLLECTION OF ATTIC AND ETRUSCAN VASE FRAGMENTS, RED-FIGURE AND SUPERPOSED COLOR  
Early fifth-fourth century B.C.  
Varying Dimensions: 1–19 cm (\( \frac{9}{16} \)"–7\( \frac{1}{4} \)"")  
83.AE.284, presented by Herbert Lucas  
COMMENTARY: A great variety of vase shapes are represented in this collection, as are a number of recognizable artists, including Onesimos and the Penthesilea Painter. A number of the fragments join.

83. FRAGMENTARY KYLIX  
Circa 450 B.C.  
Attributed to the Euaion Painter  
Greatest Extent: 20.4 cm (8\( \frac{1}{4} \)"");  
Diam (restored rim): 29 cm (11\( \frac{3}{4} \)"")  
83.AE.237, presented by Dietrich von Bothmer  
COMMENTARY: On the inside are the remains (feet, legs, and right hand) of a figure (probably one of two) reclining on a kline; in front of the couch is a table. From one side of the cup only, the outside preserves a youth and a man, each with a skyphos, reclining on a couch. On the right, a boy to right holds an oinochoe; on the wall behind is a provisions basket. A cyma pattern decorates the rim.

84. FOUR FRAGMENTS OF TWO RED-FIGURE VASES  
Circa 490–480 B.C.  
1–5.8 x 4.8 cm (2\( \frac{1}{4} \)" x 1\( \frac{3}{4} \)"")  
2–4.1 x 6.9 cm (1\( \frac{3}{4} \)" x 2\( \frac{3}{4} \)"")  
3–4.2 x 10.1 cm (1\( \frac{3}{4} \)" x 4")  
4–4 x 7.1 cm (1\( \frac{3}{4} \)" x 2\( \frac{3}{4} \)"")  
83.AE.25,1–4, anonymous donation  
COMMENTARY: Fragments 1–3 come from the same vase, a column krater [Bothmer]; they are glazed inside and decorated outside with the battle between Argos and Hermes. Only Argos’ right thigh and knee and his left knee, bent to the ground, remain on fragments 1 and 2, together with some indications of surrounding landscape (a tree?). Dilute glaze is used for musculature and the irises of the eyes that covered Argos’ body. Fragment 3, unglazed inside, must come from the shoulder of the krater. Below the tongues is Hermes’ raised right hand holding an unsheathed sword over the top of his head; behind his head is the finial of his kerykeion. In the center of the fragment is an ancient bronze rivet. Fragment 4 from a large, fine skyphos is
85. NEGRO HEAD OINOCHOE
Circa 510 B.C.
Assigned to the Epilykos Class (Class B<sup>bls</sup>)
H (to top of handle): 21.5 cm (8½”), (to rim): 18.4 cm (7¼”)
83.AE.229
COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and restored. Added red is used for the lips and plastically rendered hair; beige for the eyebrows.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

86. JANIFORM KANTHAROS
Attic, circa 470 B.C.
Assigned to the Vatican Class (Class M)
H: 19.1 cm (7½”); Diam (rim): 13.9 cm (5½”); W (with handles): 18.5 cm (7¾”)
83.AE.218
COMMENTARY: The kantharos is intact. It combines a head of Herakles in lion-skin headdress with a head of a woman. An added white wreath of ivy with berries decorates the rim.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

87. FEMALE HEAD OINOCHOE
Attic, circa 470 B.C.
Assigned to the Sabouroff Class (Class O)
H (to top of handle): 18.8 cm (7¾”), (to rim): 17.2 cm (6¼”)
83.AE.242, anonymous donation

88. TWO PLATES
Seventh century B.C.
328—H: 2.4–2.7 cm (¾”–1¼”); Diam: 26.5 cm (10¾”)
329—H: 2.6–2.9 cm (1–1½”); Diam: 29.8 cm (11½”)
83.AE.328–329, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: Both plates are broken and restored. Plate 328 is decorated in the center with a large bird to right. In the field around are scattered swastikas; the border is framed with concentric circles and decorated with groups of parallel wavy lines. The underside of the plate is painted to resemble a wooden cart wheel.

The decoration of 329 is limited to pure geometric motifs: a six-pointed star with jagged lines in the interstices occupies the center; concentric circles on either side of a linear wreath provide the frame for the star; the rim is decorated with groups of short parallel lines. The underside of the plate repeats the same design.

89. NECK AMPHORA
End of seventh century B.C.
Attributed to the Monte Abbatone Group
H: 45.5 cm (17¾”); Diam (mouth): 21.8 cm (8¾”), (body): 31.5 cm (12¾”), (foot): 13.2–13.4 cm (5¼”–5½”)
83.AE.295, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: The vase is broken and repaired. Fragments of the body are missing. On the shoulder are floral patterns. Around the belly is a procession of animals to left: griffin, panther, and lion. The figures are executed with a combination of polychromy (now mostly worn away) and incision. Beneath the figural zone are stripes. János Szilágyi is preparing a study of this piece for publication.
90. **SKYPHOS**  
Early sixth century B.C.  
H: 11.5 cm (4\(\frac{1}{2}\))'; Diam (mouth): 11.7 cm (4\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); W (approximate, with handles): 17.3 cm (6\(\frac{1}{4}\)')  
83.AE.304, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The fragment preserves part of the rim and body of the vessel, which was decorated in red on buff ground. On under the rim is red. Around the body is a band of chevrons. The handle zone is filled with a band of varying width above a solid red base. The handle zone is pierced twice; there may have been a corresponding one, now lost, on the opposite side of the body.

91. **FRAGMENTARY ALABASTRON**  
Sixth century B.C.  
H: 5.7 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)'); Diam (mouth): 1.9 cm (\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (body): 3.4 cm (1\(\frac{1}{2}\)')  
83.AE.305, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The fragment preserves part of the rim and body of the vessel, which was decorated in red on buff ground. Around the body is a band of chevrons. The handle zone is filled with a band of varying width above a solid red base. The handle zone is pierced twice; there may have been a corresponding one, now lost, on the opposite side of the body.

92. **FRAGMENT OF A KRATERISKOS**  
Seventh century B.C.  
H: 7.8 x 15.4 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)' x 6\(\frac{1}{2}\)'')  
83.AE.303, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The fragment preserves part of the rim and body of the vessel, which was decorated in red on buff ground. Around the rim is a zone of fish to right (two remain) above horizontal parallel lines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>VASES: <strong>ETRUSCAN IMPASTO</strong></th>
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| 93. | **FRAGMENTARY JUGLET WITH PIERCED LUG**  
Seventh—sixth century B.C.  
H: 5.4 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)'); Diam (mouth): 3.9 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); (body): 6.1 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); (foot): 3 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)')  
83.AE.302, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The coarse clay of the globular body is visible in the breaks, and the vessel seems to have been poorly fired. The remaining lug handle is pierced twice; there may have been a corresponding one, now lost, on the opposite side of the body. |

94. **FACE JUG**  
Sixth century B.C.  
H: 10.5 cm (4\(\frac{1}{2}\)''); Diam (mouth): 8 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (body): 9 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (foot): 5.1 cm (2')  
83.AE.299, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The handle is broken and repaired; only a small fragment of the body is missing. The front of the jug has the features of a human face modeled in relief just below the offset rim. The handle is bipartite.

95. **SMALL NECK AMPHORA**  
Sixth century B.C.  
H: 10.6 cm (4\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); Diam (mouth): 5.4 cm (2\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); (body): 8.1 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (foot): 3.3 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)')  
83.AE.300, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The vase has been broken and repaired; only a small fragment of the body is missing. The front of the jug has the features of a human face modeled in relief just below the offset rim. The handle is bipartite.

96. **FIVE VASES (TWO TREFOILOINOCHOAI, TWO FLUTED CHALICES, ONE STAND)**  
Early sixth century B.C.  
800—(Trefoil oinochoe) H: 30 cm (11\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); Diam (body): 18 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (foot): 11.6 cm (4\(\frac{1}{4}\)'')  
401—(Trefoil oinochoe) H: 30.8 cm (12\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); Diam (body): 16.9 cm (6\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); (foot): 9.8 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)')  
402—(Fluted chalice) H: 18.7 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); Diam (rim): 14.8–15.2 cm (5\(\frac{1}{4}\)"–6")  
403—(Fluted chalice) H: 18.3 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); Diam (rim): 14.6–14.9 cm (5\(\frac{1}{4}\)"–5")  
404—(Stand) H: 13.7 cm (5\(\frac{1}{4}\)'); Diam (rim): 11.9 cm (4\(\frac{3}{4}\)''); (bowl): 12.6 cm (4\(\frac{1}{4}\)''); (foot): 9.1 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)')  
83.AE.400–404, presented by John Saxon  
**COMMENTARY:** Oinochoe 400 has been broken and repaired; small fragments of the body and one lobe of the mouth are missing. Around the body in relief is a procession of five panthers to left; between the felines are pendent lotus buds. The figures are set between double relief lines, which are diagonally incised; the shoulder is decorated with relief tongues. At the junction of handle and rim are rotellai ornamented with plastic rosettes. On the handle is a nude female figure in relief. Oinochoe 401 is intact except for the two pieces broken from the foot. In relief on the front of the body is a mounted warrior to right; on either side of him, separated by a relief petal, is a lion to left. Plain rotellai mark the junction of handle and rim. Both chalices (402 and 403) are intact; except for their fluted bowls, they are undecorated. The stand (404) is intact, ornamented around the shallow bowl with four frontal heads in relief.

97. **KYTHOS**  
Sixth century B.C.  
H: 6.4 cm (2\(\frac{1}{2}\)'); Diam (mouth): 6.5–6.9 cm (2\(\frac{3}{4}\)"–2\(\frac{1}{4}\)""); (body): 8 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)')  
83.AE.308, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The handle is broken and the upper part of its curve lost; otherwise, the vase is intact. The body is decorated with short incised strokes just below the offset rim; the handle is decorated with horizontal incised lines.

98. **PHIALE MESOPHALOS**  
Sixth century B.C.  
H: 2.9 cm (1\(\frac{1}{4}\)'); Diam: 11 cm (4\(\frac{1}{4}\)')  
83.AE.296, anonymous donation  
**COMMENTARY:** The phiale has been broken and repaired; a fragment is missing from the rim. Its original black color has been turned to gray by exposure to fire.
99. CAERETAN HYDRIA

Circa 530 B.C.
H: 44.6 cm (17 1/4”); Diam (mouth): 22.9 cm (9”), (body): 33.4 cm (13 1/8”), (foot): 17.8 cm (7”)
83.AE.346

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete; only a small (8 cm) section of the foot has been broken and repaired. Much of the added color remains. On the front of the body, Herakles attacks the Lernean Hydra from the right with a club; behind his right foot is a crab. From the left, Iolaos assists, cutting off a head with a small curved blade. On the back flanking the vertical handle are two opposed sphinxes. On the inside of the mouth, alternating red-on-black and white-on-black tongues appear; on the outside rim is a diamond pattern. On the neck is an addorsed lotus/star-rosette pattern. On the shoulder is an ivy wreath with berries. On the lower body is a palmette/lotus chain. Above the foot, alternating red and black rays appear. On the foot are alternating red-and-white-on-black tongues.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Robertson, A History of Greek Art (Cambridge, 1975), pls. 40d, 42a; MonPiot 44 (1950), 8, fig. 6.

100. DINOS

Circa 520 B.C.
Attributed to the Painter of the Campana Dinoi
H: 21 cm (8 1/4”); Diam (mouth): 15.1 cm (5 1/4”), (body): 28 cm (11”)
83.AE.249, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete, although it has been broken and restored. On the upper surface of the mouth is an ivy wreath. Around the body, beneath a zone of tongues, are fourteen dancing komasts; in the lower register, nine sirens and one water bird. Between the komasts and sirens is a band of crenellations with concentric squares in interstices.

101. FRAGMENTARY ASKOS IN THE SHAPE OF A DUCK

Second half of fourth century B.C.
Attributed to the Clusium Group
H: 13.8 cm (5 1/4”); L: 24.2 cm (9 1/4”); Diam (mouth): 3.4 cm (1 1/4”), (foot): 5.1 cm (2”)
83.AE.203, presented by Vasak Polak

COMMENTARY: The neck of the bird was broken and repaired in antiquity; holes for the bronze rivets remain. On each side of the body in place of the wing, a winged female (Lasa), nude except for footwear and jewelry, is painted; the one on the right carries a greave in each hand, and the one on the left carries an alabastron in one hand and an olive branch and long fillet in the other. There is extensive use of well-preserved added white.
102. KYLIX
Late fourth century B.C.
H: 7.4 cm (2\(\frac{7}{16}\))") Diam (rim): 18.8 cm (7\(\frac{7}{16}\)); (foot): 7.3 cm (2\(\frac{7}{16}\)); W (with handles): 25.4 cm (10")
83.AE.288, presented by Michael Milken

COMMENTARY: The cup is unbroken. Inside is a male head in profile to left. Outside, in the reserved handle zone, is an asymmetrical black running-scroll pattern with circles in the interstices.

Through two donations made in 1983, the Museum was presented with a large set of various Etruscan ceramics. Although each group originally belonged to a separate private collection, the objects they contain must have been part of the same large votive deposit. The first donation (A) is anonymous, the second (B) was presented by Dr. Max Gerchik. The mending of the fragments is still in progress. The donated ceramics are described below in entries 103–106.

103. BELL KRATERS
Faliscan, second–last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.369 (several fragmentary kraters and countless fragments)
B. 83.AE.433 (ten fragmentary kraters)

104. CUPS
Faliscan, second–last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.368 (some hundred fragmentary cups and countless fragments)
B. 83.AE.434 (some twenty–five fragmentary cups)

COMMENTARY: Many cups are decorated with female heads. Some known and many new painters may be recognized: the Satyr and Dolphin Painter; the Apollo Riding Swan Painter; the Herakles and Hermes Painter; the Painter of Dancing Satyrs; the Del Chiaro Painter. To the last painter, some fifty cups and cup fragments have been attributed (see Greek Vases 2 where a large selection of these is reproduced).

105. LARGE QUANTITY OF FRAGMENTARY VASES AND FRAGMENTS DECORATED IN RED AND WHITE ON BLACK
Second–last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.370–371
B. 83.AE.435

COMMENTARY: Many fragments of oinochoai shape 10 (beaked jug) belong to the Phantom Group.

106. LARGE QUANTITY OF PLAIN BLACK VASES AND FRAGMENTS
Second–last quarter of fourth century B.C.
A. 83.AE.372.
B. 83.AE.436.

107. MINIATURE KYATHOS
Fourth century B.C.
H: 2.1 cm (\(\frac{13}{32}\)) Diam: 2.7 cm (\(\frac{11}{16}\))
83.AE.298.1, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The handle of the kyathos is broken.

108. FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF PITHOS
Early sixth century B.C.
H: 14.5 cm (5\(\frac{3}{4}\)); Diam: 9 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)); T: 2.2 cm (\(\frac{7}{8}\))
83.AE.412, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Stamped in relief in the coarse clay body is a boar to left confronting a feline to right. The body of the pithos is smooth above the relief band and carinated below.

109. MINIATURE PHIALE
Fourth century B.C.
H: 0.8 cm (\(\frac{5}{8}\)); Diam: 1.1–3.2 cm (\(1\frac{1}{4}\)–\(1\frac{1}{16}\))
83.AE.298.2, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The phiale is slightly chipped on the rim.

110. STANDLET
Etruscan, fifth century B.C.
H: 8.6 cm (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)); Diam (rim): 8.8–9.1 cm (3\(\frac{3}{8}\)–3\(\frac{3}{8}\))", (foot): 6.6 cm (2\(\frac{7}{16}\))
83.AE.301, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The stand is intact, although it slumped badly to one side in its original firing. The surface is unfinished; the only decoration is the careful articulation of the stem with plastic and incised rings.

111. NECK AMPHORA
Circa 330 B.C.
Attributed to the CA Painter, the Orvieto Sub–Group
H: 62.3 cm (24\(\frac{3}{4}\)); Diam (mouth): 17.9 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)"), (body): 23.4 cm (9\(\frac{3}{4}\)), (foot): 17.2 cm (6\(\frac{7}{8}\))
83.AE.248, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The vase is complete; only the foot was broken, and it is now repaired. Much of the original polychromy is preserved. On side A are attendants at an altar, including a warrior with spear and shield, a woman with laurel branch and vessel (partly gone), and three other women carrying wreaths and plates of food. On side B, a mantled youth and a seated woman appear on either side of an altar decorated with a fillet.

PROVENANCE: Rome art market.

VASES: APULIAN RED-Figure

112. LEKANIS
Apulian, 320–310 B.C.
H (bottom and lid together): 20.5 cm (8 3/8”); Diam: 20.6 cm (8 3/8”)
83.AE.413.1-2, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: Both bottom and lid have been broken and repaired; pieces of the bottom are missing. On each side of the lid is a female head to left wearing a kokyphalos. Around the body of the bottom is a laurel wreath.

113. LEKANIS
Apulian, circa 320 B.C.
H (bottom and lid together): 9.5 cm (3 3/4"); Diam: 11.5 cm (4 3/8")
83.AE.393.1-2, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: Both bottom and lid have been broken and repaired; small fragments are missing. On each side of the lid is a female head to left wearing a kokyphalos. The handle on the lid is a Herakles knot.

114. FISH PLATE
Canosan, late fourth century B.C.
Attributed to the Hippocamp Painter
H: 6.7 cm (2 3/8”); Diam (plate): 22.5 cm (8 3/8”), (foot): 7.5 cm (2 3/8”)
83.AE.392, presented by Carlos L. Campillo

COMMENTARY: The plate is unbroken. There are three fish to left around the central well, which is decorated with a gold-centered rosette. A wave pattern runs around the upper edge of the well, and the whole depression is painted with a red wash. Around the vertical edge of the plate is a wave pattern.


115. FRAGMENT OF A BELL KRATER
Circa 350 B.C.
Attributed to the Konnakis Group
10.7 x 11 cm (4 3/4” x 4 3/4”)
83.AE.431, presented by Suzanne Rosenberg

COMMENTARY: The fragment preserves the head of a muse seated to right, holding a kithara. The added color is very well preserved: white for the flesh, kithara, and patterns on fabric; dilute glaze for the features, jewelry, and details of kithara; orange-red for hair and chiton; darker red for apicata stephané and himation.

PROVENANCE: Karl Zinser, Stuttgart.


116. SMALL KANTHAROS
Fourth century B.C.
Xenon Group
H: 6 cm (2 3/8”); Diam (mouth): 6.8 cm (2 3/8”); W (with handles): 8.65 cm (3 3/8”)
83.AE.309, anonymous donation

_VASES: GNATHIAN_

117. GROUP OF FOUR VASES
(TWO BOWLS, ONE KANTHAROS, ONE OINOCHOE)
Late fourth century B.C.
414–(Bowl) H: 7 cm (2 3/4”); Diam: 13 cm (5 3/8”)
415–(Bowl) H: 6.8 cm (2 1/4”)
Diam: 12.2 cm (4 3/8”)
416–(Kantharos) H: 9.2 cm (3 3/8”)
Diam: 9.6 cm (3 3/8”); W (with handles): 12.9 cm (5 3/8”)
417–(Oinochoe) H: 16.1 cm (6 1/4”)
Diam (body): 11.1 cm (4 3/8”)
83.AE.414–417, presented by John Saxon

COMMENTARY: All four of the vases are fragmentary. The bowls are a pair. They are decorated across the fronts with a dotted ivy spray in gold bordered by alternating bands of red and white; beneath all are gold dots. On the sides are painted handles, and a tiny garland of white ivy appears across the back of each. The kantharos belongs to the Xenon Group, decorated in the typical matte red-pink with palmettes around the neck and a garland of ivy leaves and berries around the body; beneath the ivy is a border of dots between double lines. The oinochoe is of shape 3 (chous), decorated across the front with a grape vine in gold and white (leaves and fruit attached) above alternating rosettes and crossed disks in gold and white. All decoration is bordered above by a small cyma pattern and rickrack line in white and below by a large white cyma pattern. Both cymatia are framed with double incised lines.

_VASES: SOUTH ITALIAN BLACK GLAZE_

118. SMALL OINOCHOE SHAPE 6 (LATE)
Apulian, fourth century B.C.
H: 12.1 cm (4 3/8”); Diam (shoulder): 8.2 cm (3 3/4”), (foot): 4.8 cm (1 1/4”)
83.AE.420, presented by John Saxon
COMMENTARY: The vase has been broken and repaired; parts of the body, especially at the shoulder, are missing. The quality of the black surface is very fine.

119. KALATHOS
Apulian, fourth century B.C.
H: 7.2 cm (2\(\frac{1}{8}\)\(\text{"}\)); Diam (rim): 14.3 cm (5\(\frac{3}{8}\)\(\text{"}\)), (foot): 7.5 cm (2\(\frac{5}{8}\)\(\text{"}\))
83.AE.421, presented by John Saxon
COMMENTARY: The vessel is unbroken, but much of the plain black surface has been worn away.

120. MINIATURE PHIALE
Italic, fourth century B.C.
H: 1.6 cm (\(\frac{5}{8}\)\(\text{"}\)); Diam: 7.7 cm (3\(\frac{3}{8}\)\(\text{"}\))
83.AE.297, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: The phiale is unbroken.

121. TWO CALENE GUTTI
Campanian, circa 300 B.C.
418—H: 15 cm (6\(\text{"}\)); Diam: 12.8 cm (5\(\text{"}\))
419—H: 13 cm (5\(\frac{5}{8}\)\(\text{"}\)); Diam: 11.5 cm (4\(\frac{5}{8}\)\(\text{"}\))
83.AE.418—419, presented by John Saxon
COMMENTARY: Both gutti have been broken and repaired; pieces of both bodies are missing. In relief on the top of 418 is a three-quarter facing head of Alexander the Great; on 419 is a frontal head of a Dionysian acolyte in ivy wreath. Between the body and foot of each is a reserved zone.

VASES:
HELLENISTIC

122. LEAD GLAZE HEAD MUG
(ONE-HANDED KANTHAROS)
Circa first century B.C.
Signed on the bottom (incised): LIKINNIOV, which may be the potter’s signature.
H: 19 cm (7\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{"}\)); Diam (mouth): 12.2 cm (4\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\text{"}\))
83.AE.40
COMMENTARY: The vase is intact. Its subject is a youthful Dionysos wearing an ivy wreath. The colors reflect a gold or bronze and copper prototype; golden yellow is used for the flesh and brownish red for the lips and eyes. The wreath is added in green. The handle is formed by a frontal goat’s head, the curving horns of which separate at the rim.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

123. PLASTIC VASE IN THE FORM OF A SEATED SLAVE
Second—first century B.C.
H: 27.5 cm (10\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{"}\)); Diam (mouth): 5 cm (2\(\text{"}\)); W (of figure): 12.5 cm (4\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{"}\)); D (of figure): 15.3 cm (6\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\text{"}\))
83.AE.320, anonymous donation
COMMENTARY: The vessel is intact. The grotesque subject is dressed in a short sleeveless chiton; her hair is arranged in coils at the back of the head.
124. **RHYTON WITH RELIEF DECORATION**
First century B.C.
H: 26.5 cm (10¾”); L: 31.5 cm (12⅛”); Diam (mouth): 15.5 cm (6¼”)
83.AE.319, anonymous donation

**COMMENTARY:** The rhyton originally had a spouted end, perhaps of a different fabric, attached separately. What remains has been broken and restored. The upper zone of the horn is decorated in relief with a rejecting hermaphrodite and an amorous satyr flanked by two erotes. In the center, between the satyr and hermaphrodite, are the remains of an inscription that has not, as yet, been deciphered. Around the mouth is an olive wreath; around the calyx, which is pierced for attachment of the spout, are alternating acanthus and plain leaves.

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125. **ASKOS IN THE FORM OF A COCK**
Third century A.D.
H: 11.9 cm (4¼¾”); L: 17 cm (6¼”)
83.AE.349, presented by William Eagleton

**COMMENTARY:** The vase, mold made in two halves, is intact. The features have been articulated with incision.

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126. **CHALICE WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION**
Late first century B.C.
H: 16.4-17.6 cm (6½-6¾”); Diam (mouth): 17.8 cm (7”); (foot): 9.3 cm (3¾”)
83.AE.407, presented by John Saxon

**COMMENTARY:** The cup has been broken and repaired; a small fragment of the bottom is missing. The exterior is washed with a blackish glaze over the dark red surface. The figures added in relief are: a satyr, an embracing couple, an actor, a muse with mask, and a dancer. The interior is glazed red.

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127. **CUP WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION**
Late first century B.C.
H: 7.9 cm (3¼”); Diam: 9.6 cm (3⅓¾”)
83.AE.406, presented by John Saxon

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is intact; the glaze on the surface has worn away in places and approximately half of the relief decoration has been lost. Around the exterior of the bowl is a wreath of ivy leaves and berries (much of which is now gone) in relief.

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128. **FRAGMENTARY PATERA WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION**
Early first century A.D.
Diam (rim): 24.6 cm (9¼¾”); (foot): 9.1 cm (3¼”)
83.AE.405, presented by John Saxon

**COMMENTARY:** The vase is in fragments; much of the bowl is missing; part of the handle is preserved. Around the interior are several stamped motifs: a satyr with a leaping panther on a leash; two large leaves; and a wreath.

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129. **PLATE WITH STAMPED RELIEF DECORATION**
Third century A.D.
H: 4 cm (1½”); Diam (rim): 15 cm (5⅜¾”); (foot): 8.4 cm (3⅜¼”)
83.AE.350, presented by William Eagleton

**COMMENTARY:** The plate is intact. On the offset vertical rim are four frontal relief heads (masks?) alternating with rosettes, also in relief. In the center within incised concentric circles is the partially obscured stamp of the maker: ALT[...]

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130. **FIVE HUNDRED THIRTY-FIVE LAMPS**
Primarily Roman, but including Greek and Hellenistic
Mostly terracotta but including a few bronze, Varying Dimensions: H (standing lamps): up to 25 cm (9½”); Diam: 6-12 cm (2¾”-4¾”)
83.AQ.377

**COMMENTARY:** Roman “picture lamps,” reflecting various aspects of Roman daily and religious life, form the principal focus of the collection. Recent studies suggest that several of the lamp representations may have been inspired by lost sculptural works or reflect close relationships with Roman coinage. Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.

**PROVENANCE:** European art market; Günter Pühze, Freiburg am Breisgau.

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131. **TWELVE LAMPS**
Roman, second-third century A.D.
Terracotta, Varying Dimensions
83.AQ.391, presented by Robert Lawson

**COMMENTARY:** Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.

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132. **TWO LAMPS**
Roman, second-third century A.D.
Terracotta
352—Diam: 8.59 cm (3¾”)
353—Diam: 9.22 cm (3½¼”)
83.AQ.352-353, presented by William Eagleton.

**COMMENTARY:** Anna Manzoni Macdonnell is preparing a study of these lamps for publication.
133. GREEK ANTEFIX WITH THE HEAD OF GORGO
Early fifth century B.C.
Terracotta, 20.8 x 21.8 cm
(8 3/8" x 8 3/8")
83.AM.211.1, presented by Leon Levy

134. EIGHT ETRUSCAN ANTEFIXES AND FICTILE REVETMENTS
Sixth–fourth century B.C.
H (range): 14.8–35.5 cm
(5 1/16" – 13 15/16")
83.AM.211.2–9, presented by Leon Levy

135. FRAGMENTS OF TWO ETRUSCAN PAINTED TERRACOTTA SLABS
Sixth century B.C.
Terracotta
10—Approximate H: 19 cm (7 1/4”);
Approximate L: 22 cm (8½”)
11—Approximate H: 19.5 cm (7 3/8’’);
Approximate L: 11 cm (4 3/8”)
83.AM.211.10–11, presented by Leon Levy


136. LARGE SET OF FRAGMENTARY TERRACOTTAS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA
Sixth–fourth century B.C.
83.AM.354, anonymous donation

137. TWO FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN STAMPED TILES
First century A.D.
1—14.2 x 10.9 cm (5 3/8” x 4 3/8”)
2—10.3 x 9.8 cm (4 3/8” x 3 3/8”)
83.AM.294.1–2, anonymous donation

138. ETRUSCAN JEWELRY
Late sixth century B.C.
Gold, except as indicated
83.AM.1–6

COMMENTARY: The jewelry consists of several groups, as follows:

1. Two necklaces
   A. L: 29 cm (11 3/4”). Consisting of eleven plain and four granulated, hollow beads, the central ten framed by circlets of small hollow beads, with a central faience pendant in the form of a beaded male head suspended by a mounting decorated with granulation.
   B. L: 32.5 cm (12 3/4”). Consisting of ten plain hollow beads and ten decorated, round hollow pendants alternating with tapered pendants of coiled wire, with a central faience pendant in the form of a ram’s head.

2. Three pairs of ear pendants
   A. Diam (each): 4.8 cm (1 3/16”). Consisting of a central rosette surrounded by six similar rosettes, all with central floral elements connected by radiate strips to an encircling band of granulation; in the other spandrels, six facing heads.
   B. Diam (each): 4.2 cm (1 5/16”). Consisting of a central rosette with granulated boss and three radiate, folded leaves separated by repoussé lions’ heads, all surrounded by a circle of small hollow beads, an encircling band of granulation, and two concentric circular bands with interior floral elements.
   C. Diam (each): 3.2 cm (1 1/4”). Consisting of a central floral element surrounded by a beaded frame with radiating beaded strips connected to bands of granulation and beads, an encircling band with alternating...
palmettes and blossoms, and an outer beaded band.

3. Two fibulae
A. L: 10.1 cm (4”). Decorated with granular geometric patterns (meander, zigzag, and guilloche); on the bow, a projecting boss on each side; on the end, a facing mask of granulation on each side.
B. L: 4.2 cm (1½”). Decorated on the spine of the bow with small beads; alongside the spine, decorated with spiral patterns of granulation; on the end, a floral element.

4. A crowned and dressed repoussé female figure appliqué. L: 4.2 cm (1½”).

5. An undecorated, hollow finger ring. Diam: 2.5 cm (1”).

6. A small group of thin gold and silver sheet ornaments with repoussé designs, one of which features a bird frieze and one faience pendant.

PROVENANCE: Private Swiss collection.


139. **STRIP WITH MYTHOLOGICAL RELIEF PANELS**
Magna Graecia, circa 530 B.C.
Gilded silver, H: 8.4 cm (3½”), L (principal section): 28.7 cm (11½”) with other, smaller fragments 83.AM.343

COMMENTARY: Each panel represents a mythological scene. The surviving panels show, in order: a running Gorgon; the battle of Zeus and Typhon; Orestes slaying Klytaimneta over the body of Aigisthos; a second Gorgon; and a female figure restraining a warrior or hero with her right hand. Another fragmentary panel represents Theseus slaying the minotaur. The strip is only partially preserved and when complete would have shown other mythological scenes separated into pairs by running Gorgons.

140. **GILDED SILVER DISH WITH HIGH RELIEF MEDALLION SHOWING DIONYSOS, ARIADNE, AND A SILEN**
Hellenistic, mid-second century B.C.
Silver, H (dish): 2.5 cm (1”), Diam (dish): 14.3 cm (5¼”), (medallion): 10.2 cm (4¼”), 83.AM.389

COMMENTARY: The silver emblem of the dish is finely worked, hammered, and chased. Mercury-gilded surfaces include the hair and clothing of the figures as well as Dionysos’ thyrsos and the sinuous, fruited grape vines that frame the principal scene. Judging from her bracelet and jeweled thigh-band, as well as Dionysos’ affectionate grasp of her chin, the female figure must be Ariadne rather than a maenad. The soft, even androgynous, face of Dionysos is consistent with later Hellenistic (second and first century B.C.) representations of the god.

An approximate parallel is the Pomerance dish, published in A. Oliver, *Silver for the Gods* (Toledo, 1977), 90, no. 53, which also shows a Dionysiac scene. Like the Pomerance example, the Museum’s new acquisition was probably made in an Asia Minor workshop.

Michael Pfrommer is preparing a study of the dish for publication.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, U.S.A.

141. **TWO SILVER LAMELLAE WITH MAGIC INSCRIPTIONS**
Roman period
Silver
1–5.2 x 4 cm (2” x 1¾”), 2–4.2 x 4.2 cm (1¾” x 1¾”), 83.AM.250.1–2, presented by the Phoenicia Foundation

COMMENTARY: Text one contains approximately twenty-five lines of Greek, as well as magical characters and Semitic letter-forms. The meaningful Greek, at the beginning of the text, translates: “In the name of the only God I make this phylactery…” (magical words then follow).

The second text, approximately thirteen lines, imitates some of the magical
characters and Semitic letter-forms of the first text. Both amulets had been rolled up and worn as protective charms.

Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of these pieces for publication.

142. NINETEEN SILVER SHEETS WITH MAGICAL SIGNS WITH FRAGMENTS OF CAPSULES
Roman period
Silver, Varying Dimensions: W (approximately): 6-18 cm (2¾”-7”)
83.AM.243.1-19, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: The cache of lamellae, all of which were previously tightly rolled up with fragments of some of the capsules intact, is the largest of its kind from the same site (Asia Minor?). A unique feature of the collection is that several groups of the thin slips of silver foil were duplicated by being placed one on top of another and engraved simultaneously. The designs on the individual tablets show a progression of sophistication, from simple X’s and O’s to more complex, though primitivistic, representative figurae magicae, probably figures meant to depict demons from which the wearers sought protection.

Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of these pieces for publication.

143. LATE ANTIQUE JEWELRY
Late fourth-early fifth century A.D.
Gold, precious stones, and enamel
83.AM.224-228

COMMENTARY: The set of jewelry consists of fourteen objects, as follows:
1. Belt with central medallion. L (belt): 76.5 cm (30¾”); Maximum Diam (medallion): 7.5 cm (3”). The medallion is made of precious stones, inset within a quasi-circular gold frame enclosing dark green enamel squares; the belt consists of twenty-two gold coins mounted within gold-framed squares whose corners are filled with green enamel.

2. Woven gold chain necklace. L (necklace): 42.4 cm (16½”); Diam (medallion): 6.3 cm (2½”). The necklace contains a circular pendant displaying a frontal female bust crowned by two victories to left and right, surrounded by a frame with inset precious stones.

3. Woven gold chain necklace. L (necklace): 55.4 cm (21⅞”); Diam (pendant): 4.4 cm (1⅜”). The necklace contains an oval pendant consisting of a chalcedony cameo showing the busts of a facing male, left, and a female, right, surrounded by an a jour frame with inset precious stones.

4. Gold chain necklace. L: 47.3 cm (18¼”). The necklace consists of simple pendants made to hold pearls or precious stones.

5. Three gold bracelets: (1) Diam: 7.2 cm (2¾”); with inset cabochon precious stones. (2) Diam: 6.8 cm (2½”); with inset precious stones and a jour work. (3) Diam: 6.3 cm (2⅛”); with a jour work only.

6. Seven gold rings; three with engraved stones, one with an engraved bezel, two with simple lentoid stones, one with mother-of-pearl.

The jewelry is consistent as a group, although several of the engraved ring stones are from the imperial period. The form of the belt is similar to that worn by women on a late fourth-century diptych in Milan. Other elements recall objects recovered from Szilagyi Somlyo in Hungary and from Kerch in southern Russia and dating to the end of the fourth century A.D.

PROVENANCE: European art market.
144. TWO EARLY BYZANTINE SILVER PLATES
Fifth century A.D.
Silver
342—45 x 28.5 cm (17¼” x 11¼”)
347—Diam: 60 cm (23¾”)
83.AM.342 and 347

COMMENTARY: Two seated philosophers are represented on 342, and their names are inscribed in Greek: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΜΗΚ. Ptolemaios and Hermes (Trismegistos?) are discussing an astrolabe in the presence of two female figures (one of whom is inscribed: ΚΩΣΤΙΟΣ). Another draped male is seated above the astrolabe. On the rim is inscribed: [ΠΟΙΝ ΕΠΜ] .... Under the foot, markings are found perhaps indicating weight.

Plate 347 retains traces of its original gilding and is inspired by a Hellenistic prototype. It depicts a seated fisherman taking a fish off the hook.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

145. SIXTY-FOUR ENGRAVED GEMS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS
Various periods, Minoan-Mycenaean to Roman
Primarily stone, but including individual objects of glass, ivory, metal, and terracotta
83.AN.437, presented by D. Mezzacappa and J. Kagan

COMMENTARY: The objects fall into nine categories, as follows:
1. Greek gems
   A. Minoan-Mycenaean (one engraved gem)
   B. Geometric (one engraved ivory)
   C. Archaic (one engraved gem in silver ring)
   D. Classical (one glass scaraboid)
2. Greek rings with engraved bezels: classical and Hellenistic (three silver and bronze rings)
3. Graeco-Persian and Achaemenid (two scaraboids, one glass conical stamp seal)
4. Graeco-Phoenician (one glass, two jasper scarabs)
5. Near Eastern (one agate in gold mount)
6. Etruscan andItalic (one scarab, one ring stone)
7. Roman republican and imperial:
   A. Intaglios (twenty-five)
   B. Cameos (two)
8. Magic gems (seventeen, mostly with Egyptian cult and syncretistic deities, figures, symbols, etc.)
9. Terracotta impressions (bullae—four)

The group of gems and seal impressions represents part of a collection of 162 acquired in 1983 and 1984 (the remaining 98 will be noted in the next Getty Museum Journal). While fine early Greek and Etruscan objects are included in the collection, its focus is on Roman period material, which the Museum has until now lacked. A full publication of the gems and seals in the Museum is planned.
146. SET OF TWO GEMS AND EIGHT CAMEOS
First--third century A.D.
83.AN.256, anonymous donation

147. SET OF ELEVEN ENGRAVED ROMAN GEMS
Second--third century A.D.
83.AN.353, presented by William Eagleton

COMMENTARY: The subject matter of the group is given primarily to mythological figures (Nike, Hermes, Tyche, etc.); however, a private female portrait and two gems with standing birds are included. The typology and workmanship of the gems suggest a provincial (probably North African) origin.

148. SMALL CRYSTAL AMPHORA
Late first century B.C.
H: 5.7 cm (2 1/4''); Diam: 3.2 cm (1 1/4'')
83.AN.331, anonymous donation

149. EIGHTEEN CARVED AMBERS FROM MAGNA GRAECIA
Late fifth century B.C.
Greatest Extent (range): 1.9–7.8 cm (3/4”–3 1/2”)
83.AO.202, presented by Vasek Polak

150. TWENTY-SEVEN FRAGMENTS OF MILLEFIORI GLASS
Mostly late first century B.C.
H (range): 1.3–5.1 cm (1/2”–2”)
83.AE.28, anonymous donation

151. GROUP OF FRAGMENTARY ROMAN FRESCOES
First century A.D.
83.AG.222

COMMENTARY: Several panels represent Dionysiac figures in a landscape. Others consist of ornamental fragments.
PROVENANCE: European art market.

152. INTARSIA PANEL
After the first century A.D.
36.8 x 51.4 cm (14 1/2” x 20 1/4”)
83.AH.39

COMMENTARY: The panel represents a parrot in a cage.

153. SET OF ETRUSCAN AND PRE-ETRUSCAN IMPLEMENTS
Eighth--fifth century B.C.
83.AI.290, anonymous donation

154. SET OF VARIOUS GREEK IMPLEMENTS
Fifth century B.C.
83.AI.306, anonymous donation

155. FRAGMENTS OF CARBONIZED WOOD FROM HERCULANEUM
First century A.D.
83.AI.293, anonymous donation

156. TWELVE MUMMY WRAPPINGS
Ptolemaic--early Roman period
Linen
83.AI.47, presented by H. P. Kraus.

COMMENTARY: Ten of the mummy wrappings have vignettes and hieratic texts from the Book of the Dead.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. P. Kraus, Papyri from the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, inserted in Bibliotheca Phillippica: Manuscripts on Vellum and Paper from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century from the Celebrated Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, the Final Selection (New York, 1979), with full references.

157. EIGHT FRAGMENTARY INSCRIBED PAPYRI
Dynasty XX through the Ptolemaic period
Papyrus
83.AI.46

COMMENTARY: The group consists of six hieratic and two hieroglyphic fragments. One contains the text of a late XXth Dynasty letter; seven include various chapters from the Book of the Dead.

158. LEAD SHEET INSCRIBED WITH A LOVE-SPELL IN GREEK
Third century A.D.
13.8 x 16.3 cm (5 1/2” x 6 1/2”)
83.AI.244, anonymous donation

COMMENTARY: Roy Kotansky is preparing a study of this piece for publication.


159. GANDHARAN HEAD OF A MAN
Third century A.D.
Dark schist, H: 23.7 cm (9 1/2”)
83.AI.390, presented by Idele and Sidney Port

160. FRAGMENT OF A FONDO D'ORO
Modern
Glass, Diam: 5.2 cm (2”). Inscribed Innocenti.
83.AK.29, anonymous donation

161. SET OF GEMS AND CAMEOS
Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
H (range): 0.9–4.8 cm (3/8”–1 7/8”)
83.AL.257, anonymous donation

162. PATERA HANDLE IN THE FORM OF A SMALL KOUROS
Modern
Bronze, L: 16.4 cm (6 1/2”) 
83.AK.233, anonymous donation

NON-CLASSICAL

163. MOSAICS

IMITATIONS

164. FRAGMENTS OF CARBONIZED WOOD FROM HERCULANEUM
First century A.D.
83.AI.293, anonymous donation


BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. P. Kraus, Papyri from the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, inserted in Bibliotheca Phillippica: Manuscripts on Vellum and Paper from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century from the Celebrated Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, the Final Selection (New York, 1979), with full references.
163. SHEET WITH A GREEK INSCRIPTION IMITATING A CATALOGUE OF EPHEBOI
   Modern
   Silver, L: 7.6 cm (3"
   83.AK.234, anonymous donation

164. HERM PORTRAIT OF THE BLIND HOMER
   Modern
   Marble, H: 45.4 cm (17¾"
   83.AK.239, presented by Leon Levy

DECORATIVE ARTS

FRENCH

1. TABLE
French, circa 1670-1675
Oak veneered with ivory, blue-painted horn, and ebony, with gilt-bronze moldings, 63.5 x 48.5 x 35.5 cm (2'11" x 1'7'/8" x 1'2"
83.DA.21
COMMENTARY: This small table is fitted with a drawer divided into compartments to contain writing implements and a velvet-covered top that can be raised and held by an iron support. It is described in a posthumous inventory of the possessions of Louis XIV, written in 1718; the measurements given correspond exactly to those of this table. While its blue-and-white decoration calls to min d the furniture painted à la faïence de porcelaine that was made for the Trianon de Porcelaine, it is not clear where this table originally stood. It may have been used in any one of Louis XIV’s establishments. A larger table in blue wood and ivory was made at this date by the cabinetmaker Pierre Golle (d. 1683), and this smaller table can also be attributed to him.

PROVENANCE: Louis XIV; Damour and Baudoint family, Château de Cornillion, Loire; [Bernard Barouch Steinitz, Paris].


2. TABLE
French (Paris), circa 1675–1680
Oak veneered with ebony, tortoiseshell, horn, brass, pewter, ivory, and marquetry of various woods, 82 x 116.5 x 66 cm (2'8'7//8" x 3'9'/4" x 2'2"
83.DA.22
COMMENTARY: The table has a recessed removable top, which is veneered with contemporary marquetry. It appears originally to have been a stand for a cabinet. A medal cabinet of the same date, decorated with vases of flowers in multicolored wood marquetry and having precisely the same dimensions as the inner edge of the top of the stand, is in the Medal Cabinet of the Residenz, Munich. It is possible that the Museum’s “table” was formerly a stand for this cabinet and that both can be attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732).

PROVENANCE: Electors of Bavaria, Munich (?); Bernheimer, Munich; Graf Hermann von Arnim, Munich.

3. SET OF FIVE TAPESTRIES,
The Story of the Emperor of China
French (Beauvais), circa 1690–1705
Wool and silk, 336—The Collation of the Emperor of China, 422.9 x 309.8 cm (13'10'/2" x 10'2"); 337—The Harvesting of Pineapples, 415.2 x 257.8 cm (13'7'/2" x 8'5'/2"); 338—The Astronomers, 419.1 x 318.7 cm (13'9" x 10'7'/2"); 339—The Emperor on a Journey, 415.2 x 254 cm (13'7'/2" x 8'4"); 340—The Return from the Hunt, 417.8 x 289.5 cm (13'9'1/2" x 9'6"). The Collation bears VERNANSAL.INT. ET.PU woven at the bottom center, The Harvesting of Pineapples and The Return from the Hunt bear the woven signature BEHAGLE at the bottom right.

83.DD.336–340
COMMENTARY: This set of tapestries portrays five of the subjects from the series The Story of the Emperor of China woven at the Beauvais Manufactory after cartoons by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1636–1699), Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715), Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648–1729), and one other artist who remains unknown. The series is thought to be the earliest example of chinoiserie woven by the French royal factories. These five tapestries were originally part of a set of
ten commissioned by the illegitimate son of Louis XIV, Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, the comte de Toulouse; they bear his arms and monogram woven in the borders. Two more of the original ten, the Audience of the Emperor and the Emperor on a Journey, are conserved in the Palais de Compiegne, France.

PROVENANCE: Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse, Château de Rambouillet; by descent to Louis Philippe, King of the French (sale, Paris, January 28, 1852, lots 8 and 13); duchesse d'Uzés, Paris and New York; private collection, Newport, Rhode Island; [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York].


4. PAIR OF THREE-LEAF SCREENS

French (Savonnerie), circa 1714-1740

Knotted wools; the interior wooden frame, studs, and velvet are of a later date, 273.05 x 194.3 cm (8'11½" x 6'4½"); W (each leaf): 63.5 cm (2'1")

83.DD.260.1-2

COMMENTARY: The screens were made at the Manufacture Royale de Savonnerie. The cartoons were designed by Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653-1715), and it is likely that the designs for the birds were provided by François Desportes (1661-1743).

Eight different designs were produced for *paravents* at the Savonnerie, and the Getty screen is an example of the largest. One hundred and thirty-eight panels of this design were made between 1714 and 1740. They were for the sole use of the king and queen and the princes of the blood and were usually placed in the dining rooms or anterooms of the palaces.

Each panel has a yellow ground, while the leaves, flowers, birds, and trophies are in natural colors. These colors are bright and in comparison to other existing screens, remarkably unfaded.


5. TAPESTRY, “Char de Triomphe”  
French (Gobelins), 1715/16  
Wool and silk, 347 x 267 cm (13’1” x 8’9’’4”). A portion of the original lining is inscribed: N° 194. Port’ Du Char/6: Sur 3: au (?) de Haut/2: au ½ de cours.  
83.DD.20  
COMMENTARY: This tapestry is one of a series of sixty-six portières that were woven between 1662 and 1724 at the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins from a cartoon by Baudrain Ywart (1611-1690) after a design made in 1659 by Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). The original cartoon was commissioned by the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet and was intended to be woven at his tapestry works at Maincy. Upon Fouquet’s dismissal in 1661 and the seizure of his tapestry workshop by the crown, Louis XIV had the design adapted for his own use. It depicts a chariot, which bears the trophies of victory and supports the arms of Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre. The number 194 identifies this portière in the Journal du Garde Meuble de la Couronne as one of four delivered on October 27, 1717.  

6. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS  
French (Paris), circa 1715-1720  
Gilt bronze, 51 x 35.5 x 25 cm (1’10”” x 1’2”” x 9’’3””)  
83.DF.195.1–2  
COMMENTARY: The wall lights are not marked with a maker’s name, but the lower portion closely follows a design by André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732) published circa 1725 by Pierre Mariette in Nouveaux Deisseins de Meubles et Ouvrages de Bronze et de Marqueterie Inventès et gravés par André Charles Boulle. Each of the drip pans and candle holders is of a different model, a feature commonly found on French wall lights of the early eighteenth century. A similar model of wall light appears in the painting by Jean-François De Troy (1679-1752) La lecture de Molière (collection of the Marchioness of Cholmondeley, Houghton Hall, Norfolk).  
PROVENANCE: Samuel Kahn, Paris; [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].  

7. MODEL FOR A VASE  
French, circa 1725-1730  
Terracotta, 32.4 x 29.8 x 29.8 cm (1’’4”” x 11’’3”” x 11’’3””)  
83.DE.36  
COMMENTARY: The front of the terracotta vase is sculpted with the arms of Louis-Henri de Bourbon, seventh prince de Condié (1692-1740), surrounded by the collars and orders of the Toison d’Or, Saint Michel, and the Saint-Esprit, beneath the remains of a crown backed by a fleur-de-lis. The back of the vase bears the prince de Condié’s initials, LH. The vase may have been a preliminary model for a silver vessel, and it is possible that it was made after a design by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier (circa 1693-1750). He had executed designs for silver for the prince in 1723.  
PROVENANCE: Louis-Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condié; D. David Weill, Paris; [Didier Aaron, Paris].  

8. CARTONNIER AND SERRE-PAPIER WITH CLOCK  
French (Paris), circa 1745-1749  
Oak carcass decorated with black, red, and gold vernis Martin, gilt, painted and lacquered bronze, 192 x 103 x 41 cm (6’6”” x 3’4”” x 1’4””). Both the cartonniere and the serre-papier are stamped BVRB for Bernard van Risenburgh (master before 1730, died 1765/66) and E.J.CUVELLIER for another eighteenth-century ébéniste. The dial and movement of the clock are signed...
COMMENTARY: One other cartonnier of this model stamped BVRB for Bernard van Risenburgh is known in the State Hermitage, Leningrad. It is surmounted by a serre-papier of different form, which is stamped JOSEPH for the ébéniste Joseph Baumhauer. The Hermitage example is decorated with wood veneers unlike the Museum’s, which has a varnish of sandarac, a resin taken from juniper trees. The Museum’s cartonnier and serre-papier are surmounted by a clock, the case of which is decorated with lacquered and painted bronze figures of Orientals.

PROVENANCE: Angela, Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906), London, by 1835, possibly a gift from her father, Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844); bequeathed to her husband the Rt. Hon. William Burdett-Coutts, M.P. (1851-1921) (sold after his death, Christie’s, London, May 9, 1922, lot 144, for 4,200 guineas, to H. J. Simmons); private collection, Paris (confiscated by the Third Reich after 1940); José and Vera Espirito Santo, Lausanne, mid-1970’s until 1983; [Didier Aaron, Paris].

10. PAIR OF ARMCHAIRS  
French (Paris), circa 1750–1755  
Gilded beechwood, 104.7 x 76.2 x 59.6 cm (3’5/4” x 2’6” x 1’111/2”). Each stamped IAVISSE beneath the back seat rail.  
83.DA.230.1–2  
**COMMENTARY:** Each chair is stamped for Jean Avisse (1723, maître 1745, died after 1796), a leading menuisier of the eighteenth century. He worked for the crown and other aristocratic patrons including the duchesse de La Tremoille, the marquise de Chabannes, and the comtesse de Fontenay. The frames of these chairs are carved throughout with rococo motifs: shells, cartouches, scrolls, flowerheads, and palmettes. The foot of each leg is carved with auricular foliage in a manner that resembles a sabot mount. The upholstery is modern. Another pair of armchairs and a settee, all en suite, are known to exist.  
**PROVENANCE:** [Mathew Schutz, Ltd., New York].  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, GettyMus 12 (1984), 198-199.

11. PAIR OF VASES  
Italian or French, circa 1765–1770  
Porphyry and red marble, with gilt-bronze mounts, 38.75 x 41 x 27.75 cm (1’3/4” x 1’4/4” x 10’1/4”).  
83.DJ.16.1-2  
**COMMENTARY:** The vases were apparently made after a design by Eunemond-Alexandre Petitot (1727–1801), the neoclassical architect and ornamentalist. Petitot, having left France in 1753, became architect to the court of Parma and remained in Italy for the rest of his life. His design for an exactly similar vase was one of a set of thirty-one vases engraved by Benigo Bossi in 1764. Two other porphyry bowls, similarly mounted, are at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, the seat of the Marquess of Cholmondeley.  
**PROVENANCE:** Sir Everard Radcliffe, Bt., Rudding Park, Yorkshire; [Lovice Reviczky AG, Zurich].  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, GettyMus 12 (1984), 199-201.

12. WRITING TABLE  
French (Paris and Sévres), circa 1778  
Oak carcass veneered with tulipwood; gilt bronze; set with fourteen soft paste Sévres porcelain plaques, 77.5 x 131.2 x 62 cm (2’6” x 4’3/4” x 2’0”). The table bears the partly obliterated stamp M.CARLIN for Martin Carlin (maître 1766, died 1785), JME for the juré of the guild of menuisiers-ébenistes and the printed paper trade label of the marchand-mercier Dominique Daguerre. The plaques are variously marked with the crossed L’s of the Sévres Manufactory in red, the date letters AA for 1778, and the gilder’s mark of Jean-Baptiste-Emmanuel Vandé (active at Sévres 1755–1779). Nine plaques bear paper labels printed with crossed L’s and inked with the prices 96 and 30 livres.  
83.DA.385  
**COMMENTARY:** This table is notable for its unusual form and Sévres porcelain decoration. Another table of this shape and size by Carlin is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; it is decorated with black and gold lacquer panels in place of the porcelain plaques found on the Museum’s table. The shaped plaques at the sides are of a model not repeated by Sévres, and they were probably specially commissioned by the marchand-mercier Dominique Daguerre for this table. He had a near monopoly in the purchasing of plaques such as these; the survival of his trade label, pinned underneath the table, is uncommon. The provenance of this table is well documented, and we can identify its owners from the eighteenth century to the present day. The Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna of Russia (wife of Czar Paul I) certainly visited Daguerre’s shop, A La Couronne d’Or, on the rue Saint-Honoré in Paris on May 25, 1784, and she most probably purchased the table then. It is listed in the 1795 inventory of the Palace of Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, as standing in the czarina’s bedroom.  
**PROVENANCE:** Grand Duchess Maria-Feodorovna of Russia (later czarina of Paul I), Palace of Pavlovsk, near Saint Petersburg, in 1784; Russian imperial collections, Pavlovsk (sold by the Soviet government to [Joseph Duveen, 1931]); Mrs. Anna Thompson Dodge, Rose Terrace, Grosse Pointe Farms, Michigan, 1931 (sold by her heirs, Christie’s, London, June 24, 1971, lot 135); Habib Sabet, Geneva (sale, Christie’s, London, December 1, 1983, lot 54, to the J. Paul Getty Museum).  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Alexandre Benois, Les Trésors d’Art en Russie (Saint Petersburg, 1907), vol. 3, 373, vol. 7, 186, pl. 20 (this includes Grand.
13. **PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS**
French (Paris), circa 1780-1785
Gilt bronze, 108 x 57 x 30 cm (3’6” x 1’10” x 1’11”)
83.DE.23.1-2

**COMMENTARY:** The chasing, gilding, and burnishing on these wall lights is of exceptional quality. It is not certain who made them, but some elements of the design can be seen on wall lights documented as made by Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751-1843). Other examples of this model of wall light are in the Petit Trianon at Versailles and in the Wallace Collection in London.

**PROVENANCE:** Comtes de Mortemart Rochechouart, Château de Saint Vrain, France, by repute since the eighteenth century;
[Maurice Segoura, Paris, 1982].

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Wilson, A. Sassoon, and C. Bremer-David, *GettyMus* 12 (1984), 207-211.

14. **PAIR OF VASES**
French (Sèvres), circa 1785
Soft paste porcelain, painted with polychrome enamels and gilded, 25.5 x 22.5 x 15.9 cm (10” x 7¾” x 6¾”).
The vases are painted beneath with the crossed L’s of the Sèvres Manufactory and a cursive h, all in blue; each of the upper vases is incised with 25 and one of the base sections with O, the marks of the réparateurs.
83.DE.341.1-2

**COMMENTARY:** This model of vase, known as a *vase hollandais* nouveau first appears in the inventory of new models at Sèvres on January 1, 1759. It was a development of the *vase hollandais*, which was first produced in 1754. A popular form, it was sold in great quantities up to the time of the Revolution. The cursive h was probably the mark of the artist Jacques-François-Louis de Laroche (active 1758-1800). The flowers and birds are painted in polychrome, mainly in bluish pinks, while the ground color is bleu céleste. The form of decoration employed here appears to be unique and is not found on any other objects produced at Sévres.


15. **BACCHUS AND Ariadne**
Italian (Florence), circa 1690
Patinated bronze, 40 x 29.5 x 21.5 cm (1’3¾” x 11¾” x 8½”)
83.SB.333

**COMMENTARY:** Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1740) was primo scultore at the Medici court in Florence from 1687. After Foggini’s death, his son Vincenzo sold his stock of molds and models to his employers, the Ginori Porcelain Manufactory at Doccia, near Florence. In a 1780 inventory of the manufactory’s stock, this model is described as being by Foggini. Two other bronze examples of this model are known in American collections, and the group was also produced in porcelain.


16. SIDE CHAIR
Italian (Piedmontese), circa 1700–1710
Gilt wood, the corded and ribboned silk a modern replacement, 128.5 x 55.6 x 69.5 cm (4’2¾” x 1’9¾” x 2’3¾”)
83.DA.281

COMMENTARY: The chair appears to have been part of a fairly large set, of which nine examples exist today. One is in the Castello Racconigi, outside Turin. Racconigi’s contents have remained largely undisturbed and have not been added to in recent times; therefore, the existence of a chair in that locale would indicate that the set had been made for a large salone or galleria in that castle. Until recently the Museum’s chair bore its original upholstery, but it has since been replaced with a carefully made replica.

PROVENANCE: House of Savoy, Castello Racconigi, outside Turin (?); Major-General Sir George Burns, North Mymms Park (sale, Christie’s, North Mymms Park, September 24–26, 1979, lot 215); [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London].


17. COMMODE
Italian (Venice), circa 1750–1760
Wood, gilded and painted with polychrome flowers, with silvering and a faux marbre top, 81.5 x 147 x 62.5 cm (2’8¾” x 4’9¾” x 2’½”)
83.DA.282

COMMENTARY: This painted and gilded commode is typical of the exaggeratedly bombé forms produced in Venice in the mid-eighteenth century. The painting and gilding are remarkably well preserved for a commode of this type, though much of the silvering on the raised moldings has blackened. The arrangement of the front as one continuous surface for decoration is unusual, as is the rather formal positioning of the flowers in swags and pendants.


18. GARNITURE OF FIVE VASES
German (Meissen), circa 1730
Hard paste porcelain. Pair of open vases, 27.6 x 17.8 cm (10¾” x 7”); pair of lidded vases, 32.2 x 19.4 cm (1’1¼” x 7¾”); single lidded vase, 37.3 x 24.1 cm (1’2⅛” x 9¼”). Each vase is painted under the base with the monogram AR in blue for Augustus Rex. The larger lidded vase is incised under the base with the mark of the molder Schiefer.
83.DE.334.1–5

COMMENTARY: These vases are decorated with seventy-two separately painted scenes of chinoiserie figures and six scenes of European harbors and landscapes. This type of decoration was developed at Meissen by the chief artist Johann Gregor Höroldt (born 1696, active at Meissen from 1720, died 1775). A sketchbook which contains designs used at Meissen for figures such as these survives in the Museum des Kunsthandwerks, Leipzig. It is known as the Schulz Codex and at least
fifteen of the scenes painted on the Museum’s vases can be identified in it. Vases of the same model and with similar decoration are in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and in the Schnider collection at Schloss Lustheim, Munich. 


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19. GROUP OF JAPANESE FIGURES
German (Meyssen), 1745
Hard paste porcelain; gilt-bronze base and parasol shaft, 45.1 x 29.5 x 21.7 cm (1’5¾” x 11¾” x 8½”). The gilt-bronze base conceals any marks that may exist underneath it.

83.DE.271

COMMENTARY: This unusually large figure group is described in a list of work carried out by Johann Joachim Kandler (born 1706, active 1731, died 1775) during 1745 at the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory. He received twenty-four reichstallers for creating the model for this group, which is specifically described as being of Japanese figures rather than Chinese. Another example of this model is in the Museo Civico of Turin. The design of this group is probably taken from a French eighteenth-century engraving that has not yet been identified. The same source was used at the Derby Porcelain Manufactory in England for a group of figures called Hearing and a pair of figures of Chinese musicians.


DRAWINGS


DUTCH

1. ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT
Dutch, 1564–1651
Three Studies of Women (recto); Four Studies of Hands and a Counterproof of a Kneeling Young Man (verso), circa 1620–1630

Red chalk heightened with white, 25.1 x 17.1 cm (9 ¾” x 6 ¾”). Inscribed 76 on the recto and 77 on the verso.
83.GB.375

2. PIETER LASTMAN
Dutch, 1583–1633
Study of a Kneeling Man, circa 1625
Red chalk, 11.3 x 9.4 cm (4 ½” x 3 ¾”).
83.GB.268
PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

3. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Two Studies of an Old Man, 1626
Pen and ink, 9 x 15 cm (3¾” x 5¾”).
83.GA.264
PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

4. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
The Mocking of Christ, 1650–1655
Pen and ink, 18.2 x 24.5 cm (7 ¾” x 9 ¾”). Collection mark of Léon Bonnat at the lower left.
83.GA.358

5. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Landscape, circa 1651–1652
Pen and ink and wash, 9.7 x 21.7 cm (3¾” x 8½”).
83.GA.363
FLEMISH

6. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Christ and the Canaanite Woman, circa 1652–1653
Pen and brush with white chalk highlights, 19.9 x 27.9 cm (7 7/8 x 11”).
Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Jr., Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Thomas Hudson at the lower right.
83.GG.199

7. STRADANUS (Jan van der Straet)
Flemish/Italian, 1523–1605
The Arno with Fishermen, circa 1578
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and blue wash heightened with white, on gray paper, 21.4 x 30.6 cm (8 1/8” x 12”). Inscribed J. Stradanus at the lower left.
83.GG.380
PROVENANCE: W. A. Baillie Grohman, London; sale, Christie’s, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 3.

8. ROELANDT SAVERY
Flemish, 1576–1639
Landscape with Waterfall, circa 1604–1613
Black chalk with red-brown wash, 29 x 41 cm (12 1/4” x 16 1/4”). Signed SAVERY FE in the lower foreground.
83.GA.382
PROVENANCE: Dutch private collection (sale, Christie’s, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 12).

9. ROELANDT SAVERY
Flemish, 1576–1639
Seated Woman, 1604–1605
Pen and ink over black chalk underdrawing, 15.3 x 17.6 cm (6 1/4” x 6 1/4”). Inscribed swartte mus-swartte purperen-swartten mantel-swartte purperen Rock-blauue Rock by Savery.
83.GA.383
PROVENANCE: Martin Reinicke collection, Darmstadt (sale, Sotheby’s, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, lot 145).

11. PETER PAUL RUBENS  
Flemish, 1577-1640  
Assumption of the Virgin, 1613-1616  
Pen and ink and wash with black chalk, 30 x 19 cm (11 3/4" x 7 1/2")  
83.GG.198  
PROVENANCE: T. Philip; Forbes collection, Scotland (sale, Christie’s, London, April 12, 1983, lot 155).

12. PETER PAUL RUBENS  
Flemish, 1577-1640  
Korean Man (with a small sketch of a boat at the left background), circa 1617  
Black chalk with touches of red chalk in the face, 38.4 x 23.5 cm (15 1/4" x 9 3/4"). Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., and Jonathan Richardson, Jr., at the lower right.  
83.GB.384  

13. NICOLAS POUSSIN  
French, 1594–1665  
Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus, circa 1626–1632  
Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 17.8 x 24.6 cm (7⅞ x 9⅞").  
Collection marks of Defer-Dumesnil and Louis Deglatigny at the lower right and left corners.  
83.GG.345  

14. CLAUDE LORRAIN  
French, 1600–1682  
View of Tivoli (with the same scene in pen and ink on the verso), circa 1640  
Black chalk with various browns and reddish brown washes, 21.3 x 31.1 cm (8¼ x 12¼"). Numbered 19 at the lower right and inscribed Iri at the lower left by later hands.  
83.GB.357  
PROVENANCE: Sixth Earl of Harewood, Harewood House (sale, Christie's, London, June 25, 1968, lot 73); private collection, U.S.A.  

15. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER  
French, 1703–1770  
Landscape with Figures, circa 1735  
Red chalk on vellum, 30.5 x 50 cm (12 x 19½").  
83.GB.200  
PROVENANCE: Earl Spencer, Althorp; Maurice Fenaille, Paris; art market, New York.  

16. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER  
French, 1703–1770  
Reclining Male Figure, 1736  
Black, red, and white chalk on blue paper, 28 x 44.5 cm (11 x 17½").  
83.GG.37  
PROVENANCE: Comte de Bryas collection, Paris; de Jonge collection, Paris; [Samuels collection, New York].  
19. **JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID**  
French, 1748–1825  
*Paris and Helen*, 1786  
Pen and ink and wash, 18.3 x 22.9 cm (7¾” x 9”). Signed and dated 1786 at the lower right.  
83.GA.192


20. **BARON ANTOINE-JEAN GROS**  
French, 1771–1835  
*Napoleon at the Battlefield of Eylau*, 1807  
Pen and ink over black chalk, 27.7 x 44.9 cm (10¾” x 17¾”). Inscribed at the upper left, *champ de bataille d’Elau*, and with the collection mark of Defer-Dumesnil at the lower left.  
83.GG.361

**PROVENANCE:** Given by Baron Gros to the painter Debre-Dever, Paris; Pierre Defer—Henri Dumesnil, Paris (sale, Paris, May 10–12, 1900, lot 154); [Strobin and de Bayser, Lausanne, 1983].

21. **JEAN FRANÇOIS MILLET**  
French, 1814–1875  
*Shepherdess and Her Flock*, 1865–1866  
Charcoal and pastel, 36.4 x 47.2 cm (14¼” x 18¼”). Signed J. F. Millet at the lower right.  
83.GF.220

**PROVENANCE:** Secretan collection, Paris (sale, Sedelmeyer, Paris, July 1, 1889, lot 101); [Boussod, Valadon et Cie, Paris]; private collection, Newport, Rhode Island; [Auslander and Wittgenstein, New York].


22. **PAUL CÉZANNE**  
French, 1839–1906  
*Still Life*, circa 1900  
Watercolor, 47.8 x 63 cm (18¾” x 24¾”).

83.GC.221

**PROVENANCE:** [Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin]; [Feuz, Zurich]; [Tanne, Zurich]; [Jacques Seligmann, Paris]; Lord Sief of Birtnington (sale, Sotheby’s, London, April 26, 1967, lot 18); Norton Simon, Los Angeles (sale, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, May 2, 1973, lot 9); sale, Sotheby’s, London, July 1, 1980, lot 5; Alain Delon, Geneva.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Bierman in *Der Cicerone* (Berlin, 1927), 151; L. Venturi, *Cézanne, Son Art—Son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1936), no. 1147.

23. **UNIDENTIFIED GERMAN**  
Fifteenth century  
*Mary Magdalen Transported by Four Angels*, circa 1470  
Pen and ink with white highlights on prepared paper, 17 x 16.1 cm (6¾” x 6¼”). Unidentified collector’s mark at the lower right.  
83.GG.355

**PROVENANCE:** J. H. Cremer and Monsieur..., London (sale, Frederik Müller, Amsterdam, June 15, 1886); [Strobin and de Bayser, Lausanne].


24. **HANS BALDUNG GRIEN**  
German, circa 1480–1545  
*A Monk Preaching*, circa 1505  
Pen and brown ink, 30.8 x 22.3 cm
25. **ALBRECHT DÜRER**  
German, 1471–1528  
*Study of the Good Thief*, circa 1505  
Pen and ink, 26.9 x 12.6 cm (10 9/16” x 4 15/16”). Inscribed with the monogram *AD* at the upper right and with some indecipherable letters and numbers at the lower right.  
83.GA.360


26. **ALBRECHT DÜRER**  
German, 1471–1528  
*Stag Beetle*, 1505  
Watercolor and gouache, 14.2 x 11.4 cm (5 3/4” x 4 1/2”). Signed with the monogram *AD* and date of 1505 at the lower left.  
83.GC.214


27. **GEORG PENCZ**  
German, circa 1500–1556  
*Study for a Stained Glass Window with the Arms of Marco Baro and His Forebears*, circa 1530–1540  
Pen and brown ink with brown wash on yellowish paper, Diam: 24.7 cm (9¾”). Inscribed on the board hanging from the tree: STEMMATA.VI=RTVTLETVN=IFICENCIEA.D=AVCTA.HEROV[M] PROPI.A (The family trees of heroes grow greater through virtue and generosity); and on the circular border: INSIGNIA.  
MARCLBARONIS.  
GENTILIV[M],Q[VE].  
SVOR[VM],APRS.  
83.GA.193  
**PROVENANCE:** B. S. (Lugt 414b, unidentified mark); G. Schwarting, Delmenhorst.  

28. **CORREGGIO** (Antonio Allegri)  
Italian, 1489–1534  
*Unidentified Mythological (?) Subject*, circa 1515  
Black chalk, 21.9 x 17.7 cm (8⅞ x 6¼”).  
83.GB.344  
**PROVENANCE:** Philip Pouncey, London.  

29. **PONTORMO** (Jacopo Carucci)  
Italian, 1494–1556  
*Study of Saint Francis* (recto); *Study of the Dead Christ* (verso), circa 1517–1518  
Black chalk with some white heightening on the verso, 40.7 x 28.4 cm (16” x 11¼”). The recto bears the collectors’ marks of Jonathan Richardson, Jr., Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Thomas Hudson; there is an unidentified collector’s mark on the verso at the lower right.  
83.GG.379  
**PROVENANCE:** Jonathan Richardson, Jr., London; Sir Joshua Reynolds, London; Thomas Hudson, London; Michel Gaud, Saint-Tropez.  
30. **GIORGIONE GIROLAMO SAVOLDO**  
Italian, circa 1480–1548  
*Study of the Head of a Bearded Man*, circa 1530–1535  
Black and white chalk on prepared paper, 30.5 x 22.9 cm (12” x 9”).  
Collection mark of Giuseppe Vallardi at the lower left.  
83.GB.17  
**PROVENANCE:** Giuseppe Vallardi, Paris; Hans Calmann, Somerset; private collection, Geneva.  

31. **LORENZO LOTTO**  
Italian, circa 1480–1556  
*Saint Martin Dividing His Cloak with a Beggar*, circa 1530  
Brush and gray-brown wash, heightened with white and cream-colored wash, over black chalk, 31.4 x 21.9 cm (12¾” x 8⅞”). Signed ... entius Lotus on the verso.  
83.GG.262  
**PROVENANCE:** S. Schwartz, New York; Sabattino Abate, Boston.  
32. PARMIGIANINO (Francesco Mazzola)
Italian, 1503–1540

Studies of the Madonna and Child (recto); Studies of the Madonna and of an Architectural Detail (verso), circa 1534–1535
Pen and ink, 10.2 x 8.6 cm (4 7/16” x 3 5/16”). Collection mark of Earl Spencer at lower right of recto.
83.GA.265

PROVENANCE: Earl Spencer, Althorp; Sabattino Abate, Boston.


33. ROSSO FIORENTINO (Giovan Battista de Rossi)
Italian, 1495–1540

Study of a Male Figure (Empedocles and/or Saint Roch), circa 1538
Red chalk with some traces of black chalk, 25.2 x 14.9 cm (9 7/8” x 5 7/8”). Inscribed Rosso at bottom left.
83.GB.261


34. DOMENICO BECCAFUMI
Italian, 1486–1551

The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1547
Pen and wash, 15.3 x 9.3 cm (6 1/4” x 3 3/4”). Collection mark of Richard Cosway at the lower right of the mount.
83.GG.18


35. PAOLO VERONESE
Italian, circa 1528–1588

Christ Preaching in the Temple, 1548
Pen and brown ink, 7.8 x 17.6 cm (3 3/4” x 6 15/16”). Collection mark of Jonathan Richardson, Sr., at the lower right.
83.GA.266

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; S. Schwartz, New York and Boston; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

36. PARIS BORDONE
Italian, 1500–1571
Seated Male Figure with Putto and Armor, circa 1550
Black chalk on blue-gray paper, 17.4 x 29.6 cm (6⅓" x 11⅓")
83.GB.270
PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

37. PAOLO VERONESE
Italian, circa 1528–1588
Sheet of Studies for the Martyrdom of Saint George, 1566
Pen and brown ink and wash, 29 x 21.7 cm (11⅝" x 8⅛"). Inscribed on recto by Veronese, trinitas in unitate and moro; collection mark of Emile Wauters at the lower left.
83.GA.258


38. FEDERICO ZUCCARO
Italian, circa 1542–1609
The Submission of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III, circa 1585
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash, on two attached sheets of paper, 55.5 x 53.7 cm (21⅜" x 21⅜"). Collection mark of Sir Peter Lely at the lower center.
83.GG.196
39. GUIDO RENI
Italian, 1575–1642
Holy Family with an Angel, circa 1595–1598
Pen and ink, 14.3 x 20.3 cm (5 5/8” x 8”)
83.GA.267
PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

40. CERANO (Giovanni Battista Crespi)
Italian, 1575–1632
Study of a Franciscan Monk (Saint Francis?), circa 1600
Red chalk, 20.8 x 17.5 cm (8 3/16” x 6 3/8”)
83.GB.269
PROVENANCE: Sabattino Abate, Boston.

41. FEDERICO BAROCCI
Italian, 1526–1612
Figure Studies (recto and verso), 1603–1608
Black and white chalks, 30.8 x 27.2 cm (12 1/4” x 10 15/16”)
83.GG.376

41b (verso)

42. CARLO SARACENI
Italian, circa 1580–1620
Allegorical Figure, 1616
Black chalk on green paper with some white highlights, 33.5 x 25 cm (13 3/16” x 9 3/16”)
83.GB.263
PROVENANCE: [Lucien Goldschmidt, New York]; Sabattino Abate, Boston.

43. GIOVANNI BENEDETTO CASTIGLIONE
Italian, 1610–1663
The Expulsion of Hagar, circa 1645–1650
Brush drawing in red-brown paint with blue-green and white highlights, 28.8 x 41.6 cm (11 3/4” x 16 3/8”).
Collection mark of the Marquis de Lagoy at the lower right.
83.GG.376
PROVENANCE: Marquis de Lagoy, Aix en Provence; V. C. collection (unidentified).

44. SALVATOR ROSA
Italian, 1615–1673
The Dream of Aeneas, 1663
Black and white chalk, 32.6 x 22.9 cm (12 1/4” x 9”). Unidentified collection mark in lower right corner.
83.GB.197
45. CARLO DOLCI
   Italian, 1616–1686
   Portrait of a Girl, circa 1665
   Black and red chalks on cream-colored paper, 15.5 x 12.6 cm (6\(\frac{1}{4}\)" x 4\(\frac{3}{4}\)"").
   Collection mark of Count Gelosi at the lower right.
   83.GB.374

PROVENANCE: Count Gelosi, Turin; private collection, Geneva.
In 1983 the Museum was fortunate to have the opportunity to purchase the entire illuminated manuscript collection of Peter and Irene Ludwig, Aachen, West Germany. The Ludwigs are unrivaled in the scope of their artistic taste, which ranges from antiquities to American pop art. Their illuminated manuscript collection was the last of breadth and artistic distinction known in the private domain, as well as being the most distinguished of the collections assembled by the Ludwigs over the past twenty-five years.

The Ludwig manuscript collection forms the foundation for a Department of Manuscripts at the J. Paul Getty Museum. The 144 objects include codices dating from the eighth to the twentieth centuries, some portolan maps, a few documents, and a seventeenth-century globe. Nearly every Western European manuscript tradition is represented along with fine Byzantine, Armenian, and Persian examples. The most beautiful of the illuminated manuscripts date from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, and the German and Flemish schools are among those best represented. The treasures include a sacramentary from Mainz or Fulda (Ms. Ludwig V 2), the Helmarshausen Gospels (Ms. Ludwig II 3), an English Apocalypse (Ms. Ludwig III 1), the Hedwig Codex (Ms. Ludwig XI 7), the Llangattock Hours (Ms. Ludwig IX 7), and the Prayer Book of Albrecht of Brandenburg illuminated by Simon Bening (Ms. Ludwig IX 19).

A group of manuscripts will be on exhibition in Galleries 225 and 226 throughout the year; the installation will change every ten to twelve weeks. The size, variety, and artistic quality of the collection will enable the Museum to represent the history of European manuscript illumination from a broad range of artistic and historical perspectives.

The following are condensed descriptions based largely upon the catalogues of the Ludwig collection written by Joachim Plotzek and Anton von Euw. These authors generously shared information from their fourth and final volume, which is currently in preparation. The compiler is also grateful to Consuelo Dutschke, John Plummer, Linda Ogden, William Voelkle, and Gregory Clark.

Abbreviations


### MISCELLANEOUS

1. A LEAF WITH REPRESENTATION OF CHRIST AND A DECORATIVE BORDER

Southwestern Germany, late Carolingian or Ottonian

Vellum, 37.5-35.3 x 26-30.5 cm. Pen drawing in brown ink.

Ludwig Folia 1; 83.MS.48

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt and Basel; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


2. TWO LEAVES: THE CRUCIFIXION and SAINT ANTHONY ABBOT BLESSING THE ANIMALS, THE POOR, AND THE RICH Illuminated by the Master of Saint Veronica

Cologne, circa 1400-1410

Vellum, two single leaves, each 23.6 x 12-12.5 cm, trimmed along all sides to the gold borders of the miniature. Mattet.

Ludwig Folia 2; 83.MS.49

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt and Basel; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIES

3. LEAVES AND CUTTINGS FROM A BIBLE
Tours, circa 845
Vellum, eleven single leaves, fragmentary and/or mostly reconstructed from cuttings; each probably originally approximately 48 x 34.5 cm, all now slightly or considerably smaller. Text area 36.2 x 27.8 cm, two columns, fifty-two lines. Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. One large illuminated initial; three smaller initials. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig I 1; 83.MA.50

COMMENTARY: Related leaves are in the Stadtbibliothek, Trier; Kunstbibliothek, Berlin; Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Staatsarchiv, Koblenz; University College, London; Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York; and Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana.

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint Maximin, Trier; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

5. BIBLE (Incomplete)
Lambach Abbey, Austria, late eleventh or first half of twelfth century
Vellum, 133 leaves, 27 x 19 cm, fols. 39, 62, 80, 98, and 99 cut at lower edge.

Text area 20.1 x 13.9 cm, one column, twenty-three lines (fols. 1 and 98 contain twenty-four lines by another twelfth-century scribe). Latin vulgate text in Carolingian minuscule. One full-page drawing; three modest decorated initials. Pigskin over wooden boards, blind-tooled, rhomboid pattern; old title in ink at top of front cover; Lambach, mid-fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 3; 83.MA.52

PROVENANCE: Lambach Abbey, Austria; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

6. NEW TESTAMENT WITH THE CANONS OF PRISCILLIANS
Probably the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, France, circa 1170
Vellum, 195 leaves, 43 x 31.5 cm. Text area 30.3 x 24.2 cm, two columns, thirty-six lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Thirty large illuminated initials; twelve illuminated canon pages. Blue morocco, blind-tooled with simple inner and outer frames; by W. H. Smith.
Ms. Ludwig I 4; 83.MA.53

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint Maximus, Auxerre; Chartreuse, Dijon, until 1803; James Edwards, until 1815; Robert Benson; W. A. S. Benson; William Morris, by 1896; Laurence Hodson, Compton Hall, by 1898; C. H. St. John Hornby; J. R. Abbey, by 1933; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

7. NEW TESTAMENT
Probably Sicily, end of twelfth century
Vellum, 283 leaves, 24.7 x 15.8 cm. Text area 16.5 x 9.8 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Italian minuscule. One full-page miniature; four historiated initials; twenty-one other illuminated initials. Red Italian silk brocade; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 5; 83.MA.54

PROVENANCE: A cloister of the diocese of Bergano, late fifteenth century; Franz Trau, Vienna; Lord John Jacob Astor of Hever; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

8. SINGLE LEAF FROM THE SHAH ABABS BIBLE
France or possibly England, circa 1250
Vellum, 32.5 x 29 cm, trimmed on all sides (original format approximately 39 x 30.4 cm). Miniatures on both recto and verso. Unbound, matted; originally kept in red morocco binding by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig I 6; 83.MA.55

COMMENTARY: This is a leaf from the Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M. 638). Two other leaves are in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. nouv. acq. 2294).

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Bernhard Maciejowski, sixteenth century; Shah Abbas the Great, seventeenth century; Sydney C. Cockerell, by 1910; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
9. BIBLE
Northern France, circa 1250-1260
Utene vellum, 558 leaves, 16.8 x 11 cm, trimmed on all edges. Text area 11.4 x 7.5 cm, two columns, forty-eight lines. Latin vulgate text in French minuscule. Five historiated initials; seventy-two illuminated initials.
Modern brown leather over wooden boards in the decorative style of the fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig I 7; 83.MA.56
PROVENANCE: Theodorus Phrearaeus, Cologne, early seventeenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotz and von Euw, vol. 1, 80-84.

10. BIBLE (Three Volumes, Incomplete)
Northern France, probably Lille, circa 1270
Vellum, 273 leaves; vol. 1: fols. 1-99, vol. 2: fols. 100-202, vol. 3: fols. 203-273; approximately 47 x 32.2 cm, cut. Text area 34.8 x 22.8 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Vol. 1: one large half-page historiated initial and numerous smaller historiated and/or illuminated initials; vol. 2: numerous historiated initials and other illuminated initials; vol. 3: numerous historiated initials and other illuminated initials.
Reddish brown pigskin in the Jansenist style; gilt edges; by Katherine Adams, 1920.
Ms. Ludwig I 8; 83.MA.57
PROVENANCE: Probably Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; Monastery of Marquette, near Lille, fifteenth century; P. G.; William Morris; Edwin H. Lawrence, until 1898; Laurence Hodson, Compton Hall, until 1906; Sydney C. Cockerell; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

11. BIBLE (Concluding Volume)
Tournai, Arras, or Lille, circa 1260-1270
Vellum, thirty-five leaves, approximately 46.5 x 34.5 cm. Text area 33.8 x 22 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Brown pigskin with blind-stamping in Jansenist style, gilt edges, identical with Ms. Ludwig I 8; by Katherine Adams, 1920.
Ms. Ludwig I 9; 83.MA.58
PROVENANCE: (? ) Reverend Joseph Degen, Saint Savior's Catholic Church, Leicestershire; Sydney C. Cockerell; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

12. A LEAF FROM A BIBLE
Tournai, Arras, or  Lille, circa 1260-1270
Vellum, 48.1 x 35.1 cm. Text area 33.8 x 22.5 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. Historiated initial with Moses Sacrificing a Lamb. Unbound.
Ms. Ludwig I 10; 83.MA.59
PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

13. BIBLE
Bologna, circa 1280-1290
Vellum, 574 leaves, 37.5 x 24.8 cm. Text area 23.4 x 14.3 cm, two columns, fifty-one lines; fols. 540v-574v, four columns. Latin vulgate text in littera Bononiensis. More than 150 historiated and other illuminated initials. Modern...
red velvet cover.

Ms. Ludwig I 11: 83.MA.60

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.


14. BIBLE

Northern Netherlands, middle of fifteenth century

Vellum, 159 leaves, 31 x 21.5 cm, trimmed. Text area 20.1 x 13.7 cm, two columns, thirty-five lines. Latin vulgate text in textura. One illuminated initial; numerous decorated initials in pen and body color. Modern brown calf, blind-stamped in the style of the fifteenth century; two brass clasps.

Ms. Ludwig I 12; 83.MA.61

PROVENANCE: William Morris; Richard Bennett; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


15 (fol. 3-detail)

15. BIBLE

Cologne, circa 1450

Vellum, 455 leaves, 36.7 x 25.3 cm. Text area 24.7 x 16.4 cm, two columns, fifty-five lines. Latin vulgate text in textura rotunda. Numerous historiated and other illuminated initials and borders. Original brown calf, middle field split up in lozenges, filled in with blind-stamping (a paschal lamb, eagle, peacock, dragon, heraldic lily, and rosette); open-worked corner and middle ornamental fittings of brass with underlying colored vellum in yellow, green, red, and blue; two leather clasps.

Ms. Ludwig I 13; 83.MA.62

16 (fol. 20v)

16. BIBLE

Written by Baghram and Ep'rem; illuminated by Malnazar and Aghap'ir Isfahan, 1637-1638

Vellum, 610 leaves (disruption in numerical sequence from 330 to 340; two pages are numbered 538; 619 is cut out and stuck on the back cover), 16.2 x 10.3 cm. Text area 11.5 x 5.6 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Eight full-page miniatures; six illuminated canon pages; numerous pages with border decoration and illuminated initials. Reddish brown morocco over original wooden boards, blind-stamping on the front and back covers; spine restored.

Ms. Ludwig I 14; 83.MA.63

PROVENANCE: Family of Xoja Abdulé and his brother Baghír, Isfahan; Hagop Kervorkian, New York; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


17 (fol. 8v)

17. EPISODES OF SAINT PAUL

Illuminated by the 1520’s Hours Workshop

France, circa 1520-1530

Vellum, 114 leaves, first and last leaf stuck on the front and back endpaper of the volume, 16.2 x 10.3 cm. Text area 11.5 x 5.6 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. Latin text in calligraphic Roman script. Two full-page miniatures; two illusionistic borders with gold grounds. French seventeenth-century red morocco, gold tooled; two silver clasps; gilt edges.

Ms. Ludwig I 15; 83.MA.64

PROVENANCE: John Broadley; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


18. GOSPELS

Lorsch Abbey, Germany, second quarter of ninth century

Vellum, 164 leaves, 32 x 23.5 cm. Text area 22 x 18 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Twelve decorated canon tables; four incipit pages with large
rubrics in gold or red. Old oak boards with large rectangle and smaller circle carved out, partly covered with leather; four brass bosses on the back cover, the fifth (middle) removed; ivory and metal plaques removed.

Ms. Ludwig II 1; 83.MB.65

PROVENANCE: Bishop Folcwich of Worms (circa 826–838); Iriarte; Marquis d’Astorga; John Cochran; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 3015); Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


19. A LEAF WITH THE OPENING LINE OF THE GOSPEL OF SAINT JOHN

Abbey of Farfa, Italy, circa 1100
Vellum, 31 x 22.5 cm. Text area 22.5 x 15-16.6 cm, one column, twenty-eight lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. One illuminated initial page. Matted.

Ms. Ludwig II 2; 83.MB.66

PROVENANCE: A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


20. GOSPELS

Abbey of Helmarshausen, Germany, circa 1120–1140
Vellum, 168 leaves, 22.8 x 16.4 cm. Text area 16.5 x 9.8 cm, one column, twenty-eight lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Four full-page miniatures; four decorated text-opening pages; sixteen historiated canon tables. Brown calf; France, eighteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig II 3; 83.MB.67

PROVENANCE: A Norman nobleman, sixteenth century; Archbishop of York, seventeenth century; French collection, eighteenth century; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


21. GOSPELS WITH LETTERS AND LIVES OF THE APOSTLES

Written by Theoktistos
Monastery of Saint John Prodromos, Constantinople, 1133
Vellum, 280 leaves, 22 x 18 cm. Text area 16-18 x 13-15.5 cm, one column, twenty-six lines. Greek text in minuscule (echo of small Gothic book hand). Four full-page miniatures; twelve illuminated canon tables. Olive green calf; eighteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig II 4; 83.MB.68

PROVENANCE: Library of the Dionsiy Monastery, Mount Athos (Ms. 8); Oscar Meyer collection, Los Angeles; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


22. GOSPELS

Written and illuminated by Hayrapet and by Mesrop of Xizan
Isfahan, 1615
Glazed paper, 246 leaves, 23 x 17.5 cm. Text area 19.5 x 12.8 cm, two columns, twenty-three lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Four full-page miniatures; seven decorated canon tables; dark brown kidskin over wooden boards, blind-tooling; cross in the form of an arbor vitae; brass boss and fittings in the shape of a cross; partly restored in 1542.

Ms. Ludwig II 6; 83.MB.70

PROVENANCE: The Armenian monk and scribe Petros; Church of Saint John and Saint Stephen; the monastery Manuk surb Nisan, Kajberuni, Armenia; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


23. GOSPELS

Written and possibly also illuminated by Petros, School of Van
Armenia, 1386
Paper, 260 leaves, 24 x 16.5 cm. Text area 17.5 x 12 cm, two columns, twenty-two lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Twenty-three nearly full-page miniatures; seven decorated canon tables. Dark brown kidskin over wooden boards, blind-tooling; cross in the form of an arbor vitae; brass boss and fittings in the shape of a cross; partly restored in 1542.

Ms. Ludwig II 6; 83.MB.70

PROVENANCE: The Armenian monk and scribe Petros; Church of Saint John and Saint Stephen; the monastery Manuk surb Nisan, Kajberuni, Armenia; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


24. GOSPELS

Written and illuminated by Hayrapet and by Mesrop of Xizan
Isfahan, 1615
Glazed paper, 246 leaves, 23 x 17.5 cm. Text area 19.5 x 12.8 cm, two columns, twenty-three lines. Armenian text in borlorgir minuscule. Four full-page miniatures; eight illuminated pages;
numerous other decorated pages. Brown calf over wooden boards, blind-tooling on covers; traces of lost ornamental fittings; presumably 1737. Ms. Ludwig II 7; 83.MB.71

PROVENANCE: Ust’ay Martiros; an Armenian bibliophile, after 1737; acquired in Isfahan by Jacques de Morgan; Jean Pozzi; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


A P O C A L Y P S E

25 (fol. 36)

25. APOCALYPSE
With commentary by Berengaudus Abbey of Saint Albans, England, circa 1250
Vellum, forty-one leaves, 31.9 x 22.5 cm. Text area approximately 11.3 x 15 cm, two columns, eighteen to nineteen lines. Latin text in textura. Eighty-two half-page miniatures, approximately 10.6 x 16.1 cm, each two columns wide. Red morocco with gold toothing; by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig III 1; 83.MC.72

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


26. GOSPEL LECTIONARIES AND EPISTOLARIES

26 (fol. 94v)

26. GOSPEL LECTIONARY
Rhine–Maas region, early ninth century
Vellum, 111 leaves, 24 x 18 cm. Text area 17 x 13.2 cm, one or two columns, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Fols. 1–4 stained purple with silver and gold ink; every leaf has a continuous illuminated border; numerous modest illuminated initials. Modern red velvet over wooden boards, gold-painted brass clasp with idealized portrait bust of Charlemagne; formerly on the front cover, an ivory panel with symmetrical double tendrils, inset with modern violet, red, and green glass; Metz school, third quarter of the ninth century.
Ms. Ludwig IV 1; 83.MD.73

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


27. EVANGELARY
North Italy, end of twelfth or beginning of thirteenth century
Vellum, 172 leaves, 29.5 x 19 cm. Text area 20 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. One illuminated initial. Wooden boards with restored leather spine.
Ms. Ludwig IV 2; 83.MD.74

PROVENANCE: Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, sixteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


28. THE EPISTLES FOR THE YEAR
Written and illuminated by Madelynn Walker
England, circa 1930
Vellum, twenty-one leaves, 36.4 x 25.3 cm. Text area 22.5 x 16.5 cm, two columns, thirty-six lines. English text in calligraphic minuscule. Illuminated title page; numerous illuminated initials. Red morocco with gold toothing by Roger Powell and Peter Waters, 1966.
Ms. Ludwig IV 3; 83.ME.75


29. SACRAMENTARY
Use of Beauvais
Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, first quarter of eleventh century
Vellum, ten leaves, 23.2 x 17.8 cm. Text area 16 x 11.5 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. First letters in gold; two full-page miniatures; three illuminated initials; two illuminated pages written in gold against black and one in gold on purple. Brown morocco with gold toothing; signed by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig V 1; 83.MF.76
PROVENANCE: Probably Beauvais Cathedral; Walter Sneyd; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

30. SACRAMENTARY
Mainz or Fulda, second quarter of eleventh century
Vellum, 178 leaves, 26.5 x 19.1 cm. Text area 17 x 13 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Seven full-page miniatures; two illuminated pages written in gold on purple ground; numerous large and small illuminated initials. Oak covers, 27.3 x 19.8 cm; red silk on the spine and back cover, fitted with hammered and engraved silver and copper. On the front, gilt-copper frame, with evangelists' symbols engraved in the corners and busts of angels in between and a relief with Christ enthroned in the center (restored in 1975), hammered silver, partially gilded, engraved halo. On the back, gilt-copper bands with the Lamb of God in hammered silver in the center, badly damaged, but possibly from the original covers. The remainder of the cover decoration, dating circa 1150, probably restored by the fourteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig V 2; 83.MF.77
PROVENANCE: Seminary of Saint Alban, Namur; Duke of Arenberg; Jacques Seligmann; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
31. A LEAF FROM A SACRAMENTARY
Southwest Germany or Switzerland, third quarter of twelfth century
Vellum, 29 x 19.7 cm, considerably trimmed at the lower edge. Text area
23 x 11.8 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Latin text in Carolingian
minuscule. One historiated initial. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig V 3; 83.MF.78
PROVENANCE: Richartz collection, Amsterdam; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Kollner, "Miniaturen des 11. bis 18. Jahrhunderts aus einer Amsterdamer Sammlung," typescript ex. cat. (Marburger Universitäts-

32. MISSAL WITH LECTIONARY
Steinfeld Abbey, Germany circa 1180
Vellum, 145 leaves, 25 x 17.5 cm. Text area
16.5 x 11.5 cm, one column, sixteen/seventeen lines or twenty/twenty-one lines. Latin text in
Carolingian minuscule or textura. One full-page miniature; many large
illuminated initials. Brown calf roll-tooled with vines and fleur-de-lys
(placed horizontally); two leather and brass clasps; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig V 4; 83.MG.79
PROVENANCE: Steinfeld Abbey; W. Morris; Charles Fairfax Murray; C. W. Dyson Perrins;
Pierleoni; Horace Landau, Florence; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

33. PLENARY MISSAL
Lyons, between 1254 and 1262
Vellum, 252 leaves, 24.6 x 16.6 cm. Text area
16.5 x 11 cm, two columns, thirty-seven lines. Latin text in
textura. Two full-page miniatures; nine historiated initials; numerous
smaller illuminated initials. Purple velvet over paper boards with gold
tooling; brass fasteners; signed by the noted Parisian binder SIMIER R [UE] DUROL, circa 1825.
Ms. Ludwig V 5; 83.MG.80
PROVENANCE: Probably the Dominican church Notre-Dame de Confort, Lyons; J. Janin; A. Rosset; Maurice Loncle, Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Leroquais, Exposition des Manuscrits à Peintures du VI au XVIIe siècle, ex. cat. (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, 1920), no. 11; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 1, 240–244.

34. MISSAL FROM THE COLLEGIUM DUCALE
Vienna, circa 1420–1430
Vellum, 307 leaves, 41.7 x 30.5 cm. Text area
27.8 x 19.9 cm, two columns, thirty-two lines. Latin text in textura.
One full-page miniature; several historiated initials. Green velvet; four
corner pieces and two clasps in silver; open work, engraved and punched;
seventeenth century. Ms. Ludwig V 6; 83.MG.81
PROVENANCE: Collegium Ducale, Vienna; J. Rosenthal; P. Graupe; A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

35. MISSAL OF BISHOP ANTONIO SCARAMPI
Vienna, called Muriolus of Salerno
Bologna, circa 1270
Vellum, 228 leaves, 44.5 x 32 cm, trimmed(?). Text area for text and
music 33.5 x 23.5 cm, one column, six lines. Latin text in textura rotunda.
Nine historiated initials; several historiated borders. Old brown calf
over wooden boards; brass corner and center pieces.
Ms. Ludwig VI 1; 83.MH.84
PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

36. PRAYERS OF THE MASS
Written and illuminated by Jean-Pierre Rousselet
Paris, circa 1720–1730
Paper, thirty-eight leaves, 11.9 x 7.2 cm. Text area with frame 8 x 5 cm,
one column, fourteen/fifteen lines. French text in calligraphic Roman
script. Illuminated title page; two full-page miniatures; three small
miniatures. Original dark blue morocco outside, inside red morocco,
in Fanfare style with gilded geometric and vegetable patterns; by Padeloup, Paris.
Ms. Ludwig V 7; 83.MG.83
PROVENANCE: E. Rahir, Paris (sale, May 7–9, 1930, lot 219); M. L. Schiff; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

ANTIPHONALS

37. ANTIPHONAL
Written and illuminated by Jacobellus, called Muriolus of Salerno
Bologna, circa 1270
Vellum, 228 leaves, 44.5 x 32 cm, trimmed(?). Text area for text and
music 33.5 x 23.5 cm, one column, six lines. Latin text in textura rotunda.
Nine historiated initials; several historiated borders. Old brown calf
over wooden boards; brass corner and center pieces.
Ms. Ludwig VI 1; 83.MH.84
PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

38. ANTIPHONAL
Venice, circa 1460–1480
Vellum, on the hair side yellow, on the flesh side white, 161 leaves, 60.5 x 44 cm. Text area for text and music 41 x
26 cm, one column, five lines. Latin text in broad Italian textura. Five historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials; hundreds of calligraphic initials. Brown morocco with blind-tooling over wooden boards; five brass bosses on each cover; blind-tooled lozenge outlined with smaller bosses; spine reinforced with eight leather straps; in the front, two star-shaped holders for clasps, which are now lacking; corner reinforcements.

Ms. Ludwig VI 2; 83.MH.85

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.


39 (fol. 16)

39. ANTIPHONAL
Illuminated by Antonio da Monza Rome, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century
Vellum, 188 leaves, 63.5 x 43.5 cm. Text area for text and music 42 x 30 cm, one column, five lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. One large historiated initial with elaborate illuminated border. Brown leather over original wooden covers; brass ornamental fittings with stamped rosettes in the form of the inscription IHS and half-length depictions of the Virgin and Child.

Ms. Ludwig VI 3; 83.MH.86

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Rome; probably James de Rothschild and Edmond de Rothschild; Alexandrine de Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


40. ANTIPHONAL FOR THE MASS
Probably Antwerp, 1479
Vellum, 222 leaves, 44.5 x 31.5 cm. Text area for text and music 36 x 23 cm, one column, ten lines. Latin text in textura. One full-page miniature; twelve historiated and nine illuminated initials, some with illuminated borders. Calf on wooden boards with blind-tooling; five quatrefoil bosses; two clasps as well as corner edge reinforcements in brass, front and back; sixteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig VI 4; 83.MH.87

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Saint Salvator, Antwerp; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


41. LEAVES AND CUTTINGS FROM AN ANTIPHONAL
Tournai, Arras, or Lille, circa 1260–1270
Vellum, nineteen single leaves and three loose initials, 48 x 34.5 cm. Text area for text and music 36 x 23.5 cm, one column, eight lines. Latin text in textura. Sixteen historiated and two illuminated initials. Individually matted.

Ms. Ludwig VI 5; 83.MH.88

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.


42. ANTIPHONAL
Florence, end of thirteenth century
Vellum, 243 leaves, 58.2 x 40.5 cm. Text area for text and music 38.2 x 27.5 cm, one column, six lines. Latin text in textura rotunda. Twelve historiated and numerous other illuminated initials. Black-stained sheepskin, rebacked, over original wooden boards; heavy iron bosses on brass escutcheons with central brass cut-out disk on sides and back edges reinforced; leather and brass clasps.

Ms. Ludwig VI 6; 83.MH.89

PROVENANCE: K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


BENEDICTIONALS, PONTIFICALS

43. BENEDICTIONAL
Regensburg, circa 1030–1040
Vellum, 117 leaves, 23.2 x 16 cm. Text area 16 x 12 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Nine full-page miniatures; four decorated pages; numerous illuminated initials. White pigskin, Renaissance or later.

Ms. Ludwig VII 1; 83.MI.90

PROVENANCE: Bishop Engelmar of Parenzo; Karl II, Prince Ottingen-Wallerstein; K. Arnhold; Otto Schafer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

44. PONTIFICAL
Written and probably also illuminated by Father Petrus Luchter
Constance, 1489
Vellum, eighty-three leaves, 28 x 20 cm. Text area 19.5 x 13.5 cm, one column, twenty-nine/thirty lines. Latin text in textura. One historiated and other illuminated initials; various motifs in the borders. Red-stained sheepskin over wooden boards, blind-stamping, heavily abraded; brass clasps lost.
Ms. Ludwig VII, 2; 83.MJ.91
PROVENANCE: Daniel Zehnder, Constance; Constance Cathedral; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

45. A LEAF FROM A PSALTER
Northern Italy, third quarter of ninth century
Vellum, 30 x 21.3 cm. Text area for text and music 25 x 16.5 cm, two columns, thirty lines. Latin text in Carolingian miniscule. Two illuminated initials. Matted.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 1; 83.MK.92
PROVENANCE: Ferdinand Kremer, Cologne; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

46. PSALTER WITH CANTICA AND OFFICIUM PARVUM
Würzburg, circa 1240-1250
Vellum, 192 leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.6 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in Gothic minuscule. Twelve decorated calendar pages, each with a large figure of a minor prophet; six full-page miniatures; four full-page and eight two-thirds page historiated initials; four smaller initials; numerous large gold initials. Brown calf with blind-tooling; globes, an owl, three-quarter length male and female figures, other motifs, and the initials J. and K.; sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 2; 83.MK.93
PROVENANCE: Karl II, Prince Ortingen-Wallerstein; K. Arnholt; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

47. PSALTER
Engelberg Abbey, Germany, third quarter of thirteenth century
Vellum, 179 leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.8 cm, one column, nineteen lines. Latin text in late Romanesque minuscule. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; two full-page historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials. Brown calf richly tooled; leather closures with metal fittings; early sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 3; 83.MK.94
PROVENANCE: Heinrich von Ellerbach; monastery of Buxheim, near Memmingen; Count Waldott-Bassenheim, by 1803, until 1883; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

48. PSALTER
Paris, circa 1250-1260
Vellum, 203 leaves, 19 x 13 cm. Text area 12.7 x 8.5 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in textura. Twelve decorated calendar leaves; twenty-one full-page miniatures (divided into compartments); numerous large historiated initials; hundreds of smaller illuminated initials. Deep violet morocco, gold-tooling; probably English or Scottish, circa 1700.
Ms. Ludwig VIII 4; 83.MK.95
PROVENANCE: Possibly Wenzeslaus III and Lajos I, kings of Hungary; Wilhelm van der Meersch, Bruges; J. Vernon, London; J. Phillips, Esq., Edstone; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
50. BREVIARY
Use of Monte Cassino
Written by Sigebertus
Monte Cassino Abbey, Italy, circa 1153
Vellum, 328 leaves, 19.1 x 13.2 cm,
trimmed at upper edge. Text area 13.5
x 7.2 cm, one column, twenty-seven
lines. Latin text in Beneventan script.
Four full-page illuminated initials;
twenty-four half-page illuminated
initials; hundreds of smaller
illuminated initials, some of them
historiated. Marbled calf, gold-tooled
on spine; eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 1; 83.ML.97

PROVENANCE: Possibly a prominent cleric of the
diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne (coat of arms on
fols. 25v, 33, 58v, 135, 139, 264); Duke of
Newcastle; André Hachette, Paris (sale,
December 16, 1953, lot 5); Maurice Loncle,
Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. G. Millar, Souvenir de
l'exposition de manuscrits français à peintures
organisée à la Grenville Library, Société française
de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures
(Paris, 1933), vol. 17, 9, 25, pl. xxvi; Plotzek
and von Euw, vol. 2, 64–73.
52. BOOK OF HOURS
Probably use of a northern French diocese
Northern France, beginning of fourteenth century
Vellum, 128 leaves, 26.2 x 18.4 cm, trimmed. Text area 15.7 x 9.9 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin text in large textura hand. Twelve small miniatures of occupations of the months; forty-five miniatures of saints; fifty-six historiated initials. Wooden boards with dark red leather back, ornamental blind-tooled pattern with gold dots; by Douglas Cockerell, twentieth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 3; 83.ML.99
PROVENANCE: John Ruskin, before 1853; Arthur Severn; Sydney C. Cockerell; A. Chester Beatty, Dublin; Dudley Colman; J. R. Abbey; Paul Getty; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

53. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Le Mans
Paris or Le Mans, circa 1400–1410
Vellum, 179 leaves, 18.8 x 13.2 cm, trimmed at upper edge. Text area 9.9 x 6.8 cm, one column, thirteen/fourteen lines except in calendar (sixteen). Latin text in textura. Sixteen half-page miniatures. Renaissance brown calf, richly tooled with gold in the manner of Lyons; in the middle of each cover is a small gilt relief of a young man crowned (possibly early fourteenth century); second half of sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 4; 83.ML.100
PROVENANCE: Patroness depicted on fol. 105, her coat of arms unidentified; K. Arnhold; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

54. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Illuminated by the atelier of the Boucicaut Master and a follower of the Egerton Master
Paris, circa 1410
Vellum, 197 leaves and four flyleaves, 19 x 14 cm. Text area 10.3 x 6.5 cm, one column, fifteen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Twenty-four illuminated calendar pages; forty-six half-page miniatures; illuminated borders with marginal figures on every page. Red morocco, elaborately gold-tooled with inlaid borders and central ornaments; English, late eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 5; 83.ML.101
PROVENANCE: Lord Clifford of Chudleigh; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

55. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
Paris, circa 1440–1450
Vellum, 225 leaves, 23.5 x 16 cm. Text area 10 x 6.9 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Thirty-six roundels and bas-de-pages in calendar; eighteen half-page miniatures; forty-four smaller miniatures. Old red velvet cover; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig IX 6; 83.ML.102
PROVENANCE: Baron Lajos Hatvany; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

56. BOOK OF HOURS
(Llangattock Hours)
Use of Rome
Bruges or Ghent, circa 1450–1460
Vellum, 169 leaves, 26.4 x 18.4 cm. Text area 12.7 x 8.2 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Latin text in textura. Fourteen full-page miniatures; thirteen historiated initials; numerous large illuminated initials. Original brown calf over wooden covers, richly tooled in a manner typical of fifteenth-century Flemish bindings; gilt silver clasps with mounts for large stones, now filled with glass; signed by Lievin Stuvaert, Ghent, circa 1450, on the inside front cover.
Ms. Ludwig IX 7; 83.ML.103
PROVENANCE: Folpart van Amerongen and Geertruy van Themseke; Second Baron Llangattock; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
Manuscripts 293


57. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Sarum
Illuminated by Willem Vrelant
Bruges, circa 1460
Vellum, 265 leaves, 25.5 x 17.2 cm, trimmed. Text area, circa 13.3 x 7.6 cm, one column, twenty lines. Latin text in textura. Forty-seven large and thirty smaller miniatures. Purple velvet; silver clasps with filigree; eight corner pieces; gold edges; early nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 8; 83.ML.104
PROVENANCE: Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels; Otto Schafer, Schweinfurt; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

58. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Northern Netherlands, circa 1440–1450
Vellum, 203 leaves, 17.2 x 12.2 cm. Text area 8.8 x 5.5 cm, one column, sixteen lines. Dutch text in textura. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; five full-page miniatures; twenty-three historiated initials with illuminated borders. Brown calf with plate stamp and other blind-tooled decoration; brass clasps engraved with relief decoration; fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 9; 83.ML.105
PROVENANCE: Ferdinand van Spoolberch; Carolus a Spoolberch; Mary A. Holland, Holland House; given to Edward Cheney, 1861; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

59. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Utrecht, circa 1460
Vellum, 314 leaves, 16.3 x 11.7 cm. Text area 9.5 x 6.5 cm, one column, fourteen lines. Dutch text in textura. One full-page miniature; five historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials. Brown calf over wooden boards with faint pattern of diagonals, probably sixteenth century; two decorative silver clasps, circa 1700; corner and center pieces lost.
Ms. Ludwig IX 10; 83.ML.106
PROVENANCE: Jacques of Luxembourg; Ralph Esmerian, New York; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

60. BOOK OF HOURS (Hours of Jacques of Luxembourg)
Use of Poitiers
France, circa 1466–1470
Vellum, 140 leaves, 16.4 x 11.5 cm. Text area 8.1 x 5.8 cm, one column, thirteen lines, calendar seventeen lines. Latin and French texts in textura. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; twenty-seven half-page miniatures; numerous illuminated borders. Red velvet over wooden boards; gilt edges with stamped patterns; nineteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 11; 83.ML.107

61. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Rome
Catalonia, circa 1440
Vellum, 361 leaves, 17.1 x 12 cm. Text area 8.1 x 5.6 cm, one column, fourteen lines, calendar eighteen lines. Latin text in Gothic rotunda with a prayer in Catalan. Twelve illuminated calendar pages; forty-four full-page miniatures; numerous large and small illuminated initials. Brown calf, elaborately tooled and stamped with gold; brass clasps with restored leather bands; Spanish, sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 12; 83.ML.108
PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

62. BOOK OF HOURS
(Gualenghi-d’Este Hours)
Use of Rome
Illuminated by Taddeo Crivelli, Guglielmo Giraldi, and others
Ferrara, circa 1470
Vellum, 211 leaves, 10.8 x 7.9 cm. Text area 6.4 x 3.6 cm, one column, fourteen/fifteen lines. Latin text in textura. Twenty-one full-page miniatures with decorative borders; four historiated initials; numerous illuminated initials and borders. Dark red morocco over wooden boards; gold-tooled frame on outer edge with intertwined vines; gilt lettering on green field on spine.
Ms. Ludwig IX 13; 83.ML.109

57 (fols. 3v–4)
63. DIURNAL
Use of Passau
Probably workshop of Ulrich Schreier Austria, circa 1485
Vellum, 302 leaves, 17.6 x 13.1 cm. Text area 12.1 x 9 cm, one column, thirty-three or twenty-two lines. Latin text in textura. One historiated initial with illuminated border; thirteen large illuminated initials with illuminated borders. Brown calf with blind-tooled knotwork; four engraved, open-worked, silivered, brass corner pieces, plus one similar ornamental piece in the center of front and back covers; clasps of leather and engraved, silivered brass.
Ms. Ludwig IX 14; 83.ML.110
PROVENANCE: Pretterschnegger family (?) coat of arms throughout manuscript; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

64. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Paris
France, probably Rouen, circa 1500
Vellum, 170 leaves, 16 x 10.8 cm. Text area 8.6 x 5.2 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in textura with several prayers in French. Twelve zodiacal signs and twelve other scenes in the calendar; fifteen half-page and sixteen smaller miniatures; illuminated borders on every page. Modern brown leather with older front and back covers in dark brown morocco, gold-tooled in geometric, Fanfare style; Paris, late sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 15; 83.ML.111
PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

65. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem
Strasbourg, beginning of sixteenth century
Vellum, 239 leaves, 13.5 x 10.5 cm, slightly trimmed. Text area 8 x 6.6 cm, one column, twenty-twenty-one lines. Latin text in rotunde. Twelve small calendar miniatures, each with an occupation of the month and zodiacal sign; nineteen full-page miniatures with floral borders and smaller miniatures in calendar. Crimson morocco blind-tooled, with gold-gilt edges; signed by the German binder G. Trautz–Bauzonnet (1808–1879), Paris.
Ms. Ludwig IX 16; 83.ML.112
PROVENANCE: Pretterschnegger family (?) coat of arms throughout manuscript; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

66. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Utrecht
Written in Cologne; probably illuminated in Ghent, circa 1500
Vellum, 141 leaves, 15.3 x 11.2 cm. Text area 8.7 x 6.1 cm, one column, eighteen lines. Text in Cologne dialect in textura. Twenty-four illuminated calendar pages; four full-page miniatures; nine historiated initials; one large illuminated initial with border; numerous illuminated initials. Modern white vellum; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig IX 17; 83.ML.113
PROVENANCE: Von Außem family, Cologne (?); William Tite, acquired in 1866; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 2, 244–255.

67. BOOK OF HOURS (Spinola Hours)
Use of Rome
Probably Ghent or Malines, circa 1515
Vellum, 312 leaves, 23.2 x 16.6 cm. Text area 10.9 x 7.4 cm, one column, seventeen lines. Latin text in rotunda. Thirty-nine large miniatures, either full-page or with historiated borders, thirty-two large miniatures with decorated borders; twelve calendar miniatures; one full historiated border. Red morocco with gold-tooled arms of the Spinola family; gilt edges; Genoa, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 18; 83.ML.114
PROVENANCE: Possibly Margaret of Austria; Spinola family, Genoa, eighteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

68. PRAYER BOOK OF CARDINAL ALBRECHT OF BRANDENBERG
Illuminated by Simon Bening Bruges, circa 1525–1530
Vellum, 337 leaves, 16.8–14 x 11.5–9.6 cm. Text area 10.1 x 6.3 cm, one column, nineteen lines. German text in rotunda. Forty-two full-page miniatures; forty-two, mostly historiated, borders. Red velvet on wooden boards, nineteenth century; with richly chased and silver-gilt
68 (fol. 123v)

Mounts and clasps, possibly original, early sixteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 19; 83.ML.115

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, his coat of arms appears on fol. 1; probably Archbishop of Mainz; presumably acquired by Elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn, founder of the Schönborn'schen Bibliothek, Schloss Gaibach, Pommersfelden; Anselm Rothschild, Vienna; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


69. BOOK OF HOURS
Use of Rome
Paris, 1544
Uterine vellum, 106 leaves, 14.3 x 8.1 cm. Text area 11.4 x 5.5 cm, one column, twenty-four lines. Latin text in small humanistic rotunda. Thirteen full-page miniatures; each page with a rectangular gold border with masks. Dark red morocco over thin wooden boards, gold–tooled in delicate filigree; outer silver corner pieces and two silver clasps, all with floral pieces; Paris, seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 20; 83.ML.116

PROVENANCE: A member of the Bourbon household; Crewe Hall; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


70. LE SETTE ALLEGREZZE DELLA GRAN MADRE DI DIO MARIA
Illuminated by Luigi di Lavende Paris or Brussels, seventeenth century
Vellum, twenty-one leaves, 10.9 x 8.1 cm, trimmed. Text area 7.3 x 4.5 cm, one column, eight to fourteen lines. Latin and Italian texts in calligraphic Roman rotunda. Title page with letters in gold; seven full-page miniatures in vertical ovals; pairs of tiny landscapes in remaining pages; black borders with gold ornament on every page. Vellum, covered with a thin rose varnish, over paper boards; spine with elaborate blind-tooled ornament, torn; narrow iron clasps extending the width of the covers; gilt edges; third quarter of seventeenth century.
Ms. Ludwig IX 21; 83.ML.117

PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.


ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS

71. LEAVES FROM A KORAN
Syria or Tunisia, first quarter of tenth century
Vellum, ten leaves (unbound), 14.5 x 20.5 cm. Text area 9.5 x 14.5 cm, one column, five lines. Arabic text in Middle Kufi script. Two illuminated pages.
Ms. Ludwig X 1; 83.MM.118

PROVENANCE: Sultan Mahmud II(?), nineteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

72. MUHAMMAD IBN ABI BAKR IBN SULAIMAN AL-GAZULI, 
Illuminated by Dala'il al-hairat 
Persia, possibly Isfahan, dated 1728 
Oriental paper, twenty-four leaves 
(unbound), mostly single leaves, some 
folios, 23.2 x 15 cm. 

4.2 Grossbrittanien und bland, 
Text area 20.5 x 12 cm, one column, 
thirty-five lines. Latin text in delicate 
Romanesque minuscule. Four large 
initials; four large drawings of Saint 
Gregory, Saint Benedictus of Nursia, 
Saint Paulinus of Nola, and the Virgin 
and Child. Brown calf spine with gold 
tooling; eighteenth century. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 4; 83.MN.123 
PROVENANCE: Possibly Bernardo Bembo; C. H. 
Monte Cassino Abbey, 1807; Thomas Thorpe; 
Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 7328); Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

76. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, 
Dialogon libri quattuor 
Probably central Italy, first half 
of twelfth century 
Vellum, 130 leaves, 26 x 19 cm. 
Text area 22.3 x 13 cm, one column, 
twenty-eight lines. Latin text in 
Romanesque minuscule. Four large 
initials; four large drawings of Saint 
Gregory, Saint Benedictus of Nursia, 
Saint Paulinus of Nola, and the Virgin 
and Child. Brown calf spine with gold 
tooling; eighteenth century. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 4; 83.MN.123 
PROVENANCE: Saint Magnus Monastery, Fonden; 
Monte Cassino Abbey, 1807; Thomas Thorpe; 
Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 7328); Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

77. ALDHELM OF MALMESBURY, 
a leaf from De virginitate 
Probably Canterbury or Worcester, 
beginning of ninth century 
Vellum, one bifolio, 17.8 x 13.2 cm, 
cut. Text area 14 x 10 cm, one column, 
twenty-two lines. Latin text in Anglo-
Saxon minuscule with commentary in 
Old English from second half of tenth 
century. No decoration. Brown 
morocco with gold-tooling; signed by 
C. C. MacLeish. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 5; 83.MN.124 
COMMENTARY: Other leaves from this 
manuscript are in the Beinecke Library, 
Yale University, Ms. 401 and 401a; 
Cambridge, University Library, Add. Ms. 
3330; and Bodleian Library, Oxford 
University, Ms. Lat. th. d. 24 and Don. f. 
481; Free Library, Philadelphia, John 
Frederick Lewis Collection; and British 
Library, London, Add. Ms. 50483K. 
PROVENANCE: James Tregaskis, London; Wilfred 
Merton, Slindon, 1921; Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

Theology

73. LUCIUS CAECILIUS FIRMIANUS 
LACTANTIUS, Divinae institutiones, De 
ira Dei, De opificio, and Carmen de ave 
Phoenice 
Florence, circa 1460 
Vellum, 225 leaves, 32.9 x 22 cm. 

6. PROVENANCE: Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; I. 
Heard, 1815; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 137); A. 
Chester Beatty, Dublin; E. Rosenthal, 1933; W. 
Schab; Thomas E. Marston, 1958; Peter and 
Irene Ludwig. 

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. de Bure, Catalogue des livres 
rares et précieux de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le 
Comte de MacCarthy Reagh (Paris, 1815), no. 511; 
Catalogus Librorum 2; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 
47–51. 
4.2 Grossbrittanien und bland, 
Text area 20.5 x 12 cm, one column, 
thirty-five lines. Latin text in delicate 
Romanesque minuscule. Four large 
initials; four large drawings of Saint 
Gregory, Saint Benedictus of Nursia, 
Saint Paulinus of Nola, and the Virgin 
and Child. Brown calf spine with gold 
tooling; eighteenth century. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 4; 83.MN.123 
PROVENANCE: Possibly Bernardo Bembo; C. H. 
Monte Cassino Abbey, 1807; Thomas Thorpe; 
Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 7328); Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

76. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, 
Dialogon libri quattuor 
Probably central Italy, first half 
of twelfth century 
Vellum, 130 leaves, 26 x 19 cm. 
Text area 22.3 x 13 cm, one column, 
twenty-eight lines. Latin text in 
Romanesque minuscule. Four large 
initials; four large drawings of Saint 
Gregory, Saint Benedictus of Nursia, 
Saint Paulinus of Nola, and the Virgin 
and Child. Brown calf spine with gold 
tooling; eighteenth century. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 4; 83.MN.123 
PROVENANCE: Saint Magnus Monastery, Fonden; 
Monte Cassino Abbey, 1807; Thomas Thorpe; 
Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 7328); Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

77. ALDHELM OF MALMESBURY, 
a leaf from De virginitate 
Probably Canterbury or Worcester, 
beginning of ninth century 
Vellum, one bifolio, 17.8 x 13.2 cm, 
cut. Text area 14 x 10 cm, one column, 
twenty-two lines. Latin text in Anglo-
Saxon minuscule with commentary in 
Old English from second half of tenth 
century. No decoration. Brown 
morocco with gold-tooling; signed by 
C. C. MacLeish. 
Ms. Ludwig XI 5; 83.MN.124 
COMMENTARY: Other leaves from this 
manuscript are in the Beinecke Library, 
Yale University, Ms. 401 and 401a; 
Cambridge, University Library, Add. Ms. 
3330; and Bodleian Library, Oxford 
University, Ms. Lat. th. d. 24 and Don. f. 
481; Free Library, Philadelphia, John 
Frederick Lewis Collection; and British 
Library, London, Add. Ms. 50483K. 
PROVENANCE: James Tregaskis, London; Wilfred 
Merton, Slindon, 1921; Peter and Irene Ludwig. 

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. A. Lowe, “Membra disiecta,” 
Revue Benedictine 39 (1927), 191–192; R. L. 
Collins, Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Manuscripts in 
America (New York, 1976), 33–35; Plotzek and 
on Eadmer of Canterbury, 
De vita et conversatione Anselmi 
Cantuariensis 
Abby of Saint-Martin, Tournai, circa
1140–1150
Vellum, ninety-six leaves, 18 x 11 cm.
Text area 12.5 x 7 cm, one column,
twenty-two lines. Latin text in
Carolingian minuscule of the twelfth
century. Two full-page miniatures and
three large illuminated initials. Old
brown calf over wooden boards; old
rebacking; bosses removed; modern
leather clasp.
Ms. Ludwig XI 6; 82.MN.125
PROVENANCE: Abbey of Saint-Martin, Tournai;
Count Guillaume de Hemricourt de Grunne,
Brussels; Peter and Irene Ludwig.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Philibert Schmitz, “Un
manuscrit retrouvé de la ‘Vita Anselmi’ par
Eadmer,” Revue Bénédictine 40 (1928), 225–234;
A. Boutemy, “Les miniatures de la Vita Anselmi
de Saint-Martin de Tournai,” Revue Belge
d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art 13 (1943), 117–
122; Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 70–73.

79. LIFE OF SAINT HEDWIG OF SILESIA
(Hedwig Codex)
Court atelier of Duke Ludwig I of
Liegnitz and Brieg
Silesia, 1353
Vellum, 204 leaves, 33.8 x 24.5 cm.
Text area 24.5 x 18 cm, two columns,
twenty-four lines. Latin text in
textura. One full-page miniature (25 x
17.5 cm); sixty-four half-page
miniatures; one double-page
genealogical table. Original red-stained
pigskin over wooden boards; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XI 7; 83.MN.126
PROVENANCE: Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and
Brieg; cathedral of Saint Hedwig, Brieg, circa
1398, given by J. Breuner to Duke Christian of Brieg, 1630; Franz Gottfried von Troilo, Lasoth; Duke Julius Heinrich of Saxe-Lauenburg, Schlackenwerth, near Karlsbad, middle seventeenth century; by descent to Maria Benigna, wife of Ottavio Piccolomini; Piarist monastery, Schlackenwerth, 1701; Stadtbibliothek Schlackenwerth, 1876; Rudolf Ritter von Guttman, Vienna; confiscated from him in 1938 and placed in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ser. nov. 2741; returned to Guttman, 1947, with him in Royal Oak, Canada, until 1964; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 74–81.

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80. **INVENTIO N ET TRANSLATION DU CORPS DE SAINT ANTOINE**

Probably Bruges or Ghent, circa 1460–1470

Vellum, fifty-six leaves, 24.5 x 17.3 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-two lines. French text in *batarde*. Two half-page miniatures; eight smaller miniatures; nineteen historiated initials. Saffron-colored doekskin; two leather ties removed; gilt edged; possibly eighteenth century.

*Ms. Ludwig XI 8; 83.MN.127*

**PROVENANCE:** Peter and Irene Ludwig.


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81. **LE MIROIR DE HUMAINE SALVATION**

French translation of *Speculum humanae salvationis*

France or Netherlands, circa 1450–1460

Vellum, ninety-five leaves, 31 x 22 cm. Text area (including miniatures) 22 x 13.5–14.5 cm, two columns, twenty-four lines. French text in *batarde*. One hundred ninety half-page miniatures; numerous illuminated initials. White morocco with blind-ruled borders; by Anthony Gardner, Chiddingfold, 1555.

*Ms. Ludwig XI 9; 83.MN.128*

**PROVENANCE:** Henri Batault, 1861; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

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**PHILOSOPHY**

84. **ARITHMETIC TABLE**

Probably northern Italy, first half of fourteenth century

Wood, 30 x 24 cm (D: 2.5 cm). Modern green box.

*Ludwig Instrumenta 1; 83.MI.143*

**PROVENANCE:** A. Figdor, Vienna; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


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85. **MISCELLANY**

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Institutiones II*, and Saint Augustine, *Excerpts*

Probably Abbey of Saint-Germain, Auxerre, third quarter of ninth century

Vellum, 109 leaves, 24.5 x 18 cm. Text area 19.5 x 13 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Latin and Greek texts in Carolingian minuscule. Many diagrams in text. Brown calf with gold tooling.

*Ms. Ludwig XII 1; 83.MO.130*

**PROVENANCE:** (?) Jean du Bellay; Bishop of Poitiers, fifteenth century; private collection, Paris, twentieth century; Henri Schiller, 1951; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


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86. **ISIDOR OF SEVILLE, Etymologiae**

Probably Spain, middle of thirteenth century

Vellum, 129 leaves, 30 x 20 cm. Text area (outer, double ruled) 29 x 17 cm. Text area (text) 22 x 14 cm, two columns, forty-six lines. Latin text in Gothic script. Original brown calf binding with blind-stamping; rebacked and upper corners restored; remains of a single brass fore-edge clasp; paper label on front corner printed with 2; brown calf fragment removed from spine, possibly original.

*83.MN.191; Ludwig XI 11 (not in catalogue)*

**PROVENANCE:** Library of the Collegiate Church of Saint John the Baptist, Aachen; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

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**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 82 (fol. 2)
87. **VENERABLE BEDE, Computus, Kalendarium, De natura rerum, De temporiuis, De temporum ratione** with commentary and scholium, *Abbrebiatio Chronicarum, Annales Landunenses, Annales Trevirescenti*

Laon, shortly after 876; Trier, ninth and tenth centuries

Vellum, ninety-seven leaves, 26 x 22.5 cm. Text area 21.2 x 17 cm, one column, forty-three to thirty-four lines. Latin text in Carolingian minuscule. Calendar tables, diagrams, drawings, and map. Possibly the original oak boards with pigskin cover; blind-stamping, dated 1750 on the front cover.

Ms. Ludwig XII 3; 83.MO.132

**PROVENANCE:** Probably Manno (b. 843). Laon and subsequently Trier; Abbey of Saint Maximin; Trier; Joseph Gorres, Koblenz, by 1805, until 1902; Thomas Freiherr von Cramen-Klett, Hohenschau; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


88. **AMBROSII THEODONUS MACROBIUS, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis**

Southern Germany, second half of tenth century

Vellum, thirty-two leaves, 26.5 x 19.5 cm. Text area 22.5 x 14 cm, one column, thirty-seven lines. Latin and some Greek in Carolingian minuscule. Nine diagrams. Brown calf cover with blind-stamping; eighteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XII 4; 83.MO.133

**PROVENANCE:** Hans Albrecht von Derithau, Nuremberg; Thomas Philippi (Ms. 1287); Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Catalogus Librorum, 213; Monumenta Cartographica Vetustioris Aevi*, Nuremberg; Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 12 145); Robert B. Honeyman, Devonshire, nineteenth century; Thomas Philippi (Ms. 12 145); Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., San Juan Capistrano, California, 1955; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


90. **MISCELLANY**


Part 2: *Summa Dictaminis*, after Bernardus Magdunensis France, second half of thirteenth century

Vellum, 133 leaves, 18 x 11.7 cm. Text area of part 1, 13 x 8 cm, of part 2, 15 x 8.5 cm; one column, thirty-one/thirty-two lines. Latin text in Carolingian and early Gothic minuscule. Four diagrams; numerous tables. Brown leather, blind-tooling and stamped; four bosses and two clasps of leather and brass lost; probably French, second half of fourteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XII 6; 83.MO.135

**PROVENANCE:** Piloseti(?), fifteenth century; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Plotzek and von Euw, vol. 3, 170-175.

91. **COLLECTION OF ASTRONOMICAL AND RELATED TREATISES**

Ptolemaic constellation cycles and calendar; Nicholas of Lynn, *Tabulae astronomicae* and *Canones super kalendarium*; William Reade, *Tabulae mediatorum motuum planetarum A.O.*

England, probably Oxford or Worcester, late fourteenth century

Vellum, eighty leaves, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Text area 16-15.5 x 10.5-11 cm, one and two columns, thirty-five/thirty-six lines. Latin text in textura and bitorde. Forty-six pen and ink drawings of constellations; numerous tables, charts, and diagrams in pen and ink. Black morocco with simple gold-tooled border; by Katherine Adams, 1920.

Ms. Ludwig XII 7; 83.MO.136

**PROVENANCE:** Probably a member of Merton College, Oxford University;(? Radulphus Moulde and Thomas Gloucester, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Sydney C. Cockrell; Mrs. Schilling; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

92. MISCELLANY
Beschreibung des Menschen und Liber synonymon; Planeten—und Planeten Kinder, Tierkreis und Kometen; Namenmanik und Geomantie

Ulm, third quarter of fifteenth century

Paper, 184 leaves, 30 x 21.5 cm. Text area 23.2 x 15.5 cm, one or two columns, thirty or thirty-nine/fourty lines. German text in blätte. Seven half-page drawings in pen and watercolor; numerous other drawings in pen and watercolor; many tables in pen. Original pigskin cover, with tooled flowers and leafed rosettes, acorns, lilies, and banderoles with the inscription: maria.

Ms. Ludwig XII 8; 83.MO.137

PROVENANCE: Probably Anton Scherman, Ulm, seventeenth century; Ulm Cathedral, where Scherman’s library was kept, nineteenth century; Stadtbibliothek, Ulm; again Ulm Cathedral, 1903; Dr. Eitel Albrecht Schad von Mittelbiberach, administrator of the Schermar Foundation, Gauting, 1959; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


93. JOHANNES REGIOMONTANUS,
Kalendarium und Almanach

Probably Austria, circa 1475–1485

Paper, 377 leaves, 16.2 x 12 cm. Text and table text area 12–13 x 8.5–9 cm, one or several columns, thirty-five lines. Latin text in blätte. Astronomical tables. Original brown leather, blind-ruled and blind-stamped; restored on spine; engraved brass and leather clasps.

Ms. Ludwig XII 9; 83.MO.138

PROVENANCE: Count Gabor von Festetics de Tolna, Keszthely, Lake Balaton, nineteenth century; Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


94. THEORICA PLANETARUM
Volvelles and diagrams of the calculation of the movements of the planets, based upon the Almagest of Ptolemy

Italy, last quarter of the sixteenth century

Paper, thirty-three leaves, 40 x 29 cm. Latin titles and diagram captions in humanist cursive. Volvelles and full-page diagrams in pen and ink on every other page. Original parchment cover.

Ms. Ludwig XII 10; 83.MO.139

PROVENANCE: M. Giovanelli(?), nineteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


95. JOHANNES BALBUS IANUENSIS,
Catholicon

Written by Heinrich Lengfelt

Augsburg, completed 1458

Vellum, 326 leaves, 53 x 36 cm. Text area 41 x 26.5 cm, two columns, sixty-eight lines. Latin text in Gothic-antiqua; one historiated initial; several other large and smaller illuminated initials. Original calf, blind-stamped in a panel pattern.

Ms. Ludwig XII 11; 83.MO.140

PROVENANCE: The Augustinian monastery of Heiligen Kreuz (Creutzherren), Augsburg, circa 1783; Albert National, Geneva; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


96. TRAICTE DE ALKIMIE

Paris, circa 1539

Vellum, eighty-six leaves, 19.5 x 12.3 cm. Text area 13.7 x 7.2 cm, one column, fourteen lines. French text in humanist book hand. Half-page illuminated coat of arms. Original brown leather; blind-tooling; four brass and leather clasps.

Ms. Ludwig XII 12; 83.MO.141

PROVENANCE: Anne de Montmorency, sixteent h century; Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; L. Wilmerding; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


97. VICTOR MELIAND,
Conclusions ex philosophia universa

Written by Nicolas Jarre; illuminated by Nicolas Robert; with appended printed edition containing etchings after Robert by Pierre Daret

Paris, 1647

Vellum, twenty leaves, 46.5 x 34.3 cm. Text area (with frames) 35.5 x 24.7, (without frames) 25.3 x 16.3 cm, one column, mostly thirty lines. Latin text in humanist minuscule. Illuminated title page over full-page miniature; twelve pages with full illuminated borders; one full-page painting of a crown imperial flower. Fifteen pages of etchings after the illuminated originals. Green morocco with gold-tooling; gilt edge; by Nicolas-Denis Derôme the Younger, eighteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XII 13; 83.MO.142

PROVENANCE: Armand de Bourbon, seventeenth century; Justin de MacCarthy-Reagh; L. Wilmerding; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


98. PETRUS COMESTOR, Historia scholastica

Austria, circa 1300

Vellum, 346 leaves, 34.2 x 24.4 cm. Text area 24.5 x 16 cm, two columns, thirty-eight lines. Latin text in textura. Sixteen historiated initials; two large illuminated initials with dragon figures. White pigskin with blind-tooling; four brass and leather clasps and corner fittings; eighteenth century.
99. BROTHER PHILIPP, A leaf from the Life of the Virgin  
Bavaria, circa 1330-1350  
Vellum, 32.5 x 22 cm. Text area 23.5 x 15.5 cm, two columns, forty-one lines.  
Middle High German text in textura. One illuminated bas-de-page. Matted; modern red morocco case.  
Ms. Ludwig XIII 2; 83.MP.145  
PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Lannoy, Picardy; Antoine de Lannoy, sixteenth century; Charles the Bold; Library of Burgundy; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Peter and Irene Ludwig.  

100. HISTOIRE ANCIENNE JUSQU’À CESAR  
Paris, circa 1400  
Vellum, six leaves with original red foliation on the upper edges of recto and verso, 38 x 29.5 cm. Text area 25 x 19 cm, two columns, forty-two lines. French text in bâtard. Nine miniatures. Matted.  
Ms. Ludwig XIII 3; 83.MP.146  
PROVENANCE: Antoine Morin, Paris, eighteenth century; Charles Gillet, Lyons; Peter and Irene Ludwig.  

101. CHRONIQUE DE NORMANDIE  
Paris, circa 1400-1415  
Vellum, 144 leaves, 29 x 19 cm. Text area 19.2 x 12.8 cm, two columns, thirty-three to thirty-five lines. French text in bâtard. Illuminated title page; one two-column miniature; eleven smaller grisaille miniatures (one-column wide); six large initials; later frontispiece with arms of Claude de Lorraine, Duc d’Aumale. Brown morocco; blind-tooling in the style of the fifteenth century with lilies and tendril borders; by Francis Bedford (1799-1883), London.  
Ms. Ludwig XIII 6; 83.MP.149  
PROVENANCE: Commissioned by David de Rambures; Thomas Meredyth; Claude de Lorraine, Duc d’Aumale, sixteenth century; Thomas Jones of Haedof, early nineteenth century; fourth Duke of Newcastle; Earl of Lincoln; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.  

102. VINCENT DE BEAUVIUS,  
Miror historial (Volume One)  
French translation of Speculum historiale by Jean de Vignay  
Ghent, circa 1475  
Vellum, vol. 1: 191 leaves, vol. 2: 232 leaves, both 43.8 x 30.5 cm. Text area 29 x 20 cm, two columns, forty-two lines. French text in bâtard. Many large miniatures (two-columns wide); numerous smaller miniatures (one-column wide). Brown morocco with partially gilt blind-tooling; by Francis Bedford (1799-1883), London.  
Ms. Ludwig XIII 5; 83.MP.148  
PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Lannoy, Picardy; Antoine de Lannoy, sixteenth century; Jean de Lannoy and heirs; William Horatio Murray, 1891; C. W. Dyson Perrins, 1906; Peter and Irene Ludwig.  

103. HISTOIRE DE CHARLES MARTEL  
Compiled and written by David Aubert in Brussels, 1463-1465; illuminated in Bruges by Pol Fruit and Loyset Liédet, 1470-1472  
Vellum, fifteen leaves, all cut down, originally 41.3 x 29.5 cm, now mostly 23.5 x 19.5 cm. Original text area 26.4-26.7 x 17-17.4 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. French text in bâtard. Fifteen half-page miniatures. Matted.  
Ms. Ludwig XIII 6; 83.MP.149  
PROVENANCE: Possibly King Edward IV of England and possibly in the Royal Library, Richmond Palace, sixteenth century; James de Rothschild; Edmond de Rothschild; Alexandre de Rothschild; Peter and Irene Ludwig.  
104. MATTHIAS VON KEMNAT, Chronik Friedrichs I
Heidelberg, circa 1475–1576
Paper, ninety-eight leaves, 32.5 x 21.5 cm. Text area 24–27 x 14.5–15 cm, one column, forty-seven to fifty-one lines. Latin and German texts in prose and verse, in batard and humanist cursive. Numerous pen and ink diagrams. Original red sheepskin over wooden boards; stamped and with polished blind lines; four corner pieces with bosses; squared rosette in center with boss; brass and metal clasps; by the Augsburg court binder Albertus, active circa 1465–1482.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 9; 83.MP.152
PROVENANCE: Franz Melchior, Graf von Wiser, seventeenth century; Ferdinand Andreas, Graf von Wiser; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

107. GENEALOGY, WITH PORTRAITS OF THE REGENTS OF BAVARIA, GUELPH, AND WITTELSBACH
(Incomplete)
Probably Munich, second half of sixteenth century
Paper, twenty-four single leaves, 20.5 x 15.5 cm. Twenty-eight portraits in pen, ink, and colored washes; ten portraits in pen and ink. Old parchment cover over paper boards.
Ms. Ludwig XIII 10; 83.MP.153

110. HISTORIA HENEICRIGICO-COBURGICA
Genealogy with official portraits of the Counts of Henneberg Thuringia, first half of eighteenth century
Paper, 133 leaves, 35 x 21 cm. Text
area 24.5 x 16 cm, one column, twenty-eight to thirty-one lines. Latin and German texts in humanist cursive and German cursive. Thirty-seven full-page drawings in wash and ink; one etching. Patterned paper with pigskin spine.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 13; 83.MP.156

PROVENANCE: Johann August Vackerodt of Frauenfels, 1774; Princes of Liechtenstein; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


111. PETRUS ROSELLI, portolan map

Majorca, 1469

Vellum, one leaf, 111 x 66 cm. Colored inks; Latin headings in humanist minuscule. Wooden case.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 14; 83.MP.157

PROVENANCE: Harrison D. Horblit; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


112. PORTOLAN ATLAS

Workshop of Battista Agnese

Venice, circa 1536-1538

Vellum, seven bifolia pasted together back-to-back, 40 x 56 cm; borders of the map 38 x 55 cm. Various inks and pigments, place names in Latin, Spanish, and Italian in humanist minuscule. Brown morocco, polished blind-rulled and gold-tooled borders; Venice, before 1541.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 15; 83.MP.158

PROVENANCE: Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre; Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, sixteenth century; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


113. MARTIN DE MURUJA, Historia general del Perù

La Plata, circa 1611-1613

Paper, 397 leaves, 29 x 20 cm. Text area 25.5 x 15.5 cm, one column, thirty-one to thirty-five lines. Spanish text in humanist cursive. Many full-page drawings in pen and wash. Red, gold, and black, tooled morocco; by Winstanley and Robotti, 1961.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 16; 83.MP.159

PROVENANCE: Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, University of Salamanca; King Carlos IV of Spain; Joseph Bonaparte; Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington; the Dukes of Wellington, Stratfield Saye, until 1979; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


114. CERTIFICATES OF NOBILITY GRANTED BY KING CARLOS IV OF SPAIN

Charters in booklet form with seal Madrid or Escorial, 1792

Vellum, seven leaves, 31 x 20.5 cm. Text area (outer frame) 22.2 x 14.5 cm and (inner frame) 18.2 x 10.8 cm, one column, twenty-one lines. Spanish text in Roman rotunda. Illuminated title page; three large illuminated initials. Red morocco, gold-tooled garland borders; red seal in a round silver box attached to a red cord.

Ms. Ludwig XIII 17; 83.MP.160

PROVENANCE: Marie Therese de Bourbon, niece of King Carlos IV; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


115. GLOBE

Jodocus Hondius, Amsterdam, and Johann Baptist Vriendt, Antwerp

Amsterdam, 1601

Paper on wood, hollow, Diam: 21 cm. Topographical headings in Latin and Spanish. Engraved and painted. Ludwig Instrumenta 2; 83.MT.161


116. CANONES CONCILIIUM ET DECRETA PONTIFICUM

Italy, last third of eight century

Vellum, ninety-four leaves, 22 x 17 cm. Text area 16.5 x 13 cm or 17.5 x 13.5 cm, one column, twenty-four/twenty-five or nineteen/twenty lines. Latin text in pre-Carolingian half-uncials with additions in Roman cursive. Some initials in brown ink, modeled in green. Brown morocco, gold-tooled, by Lortic.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 1; 83.MQ.162

PROVENANCE: Thomas Phillippi; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


117. GRATIAN, Concordia discordantium canonum (Decretum Gratiani)

Benedictine abbey of Saint-Colombeles-Sens, France, circa 1180

Vellum, 239 leaves, 44 x 29 cm. Text area 27.5 x 15.5 or 30 x 27 cm, two columns plus glosses, fifty-nine/sixty lines. Latin text in textura. Two full-page miniatures; numerous historiated initials; other illuminated initials. Leather with blind-stamping, rebacked and corners repaired; sixteenth century.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 2; 83.MQ.163

PROVENANCE: Antoine Lacombe; C. W. Dyson Perrins; Peter and Irene Ludwig.


118. GRATIAN, Concordia discordantium canonum (Decretum Gratiani)

Bologna, beginning of fourteenth century

Vellum, 369 leaves, 41.5 x 28 cm. Text area 25 x 14.5 or 39.5 x 25 cm, two columns plus glosses, fifty to one hundred lines. Latin text in littera antiqua. Thirty-six small miniatures, one-column wide. Brown calf, blind-rulled in a diaper pattern; rebacked.

Ms. Ludwig XIV 3; 83.MQ.164

PROVENANCE: Petrus Boyre, 1339; Johannes de Paca de Sicilia; Austrian imperial family; Joel Spitz, Glencoe, Illinois; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

119. **VIDAL DE CANELLAS**, *In excelsis Dei thesaurus* (Vidal Mayor)
Barcelona, circa 1260–1280
Vellum, 277 leaves, 36.5 x 24 cm. Text area 22.5 x 15–16.5 cm, two columns, thirty-three lines. Latin and Spanish texts in textura. Ten large historiated initials; numerous smaller historiated initials; hundreds of smaller illuminated initials. Modern green morocco, gold-tooled; by Riviere.
Ms. Ludwig XIV; 83.MQ.165

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

120. **JOHANNES MONACHUS**
(Jean Le Moine), *Apparatus sexlii libri Decretalium*
France, first half of fourteenth century
Vellum, 108 leaves, 40.7 x 28 cm. Text area 30 x 18 cm, one column, sixty lines. Latin text in a littera Bononicensis resembling textura. Brown morocco, blind-tooled; probably Spanish, fifteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XIV; 83.MQ.166

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

121. **JEREMIAS DE MONTAGNONE**
*Compendium moralium notabilium*
Northern Italy, last third of fourteenth century
Vellum, 281 leaves, 36.8 x 25.6 cm. Text area 23 x 15.5 cm, two columns, thirty-four lines. Latin text in textura. Numerous historiated initials. Red velvet; gilt corner and center pieces; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig XIV; 83.MQ.167

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

122. **BARTOLO DE SASOFERRATO**
*Prima pars Infortiati*
Ferrara, circa 1400
Paper, 190 leaves, 41.5 x 28 cm. Text area 29 x 18 cm, two columns, sixty-five lines. Latin text in textura. One half-page miniature; several historiated initials. Red morocco, gold-tooled; French, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XV; 83.MQ.168

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

123. **MISCELLANY: LEGAL TEXTS**

*Disputados de Aragon* (assembled for Luys Diaz Daux, Señor de Sisamon);
*Actos de Cort*, 1436 (assembled for King Juan of Navarre and Viceroy Alfonso of Aragon);
*Ordinances of Don Dalman* (assembled for the Archbishop of Saragossa)
Aragon, 1505
Vellum, sixty-four leaves, 35 x 25 cm. Text area 23 or 25.5 x 14.5 cm, one column, forty-one lines. Spanish text in textura. One large illuminated initial. Old dark brown morocco with elaborate blind-tooled designs.
Ms. Ludwig XIV; 83.MQ.169

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

124. **JACQUES LEGRAND** (Jacobus Magnus), *Livre de Bonnes Meures*
Avignon, circa 1430
Vellum, eighty-eight leaves, 24.8 x 17.8 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-nine lines. French text in textura. One large illuminated initial. Old dark brown morocco with elaborate blind-tooled designs.
Ms. Ludwig XIV; 83.MQ.170

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

125. **AESOP**, fables and moral-theological writings
Southwestern Germany, circa 1450
Paper, 120 leaves, 28.9 x 21.6 cm. Text area 21.5 x 13.8 cm, one column, thirty to forty-two lines. Latin text in textura. Contains 163 drawings in pen and wash. Pigskin, blind-ruled and stamped; brass bosses and clasp fixtures.
Ms. Ludwig XV; 83.MQ.171

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

126. **BESTIARY AND RELATED TEXTS**

*Physiologus*, and other texts by Athanasios, Johannes Chrysostomos, and Kyrillos of Alexandria
Probably eastern Mediterranean region, circa 1470–1480
Paper, 172 leaves, 21.7 x 15.8 cm. Text area about 16.5 x 11.5 cm, one column, twenty-four to twenty-seven lines. Greek text in archaic minuscule. One full-page drawing; thirty-two smaller drawings; twenty-one schematic figures. Probably original brown calf, blind-tooled.
Ms. Ludwig XV; 83.MQ.172

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

127. **HUGO DE FOUILLOY**, *Aviarium, Tractatus de pastoribus et ovisbus, and Excerpta bestiarii*
Northeastern France, circa 1270
Vellum, 102 leaves, 19.1 x 14.2 cm. Text area 13.5 x 9.4 cm, two columns, twenty-one lines. Latin text in a Gothicizing Carolingian minuscule. One full-page miniature; several half-page miniatures; numerous smaller miniatures (one- and two-columns wide). Brown morocco, gold-tooled; by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig XV; 83.MQ.173

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]

**LITERATURE**

125. **AESOP**, fables and moral-theological writings
Southwestern Germany, circa 1450
Paper, 120 leaves, 28.9 x 21.6 cm. Text area 21.5 x 13.8 cm, one column, thirty to forty-two lines. Latin text in textura. Contains 163 drawings in pen and wash. Pigskin, blind-ruled and stamped; brass bosses and clasp fixtures.
Ms. Ludwig XV; 83.MQ.171

**PROVENANCE**: [description]

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**: [citation]
Northeastern France, circa 1277
Vellum, 203 leaves, 23 x 16.4 cm. Text area 15.5 x 11.2 cm, three columns, forty-eight lines. Latin text in a Gothicizing Carolingian minuscule. Ninety-four miniatures, full-page and smaller. Paneled calf; England, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 4; 83.MR.174
PROVENANCE: Humphrey of Gloucester; Edmundus Lathamus; John Arundell of Trerice; Sion College, London; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

129. ROMAN DU BON CHEVALIER and TRISTAN FILS AU BON ROY MELYADUS DE LEONOIS
Paris, circa 1300
Vellum, 388 leaves, 39 x 30 cm. Text area 31.7 x 21.2 cm, three columns, forty-eight lines. French text in textura. Numerous miniatures; numerous illuminated initials. Tan calf, arms of Roxburghe gold-stamped on cover.
Ms. Ludwig XV 5; 83.MR.175
PROVENANCE: Guyon de Sardièrc; duc de la Vallière; John, Third Duke of Roxburghe; E. V. Uterson; R. Heber; Thomas Phillipps; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

130. HELIE DE BORRON, *Roman du Roy Melyadus de Leenois*
Italy, middle of fourteenth century
Vellum, 288 leaves, 36 x 23.5 cm. Text area 27 x 16.8 cm, two columns, forty-six lines. French text in textura.
Ms. Ludwig XV 6; 83.MR.176
PROVENANCE: John, Third Duke of Roxburghe; Robert Lang, Portland Place, London; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

131. GUILLAUME DE LORRIS and JEAN DE MEUNG, *Roman de la Rose*
Paris, circa 1405
Vellum, 138 leaves, 36.7 x 26 cm. Text area 26 x 16.9 cm, two columns, forty-four lines. French text in textura. One hundred and one miniatures, one-column wide. Red morocco, gold-tooled; France, eighteenth century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 7; 83.MR.177
PROVENANCE: Jean du Rueil; Louis-Jean Gaignat; Charles-Adrien Picard, Paris; Claude-Joseph Clos; William Beckford; Alexander, Tenth Duke of Hamilton; Royal Museum, Berlin; Albert de Naurois; Adolphe Bordes; Jacques Guerin; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

132. QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS, *Historia Alexandri Magni Macedonis*
French translation by Vasco de Lucena
Written by Jean du Quene in Lille, after 1474; illuminated in the workshop of the Master of Margaret of York in Bruges, circa 1475-1480
Vellum, 237 leaves, 43 x 32.5 cm. Text area 25.7 x 20.8 cm, two columns, thirty-two lines. French text in bâtarde. One full-page miniature; ten half-page miniatures; three smaller miniatures (one-column wide). Old red velvet; engraved brass clasps; gilt edges.
Ms. Ludwig XV 8; 83.MR.178
PROVENANCE: Probably Antoine de Croy; Prince Rudolf Kinsky; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

133. RUDOLF VON EMS, *Barkaam und Josapeut*
Workshop of Diebold Lauber
Hagenau, 1469
Paper, 379 leaves, 28.5 x 20.5 cm. Text area 18 x 11 cm, one column, twenty-one to twenty-five lines. German text in bâtarde. One hundred thirty-eight full-page miniatures. Old pigskin, roll-stamped; traces of clasps and brass bosses.
Ms. Ludwig XV 9; 83.MR.179
PROVENANCE: Hans von Falkenstein, Alsace; Martin Bodmer; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

134. TOURNAMENT BOOK AND HERALDIC TEXTS
Jacob Pütterich von Reichenhauten, *Der Ehrenbrief*, and Johann Holand, *Collection of Coats of Arms* Southern Germany, third quarter of the sixteenth century
Tournament book with woodcuts mostly by Jost Amman, Frankfurt, printed in 1578
Paper, fifty leaves, 30.5 x 19.2 cm. Text area and lines variable. German text in calligraphic Renaissance cursive script. Two full-page illustrations; numerous smaller illustrations (mostly half-page); hundreds of coats of arms. Old vellum binding.
Ms. Ludwig XV 10; 83.MR.180
PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

135. J. D. RAMIER.DE RAUDIERE, *Le Triomphe de la Sympathie*
Written by Ramier de Raudrière Aachen, 1780
Paper, eighty-two leaves, 23.3 x 18 cm. Text area 19.8 x 15.2 cm, one column, seventeen lines. French text in calligraphic script. One calligraphic title page. Original morocco, gold-tooled.
Ms. Ludwig XV 11; 83.MR.181
PROVENANCE: Peter and Irene Ludwig.

136. OLIVE SCHREINER, *The Story of a Hunter*
Written by Graily Hewitt; illuminated by Florence Cockerell England, 1908
Vellum, eighteen leaves, 21.7 x 13.5 cm. Text area 12.4 x 8.3 cm, one column, twenty lines. English text in calligraphic Roman minuscule. Illuminated frontspiece; one full-page and four smaller miniatures. Blue morocco, gilt-tooled; by Katherine Adams.
Ms. Ludwig XV 12; 83.MR.182
PROVENANCE: C. W. Dyson Perrins, who commissioned the manuscript; J. R. Abbey; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

137. FIORE FURLAN DEI LIBERI DA PREMARIAACCO, FIOR. DI BATTAGLIA
Probably Ferrara, circa 1410
Vellum, forty-seven leaves, 28 x 20.5 cm. Text area 20.5 x 16.4 cm, two columns, unlined. Italian text in batardc. Illuminated frontispiece; two illuminated initials; nearly three hundred pen drawings, mostly quarter-page, many with burnished-gold details. Light brown calf, blind-tooled; Italian, circa 1800.
Ms. Ludwig XV 13; 83.MR.183
PROVENANCE: Possibly Nicolo III of Ferrara; Nicolo Marcello di Santa Marina, Venice; Apostolo Zeno; Luigi Celotti; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

138. TOURNAMENT BOOK
Augsburg, third quarter of sixteenth century
Paper, sixty-six leaves, 43 x 28.7 cm. Text area and lines variable. German text in Gothic print. Full-page illustrations in watercolor on nearly every page, many as double folio compositions. Original brown calf, blind-tooled; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XV 14; 83.MR.184
PROVENANCE: Octavius Betta, 1574; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

139. BONUS SOCIUS
Northern France, end of fourteenth century
Vellum, 104 leaves, 24.5 x 16.6 cm. Text area 16.2 x 10.1 cm, one column, thirty-two lines. French text in cursive book hand. Half-page illustrations of chess strategies on all but two pages. Brown morocco with gold-stamping; rebacked.
Ms. Ludwig XV 15; 83.MR.185
PROVENANCE: George Douglas, Kelso, Scotland; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

140. CHESS BOOK AND OTHER TEXTS
Jacobs de Cessolis, Ludos schaccorum; Isidor of Seville, Imago mundi;
Petrarch, poetry; Bonus de Luca, Computus lunaris
Written by Franciscus Gennay
Northern Italy, 1409
Vellum, 175 leaves, 19 x 12 cm. Text area 13.1 x 7.7 cm, one column, twenty-six to forty-two lines. Latin text in textura. Twelve illustrations in pen. Dark brown calf, gold-tooled; seventeenth-century.
Ms. Ludwig XV 16; 83.MR.186
PROVENANCE: Thomas Phillipps (Ms. 4570); Peter and Irene Ludwig.

141. PAPAL BULL OF POPE INNOCENT IV
INNOCENT IV
Pro vestro Collegio
Civita Castellana, June 20, 1244
Vellum, one leaf, 23.4 x 24.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script. Without seal.
Ludwig Document 1; 83.MU.187
PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

142. PAPAL BULL OF INNOCENT IV
Quoniam uit ait Apostolus
Rieti, September 5, 1289
Vellum, one leaf, 37.5 x 46.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script.
Ludwig Document 4; 83.MU.189
PROVENANCE: Minorite monastery, Cologne; Thomas Phillipps; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

143. PAPAL LETTER OF ALEXANDER IV
Intimantibus nobis
Anagni, April 29, 1259
Vellum, one leaf, 23.5 x 30.5 cm. Latin text in chancery script.
PAINTINGS

ITALIAN

1. DOSSO DOSSI (Giovanni de’ Luteri)
Italian, active 1512–died 1542
Mythological Scene, 1530’s
Oil on canvas, 160 x 132 cm (63” x 52”)
83.PA.15

COMMENTARY: The acquisition of this Ferrarese painting allows us for the first time to study the details of its mystifying subject as well as its origins and condition—a process that will take some months to complete. Initial cleaning and X-ray photography have revealed that the composition, as it appears now and has been known for the past century or more, is not what Dosso intended. The enigmatic woman at the left, dressed in green and wearing a breastplate with a red cape swirling around her, was originally painted out by the artist and was only revealed much later when someone scraped away the landscape and lake that covered her. X-rays show that she once held a viola da gamba that is still mostly covered by the tree. Also revealed were a suit of armor that hung on the tree and is now painted out and various other changes of a more minor nature. The realization that the final composition was intended to contain just three figures makes it easier to accept Gibbons’ theory that the subject of the painting is Pan and Echo, although this remains uncertain. Research may eventually help determine whether the Museum’s painting could have belonged to a known series of mythological canvases in Ferrara, presumably commissioned by the Este family, but even by itself, the Getty canvas represents one of the pinnacles of cinquecento painting in Italy.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Italy; William, Fourth Marquess of Northampton, Ashby Castle, by circa 1855; by descent to the Seventh Marquess of Northampton.


2. DOMENICHINO (Domenico Zampieri)
Italian, 1581–1641
Christ Carrying the Cross, circa 1610
Oil on copper, 53.7 x 68.3 cm (21¼” x 26¾”)
83.PC.373

COMMENTARY: This painting, executed around 1610 on a large copper plate, is one of the most important easel paintings from the early part of Domenichino’s career. Nothing is known about its origins beyond the fact that a number of figure studies for it exist at Windsor in the royal collections. It has long been considered by historians to be one of the artist’s masterpieces, a work to which he gave particular care. The figure of Christ is rendered with an extraordinary sense of volume, and the strong coloring has retained its impact because of the copper support, the condition of which is superb. A comparison with old prints after the painting suggests that the composition may have been trimmed around the sides; but since the current dimensions match precisely those recorded in the eighteenth century, it is equally possible that the painting was temporarily enlarged with additions that have since been removed.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: Germain Bazin, L’ideale classico del Seicento in Italia e la pittura di paesaggio, ex. cat. (Città di Bologna V mostra biennale d’arte antica. Palazzo dell’Archiginnasio, 1962), 100–101, no. 20; E. Borea, Domenichino (Florence, 1965), 168, no. 24; Richard Spear, Domenichino
3. GIULIO CESARE PROCACCINI
Italian, 1574–1625
*Coronation of the Virgin*, late 1610’s(?)
Oil on panel, 97 x 72 cm
(38 1/4" x 28 1/4")
83.PB.24

**COMMENTARY:** This painting is still unpublished, and nothing is known about its early history. On the reverse it carries an inscription and a seal with a coat of arms that may eventually reveal its origin. In the meantime one can only conjecture about its role in Procaccini’s oeuvre. It is apparently not a modello for a larger painting, as the very elaborate finish and wooden support indicate that it was intended as an autonomous work. Procaccini painted other independent small-scale works of this type, and they are generally considered to be his most successful productions. Hugh Brigstocke has verbally suggested that such paintings were responsible for the considerable influence that Procaccini had on the artists of other cities, such as Genoa, where Strozzi and Valerio Castello, among others, adopted his brilliant technique. Brigstocke also dates our panel fairly late in the artist’s career, after the *Modena Circumcision* of 1616. A drawing for the three principal figures in the *Coronation of the Virgin* was in the Dubini collection in Milan, but it shows them composed slightly differently.


4. BERNARDO CAVALINO
Italian, 1616–circa 1656
*The Shade of Samuel Invoked by Saul*, circa 1650–1656
Oil on copper, 61 x 86.5 cm (24” x 34”). Monogrammed BC at lower left.
83.PC.365

**COMMENTARY:** The subject of this painting is taken from 1 Sam. 26:7–12. It shows Saul consulting the spirit of Samuel about the outcome of an impending battle against the Philistines. The painting is said to have come from a Spanish collection, along with the *Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna* also by Cavallino (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum); *Jonah Preaching before Ninevah* by Vaccaro (location unknown); and a fourth copper of an unknown subject (location unknown). The unusual subjects are linked by a common theme: a king, warned that his course of action will lead to his death and the destruction of his people, repents and averts disaster. Warnings against military action and corruption would have been especially appropriate in 1647–1648 during the Masamiello Revolt in Naples. The painting, however, has been dated to the 1650’s on stylistic grounds.


5. CANALETTO
(Giovanni Antonio Canal)
Italian, 1697–1768
*View of the Dogana, Venice*, 1744
Oil on canvas, 60.3 x 96 cm (23 3/4” x 37 3/4”). Inscribed *Ant. Canal Fecit. MDCCXLIV* at lower left.
83.PA.13

**COMMENTARY:** Although it appears peripherally in a large number of Canaletto’s paintings, the Dogana was a central theme in only three works. This painting, heretofore unpublished, makes it the focus of an elaborate composition that includes boats and a schooner flying an English flag. The schooner appears to be almost as much the focus of the work as the Dogana, implying perhaps that the painting was commissioned by an Englishman who arrived on this vessel, which does not seem to appear in any other of Canaletto’s paintings.

Works both signed and dated by Canaletto are fairly rare, and of the nineteen recorded instances, all but five are in the English royal collections, acquired from the famous collection of Consul Smith, who got them directly from the artist. All but two in this collection are dated from the years 1742–1744, a period during which Canaletto created his best paintings. The *View of the Dogana, Venice*, dated 1744, belongs, therefore, in style and character to this very special phase of the artist’s work, and it possibly also had some connection with Consul Smith, Canaletto’s greatest patron.

6. JOACHIM WTENWAEL
Dutch, 1566-1638
*Mars and Venus Surprised by the Gods*,
circa 1606-1610
Oil on copper, 20.25 x 15.5 cm (8” x 6¼”). Inscribed JOACHIM WTEN/ WAEEL FECIT at lower right.
83.PC.274

**COMMENTARY:** In the *Metamorphoses* (4.177ff.), Ovid tells how Vulcan assembled the gods to surprise his wife, Venus, in bed with Mars. In this small panel Joachim Wtewael depicts this titillating narrative with the appropriate raucous humor. The astonished lovers recoil as Vulcan draws the net from the bed. Cupid and Apollo raise the canopy for a peek, while a gleeful Mercury looks up to Diana in the clouds. Saturn and Jupiter crane their necks to behold the embarrassed adulterers. The rhythmically paired, heroic nude figures show Wtewael at the height of his inventive powers as a Mannerist artist.

Mars and Venus seem to have been favorite subjects of Wtewael. An earlier but closely related treatment of the Ovidian narrative is in the Mauritshuis in The Hague. Moreover, Van Mander, whose Schilder-bueck first appeared in 1603, singled out for praise two “excellent, small, upright paintings on copper” of Mars and Venus. It is unlikely, however, that the Getty copper is identical with either of these if, as Anne Lowenthal suggests, it is datable to circa 1610.

A preparatory study for the figures of Saturn and Diana is in the Prentenkabinett in Leiden (pen and brown ink with wash, 12.8 x 16.7 cm, inv. no. PK 6866), and Lowenthal identifies another related drawing, *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan* (The Saint Louis Art Museum, pen and gray-brown ink with gray wash, 33.5 x 23 cm, inv. no. 126:66), in which the poses of Vulcan and an assistant resemble the two different figures of Vulcan in the painting under consideration here.


**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Anne Walter Lowenthal, *Joachim Wtewael and Dutch Mannerism* (forthcoming).

7. AMBROSIUS BOSSCHAERT
THE ELDER
Dutch, 1573-1621
*Flower Still Life*, 1614
Oil on copper, 28.6 x 38.1 cm (11¼” x 15”). Inscribed AB. 1614, in monogram at lower left.
83.PC.386

**COMMENTARY:** With the rise of interest in exotic flowers and gardening, flower painting had become popular by the early seventeenth century in Holland. The pioneers of this tradition were Jan Brueghel the Elder in the southern Netherlands and the Dutchmen Ambrosius Bosschaert, Roelandt Savery, Jacques de Gheyn, and Balthasar van der Ast.
Ambrosius Bosschaert, the founder of a dynasty of fruit and flower painters, influenced the development of Dutch flower painting past the middle of the seventeenth century. The artist is best known for his vertical compositions of flowers in niches, and this arrangement is a rare departure in type. Only four such baskets of flowers are known today, three of which have been discovered since 1980 (Bergstrom, 66–75). While all are signed in monogram, only the Getty painting is dated.

Typically for Bosschaert and his followers, this bouquet contains a profusion of flowers that could not have bloomed in the same season: roses of profusion of flowers that could not have followers, this bouquet contains a and brilliant colors account for the painter’s fame. The small group of four paintings of baskets of flowers exercised a formative influence on van der Ast, who adopted the flower basket as one of his favorite themes.


8. ADRIAEN VAN DE VENNE
Dutch, 1589–1662

A Merry Company in an Arbor, 1614
A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace, 1614

Oil on panel, each 15.8 x 21.6 cm (6 1/4” x 8 1/2”). Merry Company signed AV [in monogram] VENNE 1614 at lower left; Jeu de Paume signed AV [in monogram] V′ [illegible] 1614 at lower center.

COMMENTARY: The Mannerist tradition represented by Joachim Wtewael’s mythological paintings was supplanted in the first two decades of the seventeenth century by scenes of aristocratic and bourgeois life set in interiors or in the open air. Typical of such settings are the elegant garden in A Merry Company in an Arbor or the park in A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace, companion paintings executed by Adriaen van de Venne in 1614. In A Merry Company the playful activities depicted range from elegant ladies making music to jesters leaping from trees and gallant young men playing hide-and-seek.

A Jeu de Paume before a Country Palace illustrates the so-called balloon game, which became popular in the Netherlands circa 1580. The wooded landscape with its open fields and streams echoes the Flemish tradition of Jan Brueghel the Elder and reflects the strong link between sixteenth-century Flemish landscape painting and seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting.

For Adriaen van de Venne, an important figure in Dutch book illustration, as well as for his contemporaries, activities of the type represented in these two paintings probably had symbolic significance and provided an opportunity for moralizing commentary on various forms of social behavior. Bol has pointed out, moreover, that the romantic and leisure activities of gentlemen and ladies in idyllic settings look forward to the art of Watteau (Bol, 255).

PROVENANCE: Ralph Bernal, London (sale, Christie’s, London, March 10, 1855, lot 616); Henry Lee (sale, Christie’s, London, May 1, 1889, lots 40, 41, bought in [?]); Frederick Lee; British Red Cross Sale, Christie’s, London, April 20, 1918, lot 11; [Agnew’s, London]; [Frank Partridge, London, by April 22, 1918]; Sir John Ramsden, Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire (sale, Christie’s, London, May 27, 1932, lot 46); Machonachie; private collection, U.S.A. (sale, Christie’s, London, March 30, 1979, lots 9, 10); [John Hoogsteder, Ltd., The Hague].


9. AELBERT CUYP
Dutch, 1620–1691

A View of the Maas at Dordrecht, circa 1645–1646

Oil on panel, 50 x 107.3 cm (19¼” x 42¼”). Signed A. Cuyp at lower left.

COMMENTARY: The Maas and the city of Dordrecht comprised the subject of a number of paintings by Cuyp, but his wide-angle views of the river are relatively rare. An earlier treatment, unfortunately cut up, is now divided between the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig. A later version with Dordrecht on the left
is in the Rothschil collection, Ascot, Buckinghamshire.

The Getty painting represents Dordrecht on the right with Zwijndrecht opposite. Alan Chong has identified two drawings related to the composition, a view of Zwijndrecht in black chalk and gray wash (18 x 30.9 cm, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 16, 1981, lot 55) and a view of Dordrecht in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (no. 29339) that may, however, be after the painting. A View of the Maas at Dordrecht is almost certainly datable before 1647 when a number of changes occurred in the Dordrecht skyline. A date of about 1645–1646 seems likely.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Hofstede de Groot, Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Eslingen am Neckar and Paris, 1907), vol. 2, no. 648b; Stephen Weiss, Aelbert Cuyp (Boston, 1975), 63, no. 32, ill.

10. GERARD TER BORCH
Dutch, 1617–1681
A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn, circa 1650
Oil on panel, 47.5 x 50 cm (18¾” x 19¼”). Illegible remains of a signature appear above the trough on the right.

COMMENTARY: Representations of stables were popular with Dutch painters during the 1640’s. Among the artists who portrayed such scenes were Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Egbert van der Poe, Govaert Camphuysen, and Isaac van Ostade. A Maid Milking a Cow is a rare example of the stable theme by Gerard Ter Borch, who brought to it some of the artistic concerns characteristic of his better-known domestic interiors.

Shrouding the setting in a dull gray light, Ter Borch illuminated the contrasting textures of the figures and utensils in the foreground with characteristic finesse and subtlety. He infused the scene with the quiet concentration of the bourgeois interiors produced during his maturity.

S. J. Gudlaugsson has dated this painting early in the artist’s career, shortly after 1650, based on its similarity to the portrait of the Family of Grinners (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie), which can be securely dated between 1650 and 1654. A painting of similar dimensions, executed about 1654 and representing a horse in a stable (private collection, California), is a variation on the theme represented here. Gudlaugsson also lists a copy of the Getty painting on canvas in a private collection in Prague.


11. JAN STEEN
Dutch, 1626–1679
The Drawing Lesson, circa 1665
Oil on panel, 48 x 40 cm (18¼” x 15¼”). Inscribed JS [in monogram] ti--- (unclear) at lower left.

PROVENANCE: Probably sale, Amsterdam, May 15, 1708, lot 7; F. van Hesselt, Utrecht (sale, Amsterdam, April 11, 1747, lot 1, bought by auctioneer); due de Lavalliere (sale, Paris, Hôtel de Bullion [A. Paillet], February 24, 1781, lot 74, bought by Roches); [Colnaghi, London, in 1897]; [Forbes and Paterson, London, in March 1901]; Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London.

COMMENTARY: In The Drawing Lesson, Jan Steen depicts a painter, who bears a striking resemblance to himself, instructing a young woman in his studio. The woman has been identified as one of Steen’s daughters, probably Eva, and the young apprentice as his son Cornelius. The studio is filled with plaster casts: a putto, a resting cow, a head, a face, a foot, and a male nude. Steen appears to be correcting his student’s study of the nude. On the table, a chiaroscuro print by Jan Lievens (Hollstein, no. 106) is visible; the painter’s easel stands in the background; and a large tapestry that figures in many of Steen’s paintings, as well as assorted artist’s paraphernalia, appears together with more familiar still life elements. The student’s complete absorption in her task establishes the tone of the painting, which lacks the broadly humorous elements that have earned Steen his fame.

The Drawing Lesson shows Steen at his most accomplished as a painter of light, color, and texture. Moreover Martin has argued that such details as the laurel crown in the right foreground make The Drawing Lesson something other than a witty commentary on human behavior. It may represent an allegory of painting. This subject was also treated by another Dutch artist Frans van Mieris the Elder in a painting executed in 1661 and now in the Getty Museum. Furthermore, if Martin’s dating for the Steen, circa 1663, is correct as seems likely, Jan Vermeer’s famous Allegory of Painting was almost certainly executed within the same decade. The iconography of The Drawing Lesson merits closer scrutiny.

The pose of the woman is followed in a painting of this subject in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no. 78) that has been called a late work of the artist.

PROVENANCE: Probably sale, Amsterdam, May 15, 1708, lot 7; F. van Hesselt, Utrecht (sale, Amsterdam, April 11, 1747, lot 1, bought by auctioneer); due de Lavalliere (sale, Paris, Hôtel de Bullion [A. Paillet], February 24, 1781, lot 74, bought by Roches); [Colnaghi, London, in 1897]; [Forbes and Paterson, London, in March 1901]; Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London.
COMMENTARY: Jacob van Ruisdael captured drama in the most benign views of nature. Low, rolling fields of grain under a sky of billowing clouds were especially popular with this artist. Dutch painters rarely represented grain fields, but more than twenty examples by Ruisdael are known, among them the present canvas, datable to circa 1670. In these works, the artist dramatically contrasted the expanse of the sky and the low fields, the play of sunlight and of shadow across the earth. Ruisdael’s profound sense of wonder in the face of the natural world is conveyed in the Museum’s painting by the solitary stroller who appears dwarfed by the magnificent setting.


14. JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE
French, 1725–1805

_The Laundress (La Blanchisseuse)_
circa 1760–1761
Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 cm (16¾” x 13¾”)
83.PA.387

**COMMENTARY:** Exhibited in the Salon of 1761, Greuze’s _Laundress_ was acquired by the great collector of French painting Ange Laurent de La Live de Jullly (1725–1779), one of the artist’s principal patrons at the time. P.-J. Mariette, commissioned to write a catalogue of La Live de Jullly’s collection in 1764, noted the singularity of this type of painting in the artist’s early work: “Ce tableau est un des plus précieux et de plus piquants qu’aït fait ce savant artiste.”

Greuze’s _Laundress_ has obvious connections with Chardin’s scenes of servants at work—the artist would have been familiar with Chardin’s _Blanchisseuse_ (Leningrad, State Hermitage) in the collection of Baron de Thiers—while the mood of license and disarray invokes seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, particularly the work of Jan Steen.

A painted replica, probably by Greuze and last recorded in the de La Ferronnays’ sale, April 12, 1897 (Lugt 55258), has been confused with the original by Seznec and Adhémar (following Smith) in their edition of Diderot’s _Salons_.

**PROVENANCE:** La Live de Jullly, Paris (sale, March 5, 1770, acquired by Langlier for Count Gustav Adolph Sparre); Count Gustav Adolph Sparre, Kulla Gunnarstorpp; by descent to Count C. de Geer, Wanås; by descent to Elizabeth Wachtmeister, Gustav Wachtmeister, and Alex Wachtmeister, Wanås.


15. ANNE-LOUIS GIRODET DE ROUCY TRIOSON
French, 1767–1824

_The Burial of Atala_, 1808
Oil on canvas, 50.5 x 62 cm (19¼” x 24¼”)
Monogrammed GT on back of canvas.
83.PA.335

**COMMENTARY:** The subject of this painting is taken from the novel _Atala_ by François-René de Chateaubriand published in Paris in 1801. Girodet’s treatment of the subject exists in several versions, not only because of his careful development of the composition through a series of studies but also because the great success of the finished picture (Paris, Musée du Louvre) at the Salon of 1808 inspired numerous copies or replicas, some by Girodet himself.

The Getty version is a preliminary study that is close to the final composition. In his first drawings for the painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada), Girodet fixed upon the burial as his subject, grouped his figures as if for an entombment, and experimented with a reversed composition. A small oil study (21.5 x 24.5 cm, private collection, exhibited at the Musée de Montargis, 1967, no. 38) also represents the reversed composition. The freely painted Getty study, close to the Louvre painting in essentials, nevertheless exhibits significant differences: the arrangement of the foliage; the inscription on the cave wall from the Book of Job 14:2 reading “J’ai passé comme une fleur! J’ai séché comme l’herbe de champs” (whereas the final version reads “J’ai passé comme la fleur...”); and the addition of a strip of brown paint at the upper edge to compress the space.

**PROVENANCE:** Château de Bourgoin, near Montargis, in 1961; anonymous Swiss collection.
16. CLAUDE MONET  
French, 1840-1926  
Still Life with Flowers and Fruit, 1869  
Oil on canvas, 100 x 80.7 cm (39⅓" x 31⅓"). Signed Claude Monet at upper right.  
83.PA.215  

**COMMENTARY:** Following the jury’s refusal of his paintings for the Salon of 1869, Monet spent the summer and autumn of 1869 painting at Bougival—one of the resorts within easy access of Paris. There, he and Renoir painted their celebrated views of La Grenouillère, works that reflect an essential stage in the evolving plein air technique.

Monet’s *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit*, painted during this sojourn at Bougival, is another example of a motif shared by both artists. (Renoir’s *Still Life* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduces the same vase and flowers in a somewhat different spatial arrangement.) In Monet’s painting vigorous impasto and delicate chromatic modulations combine with a feeling for compositional structure that characterizes his greatest paintings of the 1860’s. The artist’s technique here reveals his debt to the work of Edouard Manet.

**PROVENANCE:** Rouart collection, Paris; Rosenberg collection, Paris, circa 1904; Prince de Wagram collection, Paris; Ernst collection, Berlin.


17. EDGAR DEGAS  
French, 1834-1917  
Dancer and Woman with Umbrella Waiting on a Bench (L’Attente), circa 1882  
Pastel on paper, 48.2 x 61 cm (19" x 24¼"). Inscribed Degas at upper left.  
83.GG.219, owned jointly with the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena  

**COMMENTARY:** Degas painted or drew the seated dancer massaging her ankle or adjusting her slipper several times circa 1878-1885 (Lemoisne, nos. 658, 698, 699, 826). In this particular painting, the limber, diaphanously clad performer is accompanied by another woman whose heavy black garments and umbrella seem to root her to the bench. The juxtaposition of such different figures, also found in *La Famille Mante* (private collection, New York), invites interpretation. The artist may have intended a contrast between the brilliant, artificial world of the theater and the drabness of everyday life or between active youth and sober, reflective maturity. Louiseine Havemeyer, who purchased the pastel from Durand-Ruel in 1895, described the subject as a young dancer from the provinces waiting with her mother for an audition at the Paris opera (*Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector* [New York, 1961], 246). If she is correct, a contrast between the glamorous, albeit brief, career of a Parisian opera dancer and the respectable, perhaps dreary, life of a provincial may also be implied. Each woman is withdrawn, absorbed in her own thoughts, yet shares with the other a sense of tension and anticipation. The subtle bond created as each endures the stress of waiting seems to be the main theme of the composition.

Horace and Doris Dick Havemeyer, New York (sale, Sotheby’s, New York, May 18, 1983, lot 8).


COMMENTARY: In October 1889, Gauguin retreated to the desolate hamlet of Le Pouldu on the Atlantic coast twenty-five kilometers south of Pont Aven (where he had painted regularly since 1886). During his four-month stay there he produced some thirty works—figure compositions, religious paintings, and landscapes—inspired by the primitive conditions of Le Pouldu and its environs. Acceptance of these harsh realities informs the Breton Boy, Autumn is indicated by the changing color of the trees; relentless coastal winds whip through the bleak landscape; and the resignation of the young boy, who is dwarfed by the rocks and trees, creates a mood of melancholy.

Drawings for the goose, the boy, and the swaying evergreen exist in the artist’s Arles Notebook, published by René Huyghe (Le Carnet de Gauguin [Paris, 1952]). The farmhouses in the background appear in A Breton Farm (Bührle collection, Zurich; Wildenstein, no. 370) and The Milkmaid (private collection; Wildenstein, no. 343).


18. PAUL GAUGUIN

French, 1848–1903
Breton Boy with a Goose, 1889
Oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm (36⅛" x 28¾"). Signed and dated P. Gauguin [18] 89 at lower left.
83.PA.14

COMMENTARY: Portrait of Maria Frederike van Reede-Athlone at Seven Years of Age, 1755–1756
Pastel on vellum, 53.5 x 43 cm (21" x 17"). Inscribed peint par J E Liotard/1755 & 1756 at the upper right corner.
83.PC.273

COMMENTARY: Liotard visited Holland in 1755 and remained for over a year, during which time he was patronized by members of the Dutch court and by aristocratic sitters from The Hague, Amsterdam, and Delft. The artist was introduced to the van Reede family by the diplomat William Bentinck, Second Earl of Portland, whose portrait he painted (Loche and Roethlisberger, no. 187). The Baroness van Reede, née Louis Isabella Hermeline van Wassenaar van Duivenvoorde, who was related to Bentinck’s half sister, was painted by Liotard (van Aldenberg Bentinck collection, Château Amerongen, Utrecht), as were her two children. Her seven-year-old daughter, Maria Frederike (1748–1807), is portrayed dressed in a winter cape of blue velvet trimmed with ermine. The sitter’s pose recalls that of young Prince William V of Orange Nassau, painted by Liotard the same year (Loche and Roethlisberger, no. 203), but the image is made less formal by the presence of a lap dog and the artist’s evident delight in the young girl’s fresh and captivating features.


19. JEAN-ETIENNE LIOTARD

Swiss, 1702–1789
Portrait of Maria Frederike van Reede-Athlone at Seven Years of Age, 1755–1756
Pastel on vellum, 53.5 x 43 cm (21" x 17"). Inscribed peint par J E Liotard/1755 & 1756 at the upper right corner.
83.PC.273

COMMENTARY: Exhibited only once at the International Exhibition in Munich in 1892 (cat. no. 3345), this painting seems to have been inaccessible to scholars until its reemergence ninety years later. It is listed in all catalogues of Goya’s works, but errors in the recording of the inscription suggest that it was not studied at first hand. Its critical history is further complicated by the apparent existence of two replicas or copies, one in the Tamames family (owners of the original in the early twentieth century) and another formerly belonging to Artemis International, London. In photographs one of these versions, which lacks the inscription, seems to have been occasionally mistaken for the original. The Getty portrait with the label from the 1892 exhibition on its stretcher is the original canvas.

The Marquesa de Santiago was described by an English visitor to Spain as

SPANISH

20. FRANCISCO JOSE DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES

Spanish, 1746–1828
Portrait of the Marquesa de Santiago, 1804
Oil on canvas, 209.5 x 126.5 cm (82½" x 49¾"). Inscribed La Marquesa de S Tiago/Goya 1804 on ground at right.
83.PA.12
“very profligate and loose in her manners and conversation, and scarcely admitted into the female society.... She is immensely rich. Her husband is a well-bred man, a Navarrese.” Goya’s portrait of her husband, the Marques de San Adrian (Gudiol, no. 493) has dimensions and an inscription similar to those of the marquesa’s portrait. The pair may have been conceived as pendants.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Tamames, Biarritz, by the nineteenth century; private collection, Switzerland, circa 1930; private owner and [Artemis International], by 1983.

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